Urban Planning
in Strasbourg and Sarajevo
1848-1918

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee

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Abstract

The emergence of the modern city is one of the most defining phenomena of the modern world. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe's urban centres underwent profound planned transformations. Among their most striking examples are capital cities such as Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, Rome, Madrid, and Budapest. We know a lot, consequently, about urban planning in the centres of political power. We know much less, by contrast, about urban planning in geographical and political peripheries. This thesis explores how urban planning unfolded in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, two cities that were at once peripheral to, and politically dependent on, their respective imperial capitals. From the 1870s, both cities were conquered, occupied, and, eventually, annexed by a central European empire. They became capitals of their respective regions, subject first to military, and, later, imperial administration. The two cities' imperial predicament crucially shaped their physical development. But with time, the influence of empire diminished. This thesis shows that lateral networks of bourgeois citizens, local politicians, architects and planners had an increasing impact on the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Their influence soon eclipsed the initial dominance of military and imperial hierarchies. By the eve of the First World War, the two cities had become active parts in an international planning discourse, a discourse that transcended regional and imperial boundaries and that connected Strasbourg and Sarajevo more closely to each other, and to other European cities, than at any previous point in their history.

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My search for archival sources has taken me to five countries: France, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the United Kingdom, in all of which I have lived for parts of the projects. I would like to thank the friends in whose houses I found a warm welcome, to Max Bayliss and Alice Correia-Morton, to Ina Reese, Stefan and Orthia Weiss.

This project is not only indebted to the scholarly community that has enabled it. It is a testimony to those who have supported me in many other ways. Especially, I would like to thank Lina-Sophie Daller and my sister, Julia. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, without whose love and support I would have never been able to embark on this ambitious project. It is to them that I dedicate this dissertation.

Contents

Note on Translation and Names

This thesis relies on large amounts of primary sources and secondary literature in German, French, and Bosnian. Translations are my own, unless I quote from English secondary literature, in which case I adopt the translation at hand.

The transnational nature of this work poses particular challenges. The people and the places in this dissertation have been referred to using many different names and different spellings. For individuals, I have tried to adopt the version most truthful to their birth name, e.g. 'Josip Filipović' rather than 'Josef Philippovich von Philippsberg'. For cities and villages that, unlike Strasbourg and Sarajevo, have no firmly established English version, I use a combination of the era's relevant names in the languages of their respective ethnic groups, e.g. 'Schlettstadt/Sélestat', and 'Agram/Zagreb'. Many of the streets and squares featured in this thesis have seen changed their names several times in recent centuries. In this dissertation, I use the official names of the era that I am describing, with the present name in brackets for clarity, e.g. 'Schiffsleutstaden (Quai des Bateliers)', 'Appel-Quay (Obala kulina bana)', and 'Ferhadija (Maršala Tita)'.

Abbreviations

AVES   Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg

AdBR   Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg

ABiH   Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

BnF   Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

BNUS   Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg

HHStA   Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna

KA   Kriegsarchiv, Vienna

OeStA   Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna

ZMBiH   Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

Figure 1: Looking out onto Strasbourg's Graben in 1828. This inner-city canal was filled in the 1840s to form today's Rue des Etudiants. Credit: Bibliothèque national et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Introduction

Peripheries of Central Europe

Historians have long been interested in the emergence of the modern city.[1] Scholars have enquired, for instance, whether and how central governments have directed the physical expansion of cities, and which ideological positions or aesthetic ideas manifest themselves in the modern city. In so doing, they have studied the political and legal mechanisms, the economic, cultural, and social processes that conditioned the rise of the city – practices that we refer to as 'urban planning'.

Modern urban planning has a young history. The ubiquity of the topic today belies the fact that the concept of urban planning is itself a young concept. The term is barely a century old. The consensus is that the practice came into being between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the period that this thesis investigates. The development of modern urban planning accompanied a string of planned urban transformations across Europe, of cities such as Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Barcelona, and Madrid.[2]

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[1] Hans Blumenfeld, *The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning. Selected Essays*, ed. by Paul D. Spreiregen (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1967); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*, Comparative Studies in Social and Economic History, 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981); *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914*, ed. by Anthony Sutcliffe, Planning and the Environment in the Modern World, 1 (London: Mansell, 1980); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Metropolis, 1890-1940* (London: Mansell, 1984); Mark Girouard, *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Jean-Louis Cohen, *Metropolen 1850-1950: Mythen, Bilder, Entwürfe* (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013).

[2] Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning, 1850-1970* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970); David Jordan, *Die Neuerschaffung von Paris: Baron Haussmann und seine Stadt* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1996); Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development*, Studies of History of Planning

We know a lot, consequently, about urban planning in European state capitals. We know less, however, about planning in peripheral places. This is surprising, given that until the early twentieth century, many more Europeans lived in small or medium-sized cities than in metropolitan hubs. This was especially true for Germany, the European power most commonly credited as the pioneer of long-nineteenth century urban planning.[3] Yet studies of European capitals greatly outnumber a smaller, but growing body of works on urban planning in small cities, borderlands, and colonial contexts.[4] Addressing this bias is one of the central aims of this thesis.

How, then, did urban planning unfold in places removed from the centres of power? To answer this question, this thesis turns to two cities on the geographical and political peripheries of central Europe: Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

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in the Environment (London: E & FN Spon, 1997); *Das Hobrechtsche Berlin: Wachstum, Wandel und Wert der Berliner Stadterweiterung*, ed. by Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Angela Million, and Elke Pahl-Weber (Berlin: DOM-Publishers, 2018); Anna Ross, 'Down with the Walls! The Politics of Place in Spanish and German Urban Extension Planning, 1848–1914', *The Journal of Modern History*, 90.2 (2018), 292–322.

[3] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, pp. 7–8; *Histoire de la France urbaine: la ville de l'âge industriel. Le cycle haussmannien*, ed. by Georges Duby and Maurice Agulhon, 5 vols (Paris, 1983), IV, p. 147; Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914*, Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1990); Christiane Pignon-Feller and Rodolphe Rapetti, 'La Neustadt de Metz, laboratoire d'urbanisme', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, 2000, p. 167.

[4] Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772-1914*, Central European Studies (Indiana, Ind. and London: Purdue University Press, 2009); *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. by Emily Makas and Tanja Damljanovic Conley (London: Routledge, 2010); Carlos Nunes Silva, *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015); Jaroslaw Vego, *Das architektonische Erbe Mostars aus der Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Verwaltung: Das architektonische Programm im Dienste der Durchführung des politischen Programms der Habsburger Monarchie von 1878 bis 1918* (Graz: Verlag der Technischen Universität Graz, 2006); Dominique Laburte, Jean-Jacques Cartal, and Paul Maurand, *Les Villes pittoresques: Étude sur l'architecture et l'urbanisme de la ville allemande de Metz entre 1870 et 1918* (Nancy: Centre d'études méthodologiques pour l'améagement, unité pédagogique d'architecture, 1981).

From the 1870s, these two cities found themselves on the margins of the two central European empires. Formerly French, Strasbourg was conquered by Germany in 1870 and annexed less than a year later, in 1871. The Ottoman city of Sarajevo was conquered and occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878 and annexed in 1908. Between the 1870s and 1918, the two cities occupied an anomalous constitutional, legal, and political status within these two empires. They were subject to military authorities and to the imperial executive, with limited formal participatory opportunities for citizens. They were, in other words, prestigious projects for their empires' central executives. At the same time, they were unwelcoming places for their new regimes. Both cities were at odds with their empires in terms of language, confession, and, in the case of Sarajevo, ethnicity.

To date, no other historian has compared Sarajevo and Strasbourg. The probable reason is that little appears to unite the two cities today. With a population of 431,000, almost twice that of Sarajevo, Strasbourg is a modern metropolitan centre. Its GDP per capita is 70 percent higher than that of Sarajevo.[5] Strasbourg is the seat of the European Parliament, the European Court of Human Rights, and the Council of Europe, while Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, remains locked in political infighting and excluded from the European Union. The seeds of this present disparity were sown much earlier.

Set at the confluence of the rivers Rhine and Ill, Strasbourg developed out of a Celtic village that became a Roman garrison town, Argentoratum. It was seized by the Franks in the fifth century and was subsequently renamed Strateburgum. In the middle ages, it became a free city of the Holy Roman

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[5] 37,700 USD in Strasbourg; 22,200 USD in Sarajevo (2021). Source: Metroverse, Center for International Development at Harvard University.

Empire, a position that it maintained until 1681, when it was captured by King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715). Under the guidance of Louis's military planner Sébastien de Vauban (1633-1707), Strasbourg was subsequently developed into a modern fortress. The city formally became part of the Kingdom of France in the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697), but it retained many of its privileges, including generous religious freedoms for the city's Protestants. Its university, once a cradle of the Reformation, continued to attract German students such as the poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859), later Austrian chancellor, who fled the city after the outbreak of the French Revolution. The revolution strengthened Strasbourg's political and cultural links to Paris, while construction of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century integrated the city economically with France.[6]

Sarajevo, too, has a long history as a trading centre and military outpost. The city's origins go back to the Neolithic era. Of major importance for subsequent regional history was the foundation of a Roman settlement at the confluence of the rivers Miljacka and Bosna, from which the region takes its name. After the seventh century, this area was populated by the Goths and Slavs. In the late fifteenth century, the Ottomans founded a city further upstream on the river Miljacka, a trading post that attracted merchants from the Adriatic and Sephardic Jews, and was referred to variously as 'Bosna Serai', 'Serai Bosna', and, from the mid-sixteenth century, as 'Sarajevo'. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans invested heavily in the city. Governor Gazi Husrev-beg (1480-1541) founded mosques, bridges, schools, caravanserais, public kitchens, and baths, many of

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[6] Benoît Jordan, *Histoire de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Gisserot, 2006); *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. by Georges Livet and Francis Rapp, Collection Histoire des Villes d'Alsace, 4 vols (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1980), IV; Emil von Borries, *Geschichte der Stadt Straßburg* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1909).

which survive today. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, warfare and frequent fires changed the face of the city. In 1697, the Austrian armies under Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) destroyed the city, an event from which it would not recover for another century. The nineteenth century saw a series of uprisings by local nobles attempting to shake off the yoke of the Sublime Porte. At the same time, a string of reforms integrated Sarajevo more closely with the Ottoman empire. In 1850, Sarajevo became the administrative centre of the Ottoman Eyalet of Bosnia; this province was recast as the Vilayet of Bosnia in 1867, itself the ancestor of present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina. A series of military, administrative, legal and tax reforms ushered in an era of increasing prosperity and population growth.[7]

From the end of the nineteenth century, the histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo display remarkable parallels. Both cities were conquered, occupied, and eventually annexed, by a central European empire. In 1870, Strasbourg became a site of the Franco-German War, which would result in the city's annexation as the capital of the newly founded imperial territory *(Reichsland)* of Alsace-Lorraine, a conglomerate of large parts of eastern France that became German in the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871). Seven years later, in 1878, the Treaty of Berlin gave Austria-Hungary the mandate to occupy and administer the Ottoman Vilayet of Bosnia. Its capital, Sarajevo, was seized by the Austro-Hungarian army against impassioned but futile local resistance.[8] The two cities remained part of the two central European empires until their collapse in 1918.

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[7] Robert Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006), pp. 8–32; Holm Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo: Die Geschichte einer Stadt* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 21–44, 105–33; Murat Gül and John Dee, 'Sarajevo: A City Profile', *Cities*, 43 (2015), 152–66.
[8] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 44–55.

Both cities became hubs of military power. They developed into important garrisons for the two central European empires. At least initially, they were also subject to military government. Between 1870 and 1871, Alsace-Lorraine was under military administration by General Governor Friedrich Alexander von Bismarck-Bohlen (1818-1894), the chancellor's cousin.[9] The influence of the military continued throughout the 1870s, when the Prussian general staff played an important role in modernising Strasbourg, and after 1879, when a new regional government took office under Field Marshal Edwin von Manteuffel (1809-1885), who was also the commander of the German 15th Army Corps in Strasbourg.[10] Sarajevo, too, was initially under military administration.[11] When a regional government was founded in 1879, analogous to Strasbourg, this, too, was headed by a military governor, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian 15th Army Corps. While the imperial government extended its reach over the government, the military governor continued to play an important role until the First World War. From high politics to everyday life, Strasbourg and Sarajevo were characterised by the presence of the military. A substantial part of each city's population was connected directly or indirectly to the institutions of the army.[12] The so-called Bosniaks, who quickly came to supply the elite troops of the Austro-Hungarian army, dominated social life in Sarajevo. The continued

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[9] Anthony Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City: Protestantism and Religious Culture in Strasbourg, 1870-1914*, Studies in Central European Histories, 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 55–58, 72–73.

[10] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* pp. 86–87; Klaus Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen 1871-1918: Die repräsentativen Staatsbauten um den ehemaligen Kaiserplatz in Strassburg*, Kunst, Kultur und Politik im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 5 (Berlin: Mann, 1982), pp. 23–25, 31–36; on the 15th Army Corps, cf. Gustav Franz Achatius von Kortzfleisch, 'Geschichte des Braunschweigischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr. 92: Der deutsch-französische Krieg und die Friedenszeit seit 1871', 3 vols (Braunschweig: Albert Limbach, 1903), III.

[11] Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 55–57, 60–61.

[12] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 93; Elly Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm: Erinnerungen* (Leipzig and Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibliotheksgesellschaft, 2008), p. 19.

dominance of military authorities created tensions, too. 'In the eyes of the Prussian military, Alsace-Lorraine was nothing but a buffer zone *(glacis)* against France,' wrote the pacifist Alexander von Hohenlohe (1862-1924), the son of the late viceroy and German chancellor Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1819-1901), of his childhood in Strasbourg. 'That people of flesh and blood lived there, sentient, thinking beings, was of no concern'.[13]

These two cities formed constitutional anomalies within their empires. At the same time, they occupied analogous positions. Strasbourg and Sarajevo, in other words, became unlike any other city in their respective empires, and yet to resemble each other. Both cities sat uncomfortably within the decentralised political structures of their empires. In the German empire, sovereignty was shared between the emperor and the individual member states, which were represented in the Council of States *(Bundesrat).* The imperial constitution, which was passed on 16 April 1871, was a delicate compromise between Prussia, which covered more than half of the empire, and the remaining, mostly southern states. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which was sealed one month later, posed challenges to this balance of powers. Incorporating Alsace-Lorraine into Prussia would have upset the delicate balance to the detriment of the south German states. Turning it into an independent member state of the empire, on the other hand, would have put Prussia at a disadvantage. To avoid either outcome, Alsace-Lorraine was made subject to, but also excluded from, the joint carriers of sovereignty. It was barred from the Council of States and was administered centrally by the imperial government. It was not until 1873 that the empire amended its constitution to formalise the peculiar status of Alsace-

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[13] Alexander von Hohenlohe, 'Über das Schicksal von Elsass-Lothringen', *Die Friedens-Warte*, 20.11/12 (1918), 266–70 (p. 268).

Lorraine. Between 1872 and 1879, the civilian administration of Alsace-Lorraine was run by a special department in Bismarck's imperial chancellery. In effect, then, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine strengthened the otherwise weak central institutions of the imperial government.[14]

Bosnia-Herzegovina, too, was an oddity within the Austro-Hungarian empire. This vast multi-national empire spanned large parts of central Europe. It comprised the two member states of Austria and Hungary, which had been given greater powers as part of the so-called Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Rather like the constituent states of the German empire, they enjoyed great independence: they had their own governments, budgets, and parliaments. The only joint institutions of the imperial executive were the office of the Emperor-King Franz Joseph (1830-1916), and the three joint ministries for finance, war, and foreign affairs. Integrating Bosnia-Herzegovina into this complex political structure posed challenges not unlike those encountered earlier in Alsace-Lorraine. Neither Austria nor Hungary was inclined to take responsibility. Like Alsace-Lorraine, Bosnia-Herzegovina became subject to the central institutions of the empire. A special committee was set up within Austria-Hungary's Joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs to direct the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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[14] Oliver Haardt, *Bismarcks ewiger Bund: eine neue Geschichte des Deutschen Kaiserreichs* (Darmstadt: WBG Theiss, 2020), pp. 747–802; Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* pp. 72–76; François-Jacques Himly, *Chronologie de la Basse Alsace Iier-XXe siècle* (Strasbourg: Archives du Bas-Rhin, 1972), pp. 238–91; Dan Silverman, *Reluctant Union: Alsace-Lorraine and Imperial Germany, 1871–1918* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972); Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs, 1871-1918: Studien zur deutschen Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 133–99; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, 'Elsaß-Lothringen von 1870 bis 1918: Das "Reichsland" als politisch-staatsrechtliches Problem des zweiten deutschen Kaiserreichs', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 109, 1961, 133–99; K. Mandel, 'Die Verfassung und die Verwaltung des Landes', in *Das Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen: Allgemeine Landesbeschreibung*, ed. by Statistisches Bureau für Elsass-Lothringen (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1901), I, 213–36.

This committee was soon replaced by a special department in the Joint Ministry of Finance.

In the following years, the two empires further strengthened their grip on Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Simultaneous reforms in 1879 increased the powers wielded by the empires' central institutions over the two cities. Both cities received regional governments that reported directly to imperial executives. The regional government *(Landesregierung)* of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, reported to the so-called regional administration *(Landesverwaltung),* a newly founded department in the Joint Ministry of Finance.[15] Its head from 1882 to 1903, Minister Benjámin von Kállay (1839-1903), was informally referred to as 'governor' of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1879, Strasbourg, too, saw the foundation of a regional government, the so-called Ministry for Alsace-Lorraine. It was headed by a viceroy, an appointee and subordinate of the German emperor, the empire's best-paid official (his salary was more than double that of the chancellor), who enjoyed far-ranging executive powers, including rule by decree.[16] As one observer noted, the powers wielded by the viceroy of Alsace-Lorraine were comparable, or even superior, to those of the governors of British India.[17] The

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[15] Karl Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878: der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 54–57.

[16] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 24; Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 90; Silverman, *Reluctant Union,* pp. 36–45; Volker Stalmann, *Fürst Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1819-1901): Ein deutscher Reichskanzler* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), p. 169; François Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables 1870-1914: La bourgeoisie et le peuple alsacien* (Strasbourg: Éditions BF, 1981), pp. 42–44, 48–51; Bernard Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace: De la Révolution à nos jours, un panorama des passions alsaciennes*, La bibliothèque Alsacienne (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue / Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1995), pp. 175–81; Rudolf Morsey, *Die oberste Reichsverwaltung unter Bismarck, 1867-1890* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), pp. 169–84.

[17] Hans Lothar von Schweinitz, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1927), II, p. 174.

integration of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina strengthened the central executive organs of the two central European empires.[18]

What exactly, then, was the political nature of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina? This question has vexed scholars for more than a century. The debate on the status of Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina has re-emerged quite recently. In a 2007 article, Robert Donia called Bosnia-Herzegovina a 'proximate colony'.[19] In 2018, Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer edited a book that understood the region quite explicitly as a 'colony'.[20] Ruthner justified this choice of term with a catalogue of characteristics that borrowed from post-colonial theorists Georges Balandier (1920-2016) and David Kenneth Fieldhouse (1925-2018).[21] Whether we speak of a colony, of a proximate colony, or of quasi-colonial conditions, a consensus has emerged that the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be seen in the context of European colonialism. Given the remarkable parallels between the political histories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Alsace-Lorraine, our understanding of the latter, too, would benefit from a post-colonial perspective.[22] Constitutionally, Alsace-Lorraine occupied a position analogous in some respects to Germany's overseas territories, as Oliver Haardt has shown.[23] Many Germans understood the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine as an act of

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[18] Haardt, *Bismarcks ewiger Bund,* pp. 747–802.

[19] Robert Donia, 'The Proximate Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule', *Kakanien Revisited*, Working Paper (2007), 1–7.

[20] *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. by Tamara Scheer and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2018).

[21] Clemens Ruthner, 'Bosnien-Herzegowina als k. u. k. Kolonie: Eine Einführung', in *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. by Tamara Scheer and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2018), pp. 15–44.

[22] Philipp Heckmann-Umhau, 'Die Grenzregion als Kolonie? Neue Perspektiven auf Bosnien-Herzegowina und Elsass-Lothringen(1871–1918)' (presented at the Europäische Grenzregionen: Neue Wege im Umgang mit historischen Raum- und Grenzkonzeptionen in der Geschichtswissenschaft, Cologne, 2021).

[23] Haardt, *Bismarcks ewiger Bund,* pp. 747–802.

colonisation.[24] And to some contemporaries, the cases of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared connected. Even the term that was popularly used to describe Bosnia-Herzegovina, 'imperial territory', was a direct adoption from Alsace-Lorraine.[25] In the pre-war years, jurists such as Eduard Schalfejew (1888-1962) and Robert Redslob (1882-1962), professor at the university of Strasbourg, compared the two territories as related phenomena.[26] German Alsace-Lorraine and Austro-Hungarian Bosnia-Herzegovina were, to varying degrees, subject to quasi-colonial regimes.

There were of course important differences, too, between Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina. While Alsace-Lorraine was annexed in 1871, the same did not happen to Bosnia-Herzegovina until 1908, three decades into the Austro-Hungarian occupation. At least formally, the region had been under the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan. But in practice, the annexation brought little change.[27] It was, as Redslob put it in 1914, 'little more than the ceremonial

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[24] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 86; cf. David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 260; Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs*, pp. 73–75; Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918: Machtstaat vor der Demokratie*, 2 vols (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990), II, pp. 282–86.

[25] On the problem of terminology, see Tamara Scheer, '"Kolonie", "Neu-Österreich", "Reichsland(e)": Zu begrifflichen Zuschreibungen Bosnien-Herzegowinas im österreichisch-ungarischen Staatsverband, 1878–1918', in *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. by Tamara Scheer and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: Francke, 2018), pp. 45–57.

[26] Karl Lamp, 'Die Verfassung von Bosnien und der Herzegowina vom 17. Februar 1910', *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, 5 (1911), 137–229; Eduard Schalfejew, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung Elsaß-Lothringens nach dem neuen Verfassungsgesetz* (Berlin: Trenkel, 1913); Robert Redslob, *Abhängige Länder: eine Analyse des Begriffs von der ursprünglichen Herrschergewalt; zugleich eine staatsrechtliche und politische Studie über Elsass-Lothringen, die österreichischen Königreiche und Länder, Kroatien-Slavonien, Bosnien-Herzegowina, Finnland, Island, die Territorien der nordamerikanischen Union, Kanada, Australien, Südafrika* (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1914).

[27] Rudolf Wierer, *Der Föderalismus im Donauraum*, ed. by Institut für den Donauraum, Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts für den Donauraum, 1 (Graz: Böhlau, 1960), p. 124.

confirmation of its long-standing status'.[28] Even before the annexation, citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina had been conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian army and had paid taxes to the Austro-Hungarian empire. What did change, however, was formal political participation. In contrast with Alsace-Lorraine, whose citizens had, since 1874, voted in elections for the imperial parliament *(Reichstag)* and for the regional legislature, the so-called Regional Committee *(Landesausschuss),* the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina had no voting rights save for city council elections. In 1910, less than two years after the annexation, Bosnia-Herzegovina received a constitution or provincial statute *(Landesstatut),* which included a bill of rights and citizenship laws, and finally established a regional assembly.[29] Around the same time, citizens were given a greater stake in the regional politics of Alsace-Lorraine, too. In 1911, Germany passed a constitution for Alsace-Lorraine, which turned the region into a member state of the German empire, granted it three seats in the Council of States, and devolved all state-level law-making to the regional committee *(Landesausschuss),* which was rebranded as regional assembly *(Landtag),* analogous to Bosnia-Herzegovina.[30] In practice, these changes did not materialise. In Sarajevo, military governor Oskar Potiorek (1853-1933) declared a state of emergency, dissolved the regional assembly and the civil courts in Bosnia-Herzegovina amid mounting tensions in 1913. And in 1914, the outbreak of the First World War led to the establishment of martial law in Alsace-Lorraine.

Strong executive institutions met some resistance in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Neither of the two cities were welcoming towards the new regimes. The

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[28] Redslob, *Abhängige Länder,* p. 222.

[29] Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 378–82.

[30] 'Gesetz über die Verfassung Elsaß-Lothringens vom 31. Mai 1911', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1911, 225.

majority of their populations objected to the occupation. In both Strasbourg and Sarajevo, citizens had fought against the advancing occupying troops. What is more, both cities were home to linguistic, confessional, and, in the case of Sarajevo, ethnic minorities that put them at odds with their respective empires. Strasbourg's population was overwhelmingly Catholic, – a sharp contrast with the new, mainly Protestant leadership.[31] And Strasbourg's Lutherans were predominantly Francophone. In Sarajevo, the largest population group was Muslim, followed by Orthodox Serbs, Roman Catholic Croats, and Sephardic Jews,[32] all of whom spoke what Austro-Hungarian officials called 'the local language', known later as 'Serbo-Croat' (and, more recently, 'Bosnian') though Serbs wrote in Cyrillic letters, while Croats preferred Latin script. Under the Austro-Hungarian administration, Sarajevo witnessed a string of campaigns for national emancipation, many of which began as movements for increased self-governance in the various religious communities. Particularly influential were nationalists who advocated the region's incorporation into neighbouring Serbia, a movement that eventually led to the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne in Sarajevo in 1914, sparking the First World War. Comparable developments took place in Strasbourg, which became a centre of political Catholicism, an anti-Prussian movement that continued to object to the annexation of 1871, calling instead for the region's return to France, while so-called 'particularists' advocated its complete political independence from either

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[31] Alberta von Puttkamer, *Die Aera Manteuffel: Federzeichnungen aus Elsaß-Lothringen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1904), p. 90.

[32] Mary Sparks, *The Development of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, 1878-1918: An Urban History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 89; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave: 1878-1918* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Grada Sarajeva, 1969), p. 38.

France or Germany. Strasbourg and Sarajevo were clearly challenging places to govern during the period in question.

In both cities, the imperial predicament coincided with a period of modernisation. Like many central European cities, Strasbourg and Sarajevo were late to modernise, but when they did, they did so rapidly. The events of the 1870s pushed both these cities into the spotlight. Both cities attracted considerable investment in military and civilian infrastructure, residential development, and public architecture. By the eve of the First World War, both cities boasted sewerage, water supply, electricity, railways, trams, modern hospitals, schools, law courts, theatres, museums, post and telegraph offices, and government buildings. They attained modern planning application systems, new building codes, and new general plans. Their physical expansion accompanied a period of great population growth. Between 1871 and 1910 alone, Strasbourg's population more than doubled, from 85,000 to 180,000.[33] And after three centuries of stagnation, Sarajevo, too doubled in population, from 26,000 to 52,000 between 1885 and 1910 alone.[34]

The analogous position that Strasbourg and Sarajevo occupied in the two central European empires, the power exerted there by imperial central executives and military, and the local conditions that served as a challenge to that power, make Strasbourg and Sarajevo worthwhile case studies for the history of urban planning. This was what this project set out to do. It began as an investigation of how urban planning unfolded on the political and geographical peripheries of

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[33] Akiyoshi Nishiyama, 'Erziehungsstadt statt Erziehungsstaat? Die liberale Reform des Schulwesens der Stadt Straßburg vor 1914', in *Kommunaler Liberalismus in Europa: Großstadtprofile um 1900*, ed. by Detlev Lehnert (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 257–82 (p. 259).

[34] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 195; Donia, *Sarajevo,* p. 32.

empire. It was intended, initially, to examine how urban planning in marginal cities, like Strasbourg and Sarajevo, unfolded under the pressures of conquest, occupation, and annexation.

But there was a problem here. The further the project progressed, the clearer it became that, while the imperial predicament of Strasbourg and Sarajevo appeared a good way to think about the events of 1871 and 1878, it was much less helpful for understanding later events. At the end of the century, the influence of the conditions of inception of German Strasbourg and Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo were increasingly muted. The once tight hierarchies of imperial rule lost traction. As time went on, imperial state executives and military command receded, or were forced to recede, from their earlier, close involvement in the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. What took their place were lateral networks of bourgeois citizens and their subset of technical experts. Those who partook in these transnational networks drew their status and power not from imperial hierarchies, integration into the central organs of the state, or official titles. They derived recognition from their connections to other European cities, from their involvement in local commissions, specialist conferences and charitable organisations, from their contributions to competitions and expert journals. By the eve of the First World War, these networks, rather than vertical trajectories of imperial power, had become the key conduit of the innovations that characterised urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The physical development of the two cities uncoupled itself from the peculiar political structures that had inspired their comparison.

This thesis will thus trace the history of urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo in three parts. Chapter one explores the beginnings of modern planning. It examines the first steps taken by the conquering empires to transform the

youngest additions to their realm into modern regional capitals. It shows that, while the origins of these transformations began under the auspices of central government, and, more specifically, military authorities, they soon ran into challenges and constraints. Some of the most ambitious planning innovations of that era owed more to reforms commenced around the mid-century than to the deliberate design of imperial leadership. The key instruments of planning policy of that era – general plans and building codes – may have been begun by the central executive, but they conformed in crucial ways to the interests of emergent networks of bourgeois citizens and liberal experts. One example of such an expert examined in this chapter was the German Reinhard Baumeister (1833-1917), a post-1848 liberal who pioneered the development of planning into a technical and academic discipline. Baumeister's prominent role in the planning of Strasbourg is a case in point of how the first generation of modern expert planners derived their legitimacy not from the endorsement of the central state, but from their renown across the ever more closely integrated professional networks of engineers, architects and public health experts. Their involvement gave citizens the concepts and vehicles to escalate their own (often economic) interests vis-à-vis the representatives of the central state. These interests were, as a result, quickly internalised in planning processes across Europe. Even in cities under the direct control of imperial governments, such as Strasbourg and Sarajevo, modern plans, building codes, infrastructural works, and civic institutions increasingly responded to, or even pre-empted, the demands of liberals and locals. In this process, in both cities, planning was increasingly civilianised: it went from a practice championed by military authorities to one dominated by well-connected local politicians, civic advocacy coalitions and liberal theorists.

At the end of the nineteenth century, urban planning ran into new challenges from the processes that we call mass politics. These challenges form the subject of chapter two. As Strasbourg and Sarajevo grew into modern, industrial centres, they became home to new migrant groups, such as workers, junior administrators and officials. These groups organised themselves in unions, cultural associations, and political parties, which increasingly made their voices heard in debates surrounding urban development. The institutions of mass politics, like the bourgeois advocacy coalitions and the technical experts that shaped urban planning in the 1870s and 1880s, thrived on international connections. Social democrats and bourgeois social reformers borrowed concepts and arguments championed by their peers in other European cities and adapted them to Strasbourg and Sarajevo. As a result, issues such as inflation in the property market and the general cost of living, the plight of renters, and the unhygienic conditions to which a majority of the urban population was still subject, gained weight in public discourse. Officials saw themselves under increasing pressure to implement policies to alleviate these problems. In both cities, this resulted in a marked increase in the array of planning policy tools, as well as in the frequency and boldness with which public authorities intervened in urban development and in the housing market specifically. This process unfolded in both cities at varying speeds and under varying intensity, but with similar results.

Chapter three takes leave of the imperial predicament. It shows how, on the eve of the First World War, citizens of both Strasbourg and Sarajevo created a practice of urban planning that responded, first and foremost, to the particularities of their local context. In doing so, they shed any universalising ambitions that their imperial leadership may have once fostered. Dissatisfied with

the generic aesthetics of late nineteenth-century modernisation, Strasbourg and Sarajevo fostered civic associations, conservation movements, and artistic groups that effectively challenged the mainstream of urban planning modelled on imperial capitals such as Vienna and Berlin. They turned instead to the regional vernacular, to architectural heritage and folklore in an effort to illustrate vividly what made their cities unique. In doing so, they formed part of a pan-European network of secessionist thinking on architecture and urban planning, in which Strasbourg and Sarajevo would become important nodes. Thanks to the leading roles Strasburg and Sarajevo played in this movement, urban planning took a leap forward in the pre-war years. Once a discipline dominated by military officials, engineers and public health experts, urban planning increasingly incorporated the expertise of conservationists, artists, and architects. In responding to new aesthetic demands, planners came to wield powers that would have been unimaginable a generation before. They were able to constrict citizens' ability to alter or demolish their property, to pass or reject planning applications on the basis of aesthetic considerations, and to impose local restrictions such as binding height limits to safeguard the cityscape. The critical impetus for these powers emanated, as is shown, not from planning departments or central government, but from citizens.

As research for this project continued, it revealed different kinds of links between Strasbourg and Sarajevo than those it had set out to explore. Instead of a history dictated by the logic of political power in two land empires, it began to uncover a history of modern Strasbourg and Sarajevo that was, in truth, a shared European history. In uncovering the growing local, as well as international, networks of modern urban planning, it revealed a thick nexus of relationships between Strasbourg, Sarajevo, and other European cities. The physical development of the two cities before the First World War is a case in point. From

the laws that governed nineteenth-century urban expansion to the aesthetic ideas that shaped planning and architecture in the early twentieth century, the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo reacted to similar, often related, stimuli. The two cities were parts of a network of intellectual, economic, cultural, and political transfers that shaped modern urban planning. The emergence of modern urban planning is thus a shared European history, and one that owes perhaps as much to seemingly peripheral influences as it does to what we consider the geopolitical centres of power.

These findings pose two central challenges. The first is to the existing scholarship on urban planning. For most of the twentieth century, urban planning has been framed as an enactment of central state power.[35] Some of the most influential scholars of urban planning, such as Walter Benjamin, André Corboz, Jane Jacobs and, more recently, James Scott have contributed to this understanding – albeit not always wholly intentionally. More specifically here, the particular framing of the histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo as imperial cities has often all too neatly contributed to this narrative.[36] This dissertation, by contrast, presents urban planning as a malleable, complex, and dynamic practice whose development responded to the involvement of an increasingly wide range of stakeholders. In recalibrating urban planning, this dissertation contributes to a growing body of more recent literature by scholars such as Brian Ladd, Markian

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[35] See, for instance, David Edward Charles Eversley, *The Planner in Society: The Changing Role of a Profession* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973).

[36] On Sarajevo see Robert Donia, 'Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg Transformation of an Ottoman Town', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 33 (2002), 43–75; on Strasbourg see Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*; Harold Hammer-Schenk, 'Die Stadterweiterung Straßburgs nach 1870. Politische Vorgaben historischer Stadtplanung', in *'Geschichte allein ist zeitgemäß': Historismus in Deutschland*, ed. by Michael Brix and Monika Steinhauser (Gießen: Anabas, 1978), pp. 121–41; for a discussion of 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' approaches to urban planning in Strasbourg, see Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* pp. 85–98.

Prokopovych, and Mary Sparks, who challenge the centralist view of urban planning and instead foreground the involvement of non-officials, local citizens, liberal thinkers and even disenfranchised social groups in the making of modern urban planning.[37]

The second challenge is to urban history. For, in retelling the history of urban planning, this thesis also challenges the existing histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Scholars of both cities have long foregrounded the role of empire in their making. When Strasbourg was returned to France after the First World War, scholars looked critically upon the city's bygone imperial predicament. They emphasized the dominance of what was, by then, cast as an anachronistic, strongly hierarchical, and inherently anti-democratic regime.[38] This tendency was briefly reversed under the Third Reich, whose occupation of Alsace (1940-1945) sparked renewed interest in Alsace-Lorraine among German scholars.[39] When Strasbourg was returned, once more, to France after the Second World War, many viewed the city's German legacy with disdain. It was only from the 1980s that scholars began to speak more equivocally of Strasbourg's history under the German empire.[40]

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[37] Ladd, *Urban Planning*; Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*; Sparks, *Sarajevo*.

[38] Paul Albert Helmer, *Alsace under German Rule* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1915).

[39] *Reichslandwerk: Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Elsass-Lothringen 1871-1918*, ed. by Georg Wolfram, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Elsass-Lothringen-Institut, 1934), III; Kurt Bauch, *Strassburg* (Berlin: Mann, 1941); for a discussion of 1930s historiography of Alsace-Lorraine see Rolf Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen als Instrumente der Stadtplanung im Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen (1870-1918): Aspekte der Urbanisierung im deutsch-französischen Grenzraum*, Saarbrückener Hochschulschriften, 11 (St. Ingbert: Universitätsverlag Röhrig, 1989), pp. 30–31.

[40] C. Backofen and Eric Ollivier, 'Le plan d'extension de Strasbourg, naissance d'une planification? Repères 1871-1880' (presented at the 15th congress of the Association Internationale des Urbanistes, Strasbourg, 1979); Stéphane Jonas, 'Strasbourg 1900: Ville de frontière et d'innovation (1890-1918)', *Revue des sciences sociales*, 19 (1991), 13–30; *Grenzstadt Straßburg: Stadtplanung, kommunale Wohnungspolitik und Öffentlichkeit 1870 - 1940*, ed. by Christoph Cornelißen, Stefan Fisch, and Annette Maas (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 1997); *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Ed. d'Art, 2000); *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne.*

Even then, scholars often privileged the role of central government, military and civilian officials of the empire.[41] Only quite recently, have scholars begun to recover the contributions of local democrats, bourgeois reformers, academics, artists, conservationists, and left-leaning municipal politicians to the development of Strasbourg.[42] In challenging the traditional focus on imperial power in urban planning, this dissertation adds further to that shift.

A similar process has been under way in relation to Sarajevo. Its historiography has been equally controversial, and the focus on empire has been just as pervasive. From the novels of Bosnian Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić (1892-1975) to scholarship on architecture, urban planning, and local history, accounts of the city's Austro-Hungarian era have often foregrounded the oppressive role of empire. After the Second World War, when Sarajevo was absorbed into socialist Yugoslavia, Habsburg Sarajevo was often cast as an example of Western imperialism. Adherents of the new social order used the city's supposedly dark legacy as a foil to the political principles that would govern a brighter future. Drawing on everything from the shape of streets and squares to the institutions of education, culture, leisure, consumption, and public health developed after the

Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940, ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018).

[41] Examples are Viviane Claude, 'La germanisation de Strasbourg après 1871', *Les annales de la recherche urbaine*, 37 (1988), 38–45; Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*; Harold Hammer-Schenk, 'Die Stadterweiterung Straßburgs nach 1870. Politische Vorgaben historischer Stadtplanung', in *'Geschichte allein ist zeitgemäß': Historismus in Deutschland*, ed. by Michael Brix and Monika Steinhauser (Gießen: Anabas, 1978), pp. 121–41; for a discussion of 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' approaches to urban planning in Strasbourg, see Steinhoff, pp. 85–98.

[42] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City*; Silke Schütter, 'Von der rechtlichen Anerkennung zur Ausgrenzung der Armen: Euphorie und Scheitern eines großen kommunalpolitischen Reformprojektes Straßburgs zwischen den 1880er und den 1920er Jahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 46 (2006), 87–106; Marie-Noële Denis, 'La Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace aux origines de la notion de patrimoine régional', *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire*, 41 (1998), 141–51; Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*.

Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878, scholars interpreted Sarajevo's development as evidence of the corrupting presence of a strictly hierarchical imperial regime.[43] The tendency to victimise the city and its people has proven difficult to eradicate. While Sarajevans foregrounded the role of civic engagement, courage, and resilience, after the siege of Sarajevo in the Yugoslav Civil War (1992-1996), a new generation of international scholars shone light on what many perceived as its perpetually helpless state. The narrative prevails that throughout its modern history, Sarajevo was the unfortunate pawn in a maelstrom of foreign powers that left its citizens unable to cope. The terrible events of the 1990s coloured the history of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, too. Drawing on Edward Said, Maria Todorova argued that the Balkans had been exploited by their European rulers for centuries.[44] Misha Glenny sought to demonstrate that European powers have poorly understood and mismanaged their Balkan policies from the nineteenth century until today. And Robin Okey told a history of Western ignorance and poor administration in Bosnia-Herzegovina, concluding that 'the Habsburg period turned out to be another episode in Bosnian history which ultimately failed to deliver'.[45]

The same has been true for scholarship on urban planning in Sarajevo. Many scholars of the Yugoslav period regarded Habsburg urban planning primarily as the instrument of an oppressive imperialist regime. Planning, argued Jahiel Finci, was applied 'to represent the power and might of the monarchy'.[46] Sarajevo's extension, wrote Nikola Babić, 'bore the clear imprint of the colonial

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[43] Husein Tahmiščić, *Sarajevo*, trans. by Obren Vukomanović, Zvonmir Radeljković, and Peter Hill (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1970).

[44] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[45] Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 251.

[46] Quoted after Tahmiščić, *Sarajevo,* p. 99.

policy of its new overlord'.[47] In an environment where the Austro-Hungarian empire did not have many admirers, the city's Habsburg era was cast in terms that foregrounded the supposed power imbalances between imperial occupiers and their subjects. Even some of today's scholarship tends to perpetuate this view. '[T]he new power-holders', wrote Robert Donia in 2006, 'held a unifying vision of urban life that reflected their values and goals, and they implemented that vision to govern the contours of growth'.[48] Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo was, in his words, a 'shining example of Austro-Hungarian administrative success'.[49] Scholars have only very recently begun to recover the active contributions of citizens to the making of modern Sarajevo. Particularly valuable in this regard is the work of Mary Sparks, who questioned to what extent Sarajevo really was a showpiece of Habsburg power.[50] Emphasizing the role of private investors in the making of fin-de-siècle Sarajevo, Sparks has contributed a great deal to the effort of recovering citizens' voices, while postcolonial historians like Clemens Ruthner have shown that Austro-Hungarian officials relied on the cooperation of local elites, without whom they would have been unable to stem Sarajevo's transformation into a modern city.[51] The present thesis contributes to the emergence of a more complex picture, one in which the modern city was not only the product of imperial lines of command, but increasingly also of the complex, and sometimes surprising, interactions between citizens old and new: between local landowners, investors, technical experts, architects, physicians, intellectuals and social reformers.

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[47] Nikola Babić, 'Sarajevo im Kampf für Freiheit und Sozialismus', in *Sarajevo*, ed. by Nedim Mahić (Ljubljana, 1975), pp. 21–36 (p. 21).
[48] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 2.
[49] Donia, 'The Proximate Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule', p. 60.
[50] Sparks, *Sarajevo*.
[51] Ruthner, 'Bosnien-Herzegowina als k. u. k. Kolonie'.

The reason why it has taken so long to redress the biases just enumerated is, at least in part, linked to the sources. Any archive reflects, first and foremost, the perspective of the institutions that created it. More often than not, these institutions are connected to central state executives. This is especially true for urban planning. The sources available to historians of planning today, from general plans to building codes, from cadastral records to the contracts of planning officials, tend to centre on the central state executive. It is much harder, by contrast, to recover the role of citizens, and the complications and controversies surrounding urban planning. As a result, our picture of urban planning has long been skewed. The developments of the twentieth century, when planning rose to the forefront of government policy in large parts of Europe, have compounded the risk of retrospectively inflating the role of central government.

The histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo have long privileged empire for much the same reasons. It is easier to reconstruct the role of central government executives than it is to recover the voices of citizens. This is especially true of conflict-ridden cities like Strasbourg and Sarajevo, whose frequent regime changes and migratory movements have impeded record-keeping beyond central government archives. The situation is particularly challenging in Sarajevo. Almost all records of the municipal administration have been lost. Government records have been worn and diminished by relocations from Vienna to Belgrade in the 1920s, from Belgrade to Vienna in 1942, and from Vienna to Sarajevo in 1947. In 2015, a fire in the National Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina destroyed many of the documents on which earlier scholars such as Hamdjia Kreševljaković, Robert

Donia, Mary Sparks, and Holm Sundhaussen based their work.[52] Most historical newspapers have been lost; what remains is scattered between the Austrian National Library in Vienna and the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo. On the whole, the state of archival sources is better in Strasbourg, especially those related to municipal politics. But here, too, important documents have been lost, including most historical newspapers and major parts of the files of the regional government of Alsace-Lorraine.

The relative scarcity of archival sources has forced me to think hard about what kinds of evidence can help recover the history of planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. I have attempted to work through the limitations of the archival material and to reconstruct, as far as possible, the voices of those marginalised both in record-keeping and in the history of urban planning. Seeking to complement my research in government archives, I pursued extensive research in historical newspaper archives and journals, partly in Sarajevo, and, to a greater extent, in Vienna, where more such material from Sarajevo has survived. In Strasbourg, I have made every effort not only to survey government records, but to unearth as much as was possible of citizens' opinions, as found for example in letters of complaint and petitions, or in the documents of civic bodies such as the local chamber of commerce. I have tried to reconstruct the discord that surrounded many decisions in urban planning, through competition entries, articles in professional journals, local and national newspapers. These sources have complemented the extensive secondary literature on the two cities. It is only thanks to the work of previous historians that it is still possible to gain a good

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[52] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*; Donia, *Sarajevo*; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*; Sparks, *Sarajevo*.

overview of Sarajevo's modern history.[53] On Strasbourg, too, there exists a great array of works by local scholars, as well as by professional historians working at French and German universities, some of which are both recent and extensive.[54] Curiously, though, there still is no English monograph on the history of Strasbourg.

The comparative approach to Strasbourg and Sarajevo played an important role in the development of the research process. All history is, in a sense, comparative. But especially in contexts where sources were scarce, a comparative approach has helped to work through the limitations of archival records. On some occasions, I have been able to tease out hidden aspects in the histories of Strasbourg or Sarajevo thanks only to knowledge of similar developments elsewhere at the same time. On other occasions, the events in one city have highlighted the absence of comparable developments in the other. Thus, the comparative approach helps us to recognise the different ways in which Strasbourg and Sarajevo responded to innovations.

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[53] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*; Donia, *Sarajevo*; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*; Sparks, *Sarajevo*; Emina Zejnilović and Erna Husukić, 'Culture and Architecture in Distress: The Sarajevo Experiment', *International Journal of Architectural Research*, 12.1 (2018), 11–35; Gül and Dee, 'Sarajevo: A City Profile'; Emily Makas, 'Sarajevo', in *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 241–57; Fran Markowitz, *Sarajevo: A Bosnian Kaleidoscope*, Interpretations of Culture in the New Millennium (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Robert Donia, 'Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg Transformation of an Ottoman Town', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 33 (2002), 43–75; Jusuf Mulić, 'Sarajewo: Hauptstadt Bosniens und der Hercegovina zwischen Ost und West', in *Hauptstädte zwischen Save, Bosporus und Dnjepr*, ed. by Harald Heppner (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1998), pp. 171–92; Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom, 1878-1918* (Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1960).

[54] Möllmer, *Strassburg*; Benoît Jordan, *Histoire de Strasbourg*; François Igersheim, 'Strasbourg Capitale du Reichsland: Le gouvernement de la Cité et la politique municipale', in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. by Francis Rapp and Georges Livet, 5 vols (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1980), IV, 195–266; Paul Ahnne, *Strasbourg 1850-1950: Métamorphoses et développement* (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1968).

This thesis sheds new light on the development of modern urban planning on the peripheries of central Europe. It examines precisely how innovations in urban planning have travelled across central Europe. It also illuminates the histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo, histories that, thanks to the way in which policy innovations travelled, have more in common than one may assume. Rather than setting them apart, urban planning helped to integrate the peripheries of central Europe into a broadly shared political, cultural, and economic sphere, a sphere that it would take a global war to tear apart.

Figure 2: Market scene in Sarajevo ca. 1900. Credit: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine.

Chapter 1

Conquered Cities

The development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo into modern cities was late but rapid. It owed much to military conquest. Conquest imposed new functional demands on the two cities, ushered in new demographics and created new political structures. Earlier schemes for urban development had existed in both cities – with limited success – but it was not until their integration into the two central European empires that the modernisation of Strasbourg and Sarajevo gained momentum. Soon after Strasbourg and Sarajevo were conquered, new imperial governments and military authorities launched ambitious transformation programmes intended to make them into centres of the imperial administration and hubs of military power.

The modernisation of Strasbourg and Sarajevo began under the auspices of military authorities. However, as time went on, urban planning increasingly freed itself from the prerogatives of military strategy or imperial iconography. While many scholars have foregrounded the role of imperial authorities in the making of Strasbourg and Sarajevo, this chapter shows that the critical stimuli for their development came not only from within their respective imperial leaderships, but increasingly from groups and institutions independent of the empire. Planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo took cues from liberal planning theorists, bourgeois citizens, and independent planning experts.

Economy played a critical role in this process. Urban planning was – and still is – among the most capital-intensive tasks of modern public authorities. The cost associated with plan design, with public consultations, compulsory

purchases, repartitioning of land, and infrastructural development constrained governments' ability to implement grand aesthetic gestures. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, economic realities increasingly overruled the symbolic ambitions fostered at the heart of imperial governments. The conditions on the ground forced government planners to recalibrate their priorities.

This shift was particularly visible in Strasbourg. The city had been partly destroyed in autumn of 1870 during the Franco-German War. Its redesign commenced under the auspices of the Prussian general staff. The planning process was fraught with conflict. It pitted local citizens against military strategists in Berlin, who held their own ambitions for the city's development, plans that obeyed strategic, geopolitical, and representative motives. Local politicians countered Berlin's plans with a more economical alternative, which garnered the support of liberal planning theorists. Local leaders skilfully involved these experts in the planning process. The modernisation of Strasbourg was one of the first planning projects in Germany where independent expert planners formed part of the decision-making process. Incorporating technical experts helped citizens and municipal politicians bolster their demands vis-à-vis the empire, while lending a kind of legitimacy to their demands that became difficult for Berlin to dispute. Political and economic motives led Bismarck, eventually, to assent. By the year 1880, the planning process was under the control of municipal authorities and bourgeois leaders.

The events in Strasbourg aided the consolidation of urban planning as a discipline. They created a new kind of publicity, a publicity that could be used by bourgeois citizens and liberals to hold central executive to account. They helped build a reputation for independent, liberal planning experts. And they established a knowledge base with universally valid principles for urban planning, principles

that could be applied in almost any context. Planning became increasingly anchored in academic technical circles, and was wrested from the tradition of courtly architecture. Strasbourg, in other words, played an important role in the development of urban planning into a body of knowledge with universally applicable standards – a development whose consequences were soon felt across Europe.

The increasing standardisation of urban planning had effects in Sarajevo, too. Conquered seven years after Sarajevo, its planners incorporated the technical expertise created throughout the 1870s. As in Strasbourg, the modernisation of Sarajevo commenced under military control. However, Austro-Hungarian military planners avoided many of the pitfalls of their German counterparts. From the start, they eschewed bold symbolic gestures in favour of a cost-saving, functionalist approach. This approach responded chiefly to economic demands – to the material interests of landowning citizens as well as of the government. Tax law shaped the outcomes of the planning process for the new districts of Sarajevo. In both cities, planning law had an enormous impact, too, as will be shown. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, governments encountered increasing difficulties with changes to the existing urban fabric. These changes were complex, costly, and therefore low on the list of priorities.

In a nutshell, while both empires fostered grand plans for Strasbourg and Sarajevo, the outcome was often, at from the perspective of the central state, less grand than expected. While imperial government and military officials increasingly withdrew from the challenging business of urban planning, municipal politicians, bourgeois citizens, expert planners, civic and religious institutions deepened their involvement. In the final decades of the nineteenth

century, these groups assumed a central role in the planning processes, in shaping planning law and building codes, and in the development of infrastructure.

1.1   Military Strategy

The defining moment in the development of late nineteenth-century Strasbourg and Sarajevo was military conquest. Conquest transformed the two cities into garrisons of their respective imperial armies, led to an influx of military personnel and sparked large investments in both cities' military infrastructure. Not only did the two cities become important hubs of their empires' overall defensive strategy. They were also, at least in the first years of their occupation, under military government.

In 1870, Strasbourg became a site of the Franco-German War. Its obstinate refusal to surrender led to a month-long siege, which culminated in its bombardment in September 1870. German artillery destroyed large parts of northern Strasbourg and inflicted heavy damage on its fortifications. Sections of the cathedral, including the roof and central crossing, the city's Protestant church, its precious library, and hundreds of homes were reduced to rubble. The city walls, designed by the leading seventeenth-century military planner Sébastien de Vauban (1633-1707), could not withstand modern artillery power.[1]

Sarajevo experienced military conquest eight years later. Shortly after the decision was announced that Austria-Hungary would occupy and administer Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina, on 18 August 1878, the Habsburg army under General Josip Filipović (1808-1889) entered Sarajevo. By this point, Ottoman

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[1] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 27–29.

officials and military staff had left the city. In less than a day, the Austro-Hungarian military put an end to street-fighting and a Muslim insurgency, took over the city's fortifications and established a military command in the vizier's residence *(konak).*[2]

In Sarajevo, too, the first steps in the city's transformation from a provincial Ottoman town into a modern regional capital of the Habsburg empire were made under the auspices of the military. When the Austro-Hungarian army conquered Sarajevo in August 1878, commanding general Josip Filipović installed a military government, which took on the tasks of a civilian administration, too, since almost all Ottoman officials had left the city in the wake of the conquest.[3] Filipović also organised the recruitment of civilian aides, the first of which arrived from Croatia in September 1878.[4] That autumn, Filipović handed over the military command to Wilhelm von Württemberg (1828-1896), a close personal ally, and frequent correspondent, of the Emperor Franz Josef, who founded a civilian regional government *(Landesregierung)* under military control in 1879.[5] The military commander in Sarajevo also headed the civilian government. It was not until 1882 that the imperial government stepped up its involvement in Sarajevo.[6]

The events of the 1870s wedded the fates of both cities to those of the military. In both cities, military administrations came to power. One of their aims was to develop the two cities into military hubs. Military considerations had long

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[2] Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 44–55; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 143–51.
[3] Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 55–57, 60–61; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 170–73.
[4] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 15.
[5] Božo Madžar, 'Sto godina Vladine zgrade u Sarajevu', *Glasnik arhiva i Drustava arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, 25 (1985), 249–55 (p. 248); 'Landeschef und Minister', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 1 September 1911), Vol. 8, Nr. 201, p. 1.
[6] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 174.

shaped urban planning. The first treatise on urban planning in the German language had been the work of a military strategist and citizen of Strasbourg, Daniel Specklin (1536-1589), whose principles for fortress-design were further developed by Sébastien de Vauban in seventeenth-century France.[7] With dedicated engineering departments and drawing offices, institutions of the military, such as general staffs and ministries of war commanded the knowledge base and manpower large-scale urban projects require. After 1848, the involvement of military authorities became not the exception but the rule. Military leaders influenced the redesign of Napoleon III's Paris as well as Franz Josef's Vienna. Modern military officials took an increasing interest not only in city walls, but also in the interior of cities. Whether they demanded generous parade grounds, wide boulevards to deploy military equipment, or straight streets with clear firing lines to combat civil unrest, military strategists featured prominently in planning debates all across post-revolutionary Europe.

Military authorities also took control of urban planning in both Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In Sarajevo, the Austro-Hungarian military government assumed responsibility for the development and implementation of plans and public infrastructures.[8] In August 1879, one year after the conquest, Sarajevo was destroyed by a fire. The conflagration started in the Latin quarter, the traditional district of Sarajevo's Roman Catholics, spread across river Miljacka and from there throughout the city centre, destroying more than 300 homes and 400 commercial buildings in 36 streets. The caravanserais of Tašlihan and Dulhan, the German consulate, the Sephardic synagogue and several mosques fell victim to the blaze. Total damages amounted to 23 million forints. Thousands of citizens were

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[7] Daniel Specklin, *Architectura von Vestungen* (Strasbourg: Bernhart Jobin, 1589).
[8] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, p. 25.

displaced.[9] The event posed a threat to public order at a critical stage of the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Some even rumoured that Habsburg officials had deliberately started the fire.[10]

Rebuilding Sarajevo was one of the major political challenges of the early years of the occupation. The destruction of 1879 gave Habsburg officials an opportunity to thoroughly transform the city. Shortly after the event, Württemberg, Filipović's successor as military governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina, appointed two crisis response committees: one tasked with organising short-term relief, shelter, food and collecting donations; the other in charge of rebuilding the city. Under the leadership of Sachs, the chairman of the reconstruction committee, a joint workforce of surveyors of the Imperial and Royal Military-Geographical Institute in Vienna, geometers from Budapest and technicians of the 18th Army Corps in Sarajevo surveyed the inner city and produced a reconstruction plan, which was approved by the military administration early in 1880.[11]

In Strasbourg, the military authorities had been under similar pressure to act. The bombardment of a notionally German city by German troops was a source of embarrassment to the Prussian leadership.[12] On 29 September 1870, the day after the city's surrender, Prussian Minister President Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) ordered his cousin, military commander Alexander von Bismarck-Bohlen (1818-1894) to create an inventory of damages to the city, coupled with

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[9] 'Reuter's Telegram: The Fire at Serajevo', *Daily Telegraph* (London, 13 August 1879), p. 5; 'The Fire at Serajevo', *Morning Post* (London, 11 August 1879), p. 5; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 41; Midhat Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti u Sarajevu u XX. i prethodnim stoljećima* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 2009), p. 65.

[10] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, pp. 24–25.

[11] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, p. 25.

[12] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 28–29.

the instruction to explore the possibilities of compensation and reconstruction.[13] More important still, for the military leadership, was updating Strasbourg's defensive capacities. Days after the annexation was formally confirmed in the Peace of Frankfurt on 10 May 1871, General Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891), the Prussian head of general staff and architect of the German victory in the Franco-German War, visited Strasbourg to take stock. Moltke envisaged a thorough transformation of the city's military infrastructure, in which the defunct seventeenth-century fortifications would yield to a new, larger ring of walls, buffered by an extended glacis surrounded by satellite forts, a model already in place in the Prussian city of Breslau/Wrocław.[14]

The transformation of Strasbourg became a priority for the Prussian general staff. Military officials such as Moltke and Georg von Kameke (1817-1893), the inspector-general of fortresses, were convinced that modernising Strasbourg would also aid in its 'Germanisation'.[15] In a report from 2 June 1871, Moltke and Kameke told the emperor that 'the institution of numerous administrative authorities in Strasbourg, the city's already woeful housing shortage, the need for an improved train station [...] and the creation of a canal linking Strasbourg to Mannheim along the Rhine, speak in favour of a considerable expansion of the city'.[16] Moltke took control of the process. The only people who knew his plans were visitors that happened to steal a glance at the large-scale drawings which would swallow up one of the field marshal's two

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[13] Bismarck to Bismarck-Bohlen, 29 September 1870, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg (AdBR), 5 AL 77.

[14] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 32–35.

[15] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 32; Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* pp. 85–86.

[16] Confidential report by Moltke and Kameke to the Emperor Wilhelm I, 2 June 1871, translation by Anthony Steinhoff, in: Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 87.

writing desks for years after the annexation.[17] The field marshal gave local stakeholders little say or notice and never published an official plan. Together with Kameke, who was later appointed Prussian minister of war, Moltke lost no time in creating *faits accomplis.* A year after the annexation, building works were under way on the new ring of fortifications.[18]

In both cities, the first serious strides towards modernisation were made by military authorities. As Strasbourg and Sarajevo turned into hubs of their new empire's military infrastructure, military commanders like Moltke and Württemberg took on the task of urban planning. Initially, there may have been little to suggest that civilian government, or local citizens, would feature prominently in this process. Yet in the process of urban planning, military authorities soon realised that they could not implement their planning projects without wider support. The next section examines how this process unfolded.

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[17] 'Our Own Correspondent: Count Moltke at Home', *Daily Telegraph* (London, 29 December 1874), p. 5.

[18] Deputy mayor of Strasbourg to General Lieutenant Hartmann, Strasbourg, 21 September 1872, Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg (AVES), 152 MW 2 Iᵃ No. 2538 1/2.

Figure 3: In 1871, German bombardment damaged Strasbourg, creating both an opportunity and an obligation to rebuild and expand the city. Credit: Biblithèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

1.2   Towards an Imperial City

As time went by, military objectives became less dominant in the modernisation of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In both cities, the political and material interests of citizens began to play an increasingly decisive role. By the end of the 1870s, bourgeois citizens had had begun to shape the planning process.

Whereas the French state had obstructed the efforts of citizens to expand the city of Strasbourg, the German empire immediately embraced a policy of expansion and reconstruction. Many citizens welcomed the new administration's plans, in the hope that it would allow them to put their fallow building land outside the old city walls to lucrative use.[19] When Moltke visited Strasbourg in May 1871, the city council convened specially to discuss the planned construction project, signalling its general approval and its willingness to contribute to the cost.[20] The project would incorporate large sections of empty land into the city, land that could be turned into new streets, squares and building plots, a move that would no less than triple the surface of the inner city, make Strasbourg, in terms of physical area, the largest city of the German empire and enable its bourgeois landowners to capitalise on their land holdings outside the old city precincts.[21] Since the 1840s, Strasbourg's mayors had, albeit unsuccessfully, lobbied for such an extension to the old city.[22]

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[19] Angéla Kerdilès Weiler, *Limites urbaines de Strasbourg: évolution et mutation* (Strasbourg: Société Savante d'Alsace, 2005), p. 140; Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 31–32.

[20] Otto Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit: Die städtische Verwaltung in der Zeit vom 12. April 1873 bis zum 25. April 1880* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1912), p. 168.

[21] Karl Eichelmann, *Die Bevölkerung der Stadt Straßburg (auf Grund der Volkszählungsergebnisse von 1910)* (Strasbourg: Friedrich Bull, 1913); cf. Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 87.

[22] Kerdilès Weiler, *Limites urbaines de Strasbourg,* p. 140; Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 31–32.

But as time went on, Strasbourg's citizens increasingly clashed with the military.[23] Moltke's unwillingness to communicate his plans led to a deterioration of the relationship between city and military leadership, so much so that Strasbourg's mayor, Ernest Lauth (1828-1902), together with his entire administration, demonstratively abstained from the celebrations to mark the official commencement of the construction works in September 1872.[24] Two years later still, nothing was known about the nature of the urban extension. In 1874, a group of local notables and former members of the city council turned to Bismarck in an open letter, impressing their discontent with the project.[25]

In response, the imperial government stepped up its involvement. In 1873, Bismarck intervened, dismissing the recalcitrant mayor and, after intense local protests, dissolving the city council. In place of the democratically elected Lauth, he appointed Otto Back (1834-1917), a civil servant from the Prussian Rhineland, as acting mayor.[26] Back, until then head of Strasbourg's police department, was just the man to realign the civilian and military side of the project. In October 1874, Bismarck invited the newly appointed mayor to Berlin to deal with the problem of Strasbourg's redesign in person. He brokered a deal between Back and the general staff: the military would retain responsibility for Strasbourg's defences, but hand down responsibility for the inner-city to Back. The mayor had three years to develop a general plan, which would have then to

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[23] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 35.

[24] Deputy mayor of Strasbourg to General Lieutenant Hartmann, Strasbourg, 21 September 1872, Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg (AVES), 152 MW 2 Iᵃ No. 2538 1/2.

[25] 'Eine Adresse Straßburgischer Bürger an den Reichskanzler', 12 May 1874, newspaper clipping from *Elsässer Journal,* Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg (AVES), 152 MW 3.

[26] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 88; Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 1–16; Adolph Ernst von Ernsthausen, *Erinnerungen eines preußischen Beamten* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1894), pp. 330–41.

be approved by the Ministry of War.[27] The municipality would purchase all military wasteland from the empire, raze the ramparts, build new streets and squares, and sell individual building plots to investors.[28] This way Back's local administration became the sole developer and largest stakeholder of the project. As Back later recalled, Berlin had 'not the slightest appetite' for direct dealings with Strasbourg, as long as the strategy was right.[29] The imperial government and military at Berlin retained ultimate control, but were spared the expense, the risk, and the inconvenience of dealing directly with Strasbourg's citizens.

Devolving the responsibility for plan and implementation to this official, Bismarck did what many other European leaders had done before him. The chancellor abstracted himself from the business of execution just as the Emperor Franz Josef had done in Vienna. Indeed, the devolution of financial risk to local level followed exactly the example of Vienna's Ringstrasse.[30] Bismarck also deployed Back in much the same way that Napoleon III had activated his own 'Alsatian Attila', Haussmann. The two administrators had much in common. Both saw themselves as servants of a modern state, impartial and beyond politics.[31] Both enjoyed the special personal trust of their leaders, both had their backgrounds in the police administration. Neither had specialist training, or practical experience, in urban planning. Back faced enormous challenges. He returned to Strasbourg with a new task, a payment obligation, but without

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[27] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 169–84.

[28] Reinhard Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [I]', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 12.68 (1878), 343–47 (p. 344).

[29] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* p. 170.

[30] *Die Stadt als Raumentwurf: Theorien und Projekte im Städtebau seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Rainer Schützeichel (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2017), pp. 320–24.

[31] Alexander Dominicus, *Straßburgs deutsche Bürgermeister: Back und Schwander, 1873-1918*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1939), p. 19.

additional powers. On one hand, he was expected to act as the loyal servant of Berlin. On the other hand, he had to find support in Strasbourg, a city in which he had neither reliable allies nor political backing. A theologian and jurist by training, he needed a sound strategy to navigate the pitfalls of the planning process.[32]

When Back met Bismarck, the discipline of urban planning was still in its infancy.[33] There was only a handful of men with serious credentials in planning. One of them was the Berlin architect August Orth (1828-1901).[34] A prize-winning graduate of Schinkel's prestigious Berlin Building Academy *(Bauakademie),* he left a secure position in the civil service in favour of a lucrative career in the private economy. He rose to fame as favoured architect of the illustrious financier Bethel Henry Strousberg (1823-1844), a railway entrepreneur and later conservative member of the Prussian parliament.[35] One commission followed another in quick succession. After the terminus for the Berlin-Görlitz railway (1866) which was to link Berlin with Vienna, and his patron's newly acquired estate in Bohemia, Orth began work on Strousberg's urban residence at No. 70 Wilhelmsstrasse, the capital's prime address. Bismarck's chancellery was down the road at No. 77. Orth's Palais Strousberg was at the heart of political, economic, and social life in the early years of the empire (it would later serve as the British embassy). For anyone who moved in the society of the emergent 'world

[32] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 1–2.

[33] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 77–110.

[34] Manfred Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth unter dem Einfluß von Industrialisierung und sozialem Wandel im Deutschen Kaiserreich', in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich: Kunst im Wandel der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. by Ekkehard Mai, Hans Pohl, and Stephan Waetzold (Berlin: Mann, 1982), pp. 261–83.

[35] Rüdiger vom Bruch, 'Das Finanzgenie und sein Industrieimperium: Der Fall des "Eisenbahnkönigs" Bethel Henry Strousberg', in *Große Prozesse: Recht und Gerechtigkeit in Gesellschaft und Geschichte*, ed. by Uwe Schulz (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001), pp. 250–60; Joachim Borchart, *Der europäische Eisenbahnkönig Bethel Henry Strousberg* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1991).

city' Berlin, one contemporary commented in 1870, there were but two names to know: Count Bismarck and Dr Strousberg.[36] Orth not only moved in, but quite literally designed the corridors of political power.

Yet Orth's success as a private architect was short-lived. The stock market collapse of 1873, one of the largest economic crises in the nineteenth century, triggered the collapse also of the Strousberg enterprise, putting a halt to Orth's ambitions. Allegations of fraud led to the resignation of Friedrich von Itzenplitz (1799-1883), the Prussian minister of public works and Strousberg's most powerful ally. Abandoning his newly built residence in Berlin's Wilhelmsstrasse as well as his country estate, carefully refurbished by Orth only two years before, the entrepreneur was forced to flee the country. He was later arrested in Moscow while attempting to board a train to escape his gambling debts.[37] The architect Orth had to find new outlets for his creative energies.

In the aftermath of 1873, Orth discovered planning as a deserving cause. The crisis lent a new urgency to an interest which was not, however, new in itself. Orth had appeared before Berlin's association of architects as early as 1871 with a presentation on the future of the capital, entitled *Berlin und seine Zukunft,* on the occasion of what would have been Schinkel's ninetieth birthday. After the economic collapse, Orth had his presentation published. Its coverage in *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* the nationwide journal of the professional association, of which he

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[36] Ernst Korfi, *Dr. Bethel Henry Strousberg: Biographische Karakteristik* (Berlin: G. Eichler, 1870), p. 3.

[37] Ralf Roth, 'Strousberg-Affäre', in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Ereignisse, Dekrete, Kontroversen*, 8 vols (Munich: Saur, 2011), IV, 402–5.

was a prominent member, gained Orth a reputation as an astute and independently minded planning critic.[38]

Orth was not the only one to widen his scope after the crash. The economic crisis and the resultant dip in construction activity prompted architects and engineers to take urban planning seriously as a professional activity. Berlin played a key role in this process. The building frenzy that had engulfed the young German Empire, fuelled by French reparations after 1871, had dramatically altered the face of the imperial capital.[39] Until then, most architects had seen urban planning as a less prestigious career path.[40] The most recent general plan for Berlin, had been drawn up by a relatively junior engineering graduate specialising in waterways and sewage infrastructure.[41] The economic crisis of 1874, which ruined fortunes, left many building sites vacant and many building professionals without commissions, prompted architects to re-think their business model.[42] In the same year, the national association of architects and engineers first made urban planning the subject of its annual general assembly in Berlin.[43] On the agenda was a special resolution on planning, the first time that the national professional association, or indeed any in Europe, would devote itself to this question. The resolution, an attempt to impose accountable standards on

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[38] August Orth, 'Berlin und seine Zukunft', in *Schinkel zu Ehren (1846-1980): Festreden*, ed. by Julius Posener (Berlin: Fröhlich und Kaufmann, 1981), pp. 168–82; cf. Deutsche Bauzeitung, No. 38, 1875, p. 190.

[39] Rudolf Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1962).

[40] Erich Konter, '"Architekten-Ausbildung" im Deutschen Reich', in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich: Kunst im Wandel der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. by Stephan Waetzold, Ekkehard Mai, and Hans Pohl (Berlin: Mann, 1982), pp. 285–308 (pp. 299–303).

[41] On the general plan for Berlin, cf. Dolff-Bonekämper, Million, and Pahl-Weber, *Das Hobrechtsche Berlin*.

[42] Cf. Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen*.

[43] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 84.

the planning process, was passed with an overwhelming majority. The motion was a triumph for its official signatory, Professor Reinhard Baumeister (1833-1917), and his collaborator: the resolution unmistakably bore Orth's handwriting.[44]

Strasbourg's mayor first arrived in Berlin only weeks after the assembly of the professional association.[45] Of the two men who stood out in the field of planning, it was Orth, not Baumeister, who capitalised on his recent acclaim. It was probably through the social circles of Berlin's Wilhelmsstrasse elite that Orth made the acquaintance of Back, a frequent visitor to the chancellery between 1874 and 1876. Bismarck's government had a strong interest in involving a planner who was known and trusted. The field of experts was not exactly large, and Orth possessed a soft power that Baumeister lacked: he was a Berliner – and exceptionally well-connected. In commissioning Orth for the new plan of Strasbourg, Back signalled to his superiors that the empire's voice was being heard.

In 1877, Orth presented Back with a finished plan for Strasbourg.[46] It was the result of several months' work in his office in Berlin, which had followed a visit to Strasbourg on Back's invitation. Orth proposed a complete redesign of Strasbourg. Boldly interventionist, he accompanied his plan for the extension with an ambitious redesign of the old city, widening, straightening existing streets, carving out new thoroughfares and public spaces.

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[44] Karl-Heinz Höffler, *Reinhard Baumeister, 1833-1917: Begründer der Wissenschaft vom Städtebau*, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Städtebau und Landesplanung der Universität Karlsruhe, 9, 2nd edn (Karlsruhe: Universität Karlsruhe, 1977), p. 19; Gerd Albers, *Zur Entwicklung der Stadtplanung in Europa. Begegnungen, Einflüsse, Verflechtungen*, Bauwelt Fundamente, 117 (Braunschweig and Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1997), p. 36.

[45] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 170–71.

[46] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 36, 38.

Orth's approach was discernibly Haussmannian.[47] The example of the Parisian *grands travaux* figured centrally in many architects' imagination.[48] Orth had long admired Haussmann.[49] And like Haussmann's redesign of Paris, Orth's plan for Strasbourg placed an emphasis on representational public spaces and landmark buildings. His remodelling of the city centre was structured around three key points: the city's famous cathedral, and its two largest squares. He excavated these spaces out of the medieval urban fabric and appropriated them as visual *leitmotifs,* widening connecting vistas and cutting major traffic links between. Likewise, the new parts of Strasbourg were tailored around a web of new public and sacred buildings. Representational motivations dominated the design.

Orth treated the city as a coherent whole. His design made no distinctions between the existing and the new parts of Strasbourg. Existing traffic arteries continued into the extension area. The *Kaiserplatz,* the new representative centre of Strasbourg, evolved seamlessly out of an axis that united it with the old city squares. Strasbourg's new districts, formed of small, irregular building blocks, echoed the spatial rhythm of the old centre. Orth eschewed parallel streets and perpendicular axes; instead, he delighted in the complexity of sharp angles and radial nodes. All of this made his plan a painstakingly mannered exercise which appeared, at first glance, bewilderingly complex.

[47] Jean-Louis Cohen, 'L'encyclopédie et le palimpseste', in *Laboratoire d'Europe, Strasbourg 1880-1930*, ed. by Joëlle Pijaudier-Cabot and Roland Recht (Strasbourg: Éditions des Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, 2017), pp. 36–45 (p. 42).
[48] Duby and Agulhon, *Histoire de la France urbaine,* IV, p. 174.
[49] Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth', p. 275.

Figure 4: With its boldly interventionist aesthetics, August Orth's plan for Strasbourg bore unmistakeably Haussmannian traits. Credit: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 12.68, 70 (1878).

Orth's plan derived its meaning from attention to the city's supposedly 'German' history. In emphasizing the unity between old and new Strasbourg, Orth catered to a nationalist narrative that cast the city's annexation as the overdue return to a German empire. Supporters of this idea, such as the historians Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) and Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896), had played a key role in legitimising the annexation of 1871.[50] In their view, Strasbourg was an historically German city; the French annexation of 1681 had removed it from its rightful ethnic and cultural belonging. Treitschke wrote of the Alsatians, 'we shall command them by the power of a higher right: the right of the German nation, which cannot allow its prodigal sons forever to estrange themselves from the German Empire'.[51]

Orth knew that Bismarck's government had a strong interest in furthering this narrative. If Strasbourg would become a hinge around which the old and new empire revolved, this would not only support the controversial annexation, but in turn strengthen the young empire's political legitimacy. Architecture was a key means to this end.[52] One of the most important examples of this strategy was Strasbourg's new station, completed 1883 on the commission of the Imperial Ministry for Railways. Its central hall, the nexus through which all passengers would pass, featured two giant frescoes by Hermann Knackfuß (1848-1915), a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, which juxtaposed historical scenes from the Holy Roman Empire with modern Germany. The first, entitled 'In the old

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[50] Diary of Leopold von Ranke, 2 December 1879, SW 53/54, Nachlass Edwin von Manteuffel, cf. Leopold von Ranke and Edwin von Manteuffel, *Die Arbeit selbst ist das Vergnügen: Briefwechsel und Schriften 1870-1884*, ed. by Ingrid Hecht (Halle (Saale): Projekte Verlag, 2005), pp. 145–46.

[51] Heinrich von Treitschke, 'Was fordern wir von Frankreich?', *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 26 (1870), 367–409.

[52] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* pp. 86–96.

Empire', showed the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa on horseback, conferring the imperial crown jewels to the castle of Hagenau/Haguenau, received by the Alsatian population with praise and thanks. Facing Barbarossa from the opposite wall was 'In the new Empire', depicting the Emperor Wilhelm on his first visit to Alsace, in 1877. His entourage consisted of the crown prince, Moltke, a selection of academics, historians, and Prussian politicians, among them a young Otto Back.[53]

In the official imagery sanctioned by Berlin, the old and new empire played off each other. The two pictures showed historical parallels in the manner of Renaissance juxtapositions of Old and New Testament scenes in which each lends the other new meaning. Both frescoes were structured correspondingly to imply congruence between the old and the new Germany. Barbarossa and his train appeared in medieval armour, Wilhelm and his followers in modern dress. What remained comparatively constant was the attire of the Alsatians. Knackfuß displayed youths in traditional Alsatian dress, symbols of a regional identity unperturbed by revolutions and ruptures of history. In the 'new Empire', the monarch's train approached from the left, a common composition in historical paintings; in the 'old', Barbarossa enters from the right. Through this move, the artist avoided clear directionality: he created an effect of rotation for the beholder in the centre of the hall, the impression of a circle closing.

The majority of travellers into Strasbourg, bureaucrats, military and public officials, professionals, and academics from all corners of Germany, would pass through under the two frescoes. The new station showed how seriously policymakers in Berlin took the history of imperial Strasbourg. Writing to his friend Manteuffel, the viceroy of Alsace-Lorraine in 1882, Ranke likened the task

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[53] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 195–96.

of governing Alsace to history-writing, 'the separation of the incidental and transitory, from the permanent.'[54] In Strasbourg, nation-building would go hand in hand with city-building. 'My sight and my hope,' he wrote, 'were set upon a time when you would have reconstructed Alsace', expanding the historiographical metaphor to an architectural one.[55]

By modernising Strasbourg, Orth planned at once to re-enliven a great national past. He was not the first artist to do so. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) architectural essay 'On German Architecture' (1772) encountered in Strasbourg the living, ''giant spirit of our elder brethren'.[56] Facing Strasbourg cathedral, the novelist Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) called it 'the mightiest symbol of German art and German greatness'.[57] And Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), Prussian court architect and founding father of Building Academy at Berlin, studied Strasbourg on the return from his grand tour, in the same year that saw the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. He spent countless hours in front of the cathedral, which he depicted with its missing second spire completed. It became the key inspiration of his designs for a monument to the Wars of Liberation.[58] Orth's education at the Building Academy followed in Schinkel's footsteps, his plan drew on a tradition of Prussian historicism. Like Ranke and Treitschke, he understood the new Strasbourg as a historical consequence of its German past: the words with which he introduced his plans -- 'that which must

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[54] Ranke to Manteuffel, 29 November 1882, in: Ranke and Manteuffel, *Briefwechsel,* p. 165.

[55] Ranke to Manteuffel, 10 January 1884, in: Ranke and Manteuffel, *Briefwechsel,* p. 171.

[56] Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Von deutscher Baukunst*, ed. by Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, Hessische Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur (Darmstadt: Gesellschaft Hessischer Literaturfreunde, 1989).

[57] Theodor Fontane, *Kriegsgefangen: Erlebtes 1870* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1962), p. 491.

[58] Alan Balfour, *Berlin: The Politics of Order, 1737-1989* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 30–40.

inevitably pass should pass in the right time and manner' – evoked forces beyond those of the designer.[59]

Figure 5: Public architecture played an important role in asserting the empire's claim to Alsace-Lorraine. Pictured here is the Emperor Wilhelm I, arriving at Strasbourg station in 1886. Credit: Biblithèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

[59] August Orth, *Entwurf zu einem Bebauungsplan für Strassburg, bearbeitet im Auftrage der Stadtverwaltung von August Orth, Königl. Baurath* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1878), p. 2.

1.3   Material Concerns

In the years that followed the annexation, urban planning in Strasbourg took a different turn than Germany's military leadership had expected. Local discontent had prompted Bismarck's imperial government to step up its involvement, wresting control over the planning process from Moltke's general staff. Representative ambitions, rather than military-strategic prerogatives, informed the plan designed by Berlin architect August Orth.

Over time, local elite opinion also became a force that the German government could not afford to ignore. The bourgeois citizens and municipal officials of Strasbourg were uneasy about the cost of the plans fostered in Berlin. They especially dreaded the enormous financial risks involved in Orth's Haussmannesque plans. To strengthen its bargaining position, the municipality commissioned its own rival project, as a more economical version of the plans emanating from Berlin. The municipality thus came to take on a more active role in the planning process than either Moltke or Bismarck had ever envisaged.

As security imperatives became less pressing, economy began to ascend the ladder of planning priorities. This waning of military influence was not limited to Strasbourg. Even in Sarajevo, which remained under military administration until 1882, officials quickly recognised the importance of a cost-saving approach. The military planners tasked with the urban redesign after the fire of 1879 prioritised economy over boldly representative ambitions. In doing so, they fell back on the technical knowledge created in international planning discourse. It was due to such lateral knowledge transfers, rather than to the prerogatives of imperial politics, that the development of Sarajevo was soon governed by the same principles as that of Strasbourg.

The Strasbourg commission was a milestone in Orth's budding planning career. He had been given the impression that he was the sole chosen designer of the new Strasbourg.[60] Only later did he learn that he was, in fact, merely participating in a competition. Back had invited a second architect to submit a proposal. Jean-Geoffrey Conrath (1824-1892), born in Strasbourg, studied at the Parisian *École des Beaux-Arts,* Europe's most prestigious architectural school, and graduated with a first-class award. He entered the service of the city of Strasbourg in 1849, as whose municipal architect he served for almost thirty years.[61] As an experienced practitioner, Conrath enjoyed the special trust of the mayor.

Orth and Conrath belonged to the same generation, both had studied at their respective nation's leading architectural school, and both were experienced in public architecture. Yet their submissions were markedly different. While Orth sought to unite old and new Strasbourg, Conrath focused exclusively on the extension. While Orth created complex geometries to emulate the medieval city, Conrath imposed a rectangular grid to cover the new parts of the city. Unlike Orth, he abstained from a direct intervention in the old city centre. The central square of his design did not, like Orth's, evolve out of the structure of the historical Strasbourg. Instead, it adhered to the overarching logic of the grid. His plan appeared both conclusive and pleasingly unlaboured.

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[60] Orth to Back, Berlin, 20 June 1867, AVES 152 MW 1, 26/6 Iª 982.

[61] Christiane Weber, 'Eine Deutsche Musterbauverwaltung entsteht: Das Stadtbauamt in Strassburg 1871-1918', in *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne. Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940*, ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 487–93 (p. 488); Klaus Nohlen, 'Introduction: La politique derrière les bâtiments', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), p. 149; Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 250.

Conrath deliberately refrained from meddling in the land ownership structures of the old Strasbourg. His plan made no attempt to smooth over the apparent ruptures between old and new city but displayed the modernity of the new parts with unfettered pride. Its long, straight avenues suggested progress and speed. Its dimensions dwarfed the old city: even the individual building blocks were generous, grand in comparison with the tight spacing of Orth's plan. Conrath' design, rather like Idelfons Cerdà's (1815-1876) plan for Barcelona, left the old city intact but embedded it in a larger grid.[62] He borrowed from the recent extension plan of Lille and from Vienna's Ringstrasse, whose construction was still under way.[63] His *Kaiserplatz* owes much to Gottfried Semper's *Kaiserforum,* the monumental square that linked the Habsburg Hofburg to the Ringstrasse.[64] Conrath may have been a provincial from the vantage point of Berlin, but intellectually he was at the helm of innovations in a quickly internationalising field. Like Orth's, his plan was a pioneering achievement, 'without doubt the first modern [urban] plan to have been conceived by a student of the *École des Beaux-Arts* of Paris'.[65]

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[62] On Cerda, see Ross, 'Down with the Walls! The Politics of Place in Spanish and German Urban Extension Planning'; Bénédict Leclerc, 'L'urbanisme à Strasbourg après 1880 sous le Stadtbaumeister Ott', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), p. 158.

[63] Bernard Gauthiez, 'L'extension de Strasbourg dans la perspective des extensions urbaines en Europe après 1850', in *Strasbourg: Un patrimoine urbain exceptionnel. De la Grande-Ile à la Neustadt*, ed. by Roland Ries (Lyon: Lieux Dits, 2013), pp. 229–38 (p. 229).

[64] Gauthiez, 'L'extension de Strasbourg', p. 229.

[65] Cohen, 'L'encyclopédie et le palimpseste', p. 41.

Figure 6: Jean-Geoffrey Conrath's plan embedded the old city in an overarching rectangular grid.

Credit: *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 12.68, 70 (1878).

Conrath, who had been in office long enough to have witnessed the failed attempts to redesign Strasbourg in the 1850s, knew of the difficulty of intervention in the city.[66] His plan refrained from alterations to the existing city and instead focused his modernising efforts to the extension. As someone who had adapted to revolutions, wars, and regime changes, Conrath was immune to the imperial symbolism that excited his competitor. He was also virtually unknown in Berlin. Unlike Orth, Conrath owed his commission not to the environs of central government, but to its local administration. The two competing architects were addressing different audiences.

On 20 May 1878, an exhibition opened in Strasbourg's town hall. The mayor, Otto Back, had decided to put the two plan proposals up for public inspection over a period of six weeks.[67] Citizens were invited to submit written comments on the designs to the municipality. As expected, the Strasbourgeois did not hold back from sharing their thoughts. Back received letters from members of the university, representatives of the regional health council, local entrepreneurs, the Rhine shipping industry, from property owners, concerned residents and pleading pensioners, and carefully collated their feedback.[68] The exhibition was not only intended to create accountability and display all due diligence. It was part of the mayor's strategy to mobilise external forces to shape a planning process over which he had, formally, no decisive power.

Back's municipal administration may have had no ultimate say on the plan, but it had strong vested interests. The municipality, not the empire, would have to implement the final plan, at considerable cost, which would depend on

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[66] Cf. Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 32.
[67] Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [I]', p. 344.
[68] AVES, 152 MW 3.

the chosen design. Many contemporaries viewed the terms of the contract between empire and municipality as severely biased. The agreed sum of 20 million mark, an almost unprecedented financial commitment for any local administration, had sparked controversy in the Reichstag.[69] Unlike the imperial government, the municipality had only limited access to borrowed capital. Many in the Alsatian capital were extremely nervous about the whole undertaking.[70] Jules Klein (1830-1897), sometime mayor of Strasbourg and a man who had very openly cooperated with the imperial administration, wrote a series of critical articles in the local newspaper *Elsässer Journal*.[71] Klein was fearful that the city had no history as a developer and pointed out that none of the local administration had entrepreneurial expertise required for work on this scale. He called the project 'speculation' and reported the nervousness of the council about the whole undertaking.[72] 'Had it been possible to entice the empire, by payment of a few millions, to take responsibility of the execution, one would have – even the leaders of the protest party assured me – readily made that sacrifice,' Back recalled later.[73] In truth, the mayor was seriously doubtful whether he would ever be able to service its payment obligations to the imperial government.[74] As things

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[69] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* p. 160.

[70] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 88; Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 159–77; S. Hausmann, 'Einleitung', in *Strassburg und seine Bauten*, ed. by Architekten- und Ingenieurverein für Elsass-Lothringen (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1894), pp. 383–84; Stefan Fisch, 'Planung als Eigentumsbeschränkung in der Obrigkeitsstadt: Bemerkungen zur Straßburger Stadtentwicklung 1871-1918', in *Stadtentwicklung im deutsch-französisch-luxemburgischen Grenzraum (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Rolf Wittenbrock and Rainer Hudemann, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volksforschung, 21 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druck und Verlag, 1991), pp. 179–98 (pp. 179–80).

[71] Jules Klein, *Briefe über die Stadterweiterung und die Budgetfrage*, Elsässer Journal (1876), quoted in Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 167-68.

[72] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* p. 167.

[73] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* p. 169.

[74] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 169–78.

stood, the whole sum would have to be paid for from the resale of the developed building plots. Back therefore had an interest in keeping costs down and maximising resale value.

Most citizens who owned land in the extension area shared these priorities. Back received numerous comments to that effect in the public consultation process. Of the two plans, Conrath's grid was not only simpler, but also cheaper to execute and easier to market than Orth's, with its complex street layout and generous provisions for representational public spaces and buildings. Orth, who had long been under the impression that he was designing for the imperial government, or at least for its direct subordinates, had given understandably low priority to the economic interests of the local bourgeoisie, or the municipal coffers. The consequences were palpable: for example, while Orth's radial thoroughfares produced inconveniently shaped individual plots, Conrath's rectilinear grid would maximise easily marketable building surface. As the local landowner Charles Lobstein put it in his comment, 'the greatest merit in Mr Conrath's project lies in its respect for the right angle throughout his streets network. We should not forget the importance of this disposition for the utilisation of the building land. Mr Orth's project has infinitely more sharp angles,' so that its adaption would result in 'much lower value from the re-sale of the plots.'[75] Baumeister called Orth's project 'awkward'.[76] Jules Sengenwald, the director of the local chamber of commerce, an institution with immense economic and social power, agreed. Though he enjoyed aesthetic aspects of Orth's design, he feared the costs of its implementation. Strasbourg's citizens were much

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[75] Lobstein to Back, Strasbourg, 31 May 1878, AVES, 152 MW 3.
[76] Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [I]', p. 346.

more concerned about the economic implications of the plan than about its imperial symbolism.
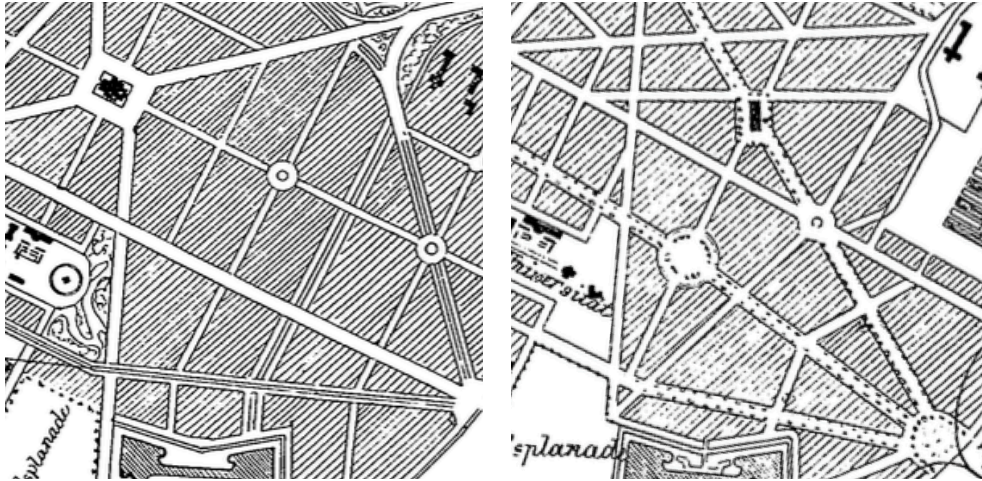
Figure 7: Property owners and liberals preferred Conrath's cost-saving grid *(left)* to Orth's boldly interventionist design *(right),* which was favoured by the imperial executive. Credit: *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 12.68, 70 (1878).

Strasbourg's mayor could not openly rebel against Orth's plans, let alone object to Berlin's adjudicative authority. He was much less likely, however, to be blamed for a process which appeared to demonstrate due diligence: Back showed a sound instinct in his appointments to the judging panel. Local stakeholders joined the jury alongside external specialists. As their most eminent, Back had invited a man who would prove, incidentally, Orth's most vociferous critic and a staunch supporter of Conrath's plan: Reinhard Baumeister. The budding planning theorist from nearby Karlsruhe knew Strasbourg, and he knew Orth. Together the two men had shaped the seminal memorandum on urban planning put before the national convention of architects and engineers in Berlin in

September 1874.[77] But when they reconvened in Strasbourg four years later, the erstwhile brothers-in-arms became sparring partners.

Baumeister lent intellectual legitimacy to local economic interests. In his recently published *Stadt-Erweiterungen* (1876) he had argued that urban plans should prioritise material prosperity over representative purposes.[78] Interventions in private property rights, Baumeister argued, should be kept to an absolute minimum, and were only acceptable for technical reasons. Orth's interventionist design appeared to him an attack on the principle of economy. His colleague Andreas Meyer (1837-1901), like Baumeister a son of the Hanseatic bourgeoisie and graduate of the Hanover Polytechnic, joined the attack. He argued that Orth's plans 'destroy and devalue [...] the entire new, exquisitely situated, building terrain,' calling the manner in which Orth 'forced' his streets and squares into symmetry 'perverted' and unnecessarily expensive.[79] By contrast, the rectilinear grid, as Conrath was proposing, was widely recognised as the most efficient way of laying out a new city.[80] It was, in the words of one of Baumeister's colleagues, 'exceptionally clear, exceptionally systematic'.[81] The grid produced blocks of invariant shape and dimension, with minimal traffic areas for maximum development surface. Rectangular plots could be marketed and sold more easily

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[77] Höffler, *Reinhard Baumeister,* p. 19.

[78] Reinhard Baumeister, *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirthschaftlicher Beziehung* (Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1876).

[79] 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes für die Stadt Straßburg', Strasbourg, 22-28 September 1878, AVES, 159 MW 102, p. 33.

[80] On Pierre L'Enfant's plan for Washington, DC. cf. Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), pp. 109–10; on Idelfonso Cerda's plan for Madrid cf. Ross, 'Down with the Walls! The Politics of Place in Spanish and German Urban Extension Planning', p. 308.

[81] 'Separatvotum bezüglich eines Platzes für große öffentliche Monumentalbauten im Bebauungsplan für Straßburg', Appendix 5 in: 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes für die Stadt Straßburg', Strasbourg, 22-28 September 1878, AVES, 159 MW 102, p. 96.

than irregular ones. Baumeister's own extension plans, for Heilbronn (1873) and Mannheim (1872) had also made extensive use of this system. The rational grid, as in Conrath's plan, protected the city from the whims of planners and government alike. It prescribed no particular aesthetic vision but left the urban form to its inherent economic forces.

Figure 8: Reinhard Baumeister's urban plans, such as that of Heilbronn, pictured above, made extensive use of what he called the 'rectangular system', and what has since variously been referred to as checkerboard or gridiron planning. Credit: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn.

Orth, by contrast, was a self-avowed 'enemy of the Mannheim checkerboard plan'.[82] He made it his mission to contest Baumeister's preference for the grid, maintaining that artistic considerations should take precedent over the immediate maximisation of profits. He argued that the value gained from beautiful streets and squares would more than make up for the potential loss in marketable building surface. In his presentation, Orth invoked aesthetic principles, insisting on 'appropriate artistic design' above practical or economic priorities.[83] A renowned competition designer and creator of representative architecture, Orth was used to generous budgets and ambitious clients, but not accustomed to economy of means.

Political backgrounds deepened these economic fault lines. Baumeister and Orth belonged to the same generation; both were children of 1848, albeit in very different respects. Baumeister was part of an eminent family of liberal professionals from Hanseatic Hamburg. His uncle had been the chief engineer of the city's port; his father, a lawyer, the first president of Hamburg's democratic citizens' assembly in 1848.[84] In the aftermath of the revolution, Reinhard Baumeister left his alma mater at Hanover for Karlsruhe, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden, a renowned bastion of liberalism and the only German state to have been governed, albeit briefly, by a democratic government in 1849. It is not without reason that Baumeister made his career there: Baden's liberal,

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[82] 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes', pp. 30-31.
[83] Ibid., p. 33.
[84] Ulrich Maximilian Schumann, *Hommage an Reinhard Baumeister: Pionier der modernen Stadtplanung*, ed. by Regionalverband Mittlerer Oberrhein, Reinhard Baumeister Reihe (Bad Saulgau: Triglyph Verlag, 2017), XIII; Höffler, *Reinhard Baumeister*; Wilhelm Strickler, 'Reinhard Baumeister', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), 656; 'Geheimer Rat Professor Dr. Baumeister gestorben', *Badische Presse* (Karlsruhe, 12 December 1917), p. 3; Fritz Eiselen, 'Zum 70. Geburtstage von R. Baumeister', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 37.22 (1903), 142–44.

devolutionist reforms empowered democratically governed municipalities to pass and implement their own urban plans after the 1848 revolution. Its progressive planning system would inspire other German states to emulate the Grand Duchy.[85]

Orth's career followed a very different trajectory. A provincial by birth, his training and career had brought him ever closer to the Prussian throne. He moved to Berlin in the immediate aftermath of the revolution and joined the prestigious Building Academy, the incubator for future Prussian court architects. Rather tellingly, he won his first competition victory with a design for a 'princely residence', which gained him the academy's prestigious Schinkel prize in 1852. He owed his ultimate breakthrough to none other than Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795-1861), the elder brother of the later Emperor Wilhelm I.[86] While Baumeister, a liberal, made Karlsruhe his new home, about as far from Berlin as one could get in Germany, Orth never strayed far from the seat of the Hohenzollerns.

Economic and political fault lines underlay the jury's debates, and in particular, the controversy between Orth and Baumeister. The two experts found no common ground in Strasbourg. They also thought and spoke about planning

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[85] Albers, *Zur Entwicklung der Stadtplanung*, p. 35.

[86] Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth'; cf. Angela Nickel, 'Ein Architekt im Übergang: August Orth (1828-1901)', *Berlinische Monatsschrift des Luisenstädtischer Bildungsvereins*, 3 (1996), 36–42; Elke Herden, *Kirchen für die moderne Großstadt: Der Beitrag August Orths zum protestantischen Kirchenbau im Berlin des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Arbeitshefte des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der Technischen Universität Berlin, 38 (Berlin: Technische Universitäts-Bibliothek, 1988); Harald Bodenschatz, 'Der Beitrag August Orths (1828-1901) zur Reorganisation der inneren Stadt Berlins', in *Städtebaureform 1865-1900: Von Licht, Luft und Ordnung in der Stadt der Gründerzeit*, ed. by Juan Rodríguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl, Stadt, Planung, Geschichte, 5 (Hamburg: Christians, 1985), pp. 481–506; Günther Hahn, 'Entwürfe eines Architekten aus der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: August Orth' (doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Berlin, 1953); Gustav Ebe, *August Orth: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1904).

in different terms. Where Baumeister excelled in technical questions, revelled in details of canalisation, sewage, street profiles, policing, and fire regulations – in which his expertise was unrivalled – Orth lacked the suitable terminology to engage in a meaningful conversation. Where Orth stressed the finer qualities of his plan, emphasizing the 'organic' development of its streets and squares, or invoking 'artistic considerations', Baumeister refused to engage in such debate.

When Orth and Baumeister did use the same terms during the jury's sessions, they often meant different things. A key term in the debate was the notion of the 'organic' city. It had been popularised most recently by the architect Heinrich von Ferstel (1828-1883) in his essay on the future of Vienna.[87] Orth, too, made extensive reference to organicism during the jury's meetings. His insistence on 'organic' urban development implied that planners should be in complete control of all aspects of a city's harmonious expansion. As we have seen, his design for Strasbourg worked hard to weave together the old and the new city into a continuous whole. Baumeister, too, had written of 'organic' urban development in his recent book.[88] But for him, 'organic' development rested on the freedom of economic actors to invest and build freely and safe from the whims of the political executive. The planner's task was not to control urban form through design, but to put in place reliable mechanisms to unleash the city's inherent growth.

His disdain for aesthetic considerations was more than a matter of mere personal disposition: it was programmatic; Baumeister was not a philistine. His first book, *Architektonische Formenlehre für Ingenieure* (1866), had sought to

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[87] *Anthologie zum Städtebau: Ein Forschungsprojekt der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule Zürich*, ed. by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, Katia Frey, and Eliana Perotti, 2 vols (Berlin: Mann, 2014), p. 10.
[88] Lampugnani, Frey, and Perotti, *Anthologie zum Städtebau,* p. 33.

bridge the gap between engineering and fine art. In it, the budding academic attempted to enlighten engineers on architectural form, demonstrating his mastery of the era's most pertinent aesthetic questions. However, in his planning treatise, published a decade later, Baumeister shunned aesthetic terminology altogether.[89] He simply refused to acknowledge such concepts as valid criteria. Not once in his treatise did he address the visual implications of planning. And not once in the course of the week-long adjudication for Strasbourg did he refer to art or aesthetics.

As Germany's preeminent planning theorist, Baumeister's career would depend on his ability to establish planning as a widely acknowledged discipline. Technicisation was his best option. It is for these reasons that he developed a specialist, scientific vocabulary of planning, with its concomitant concepts and methods that located planning in its 'technical, structural, and economic' context.[90] His hopes were set on Germany's polytechnics, colleges of higher education modelled on the Parisian *École polytechnic* of the French Revolution. The polytechnic model proved vastly popular in Germany too: polytechnics in Munich, Aachen, Karlsruhe, and Hanover attracted unprecedented numbers of students. Many, like Karlsruhe, were elevated to the rank of technical universities.[91] Baumeister, himself a product of polytechnical education, could sense their potential. Quite recently, Germany's polytechnics had institutionalised the split between architecture and engineering.[92] Baumeister

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[89] Baumeister, *Stadt-Erweiterungen*.
[90] Baumeister, *Stadt-Erweiterungen*.
[91] Konter, '"Architekten-Ausbildung" im Deutschen Reich', p. 301.
[92] Konter, '"Architekten-Ausbildung" im Deutschen Reich'.

hoped that they would similarly aid the emancipation of an independent, specialist planning discipline.[93]

It was a matter of professional pride for Orth to resist Baumeister's specialist language games. Nothing was further from him than acknowledging an independent discipline of planning, let alone a technical or even scientific one. Planning, in his opinion, belonged to the echelons of high art. The Berlin Building Academy, Orth's alma mater, trained its students as universalists, as one contemporary put it, 'representatives of the state organism' dedicated to 'the accomplishment of the ideals of the true, good, and beautiful'.[94] It was one of few institutions of higher education in Germany that still made no distinction between architecture and engineering. At the time of the Strasbourg competition, it was fighting off government attempts to turn it into a 'Latin-less' technical university. Fiercely determined to resist technical specialisation, the school insisted on producing not technicians but so-called Master Builders *(Baumeister)* in the tradition of Prussian court architecture.[95]

The resistance to technical specialisation was a matter of material interests to Building Academy graduates like Orth. After the crash of 1873, when opportunities in the private economy became sparse and civil service position were far and few between, academicians faced competition from ever-increasing numbers of technically educated professionals. Orth became a leading voice of academic conservatives. A prominent member of the Berlin Association of Architects *(Architekten-Verein zu Berlin),* in 1879 he would found a rival group to support the interest of academically trained architects who saw themselves

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[93] Eiselen, 'Zum 70. Geburtstage von R. Baumeister', p. 142.
[94] Quoted after Konter, '"Architekten-Ausbildung" im Deutschen Reich', p. 293.
[95] See Konter, '"Architekten-Ausbildung" im Deutschen Reich'.

threatened by increasing competition from those with inferior formal education.[96]

Orth and Baumeister supported different claims to planning: Baumeister as a technician, Orth as an artist. Orth, like many fellow academicians, was not only an architect but also a trained painter (he had studied at art colleges in Brunswick, Berlin, and Munich alongside his architectural education) and he understood himself as a visual artist above anything else.[97] The fact that Baumeister stubbornly referred to him as a 'technician' *(Techniker)* in an article in *Deutsche Bauzeitung* suggests that the question of professional authority played a fundamental role in the Strasbourg competition. It seems ironic that both of the main combatants held the appellation *Baumeister:* one as his family name, the other by public examination in the Kingdom of Prussia.

In the event, Orth did not get off to a promising start. The first meeting of the jury opened with a debate on the question of a new port. This was a strategic issue for many of the present industrialists and entrepreneurs. If Strasbourg was to strengthen its trade links with the rest of Germany, the Rhine would play a key role in connecting it to the empire's industrial heartlands downstream. Orth was first up, forced to defend his design of an inner-city port against an alternative proposal from the coal merchants Deuter and Ulrich.[98] His competitor Conrath had, on Back's explicit request, refrained from including a detailed port design in his plans.[99] A final decision was adjourned to the following morning.[100]

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[96] Cf. *Wechselhafte Zeiten: Fünf Ansichten aus 100 Jahren BDA Berlin*, ed. by Ulrich Brinkmann (Berlin: Bund Deutscher Architekten, 2015).
[97] Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth', p. 273.
[98] 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes für die Stadt Straßburg', p. 5.
[99] Ibid. p. 2.
[100] Ibid. p. 14.

Conrath commenced the next meeting with his presentation on a potential port development near the railway lines in the city's south. Baumeister strongly supported the idea, and Meyer sided with him, before Back concluded the discussion. A vote among the jury ruled 'almost unanimously' in favour of Conrath's plans.[101] Rather than move on to wider aesthetic questions, the jury turned to yet another technical subject in the afternoon. Conrath presented his proposal for the inner-city waterways. His design of an embankment along the river Ill contrasted with Orth's more costly version of a promenade on either side; the concluding vote again went in favour of Conrath.[102]

Bit by bit the commission discussed, then voted on, separate aspects of the extension, while Back abstained from active participation. Over the course of six days, every element of the plan was systematically covered. Orth's plan, which relied on a delicate balance of parts, did not lend itself easily to piecemeal alterations. His competitor had deliberately delivered a blueprint. Orth, by contrast, conceived of his plan as a fine-tuned, coherent artistic product. He was growing noticeably less agreeable by the day. When the discussion finally reached Orth's real strong points – the aesthetic arrangement of public spaces, streets, and greenery – the essence of his original design had been compromised almost beyond recognition.

As the days progressed, Orth was increasingly unable, or unwilling, or both, to partake in a discussion on Baumeister's terms. As a result, not only did Baumeister manage to dominate the jury with his technical language, but also with

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[101] Ibid. pp. 15-18.
[102] Ibid. pp. 19-20.

his particular methodology.[103] It had been his idea to tackle the technical aspects of the extension upfront. In his *Deutsche Bauzeitung* article, which appeared a few weeks before the jury's convention, Baumeister had suggested that the questions of port, canalisation, river regulation, and sanitation were the pivotal issues of the new Strasbourg, on whose resolution all further specifics of an extension depended. [104] In designing the agenda for the judging panel, Back had almost directly adopted these priorities.

The aim of the public competition was much less to appoint a winner than to agree an indisputable compromise. Back had tailored the proceedings carefully to such a compromise: jury votes were never framed as a head-to-head between two rival designs, but instead treated as decisions on specific technical problems. Neither of the entrants were awarded a prize. The consolidated, final plan was elaborated by the municipal building department, considering the comments from the jury. This plan, a local power-grab in disguise, bore much closer resemblance to Conrath's design than that of his competitor from Berlin. Orth had not only had an entirely unsatisfactory week in Strasbourg, but he also returned to the capital curiously unable to voice his frustration. He could scarcely protest against the work of a commission in which he himself had played a key role. Orth's only remaining strategy to save face was to claim success. Years later, he still maintained that the final plan for Strasbourg bore his own handwriting.[105]

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[103] Hartmut Frank, 'La Naissance d'une nouvelle discipline: le plan d'extension Strasbourgeois se 1880 et l'urbanisme en Allemagne', in *Strasbourg: Un patrimoine urbain exceptionnel. De la Grande-Ile à la Neustadt*, ed. by Roland Ries (Lyon: Lieux Dits, 2013), pp. 219–28 (p. 223).
[104] Reinhard Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [II]', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 12.70 (1878), 356–57 (p. 356).
[105] Johann Karl Ott to Orth, Strasbourg, 21 October 1895, AVES, 152 MW 4.

It has occasionally been referred to as 'Orth-Conrath' even though it was arguably the much more of the latter.[106]

Back's strategy proved a success. When the outcome of the competition was communicated to Berlin, the project had progressed too far under the eyes of a scrutinising public than to allow for major changes. While the Ministry of War held manifold objections to the plan, it proved unable to effect substantial alterations. Conrath negotiated directly with the planners of the ministry to resolve its long catalogue of complaints. By this point, the municipal architect had the legitimacy of the public consultation process, the competition, and the debate in the professional association behind him. The plan that was eventually agreed showed only minor departures from Conrath's initial submission. Baumeister had been right in 1876 when he understood the plan as a binding contract between all stakeholders in the city, noting that 'drawn law should be as sacrosanct as written law'.[107]

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[106] Kerdilès Weiler, *Limites urbaines de Strasbourg,* p. 43.
[107] Baumeister, *Stadt-Erweiterungen*, p. 87.

Figure 9: The approved, final plan bears close resemblance to Jean-Geoffrey Conrath's design. It relies heavily on the checker-board system. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

The 1878 planning competition for Strasbourg was among the first such competitions in history.[108] According to Peter Breitling, there had been only five cities that had witnessed competitions for general plans: St. Petersburg (1763), Vienna (1858), Brünn/Brno (1861), Budapest (1871) and Mannheim (1872), where Baumeister had provided the winning entry.[109] Only in the final two decades of the nineteenth century did planning competitions become the norm,

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[108] Albers, *Zur Entwicklung der Stadtplanung,* p. 36; Peter Breitling, 'The Role of the Competition in the Genesis of Urban Planning: Germany and Austria in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914*, ed. by Anthony Sutcliffe, Planning and the Environment in the Modern World, 1 (London: Mansell, 1980), pp. 31–54.
[109] Breitling, 'The Role of the Competition', p. 33.

a demand first raised in architectural circles in Vienna in 1848. [110] After Strasbourg, international planning competitions followed in quick succession, in Dresden and Aachen (1878), Cologne (1880), Zurich and Kassel (1883), Dessau (1888), Hanover (1891), Munich and Vienna (1893), further adding to the opportunities of experts like Baumeister and Stübben, and a whole generation of younger planners.[111] The competitive setting unfolded a new dynamism in the public sphere. When it became evident that he was up against a rival, Orth published his competition entry in book form, sent copies to dozens of people in powerful positions and presented his work to the Berlin association of architects.[112] Baumeister, likewise, tried to garner support for his views through new media. His review of the competition entries in *Deutsche Bauzeitung* was the first time that a planning competition found in-depth reception in the official organ of the profession.[113] Orth, who felt ill-treated by Baumeister's articles, submitted a lengthy reply to the same journal, which was also duly published.[114]

The Strasbourg competition witnessed the emergence of a new kind of publicity around urban planning. Mayor Otto Back did all he could to fuel public interest and media coverage. He shared the plans freely, both with the press and local audiences and actively encouraged feedback from the local public.[115] He took detailed minutes of the competition jury and had them widely distributed among his superiors and experts across the German empire. Back took these pains for several reasons. First, the process was designed to cover his own back. Second,

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[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] AdBR, 5 AL 77.

[113] Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [I]'; Baumeister, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg [II]'.

[114] August Orth, 'Die Stadterweiterung von Straßburg', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 12.84 (1878), 428–30.

[115] AVES, 152 MW 3.

his publicity strategy functioned as a commitment device vis-à-vis Berlin. The mayor hoped that the imperial government would not meddle with a plan that had been elaborated under the eyes of an observant local and national public. He designed the judging process to include a deliberately wide cross-section of local stakeholders. Some, like the entrepreneur Alfred Herrenschmidt, Strasbourg's largest employer, reacted with puzzlement to the proposal that they should join a judging panel for an urban plan.[116] Back wanted him not for his expertise in urban planning: he knew he had none. His aim was to broker a consensus that involved as many stakeholders as possible. Experts from Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Hamburg, Mainz and, importantly, Berlin lent weight to the panel. Back also ensured that the minutes of the competition were meticulously kept, appended with written feedback from the experts, and duly published. Copies of these minutes were then sent to a great number of politicians and planning experts across the German empire.[117]

Strasbourg thus played a pivotal role in creating the networks that would govern urban planning. The planning competition of 1878 was one of the first occasions that drew together Germany's emergent civilian planning experts. Judging the plans for Strasbourg allowed these specialists to exchange their prior experiences and test their recent ideas, helping them also to build their lasting reputation in professional and administrative circles. Several of these men, like Eduard Kreyßig (1830-1897), went on to influential careers in urban planning, in whose process they also exported the key takeaways from Strasbourg to other German cities. As chief planner of Mainz, Kreyßig oversaw another major urban extension, involving the erasure of the fortifications that had become redundant

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[116] Alfred Herrenschmidt to Back, Strasbourg, 18 September 1878, AVES, 159 MW 102.
[117] Joseph Stübben to Johann Karl Ott, Cologne, 11 August 1890, AVES, 152 MW 2.

after the Franco-German War, and the tripling of that city's size, between 1877 and 1893. Another important authority influenced by Strasbourg was Kreyßig's colleague Joseph Stübben (1845-1936), later chief planner of Cologne, who gratefully received a copy of the competition minutes in 1878.[118] Stübben was so impressed by Conrath's plan that he featured it in his book *Der Städtebau,* which appeared in Darmstadt in 1890, establishing his reputation as Germany's leading planning expert alongside Baumeister.[119]

The person who benefitted most from Strasbourg was Reinhard Baumeister. The competition enabled him not only to test the efficacy of his arguments, but also to raise the profile of his technical approach to urban planning. Partly as a result of his success in Strasbourg, Baumeister's book *Stadt-Erweiterungen* would remain the standard work for decades. He rose in the ranks of the newly-declared Technical University of Karlsruhe, serving as its rector several times, and he was finally able to offer a first lecture series on planning there in the 1880s.[120] Germany's polytechnics, rather than fine art academies, became the vanguard of the planning discipline, eventually producing dedicated professorships, lecture courses and even university degrees in planning; the first across Europe.[121] Baumeister became proliferate in his involvement in competition panels, expert conferences and professional associations. His designs, such as his general plans for Altona and Mannheim, featured at major planning conferences and exhibitions. By 1910, he had published no fewer than 34 books, reports, or journal articles on subjects ranging from planning law and public

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Josef Stübben, *Der Städtebau*, Handbuch der Architektur, 9 (Darmstadt, 1890).

[120] Eiselen, 'Zum 70. Geburtstage von R. Baumeister'; Lampugnani, Frey, and Perotti, *Anthologie zum Städtebau,* p. 32.

[121] Sigrid Brandt, *Stadtbaukunst: Methoden ihrer Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler, 2015), pp. 71–73.

hygiene to railway infrastructure, bridges, housing, water supply, street design, and street cleaning.[122]

The controversy around Strasbourg marked an important step towards the consolidation of urban planning as an intellectual field. It aided the emergence of universally applicable planning principles – principles that governed, for instance, how to create a plan that satisfied the demands of commerce and traffic in the most economical way. Economy, the next section will show, became a key objective among planners.

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[122] *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums 1700-1910*, ed. by Hilmar Schmuck and Willi Gorzny, 396 vols (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1979), IX, pp. 194–95.

1.4   The Economical City

In the 1870s, Germany saw the development of an increasingly robust body of technical knowledge in urban planning. This knowledge spread quickly. Before too long, the principles formulated by planning experts like Baumeister resonated in cities across central Europe. One example of this process was Sarajevo. In 1879, while government officials in Berlin were finalising plans for Strasbourg, Austro-Hungarian officials in Sarajevo began planning for the transformation of their own regional capital.

Urban planning in the two cities followed similar rationales. The plans for German Strasbourg resembled those for Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo in several respects. Both cities boasted vast, grid-shaped plans in their outer districts, while the structures of the inner city remained untouched. In both cities, grand aesthetic gestures were eschewed in favour of a more pragmatic design concept.

The reasons for this resemblance lay, above all, in economy. Like the municipal administration in Strasbourg, the Austro-Hungarian regional government in Sarajevo would have to bear the brunt of any costly urban planning project. This situation prompted the government to adopt a rather more economical approach than their counterparts in Berlin had done in Strasbourg. In so doing, the government internalised many of the cost-saving principles that had been dear to bourgeois citizens and liberal planning experts. In short, the government retained control of the planning process, but it was forced by economic considerations to align itself closely to the material interests of bourgeois citizens, as formalised in the works of expert planners like Baumeister.

Urban transformation in Strasbourg and Sarajevo responded to similar pressures. Military conquest and occupation had made both cities into fast-growing regional capitals of the two central European empires. Both cities had to house a host of institutions of the military and civilian administration, large troop contingents and an unprecedented influx of migrants. By the end of the 1870s, there were planning processes under way in both cities to extend the existing urban fabric, and to re-shape the old city centres.

There were important political differences between Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In Strasbourg, the municipality steadily stepped up its role urban planning. Its strong tradition of local democracy meant that Bismarck's imperial government was able to devolve much of the planning process to the municipality. Sarajevo, by contrast, had no strong municipal institutions to take on the burdensome task of urban planning. Founded in 1876, the city council was a very young institution. Its municipal leadership consisted of bourgeois citizens, unlike in Strasbourg, where the municipal administration was run by public administration professionals from 1873. What is more, the municipality of Sarajevo lacked the generous capital reserves that Strasbourg had accumulated during the boom years of the 1850s and 1860s. The municipality of Sarajevo was unable, therefore, to take an active role in the complex and costly business of urban planning. It was the government, consequently, not the municipality, that took charge of the plan design.

The cost of an urban transformation posed a financial challenge to the government. The occupation, with its resulting exodus of economic and

intellectual elites, had stripped Sarajevo of some of its most valuable resources.[123] The need to accommodate large troop contingents was depleting the resources of the Austro-Hungarian military administration. In 1878, the army was struggling to maintain even the most basic public services. And while politicians in Vienna and Budapest had shown great enthusiasm for the Bosnian Campaign, there was less consensus on how the occupied provinces should be financed.[124] Many feared that Bosnia-Herzegovina could become a drain on the imperial budget.[125] In 1880, Austria and Hungary passed separate laws that subjected Bosnia-Herzegovina to a strict self-financing constraint.[126] 'The administration of these lands', an imperial decree stipulated, 'must be established in such a manner that their expenses be covered by their own revenues'.[127] Any extra funding, for instance for infrastructural projects such as for railways and public buildings, was contingent on the approval of both the Austrian Parliament and the Hungarian Diet, a process so laborious that it was rarely put into practice. Any budget deficit would require the approval of both state parliaments. Strasbourg, by contrast, enjoyed access to French war reparations, which put Germany ahead of Austria-Hungary, whose military defeats, and territorial losses in 1859 and 1866 left the

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[123] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 187–92; Martha Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914),* Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 73 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1987).

[124] Valerie Heuberger and Heinz Ilming, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878-1918* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 1994), pp. 22–23.

[125] Redslob, *Abhängige Länder,* p. 219.

[126] Austrian law from 22 February 1880, Hungarian legal article VI ex 1880, cf. Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, 1914), p. 754; Mustafa Imamović, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Evolution of Its Political and Legal Institutions,* ed. by Francine Friedman, trans. by Risa Risaluddin (Sarajevo: Magistrat, 2006), p. 208; Ernest Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler: 40 Jahre österreichische Verwaltung in Bosnien-Herzegowina* (Vienna: Herold, 1971), p. 117.

[127] Quoted after Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-2011* (New York: Penguin, 2000), p. 273.

Habsburg treasury little room for manoeuvre. What is more, Sarajevo had no established banking sector. Public finance became increasingly difficult to obtain amid intensifying rivalries between Austria and Hungary over Bosnia-Herzegovina towards the end of the century.[128] As a result, tax income remained the only significant source of government revenue.

Economic challenges shaped the development of Sarajevo. Faced with limited budgets, policy makers understood urban planning as an element of economic policy. By 1878, property was becoming a major source of government revenue in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In what follows, it will be shown how the tax system, a legacy of the Ottoman Tanzimat reforms, influenced the outcomes of Habsburg urban planning in Sarajevo. The government's tight budget constraints, its limited ability to access external finance, and the resultant need to maximise tax revenue, it will be argued, had direct implications for the physical development of Sarajevo. Its urban plan was, in part, a product of the way in which the public administration was funded.

One central factor in the transformation of Sarajevo was taxation. Seminal, in this regard, were changes in the way tax revenue was raised. Until 1850, there had been two major sources of public revenue: tithes and lump-sum levies. The system of tithes was founded on the legal particularities of the Ottoman property system, in which publicly owned land *(miri)* was bestowed, notionally, by the sultan upon his subjects. In return, these individuals had to submit a portion of their agricultural crop. The rate ranged from ten to fifty percent, depending on the individual's faith. The Muslim portion of the population was the most lightly taxed. Tithes were originally collected by local nobles; after the

[128] Aydin Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 138–39.

abolition of fiefdom in the seventeenth century, the state claimed tithes centrally.[129] Tithes were complemented by lump-sum levies *(Sulus verghia)*. These levies were set by the government for each district of the Eyalet Bosnia. The district administrations passed them on to individual communities. Local elders' councils *(medžlis)* partitioned these levies between individual households.[130] By the mid-nineteenth century, this system was lacking on two accounts. The tithe system relied on payment in kind, which was becoming increasingly difficult to administer.[131] And the lump-sum levies, subject to negotiation rather than transparent rules, were not directly contingent on individuals' wealth or income.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman empire began to transition from a feudal regime of dues to a modern, centralised tax system.[132] In 1839, an imperial decree, known as the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of Gülhane, introduced, among other innovations, a standard system for the calculation and collection of taxes. It had chiefly been the work of Mustafa Raşid Paşa (1800-1858), the Ottoman ambassador in Paris. Across the Ottoman empire, the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of Gülhane met severe opposition from Muslims. In Bosnia, it led to a series of protests and local uprisings, which intensified in 1848 and 1849, sparking fears that the revolution from the neighbouring Austrian regions of Croatia and Vojvodina would spread into the region. In 1850, the sultan dispatched imperial marshal *(müşir)* and commander in chief *(serasker)* Omer Paşa-Latas (1806-1871) to pacify Bosnia and enforce the Tanzimat reforms there. Latas, an ex-cadet of the Habsburg army and a convert to Islam, had proven his ruthlessness and efficacy by putting out

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[129] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 751–52; on the decline of fiefdom, see Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 73–117, 434, 467.

[130] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 753.

[131] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 752–53.

[132] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 753; Imamović, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* p. 155.

uprisings in Albania (1843), in Kurdistan (1846), in Moldavia and Wallachia (1848), and serving as a governor in Bucharest. In August 1850, he established a central government in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and defeated the armed forces of Bosnia's Muslims in a series of thirteen battles, which cost 2,500 lives and resulted in the trial of 154 Muslim leaders in Constantinople.[133] In Sarajevo, Omer Paşa's government implemented the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of Gülhane, commencing a transition to a modern, centralised tax system after the model of the European powers. Lump-sum levies were replaced by a central tax, based on household income and wealth. It consisted of three elements. First, an income tax on any revenue derived from commerce or enterprise (3%). Second, a tax on rental income (4%). Third, a property tax on any plot of land and any building, to be estimated by a specialist commission comprising of government officials, local elders, and clergy (0.4%).[134]

The introduction of wealth-based taxes accompanied a modernisation of the property system. The old system, which was regarded as both overly complex and unjustly discriminatory, had been based on two separate bodies of law. Sharī'ah, which derived from the Quran, from decrees of the kalifs, and from decisions of the responsible provincial judges *(quadis)*, had barred non-Muslims from purchase or owning land. In contrast with the Western concept of property, Sharī'ah law knew no concept of outright ownership: all land, ultimately, belonged to the kalif as Allah's representative on earth. Ownership was nothing more than a temporary usage right awarded by the kalif. The second body of law, *Kanun,* had been devised for the subjugated Ottoman territories, such as the Eyalet Bosnia, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under Sultans Mehmed II

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[133] Imamović, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* pp. 155–70; Donia, *Sarajevo,* p. 32.

[134] József Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Bosnischen Verwaltung' (K. und k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1881), pp. 14–17, OeStA, HHStA, PA XL 139-1, Generalkommando Sarajevo, 1026/B.H.; Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 753, 771–73.

(reigned 1444-46, 1451-81), Selim I (reigned 1512-20) and Süleyman I (reigned 1520-66). It distinguished between common land *(miri)* and private property *(mulk).* Many landowners in Bosnia were not, in terms of Kanun law, outright owners, but were enacting long-standing usage rights on common land, which could become individual property only on condition of certain long-term investments, such as planting or building works.[135] By 1850, this system was not only immensely complex to manage but, in the eyes of the Tanzimat reformers, constituted an impediment to the transformation of the Ottoman empire into a Western-style economy. The lack of a concept of outright ownership, coupled with heavy restrictions on purchases, prevented the kinds of long-term investment that had, since the industrial revolution, set the Western powers apart from the rest of the world. When Omer Paşa-Latas took power in 1850, his government lifted all restrictions on land ownership. Sarajevo's Christians and Jews were for the first time allowed to acquire and own land.[136] In 1854, the Treaty of Paris further increased pressure on the Sublime Porte to modernise its institutions and introduce religious and personal freedoms for non-Muslims.[137] In Sarajevo, privileges for Muslim citizens were scrapped, and discriminations against Christian and Jewish entrepreneurs further reduced.[138] The Sublime Porte enshrined these reforms in its Land Code (*erazi kanunnamesi)*, also known as the Ramadan Law, of 1858, and in the constitution of 1867, which transferred the empire's fragmented legal base for land ownership into a coherent system.[139] The Imperial Reform Edict *(Hatt-ı Hümayun)* of February 1856 transferred

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[135] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* pp. 140–41.

[136] Vaso Čubrilović, *Bosanski ustanak 1875-1878*, 2nd edn (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1996), p. 23; cf. Donia, *Sarajevo,* p. 33.

[137] Imamović, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* pp. 162–63.

[138] Čubrilović, *Bosanski ustanak,* p. 23; cf. Donia, *Sarajevo,* p. 33.

[139] Imamović, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* pp. 163–64.

obligational, procedural and property law from the Sharīʿah into a universal Ottoman Code of Public Laws *(Düstur).*[140] Landowners could now formally register their customary usage of common land as individual property, a process which aligned the Ottoman property system more closely to the Western European model of outright land ownership.[141]

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[140] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 142.

[141] Fikret Adanir, 'The Formation of a "Muslim" Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: A Historiographical Discussion', in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. by Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 267–304 (p. 271).

Figure 10: After 1850, the Tanzimat regime implemented important Europeanising reforms in Sarajevo. Grand Vizier Omer Paşa-Latas, pictured here in European-style military uniform, broke the resistance of Muslim elites, liberalised property and introduced a centralised tax system. Credit: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

By the late 1860s, modernising reforms were producing tangible results in Sarajevo. In 1864, Sarajevo saw the inauguration of its first large-scale industrial plant, the brewery on Franjvacka, which still operates today. In 1859, preparatory work began on the construction of a Serbian Orthodox cathedral, the city's first non-Muslim building on a monumental scale. In 1863, the Ottoman government granted the project official approval. The cathedral was funded by the city's emerging Serb merchant class, beneficiaries of Tanzimat reforms, and attracted donations from Constantinople, Trieste, Ragusa, and Vienna.[142] When Sarajevo's Muslims rose in protest against the project, the Sublime Porte took steps to defend the rights of the Orthodox community. In 1872, Sultan Abdülaziz II (1830-1876) dispatched a military envoy with 1,200 men to protect the consecration of the cathedral, a ceremony which was attended, among others, by a young Austro-Hungarian diplomat, Benjámin von Kállay (1839-1903), then ambassador in Belgrade.[143]

Austria-Hungary implemented the reforms that were still incomplete by 1878. The new tax system, for instance, had only been introduced in 37 of 49 districts of the Vilayet Bosnia, and was yet to be implemented in Banja Luka, Foča, Žepče, Gacko, Ljubinje, Trebinje, Petrovac, Bihać, Sanskimost, Prijedor, Cazin and Krupa.[144] The military administration had entertained plans to scrap the entire tithe system and to replace it with an augmented property tax, but Kállay, once appointed finance minister, put a temporary stop to this idea. Instead, his administration implemented the Tanzimat reforms of taxes on property, rent payments and income throughout the region, replacing the earlier system of

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[142] Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 131; Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 33.
[143] Malcolm, *Bosnia,* p. 34; cf. Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 136–37.
[144] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 753.

lump-sum levies.[145] In 1905, eventually, the tithe gave way to a reformed system of property tax *(Grundsteuer)*.[146]

As a result of these reforms, property became one of the major sources of tax revenue in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The government, as we have seen, desperately needed to increase public revenue.[147] In 1877, tax revenue in Bosnia-Herzegovina had amounted to the equivalent of a mere 13.4 forints per capita, compared with more than 68 forints per capita in Austria.[148] Since property was the major source of taxation, the government was most interested in increasing the overall value of property. One of the instruments to that end was urban planning.

Economic policy thus had a decisive impact on the development of Sarajevo. The government tailored planning policy to help maximise the overall value of property. By maximising property values, the government also increased taxable capital, and thus, tax revenue. Increases in property values also fed back to the government via increased income from the tax on rental revenue. Planners employed the design principle that planning experts had identified as the most economical: the rectangular grid. The first example of this practice was the 1880 plan, which extrapolated the existing checkerboard structure of the čaršija to the

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[145] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 771–73.

[146] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 756, 768–71.

[147] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 754.

[148] Calculation based on an exchange rate of 2 crowns = 1 forint, on tax income from 1877, on population figures for Austria from the 1880 census and for the Vilayet Bosnia from 1876: Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 753; Mariana Lukić Tanović, Stevo Pasalić, and Jelena Golijanin, 'Demographic Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Period till 1991 and the Modern Demographic Problems', *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 120 (2014), 238–47 (p. 241); Rudolf Sieghart, 'Das österreichische Budget in den letzten 30 Jahren', *FinanzArchiv / Public Finance Analysis,* 19.2 (1902), 177–219 (p. 181); *Österreichische Statistik: Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. Dezember 1880 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern,* ed. by K.k. statistische Central-Commission, 2 vols (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1882), I.

west of the city centre. Consecutive plans adopted the same principles. The government district, developed from the mid-1880s onwards, was grid-based, as was the entire station district to the city's west. The 1897 plan for the station district, signed by the Edmund Stix, the head of the government's building department, imposed a strict rectangular grid on the undeveloped area between the government district and the station. Further out yet, the government built the Filipović Barracks, which were grid-based, as was the housing development known as Neu-Sarajevo/Novo Sarajevo. Habsburg Sarajevo developed virtually no large squares, only few green spaces and no grand boulevards.[149]

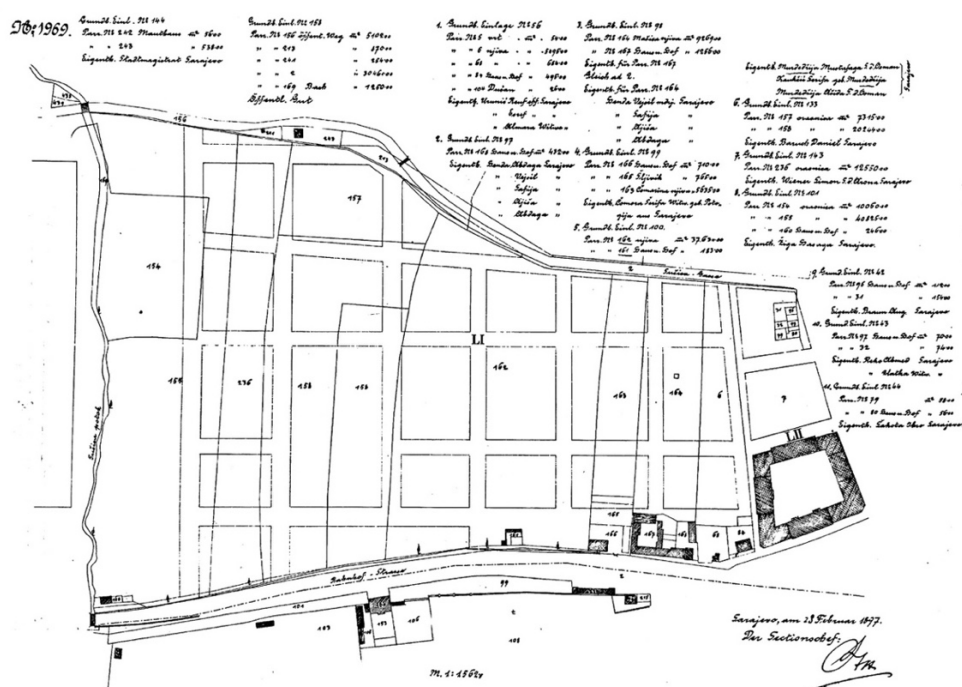

Figure 11: Government-approved general plan for the Marienhof/Marijn Dvor district, 1897. Credit: Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata* (1999).

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[149] Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti,* p. 75.

The government gave a largely free rein to private investors. To ensure the most economical use of space, the government allowed individual investors or corporations to submit plans for entire new urban districts 'on unbuilt grounds or gardens' to the government – an approach explicitly endorsed by Baumeister.[150] It was largely due to this approach, in part, that the grid spread quickly into the extension area in the city's west. One of those who submitted designs for new districts was the entrepreneur August Braun, an immigrant who arrived in Sarajevo in the aftermath of the occupation. Braun acquired large swathes of land to the west of Koševo, just outside the existing outlines of the city, which he intended to turn into a new urban district. In 1885, construction began on his first major project, Marienhof/Marijn Dvor, a fashionable Viennese-style block of flats.[151] The building was completed in 1892.[152] In 1895, Braun submitted a complete plan for the surrounding area to the government. They were finalised and approved in 1897.[153] Just as the adjacent government district, Braun's Marienhof/Marijn Dvor area obeyed the logic of a strict rectangular grid.[154] Large building blocks allowed the developer to minimise the traffic area while maximising marketable residential space. What is more, large blocks allowed

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[150] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo und jene Städte und Märkte in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, welche dieser Vorschrift durch eine Verordnung der Landesregierung ausdrücklich unterworfen werden', in *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen (1878-1880)*, 3 vols (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1880), I, 249–80 (p. §30); cf. Reinhard Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag', in *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen: Flugschriften zur Kenntniß der Gegenwart*, ed. by Franz von Holtzendorff (Hamburg: J.F. Richter, 1887), II.2, 205–38.

[151] Ibrahim Krzović and others, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: 1878-1918* (Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987), p. 20; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 78–79.

[152] 'Die Bauthätigkeit im Jahre 1892', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 21 March 1892), Vol. 9, Nr. 23, p. 2.

[153] Borislav Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu* (Sarajevo: Rabić, 1999), p. 78.

[154] Cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 40.

developers to optimise their designs for maximum efficiency uncompromised by any neighbouring buildings.[155] For example, Braun's original building, Marienhof/Marijn Dvor, occupied an entire block, was structured around a central courtyard, and bounded on all four sides by streets. All flats, as a result, faced the street, and therefore could be sold at a premium.

The government supported private investors wherever possible. One important factor in attracting private investors like Braun was transport infrastructure. The introduction of a horse-drawn tram in 1885, largely funded by the regional government, made navigating the city faster, easier, and more convenient. Linking the old city centre to the station, some two miles to its west, the tram made such developments as Marienhof/Marijn Dvor possible. With improvements in public transport infrastructure, spatial proximity was becoming less crucial; urban plans now needed fewer connecting streets and short-cuts, which, in turn, enabled developers to design ever larger urban blocks.

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[155] Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 58.

Figure 12: The government left the planning of entire urban districts, such as Marienhof/Marijn Dvor district, to private developers. Their checkerboard plans and large block sizes served to maximise marketable space. Credit: Bosnia History.

The results of these policies were palpable. Between 1878 and 1893 alone, property value in Bosnia-Herzegovina was estimated to have increased by close to 1 billion crowns.[156] Land prices rose most quickly in the region's towns and villages, more than doubling until 1910, as one official estimate revealed.[157] In 1882, 5.8 million crowns, or 48 percent of total state revenue, was due to property-based taxes. By 1890 already, this number had almost doubled in absolute terms, to 9 million crowns, then 46 percent of the budget.[158] This increase was, arguably,

[156] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 14 October 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 82, p. 1 (p. 1).
[157] *Gesammelte Reden gehalten in der I. Session des Bosnisch-Hercevoginischen Landtages*, ed. by J. von Dobrzansky and M. Wendlenner, trans. by J. von Dobrzansky and M. Wendlenner (Sarajevo: Albert Thier, 1910), p. 14.
[158] Calculation based on tithe, property tax (Grundwertsteuer & Gebäudewertsteuer), rental income tax and total budgets as reported in Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 779–80.

due to the property-friendly policies that the government implemented. The way in which the city developed echoed patterns that we have already encountered in Strasbourg.

Economy shaped the plans for both cities. In Sarajevo, the introduction of a modern system of centralised property taxes, the liberalisation of the property system, the formalisation of property rights changed the incentive system behind urban planning. By the 1880s, urban development was one major sector of the regional economy, important source of tax revenue and therefore a key priority of the central state executive. Planners were guided by material concerns. In both cities, planners settled on economising grid designs in the outer districts. In the process of plan design, the material interests of public authorities aligned broadly with those of bourgeois citizens. Notwithstanding the differences between the two political settings, the outcomes were strikingly similar.

Figure 13: Austro-Hungarian plans aided the proliferation of a culture of property investment and the emergence of a dense urban fabric. Credit: Bosnia History.

1.5   City Centres

Following their conquests, Strasbourg and Sarajevo experienced unprecedented outward expansion. The previous two sections have analysed the new general plans that accompanied the growth of both cities, creating new, fashionable residential, administrative and industrial districts. Designing and implementing these extensions swallowed up huge public and private investment, and bound the energies of bourgeois landowners, planning experts, imperial and local officials. But while construction progressed in the outer districts, what happened in the old city centres of Strasbourg and Sarajevo?

Modernising the inner cities became a central concern. With their narrow lanes, wooden buildings, high population densities, and high mortality, the city centres of Strasbourg and Sarajevo were, many officials thought, in dire need of material changes. In the late 1870s, both cities saw attempts to regulate the inner cities, widen streets, improve traffic, air flow, and sanitary infrastructure.

Yet in the event, changes were kept to a minimum. In Sarajevo, planners limited their interventions in the old city to minor changes to the existing street layout. There were no new squares, no grand boulevards, no new thoroughfares cut through the existing urban fabric. In Strasbourg, plans to redesign the inner city were scrapped altogether.

The main reason was planning law. By the 1870s, thanks to reforms in France and in the Ottoman empire, planning laws in Strasbourg and Sarajevo resembled each other closely. These laws left planners little room for manoeuvre. Interventions in the city centres became increasingly costly, and in both cities, public authorities were strapped for funds. Economic concerns, once again, shaped planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

From the late eighteenth century, planning law underwent important changes. While some European cities boasted building regulations from the early modern period, few of these were still in force by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[159] Rather than impose new regulations, central governments increasingly codified private property rights. The French Revolution had abolished the Old Regime's feudal system of property-holding. Article 17 of the 1791 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen specified that nobody 'may be deprived of property rights unless a legally established public necessity requires it, and upon condition of a just indemnity'.[160] In Prussia, §66 of the 1794 General State Law (*Allgemeines Landrecht*) affirmed landowners' freedom to build, as long as that activity did not result in 'damage or danger to public safety and the common good'.[161] This climate of strong individual freedoms marks the starting point for the development of planning law.

In the early nineteenth century, first laws emerged that codified the powers of public authorities in urban development. The pioneer in this development was France. In 1807, France passed a law that allowed all towns with more than 2,000 inhabitants to set general plans. Another law, from 1841, enabled municipal authorities to expropriate land designated as public thoroughfare in the general plan. In 1852, a decree of the Emperor Napoleon III (1808-1873) further

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[159] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, pp. 4, 9–11; Anthony Sutcliffe, 'Introduction: The Debate on Nineteenth-Century Planning', in *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914*, ed. by Anthony Sutcliffe, Planning and the Environment in the Modern World, 1 (London: Mansell, 1980), pp. 1–10 (p. 1).

[160] Rafe Blaufarb, *The Great Demarcation: The French Revolution and the Invention of Modern Property* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[161] Quoted after Gerd Albers, 'Städtebau und Menschenbild: Zur Entwicklung der Leitvorstellungen in der Raumplanung seit der industriellen Revolution', in *Neue Anthropologie: Sozialanthropologie*, ed. by Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Vogler, 7 vols (Stuttgart: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1972), III, 223–54 (pp. 223–24).

extended expropriation law. It re-ordered the formal procedures for planning applications and the contribution of private property owners to the cost of infrastructural and street development. Taken together, the laws from 1807, 1841, and the decree from 1852 formed the basis for urban planning in the French Second Empire.[162] They pertained to Paris as much as to Strasbourg. But they also influenced urban planning in Sarajevo.

Planning law innovations quickly spread across Europe. French planning law inspired followers, in Prussia and the south German states, which promulgated laws modelled themselves on the French precedent in the 1860s and 1870s, ad even as far as in the Ottoman empire. In a series of reforms known as the Tanzimat (1839-1876), the Ottoman empire modernised its administration, politics, law, military, and society. Tanzimat reformers looked to states such as Britain, France, Austria, or Prussia for policy guidance. One of the policies that inspired the Tanzimat reformers was Napoleon III's imperial decree of 1852 on urban planning. In 1867, the Ottoman empire promulgated a law that was heavily modelled on the French precedent.[163] This so-called expropriation law was intended to allow central government to build new infrastructures in the cities and beyond. It codified the government's powers to expropriate for the purposes of infrastructural projects such as railways, roads, and squares. Similar to its French precedents, the Ottoman expropriation law granted government powers to expropriate land 'for the construction or extension of streets, markets, storage places, public gardens and parks, canals and aqueducts, for the regulation of rivers and streams, for the construction of quays and shipyards, railroads or boulevards,

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[162] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*.
[163] Ottoman Expropriation Law from 1867, German translation commissioned by the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ABiH, ZVS 12. 25/24, Z. 84, 1881.

cisterns, hospitals, barracks or schools'.[164] The Ottoman expropriation law subjected such expropriations to a lengthy and rigorous formal procedure, which granted citizens generous rights of appeal, involving independent judges and special commissions for estimation and mediation, just as under the French imperial decree of 1852.[165]

Strasbourg and Sarajevo thus became part of a shared legal environment. The introduction of the Ottoman expropriation law in Sarajevo created a common basis for urban planning in both cities. The challenges that public authorities faced when they tried to implement these laws, were also linked.

Expropriation would become one of the central issues for the development of cities like Strasbourg and Sarajevo. While modern planning laws had been intended to increase the power of public authorities, in practice, they also strengthened private property. The lengthy and complicated procedures set out in modern planning laws, the enormous value increases in urban property, and a political climate that was increasingly dominated by bourgeois citizens, inflated the sums that public authorities had to pay for expropriation in the second half of the nineteenth century. In France, the committees that set compensation payments were dominated by bourgeois landowners – an arrangement reflected in Emile Zola's novel *La curée* (1871), whose protagonist, the property speculator Aristide Saccard, makes a fortune from inflated expropriation payments.[166] And after the 1840s, courts increasingly ruled in favour of landowners in disputes over expropriation payments.[167] In Paris, the

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[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Emile Zola, *La curée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981).

[167] Claude Collot, *Les politiques municipales d'urbanisme à Nancy de 1871 à 1914* (Nancy: Publications de l'Université de Nancy, 1980), p. 119; Georges Hottenger, 'Pays de Briey et pays messin', *Société industrielle de l'Est*, 112 (1913), 30–43 (p. 22).

imperial decree of 1852 met such strong opposition that it had to be modified in 1859.[168] As a consequence, public authorities in many parts of France abstained from the legal procedures altogether, instead seeking contractual agreements with individual landowners. The planning law of 1807, for instance, was applied in no more than fifteen French towns and cities.[169]

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, too, expropriation became an increasingly costly affair. Modelled on the French precedent, the Ottoman expropriation law from 1867 made expropriation into a lengthy, and increasingly costly process. Citizens quickly learnt of their rights. Not untypical was a petition by eleven citizens of Banja Luka in 1881, demanding outstanding compensation for land that they had ceded towards road construction. In other Bosnian towns, the citizens pointed out, Habsburg officials had paid the necessary compensation in complete accordance with the Ottoman expropriation law.[170] Kállay urged local officials to settle the payment as soon as possible, and, in future, to pay compensation with no delay.[171] Despite these difficulties, Austria-Hungary was committed to upholding, and even extending, the existing procedures. In 1910, the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina imposed additional limits on expropriation.[172]

The introduction of modern planning laws made expropriation more costly. But the problem was further exacerbated by Germany and Austria-Hungary. We have already seen how governments in both regions engaged in efforts to increase capital values. The extension plans in Strasbourg and Sarajevo were a means to that end, but not the only. From the 1880s, the new regional

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[168] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City.*
[169] Collot, *Les politiques municipales d'urbanisme,* p. 119.
[170] Petition to the Emperor Franz Josef I, Banja Luka, 19 May 1881, ABiH, ZVS 12.25/24.8.4242.
[171] Kállay to the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 18 July 1881, ABiH ZVS 12.25/24.8.5217.
[172] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 121.

governments of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina implemented increasingly sophisticated ownership records. And while indeed boosting land value, these records further increased the difficulties surrounding expropriation.

Central cadastral records were a novelty in Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina alike. In France, like Britain, there had been no central register of private property. And prior to the mid-century, there had been no cadastral records in Bosnia-Herzegovina, either. Ottoman surveyors commenced work on a complete survey of the Eyalet Bosnia as part of Paşa-Latas's reforms after 1850, but local resistance had frustrated their efforts. Citizens refused, for instance, to pay administrative fees to register their title deeds *(tapi)*.[173] Others opposed the cadastral survey as they feared the imposition of the new taxes. The introduction of the tax on rental revenue, for example, became one of the reasons for the mass uprisings in the Herzegovina in 1875.[174] Amid the disintegration of Ottoman rule in the 1870s, the reforms of the property and tax system ground to a halt altogether. There still were no cadastral records at all for the area surrounding Banja Luka, while in other parts of Bosnia, records remained incomplete. Even where surveys had been carried out, Austro-Hungarian officials often found their quality 'very unsatisfactory'.[175]

The cadastre was among the key priorities of the Austro-Hungarian administration. As early as 1879, the military administration began work on a complete survey of all property, buildings and land ownership in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[176] In 1880, the military-led government founded the Directorate for Cadastral Records and Estimations *(Katastralschätzungs- und*

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[173] Cf. Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung', pp. 14–16; Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 37.
[174] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 37.
[175] Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung', p. 14.
[176] Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung', pp. 25–26.

Vermessungsdirektion) in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[177] The geographical survey, conducted by a special commission with representatives of the Imperial Ministry of War, the governments of Austria and Hungary, the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian Bureau in the imperial government, commenced in June 1880. 682 government officials, 66 military geometers, 66 geometers, 148 civil service adjuncts, 14 record keepers, 440 handymen, 5 triangulators and 6 under-directors of the Military-Geographical Institute of Vienna were engaged in it. In 1882, they produced a complete set of maps covering Bosnia-Herzegovina.[178] For towns and villages, additional, high-resolution maps were produced at a scale of 1:3250, which recorded all individual plots, assigned each a cadastral number and a street number.[179] By the autumn of 1883, surveying work was finished and by the spring of 1884, the process was concluded.[180]

The cadastral survey was accompanied by a complete record of property ownership in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1884, the government issued a land register *(Grundbuch),* a permanent record linking each plot of land in the cadastre to its valuation and to its legitimate owner. By 1885, the Habsburg government commanded a complete geographical survey, a land register, and a valuation cadastre.[181] To this end, the Directorate for Cadastral Records and Estimations established a network of Estimation Inspectorates *(Schätzungsinspektorate)* throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose task was to value each plot of land in collaboration with special local commissions, which comprised of local elders. Estimation was completed by October 1885. The upkeep of the land register was

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[177] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 755.
[178] Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung', pp. 25–26, 36–37.
[179] Reduktion der Kataster-Aufnahme (1884), Sarajevo, Historiskij Arhiv.
[180] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 755.
[181] Sparks, *Sarajevo,* p. 57.

entrusted to the regional government's finance division. An imperial decree of 27 July 1888 further specified its formal organisation.[182] The production and maintenance of the land register became a major administrative undertaking; between 1884 and 1908, the regional government spent a total of 3.39 million crowns on it.[183]

In Strasbourg, cadastral records were reformed at around the same time. In France, much as in Britain, there had been no central record of property ownership. The new regional government attempted to introduce a central system of cadastral records modelled on the German states.[184] In 1884, the Regional Assembly passed a law to overhaul and centralise the existing system.[185] The formal procedures detailed in this law were similar to those in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The law formalised the processes for surveying, value estimation, and formal complaints. As in Sarajevo, it formed the basis for a new system of property taxes.

Ownership records were seen as an important step towards economic modernisation. They were regarded as instrumental in raising capital values. As one Sarajevo newspaper wrote in 1893, prior to the reform, 'land had as good as no value; there was rarely anybody to have bought or sold it.'[186] All this had changed with the Austro-Hungarian occupation, and with the ensuing introduction of central ownership records. 'Economic progress manifests itself

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[182] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 48–49, 176–81.

[183] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 180.

[184] Guillaume Gunzert, *Les livres fonciers d'après les projets de lois soumis à la Délégation d'Alsace-Lorraine dans la session de 1885* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1885); Hugo von Bibra, *Die neuen Gesetzentwürfe betreffend die Reform des Grundeigentums und Hypothekenrechts und die Einführung des Grundbuchs in Elsaß-Lothringen* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1886).

[185] 'Gesetz betreffend die Bereinigung des Katasters, die Ausgleichung der Grundsteuer und die Fortführung des Katasters in Elsass-Lothringen vom 31. März 1884', *FinanzArchiv / Public Finance Analysis*, 3.1 (1886), 203–39.

[186] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 14 October 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 82, p. 1.

most poignantly in the increasing value of land and property'.[187] As Adalbert von Shek (1851-1933), the head of the legal department in the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told the regional assembly in 1910, the liberalisation of property, the cadastral survey and the land register had 'laid the foundation for the security of the property and mortgage system' as 'a great cultural accomplishment *(Kulturarbeit)* unmatched by any Balkan state'.[188] Reforms to the property system, according to Shek, were the key reasons for the unprecedented increase in capital values that property owners had enjoyed after 1878. Between 1878 and 1893 alone, property value in Bosnia-Herzegovina was estimated to have increased by close to 1 billion crowns.[189] Land prices rose most quickly in the region's towns and villages, more than doubling until 1910, as one more conservative official estimate revealed.[190] Correspondingly, tax revenue from property rose from 5.8 million crowns, in 1882, to 6.7 million crowns, in 1885, almost doubling to 10.7 million crowns, by 1910.[191] 'An economic success,' one observer commented, 'for which there is no equivalent across Europe'.[192]

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[187] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 14 October 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 82, p. 1.

[188] Quoted in Dobrzansky and Wendlenner, *Gesammelte Reden,* p. 14.

[189] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 14 October 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 82, p. 1.

[190] Dobrzansky and Wendlenner, *Gesammelte Reden,* p. 14.

[191] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 780.

[192] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 14 October 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 82, p. 1.

Figure 14: Survey map of the market district *(čaršija)*, 1882. Credit: Historiskij Arhiv, Sarajevo.

These innovations had an important effect on urban planning. The spread of the central European cadastral system with its meticulous record-keeping, Juan Rodriguez-Lores has argued, was one key factor that prevented governments from breaking the power of bourgeois landowners in the cities.[193] Cadastral records, as we have seen, helped the rise of a modern mortgage system, which, in turn boosted investment and, ultimately, land values. This, in turn,

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[193] Juan Rodríguez-Lores, 'Stadthygiene und Städtebau: Zur Dialektik von Ordnung und Unordnung in den Auseinandersetzungen des Deutschen Vereins für Offentliche Gesundheitspflege 1868-1901', in *Städtebaureform 1865-1900: Von Licht, Luft und Ordnung in der Stadt der Gründerzeit*, ed. by Juan Rodríguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl, Stadt, Planung, Geschichte, 5 (Hamburg: Christians, 1985), pp. 19–58 (pp. 21–22).

further increased the sums that public authorities had to expense when they needed to expropriate landowners for the construction of new streets or squares. As a result, in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, public authorities focused their efforts on urban extensions, where they were able to acquire land more easily. By contrast, they kept their interventions in the inner cities to a minimum.
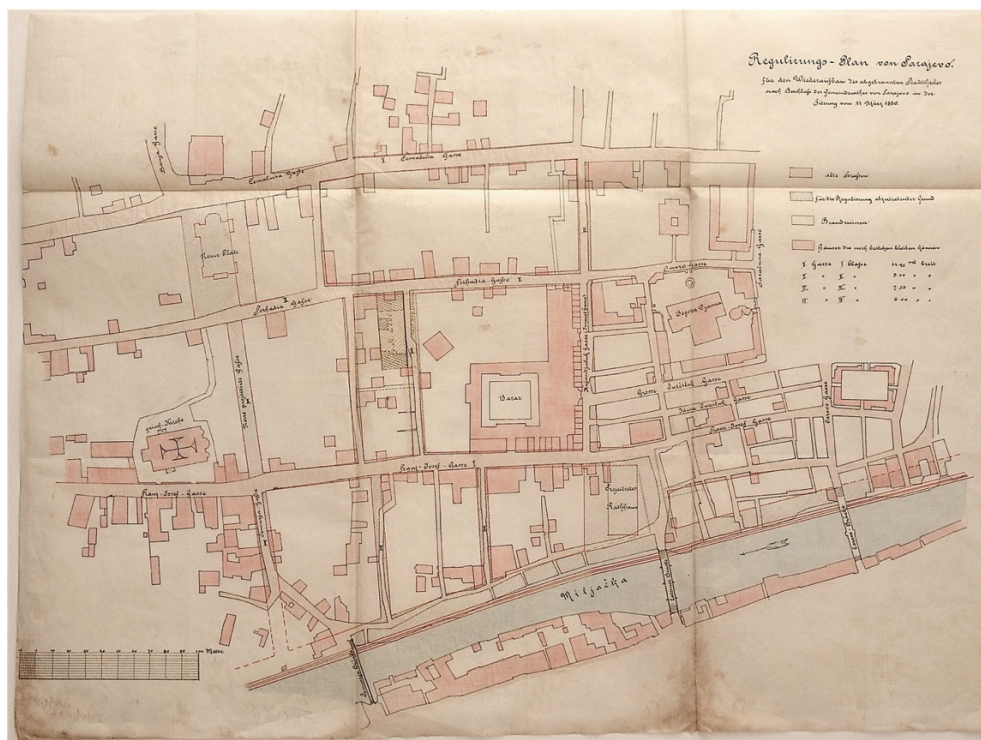
Figure 15: The reconstruction plan of 1880 recreated the inner city along the existing street outlines. Credit: Historiskij Arhiv, Sarajevo.

In Sarajevo, the government deliberately abstained from any major intervention in the city centre. After the fire of 1879, the authorities shied away from major expropriations to develop new streets and squares. Instead of grasping the opportunity to restructure the city, the designers of the plan decided to adhere

to the old street network. This way, they were spared the cost and effort of having to restructure building plots, conduct compulsory purchases or fight lengthy legal battles. The plan only widened and straightened the existing streets, around the central axis of the street, so as to minimise the need for compulsory purchases. This way, the authorities could get away without financial compensation.[194] Only where a plot was diminished 'to such a degree that it can no longer accommodate a new build of comparable dimensions to the old building' would the municipality, as the executor of the plan, compensate the owner.[195] Where there were buildings left standing from the fire, the street was widened on the opposite side to prevent costly demolition. The reconstruction plan of 1880 imposed no major thoroughfares, public squares, or green spaces. The plan envisaged only one new street, Rudolfsgasse (Strosmaierova). Of the two squares that it included, only one, the cathedral square, was eventually implemented. As a result, the inner city of Sarajevo acquired virtually no large squares, only few green spaces and no grand boulevards.[196]

Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo was not as radically different from the Ottoman city as some observers, including contemporaries, have suggested. 'The oriental Sarajevo', wrote Husein Tahmiščić, 'was patched up by the Austrian government with the still-born architecture of central Europe'.[197] But contrary to Tahmiščić's claim, the outward carefulness of Austro-Hungarian planning was, as we have seen, no failure of government.[198] Rather, it was the sign of a political

[194] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §24.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti,* p. 75.
[197] Tahmiščić, *Sarajevo,* p. 9.
[198] Ibid.

environment where the property rights of citizens were more tightly enshrined in law and executive practice than ever before.

In refraining from any major interventions in the city centre, planners also won the sympathies of local elites. Habsburg officials designed their regulation plans with the interest of bourgeois citizens in mind. And while they managed any publicity extremely carefully – plans were always produced within the government and never shared publicly before official approval – they always sought the consent of the city council. On 11 March 1880, the council was presented with the new reconstruction plan. It voted in its favour.[199] The same process repeated with further, partial plans, which followed as construction accelerated towards the west, along the Miljacka valley, such as the regulation plans for the area surrounding the cathedral square (1883),[200] for streets such as Nova Ulica (1900),[201] Ploča Ulica (1900),[202] and for the area surrounding Filipović Square (1901).[203]

In Strasbourg, for similar reasons, planners abstained from interventions in the inner city altogether. While Orth's plan had included vast new boulevards, new throughfares and new squares, his rival, Conrath, consciously refrained from any changes to the fabric of the inner city. Such changes, he knew, were too costly in an environment where the municipality was already stretched for funds. The

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[199] Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti,* p. 66; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 41.

[200] Set of plans in ABiH, ZVS (1883) 28.13/287.

[201] Regierungs-Commissär to regional government, Sarajevo, 30 March 1900, ABiH, ZVS (1900) 125.900 Nr. 16028.

[202] Kállay to regional government, Vienna, 26 October 1900, ABiH, ZVS (1900) 125.900/11.524 BH.

[203] 'Regulirungsproject für die Umgebung der Franz-Josef-Kaserne Sarajevo', plan, 1:500, Baudirection der Landesregierung, signed Rudolf Tönnies, July 1901, ABiH, Baudepartment 10, No. 3303.

final plan, which was agreed in 1880, the same year as the reconstruction plan for Sarajevo, contained no substantial changes to the inner city.

Between the mid-nineteenth century and the First World War, we have seen, planning law and property records became increasingly standardised. The involvement of technical experts, the policy proposals emanating from professional associations, and the intensifying exchange between policy makers created standards in planning law that spread across central Europe. Strasbourg and Sarajevo were cases in point. In both cities, the years after 1848 had ushered in new planning laws. By the end of the century, planning laws in both cities were not only similar to each other, but to many other central European cities.

This process was accelerated in the 1870s, when conquest, occupation, and modernisation increased the pressure to update the legal instruments available to public authorities. German and Austro-Hungarian policy innovations helped to boost investment and capital value in the cities. But in some cases, they also served as an impediment to state-led urban planning. It was near impossible, given the legal situation and the financial constraints that public authorities faced, to implement rigorous changes to the inner cities of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The inner cities thus formed a strong contrast to the extension areas. The problems that this contrast created will be explored in chapter 2.

1.6   Building Regulations

According to the theorist Reinhard Baumeister, modern urban planning relied on three major components: plan, expropriation law, and building regulations.[204] The latter forms the subject of this section. After 1880, the public authorities in both cities issued special laws and new building codes that imposed certain checks on new construction.

This development of building regulations law was not entirely free of frustration, either. Like the plans themselves, such regulations had the potential to bring to the fore conflicts between citizens and public authorities. Bourgeois citizens, especially, opposed new restrictions of their property rights. In Strasbourg, bourgeois local politicians thwarted the authorities' efforts to introduce new regulations at the end of the 1870s. In the long term, however, the standoff only spurred the development of building regulations. Planning experts stepped up their lobbying for new, improved legislation. And public authorities increasingly incorporated the policy advice of expert planners, further aiding the standardisation of planning law.

The policy guidelines of liberal planning experts made planning law reform more palpable to bourgeois citizens. In the 1880s, Baumeister began to publish widely on the issue, foregrounding the benefits of building regulations to landowners.[205] Rather than insist on a coherent, imperial planning law for Germany, like some of his antecedents, Baumeister took into account the extraordinary diversity of extant planning law, culture, and the resulting political

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[204] Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag', pp. 205–7; for a general discussion of building codes in the nineteenth century see Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 13–21.
[205] See, for instance, Reinhard Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen nebst Erläuterungen: Auf Veranlassung und unter Mitwirkung des Verbandes deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieur-Vereine* (Wiesbaden: Kreidel, 1880); Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag'.

difficulties, as he had experienced in Strasbourg. He designed a policy framework that was applicable not only to Germany, but that helped state and municipal executives across central Europe to bring their building codes broadly in line. The result was an increasing Europeanisation, rather than a nationalisation, of planning law. Strasbourg and Sarajevo, whose new building codes echoed many of Baumeister's ideas, were examples of this development.

When Strasbourg and Sarajevo were conquered in the 1870s, the existing planning laws were, as we have seen, no longer deemed adequate. In both cities, officials felt that the extant laws and regulations surrounding were too weak. In 1878, when Germany's leading planning experts convened in Strasbourg, they quickly concluded that the city's extant French planning laws, especially on expropriation, were insufficient to see through the planned urban extension.[206]

The municipality attempted to make amends. Based on a series of policy recommendations by the planning expert Reinhard Baumeister, Mayor Otto Back drafted a bill that would allow the municipal executive to implement the planned New Town extension.[207] This so-called Law for the Limitation of the Freedom to Build *(Gesetz zur Beschränkung der Baufreiheit)* was to complement the existing French planning laws. It included four measures. First, a construction ban on land designated as public throughfare. Second, a temporary construction ban in streets that were yet to be developed – an idea modelled on recent planning laws from the Swiss Canton Basel (1859), the Kingdom of Bavaria (1864), the

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[206] *Strassburg und seine Bauten*, ed. by Architekten- und Ingenieurverein für Elsass-Lothringen (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1894), p. 385; cf. Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 163.
[207] 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes für die Stadt Straßburg', Strasbourg, 22-28 September 1878, AVES, 159 MW 102, p. 68; cf. Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 135–36.

Grand Duchy of Baden (1868), the Kingdom of Württemberg (1872), and the Kingdom of Prussia (1874 & 1875).[208] Third, a mandatory contribution to the cost of street building. And fourth, a stipulation to create front gardens through stepped-back building lines.[209]

In reality, however, new regulations were difficult to pass. In the German empire, planning law was a competency of the individual member states. Much to Baumeister's regret, the imperial constitution of 1872 had failed to transfer competencies in planning law from the member states to the empire.[210] In Alsace-Lorraine, planning law was one of the few real competencies of the Regional Committee *(Landesausschuss),* the regional representation. Originally founded in 1874, the Committee was expanded in 1879 and given certain, albeit heavily contained, legislative competencies.[211] Its members were not elected directly but were emitted by the district councils of Upper Alsace, Lower Alsace, and Lorraine, and by the cities of Strasbourg, Mülhausen/Mulhouse, Metz and Colmar. The Regional Committee was dominated by bourgeois notables. The largest profession in the house were notaries.[212] Their traditional role was not

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[208] Cf. Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 90–91; Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 135–37.

[209] Back, Otto, 'Entwurf eines Gesetzes betreffend die Ausführung der Stadterweiterung von Straßburg', 1879, printed in Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 194–202; cf. Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 135; Rolf Wittenbrock, 'Baurecht und Stadtentwicklung im Spannungsfeld unterschiedlicher nationaler Normensysteme: Der Fall Elsaß-Lothringen 1850-1920', in *Konfrontation und Assimilation nationalen Verwaltungsrechts in Europa (19./20. Jh.) / Confrontation et assimilation des droits admonistratifs nationaux en Europe (19e/20e s.),* ed. by Volkmar Heyen, Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte, 2 (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1990), pp. 251–76 (p. 53); Ernst Bruck, *Das Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsrecht in Elsaß-Lothringen* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1909), II, p. 199; Livet and Rapp, *Histoire de Strasbourg,* IV, p. 274.

[210] Reinhard Baumeister, 'Städtebau', in *Deutschland unter Kaiser Wilhelm II.*, ed. by Philipp Zorn and others, 3 vols (Berlin: Hobbing, 1914), III, pp. 1523–26.

[211] Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs*, pp. 17–63.

[212] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, p. 73.

limited to transactions like property purchases and inheritance, but included investment advisory and asset management services for their wealthy clients.[213]

Bourgeois citizens ground the proposed bill to a halt. The political system was stacked in their favour. Local landowners used all their influence to oppose the measures designed by Back and Baumeister. In its first reading of the bill, the Regional Committee showed itself both willing and able to defend individual property rights against public interferences.[214] Deputies argued that a temporary ban in undeveloped parts of the city amounted to unfair discrimination: landowners in remote parts of the city were subject to the whims of the administration while others were able to use their property to the full potential early on. The member Mieg-Köchlin argued that 'this law would usher in a veritable dictatorship over property'.[215] Johann North, the member for Hagenau/Haguenau and director of the Strasbourg Mortgage Credit Bank *(Straßburger Bodenkreditbank),* told the house: 'I can only call the proposed law draconian. It contains such strong interventions in individual property rights that I have been preparing for a veritable storm of outrage'.[216] Investors, North warned, could withdraw from the property market in Strasbourg altogether. In his opinion, Back's law constituted an incommensurate attack both on property rights and on the freedom to build. In so doing, North echoed the words of the architect Eugène Petiti (1809-1883), a member of the planning competition panel, who had criticised Baumeister's suggestions as 'unjustified transgressions of

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[213] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, p. 73.
[214] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 245–58.
[215] *Verhandlungen des Landesausschusses von Elsass-Lothringen: 6. Session Januar-April 1879* (Strasbourg: R. Schulz, 1879), VI, p. 18.
[216] *Verhandlungen des Landesausschusses von Elsass-Lothringen: 6. Session Januar-April 1879*, VI, pp. 336–39.

landowners' in September 1878.[217] The Regional Committee rejected the proposal. Instead, the house appointed a special commission, with North as its head, to further scrutinise the bill. The special commission returned a heavily watered-down version of the bill. All intended regulations, save for the construction ban in designated public thoroughfares, were either scrapped or weakened. In addition, the new bill stipulated that the most consequential economic decisions of the urban extension should be in the hands of the city council. What is more, the new bill also specified that any planned street had to be developed imminently if the majority of the adjacent landowners opined in favour. In short, the amended version of the bill prioritised individual freedoms while conferring important powers from the executive to the city council and to individual landowners. The Regional Committee accepted the amended bill on 14 March 1879. It was ratified by the Council of States and the emperor, and published on 21 May 1879.[218]

The truncated reform created a set-back in the development of planning law. As a result of its insufficient executive powers, the municipal administration faced increased costs for the development of the New Town.[219] Rather than rely on planning law, the administration had to seek individual contractual agreements with landowners, as Mayor Otto Back told his counterpart in Munich, Mayor Johannes Widenmayer (1838-1893), in 1890.[220] To enforce

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[217] Quoted after Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 163.

[218] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 245–58.

[219] Tobias Möllmer, 'Die Entwicklung der Strassburger Baupolizei 1871-1918: Vom französischen Fluchtliniengesetz zur ästhetischen Baukontrolle im Sinne der Heimatschutzbewegung', in *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne. Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940*, ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 495–511 (pp. 500–501).

[220] Back to Widenmayer, Strasbourg, 16 October 1890, AVES, 152 MW 3.

stepped-back building lines, for example, the municipality purchased the relevant building plots from their private owners and re-sold them with a covenant, a practice that became the norm in representative streets such as Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse (Avenue de la Liberté).[221]

These setbacks were not limited to Strasbourg. Bourgeois opposition had been a widely shared obstacle to reform planning law. The events in the Regional Committee of Alsace-Lorraine were not untypical for the way in which property owners across the German empire objected to restrictions on their freedom to build.[222] City councils and state assemblies often objected to the tightening of restrictions on private property.[223] In Germany's two largest cities, Berlin and Hamburg, planning law reform encountered similar obstacles.[224] 'Everywhere, experience has shown', reported the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* in 1881, 'the introduction of new building codes meets great resistance'.[225] Germany, which urbanised later and more rapidly than either Britain or France, needed stronger executive powers to regulate its urban growth.[226]

In the long term, however, political frustrations only spurred the movement for planning law reform. In the 1870s, experts in Germany began to lobby for new planning laws. The extant laws and building codes, which varied not only between states but also between cities, were either too disparate, or too weak, to endow municipal administrations with the necessary tools to manage urban growth. In an article in *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* Baumeister criticised 'that the

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[221] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', pp. 500–501.

[222] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, pp. 9–46.

[223] Ingrid Thienel, 'Verstädterung, städtische Infrastruktur und Stadtplanung: Berlin zwischen 1850 und 1914', *Zeitschrift für Stadtgeschichte, Stadtsoziologie und Denkmalpflege*, 4.1 (1977), 55–84 (pp. 76–79).

[224] Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen*, p. 1.

[225] 'Neue Bauordnung für Bremen', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 15.68 (1881), 382.

[226] Sutcliffe, 'Introduction: The Debate on Nineteenth-Century Planning', p. 4.

minimum distance between non-fireproof walls is twice as large in Berlin as in Stuttgart; that a Bavarian city does not have any right to expropriate to build new streets, while a Prussian city can make use of that right [...]; that regulatory law in one place is based on a smaller, in another to a larger distance from the boundary, while it does not exist at all in a third place'.[227] One of the first to advocate a modernisation of the extant building codes was the Berlin statistician Ernst Bruch.[228] His suggestions influenced the 1874 resolution on urban planning by the German Association of Architects and Engineers.[229] Other institutions followed. On the initiative of the Reichstag member Johannes Miquel (1828-1901), the German Association for Public Health *(Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege),* an association of mayors and physicians founded in 1873, responded with a policy blueprint of 'regulations for the protection of healthy living'.[230] In 1876, Baumeister urged fellow members of the Association of German Architects and Architects, too, to lobby for a new, coherent imperial planning law.[231] In 1876, the German Association of Architects and Engineers began work on a collection of all extant planning laws and building code of Germany. At its seventh annual general meeting, in 1878, the Association tasked Baumeister with the production of a 'normal building code' as the basis of a national planning law.[232] Yet by the time that the Association next convened to discuss the project, a national planning law seemed hardly feasible. 'Overcoming

[227] Reinhard Baumeister, 'Der Verband deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieur-Vereine und die Reichsgesetzgebung', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 10.21 (1876), 103–4 (p. 104).

[228] Ernst Bruch, 'Berlin's bauliche Zukunft und der Bebauungsplan [I]', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 4.12 (1870), 93–95; Ernst Bruch, 'Berlin's bauliche Zukunft und der Bebauungsplan [II]', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 4.25 (1870), 199–201.

[229] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 83–84, 93.

[230] Baumeister, 'Reichsgesetzgebung'; Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 39, 91.

[231] Baumeister, 'Reichsgesetzgebung'.

[232] Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen*, p. 1; 'Verband deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieur-Vereine: Arbeitsplan für das laufende Verbandsjahr', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 11.78 (1878), 395.

these differences requires not only science, but also political unanimousness, which will only develop with time', commented Baumeister later.[233] At its eighth annual general meeting in Heidelberg in September 1879, the Association agreed that while a national planning law still remained 'a desirable ambition', the Association had to pursue a different pathway to reform.[234] Rather than provide the blueprint for an imperial law, Baumeister agreed to produce a loose framework with adaptable guidelines that took into account the extraordinary diversity of German planning law. The aim was no longer a coherent planning law for the empire. Instead, Baumeister advocated modernising Germany's disparate planning law through a series of individual amendments and municipal by-laws. While maintaining universal standards were necessary in some areas of planning law, such as fire safety and structural soundness, he acknowledged that in others, variation was admissible according to 'climate, custom, [and] building material'.[235]

The efforts of independent experts aided knowledge production in urban planning. The reports, policy analyses and whitepapers of expert planners made the topic more palpable to local politicians and bourgeois citizens, and helped carry the planning law debate beyond the confines of the German empire. Baumeister's *Normale Bauordnungen* (1880), which inspired countless building codes in the German empire, was but one example.[236] Others were *Allgemeine Bauordnung* (1877) by the Hanover jurist and member of the imperial parliament Siegfried Wilhelm Albrecht (1826-1896), and the Prussian guidelines for

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[233] Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen*, p. 3.
[234] 'Protokoll der. 8. Abgeordneten-Versammlung zu Heidelberg (9 September 1879)', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 13.76 (1879), 385–86.
[235] Baumeister, 'Städtebau', p. 1525.
[236] Giorgio Piccinato, *Städtebau in Deutschland 1871 - 1914: Genese einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1983), p. 195.

amending or passing new municipal building codes from 1880.[237] As planners ditched the idea of a national planning law in favour of more adaptable frameworks, they dramatically increased their impact.

It was governments, rather than municipal authorities, that eventually put these guidelines into practice. After 1880, many central European states passed building codes that had responded directly to the policy recommendations of Baumeister and his colleagues. This development unfolded more quickly in Sarajevo than in Strasbourg. In contrast with Strasbourg, Sarajevo had no regional legislature until 1910. Planning policy was therefore exclusively in the hands of the government. As a result, there were fewer obstacles to planning law reform. In the autumn of 1879, the military-led government of Bosnia-Herzegovina began work on a building code for Sarajevo. This building code was promulgated by decree, ratified by the emperor, and published on 14 May 1880.[238]

The building code for Sarajevo echoed the key demands of planning experts. It imposed restrictions on private property in the four areas that Baumeister identified as warranting such regulation: traffic, fire safety, structural soundness and hygiene.[239] Such regulations, Baumeister had argued, would eventually also benefit those whose freedom to build it constrained: these restrictions were to secure and increase capital values in the long run. In improving fire safety, structural soundness, hygiene and public safety, the building code laid the foundations for an economic climate that gave security to investors and the

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[237] Wilhelm Albrecht, *Allgemeine Bauordnung für Städte und Landgemeinden* (Hanover: Helwing, 1877); Albert Maybach, *Zusammenstellung von Gesichtspunkten für die etwaige Abänderung bestehender und für den Erlass neuer örtlicher oder provinzieller Bauordnungen, mitgeteilt den Oberpräsidenten durch Verfügung des Ministers der öffentlichen Arbeiten vom 28. August 1880* (Berlin: Preußisches Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten, 1880).

[238] Sparks, *Sarajevo,* p. 43; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, p. 25.

[239] Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen*; cf. Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag'.

government alike. The building code formalised the long-term interests of property owners and, by doing so, kept short-term interests in check. In this way, the building code introduced to Sarajevo the key paradigms of liberal planning theorists.

In Strasbourg, planning law reform took longer to implement. Local politicians, as we have seen, opposed restrictions on private property. And while the municipality imposed targeted measures to aid the development of the New Town, a holistic reform of building regulations was, at least initially, further down the list of priorities.[240] 'Given the considerable financial risk that the municipality had taken on in the new Town extension', commented the Association of Architects in Alsace-Lorraine in 1894, 'it was of the greatest importance to infringe as little as possible on the saleability of plots and on [investors'] willingness to build. It was thus that the municipal administration [...] abstained from further interventions'.[241] As Rolf Wittenbrock has pointed out, planning law was certainly not a catalyst for Alsace-Lorraine's integration into the German nation state.[242]

It was thanks to the initiative of professional experts that Strasbourg, too, eventually received a modern building code. In 1880, the District Health Council *(Kreisgesundheitsrat),* a committee of medical experts, suggested an overhaul of the city's planning law. The existing regulations from 1856, 1863, and 1869 were no longer deemed adequate. The Health Council's report foregrounded the key areas that Baumeister had identified as integral to planning law reform. 'Especially with regard to structural soundness, fire safety, and healthy living conditions, the

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[240] Architekten- und Ingenieurverein für Elsass-Lothringen, *Strassburg und seine Bauten,* p. 387.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 24.

building regulations for Strasbourg in their present state fall short of the demands that are imposed on them in the public interest'.[243]

Just as in Sarajevo, government played an important role in implementing these recommendations. In 1881, the Ministry for Alsace-Lorraine ordered an investigation into the existing building regulations for Strasbourg. The resulting report was presented to the viceroy in 1882. In the same year, the government began exploring potential additions to the extant regulations, putting increased pressure on the municipality to take action.[244]

Policy makers took inspiration not only from technical experts, but also from other cities. Particularly influential, in Strasbourg's case, was Berlin. In 1882, Strasbourg's mayor, Georges Stempel, learnt that the municipality of Berlin was in the process of drafting a new building code. In 1883, he produced a draft building code that was closely modelled on the proposed Berlin building code. On the order of the District President, the draft building code for Strasbourg was presented to the local association of architects for comments. The amended draft was then passed on to the District Health Council. In 1884, the military authorities, too, submitted alteration requests, which resulted in lengthy negotiations under the chairmanship of the viceroy. In 1886, the municipality produced a revised draft. Later that year saw the first city local elections since Bismarck's suspension of the city council in 1873. Back was re-elected mayor. In 1887, the city council installed a special commission to examine the draft building code. The commission presented its final report in 1891. In 1892, the new building code came into force.[245]

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[243] Report from 25 June 1880, quoted after Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 163, footnote 3.
[244] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 167.
[245] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 169–75.

The new building codes for Sarajevo (1880) and Strasbourg (1892) had much in common. They adhered closely to Baumeister's policy guidelines from 1876 and 1880. In this, they resembled the building codes of many other central European cities. And as a result, they also resembled each other. They consisted of four key sections: traffic, fire safety, hygiene, and structural soundness. These four areas responded directly to Baumeister's ideas.[246] 'There are four themes that warrant the protection of the common good versus individual whim, namely the freedom of public traffic, fire safety, health, structural soundness'.[247] The 'common good', Baumeister later wrote, meant 'not only the interests of the community, but also those of neighbours and residents themselves. All of them necessitate a certain providence on part of the public authority, against the pursuit of profitability, or the negligence, of developers'.[248] For Baumeister, certain well-specified restrictions were essential to the functioning of a lawful, orderly, liberal system of urban development. In return for the considerable increase in capital values, Baumeister argued further, property owners could very feasibly be made to adhere to certain standards where necessary.[249] In what follows, it will be shown how the two cities' building codes enacted these principles.

Among the key aims of both cities' building codes was circulation, or traffic, as policy makers and planning experts preferred to put it. The first section of Strasbourg's building code, entitled 'regulations regarding the maintenance of public highways and the enforcement of uninterrupted traffic', reinforced the existing ban on any building activity in areas designated as public thoroughfare in

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[246] Baumeister, *Stadt-Erweiterungen*; Baumeister, *Normale Bauordnungen*.
[247] Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag', p. 222.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.

the general plan.[250] In both cities, the new building codes made any kind of construction impinging on public space, such as overhanging eaves, signs, or extension buildings, principally illegal.[251] In Sarajevo, balconies and awnings were only allowed to project 1.3 metres at most from the façade.[252] In Strasbourg, balconies were forbidden altogether. Door and window surrounds could only project up to 30 centimetres beyond the building line in streets eight metres and wider; 25 centimetres in streets less than eight metres wide; and 20 centimetres in streets with less than six metres' width.[253] In Sarajevo, further policies were devised to improve public order, safety, and traffic flow. The Street Police Ordinances *(Strassen-Polizei-Ordnung)* of 1881 banned all kinds of obstruction, storage or alteration works in streets.[254] Public space became increasingly tightly regulated. There were strict limits for opening hours of taverns and coffee-houses, and strict standards against noise pollution. The cracking of whips, for example, was strictly banned within the city. Busking and begging were made illegal. Prostitution was banned in the centre, but permitted in Nova Ulica, a specially developed street replete with its own police station, in the far west of Sarajevo.[255] Straightening and widening the streets of the inner city not only improved the flow of traffic, facilitated policing and surveillance and spur commercial activity.

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[250] Cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für die Stadt Straßburg aufgestellt vom Bürgermeisteramte* (Strasbourg: G. Fischbach, 1883), pp. 3–4, Art. 1 & 2.

[251] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 10, §25; cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 5, Art. 3.

[252] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 21–22, §67.

[253] Cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 6–7, Art. 3A.

[254] 'Strassen-Polizei-Ordnung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina, 12 April 1881, Nr. 7143', in *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen (1881)* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1881), p. 88.

[255] Regierungs-Commissär to Landesregierung, 30 March 1900, ABiH ZVS 125.900, 1900, Nr. 16028.

The second important component of the new building codes was fire safety. Fire had been a recurrent threat to both cities. Sarajevo had witnessed six major fires in the seventeenth century, five in the eighteenth, and at least two in the nineteenth century.[256] In both cities, the building codes specified that all new builds should be made from fired brick or stone, and roofs covered with fire-proof material.[257] All new builds had to have a staircase made of stone or other fire-proof materials. If combustible material was used in Sarajevo, the staircase had to be separated from the rest of the property with iron doors.[258] Existing roofs with wooden shingles or thatching had to be replaced within a grace period of fifteen years. Overhanging eaves had to be plastered over or clad in metal. In Strasbourg, timber buildings were limited to a maximum height of six metres. They had to be separated by at least five metres from neighbouring buildings.[259] In both cities, abutting buildings had to be separated by a fire wall that extended at least 30 centimetres above the roof surface. The only difference was that, while in Strasbourg, the firewall had to be at least 25 cm thick, in Sarajevo, it had to be 30 cm.[260] In Sarajevo, wooden sheds and outhouses had to be separated from the main building by a fire wall, and glass houses were only permissible if made from iron.[261] In Strasbourg, such buildings had to be separated from streets and neighbouring buildings by at least five metres.[262] In Sarajevo, brick and lime kilns were forbidden within the city boundaries; any other hazardous plant was only

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[256] Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti,* p. 73.

[257] *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 15–16, Art. 11a.

[258] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §40; cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 15–16, Art. 11a.

[259] Cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 17, Art. 13.

[260] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 19, §59; cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 16, Art. 11b.

[261] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 14, §43.

[262] *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 17–18, Art. 14.

permissible at a safe distance from other buildings.[263] Sheds to store firewood, building timber and coal had to be clad with fire-proof material.[264] In both cities, kitchens had to be floored with stone, brick, or chalk mortar.[265] In Sarajevo, smoke chambers also had to be lined with brick and separated from the rest of a building by an iron-clad door.[266] All turrets had to have lightning rods.[267] Fire safety measures were complemented by improvements in firefighting. In Sarajevo, in December 1879, the military administration founded a volunteers' fire brigade.[268] In 1882, the government established a professional fire brigade.[269] It built a fire station and a watchtower in the 1890s.[270] And 1911 saw the opening of a new, even bigger, fire station.[271]

Another important element of the building codes was hygiene. At a time when it was believed that most zymotic diseases were airborne, ventilation was of particular concern to policy makers.[272] Ventilation was one reason for policy makers to define minimum dimensions for windows. In Strasbourg, rooms had to have one square metre of window surface for every 30 cubic metres of

[263] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 15, §44.

[264] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 22, §70.

[265] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 17–19, §56; cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 21–22, Art. 20.

[266] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 19, §58.

[267] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 20, §62.

[268] Tatjana Neidhardt, *Sarajewo im Lauf der Zeit*, trans. by Rainer Walter Schmied (Sarajevo: Bosanska riječ, 2007), p. 204.

[269] 'Antheilnahme der Occupations-Truppen und der Heeres-Verwaltung an den Massnahmen zur Förderung der materiellen und culturellen Entwicklung Bosniens und der Hercegovina' (Verlag des Militär-Wissenschaftlichen Vereines, 1882), p. 2, OeStA, HHStA, PA XL 140-1, Generalkommando Sarajevo; Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 131; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, p. 28.

[270] 'Aussichtsthurm der Gemeinde-Feuerwehr Sarajevo', plan, April 1891, signed by the architect Jarol Meninsky, ABiH, Gradevinsko Ogjeljenje Zamalsjke Vlade (Baudepartment) 57, Nr. 227.

[271] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 28 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 171, p. 1; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 52.

[272] Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 205.

airspace.[273] In Sarajevo, windows had to be at least sixty centimetres wide and one meter tall.[274] In addition, every flat should have its own privy; and strictly no privy could be shared by more than two dwellings. Sanitary units were only permissible towards the back, not the street-facing side, of a building. They had to be at least ninety centimetres wide and had to include some means of ventilation. In Strasbourg, privy windows had to be at least 0.25 square metres.[275] In both cities, building codes specified standards for cesspits. Cess pits had to be waterproofed and covered air-proof. In Strasbourg, they had to be at least two metres from streets and wells.[276] In Sarajevo, they were not allowed any closer than two metres to the neighbouring plot. These regulations were of enormous importance until the two cities' sewerage networks were in place. In Strasbourg, the new alluvial sewer system, developed in the 1880s, initially only covered the New Town.[277] In Sarajevo, it took until 1896 for construction of the city's sewerage network to begin.[278] The Sarajevan building code stipulated, in addition, that all new builds should have fresh water-supply through their own well, or else access to the water supply network,[279] whose first section was opened in 1890.[280]

The fourth and final component of the building codes was structural soundness. The regulations in this area were stricter in Sarajevo than in Strasbourg. With good reason: like other Balkan cities, Sarajevo was prone to tectonic activity. In 1880 an earthquake that shook large parts of the Austria-Hungary, including Agram/Zagreb. In 1895, another earthquake almost

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[273] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 175.

[274] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, pp. 17, §55.

[275] Cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 33, Art. 30.

[276] Cf. *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, pp. 34–37, Art. 30.2.

[277] Nohlen, 'Introduction: La politique derrière les bâtiments', pp. 149–50.

[278] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 223.

[279] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §66.

[280] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 223.

completely destroyed Laibach/Ljubljana, an event which elicited emotional responses in nearby Sarajevo.[281] While the building code for Strasbourg only stated that 'buildings ha[d] to be executed in all parts in safe construction and in good, appropriate materials', the building codes for Sarajevo included more specific measures, such as minimum thicknesses for freestanding walls and structural walls, detailed regulations for hung ceilings and basements.[282] It impressed on property owners their duty to 'maintain their building in a sound state'.[283] For any property found in a state of disrepair, 'the owner is to be notified and, in the interest of public safety, to be ordered to demolish the building; if he does not comply within fifteen days after a second reminder, the building will be demolished by the public authority at the owner's expense'.[284]

For the first time in both cities' history, public authorities systematically enacted building standards. Until then, there had been no formal planning applications system in Sarajevo. In Strasbourg, building works had required little more than a notice to the municipal administration.[285] The new building codes put modern planning application systems in place in both Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Any new build, alteration or extensions now required a formal application to the authorities. Applicants had to submit a complete set of floor plans, a location plan, and, in the case of Sarajevo, a set of elevations, signed by a trained building professional.[286] In Sarajevo, there also was a formal appeals procedure and a mandatory site inspection involving the applicant, the architect,

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[281] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 8 May 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 37, p. 1.

[282] *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, p. Art. 35; *Bau-Ordnung für Sarajevo vom 14. Mai 1880* (Vienna: K. und k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1880), p. §45, §46, §51, §64, ZMBiH.

[283] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §72.

[284] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §72.

[285] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 495.

[286] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §1, §4, §6; *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, p. Art. 42, Art. 43.

and a representative of the municipality, which was open to neighbours and any other interested third parties.[287] In either city, no construction work was permitted before the application was approved and any deviation from the plans was strictly forbidden.[288] Move-in, then, was contingent on another official inspection.[289] The planning application system put municipal authorities in a position, for the first time, to oversee and ultimately control any kind of building activity. As we shall see in the next chapter, the intelligence created in this process would become instrumental to the further development of planning policy.

New building standards had important economic consequences. By raising the quality of construction, they forced investors to build more expensive and durable buildings. In Sarajevo, especially, the new planning application system, with its rigorous formal requirements put many of the city's established master builders out of business, while opening the doors to academically trained architects, who were used to designing elaborate and costly buildings.[290] In both cities, new building standards thus contributed to the authorities' strategy of value creation. Bourgeois citizens, officials thought, were less likely to rebel against a system in which they held high stakes. Value creation, then, was one of the reasons why citizens were not unilaterally opposed to the new building standards. By the end of the century, many middle-class citizens enthusiastically endorsed the increasing codification of the planning system. In Sarajevo in 1893, the government passed an update to the building code of 1880. 'With the publication

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[287] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §8, §9.

[288] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §13, §14; *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, p. Art. 45.

[289] 'Bauordnung für Sarajevo 1880', I, p. §22; *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883*, p. Art. 47.

[290] Nedžad Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1998), p. 19.

of the new building code for the regional capital of Sarajevo, there has been progress in the definitive development of communal governance', commented *Bosnische Post.*[291]

> 'With some justice, it may be expected that the definitive regulation of his highly important administrative area will strongly support the built development of our city and shall speed up its transformation into a modern capital [...] The present condition [of the city], like any provisional state, brought with it manifold issues, which were not best suited to encouraging entrepreneurial initiative. From now on, things should become different. Numerous obstacles, manifold costs and many expensive, ruinous court proceedings will be avoided by anyone who adheres strictly to the regulations of the new building code'.[292]

The imposition of increasingly rigorous standards, in other words, was no longer understood as an attack on individual freedoms, but rather as the basis for a climate of well-defined rights and responsibilities, in which property owners could invest without fear of unforeseen interference. We should think of the new building codes for Strasbourg and Sarajevo not so much as impositions on private property owners' freedom to build, as many had done in the 1870s, but rather as contracts that clearly defined the rights and responsibilities of citizens vis-à-vis those of the public administration.

By the end of the century, the planning laws of Strasbourg and Sarajevo were almost identical. The main reason was that planning law responded less to the

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[291] 'Die neue Bauordnung der Landeshauptstadt', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 2 September 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 70, p. 3.
[292] Ibid.

interests of imperial or regional governments, or municipal authorities, than to universalising policy guidelines that emanated from independent planning experts. These experts, as we have seen, were instrumental in breaking bourgeois opposition to greater public checks on private property. Liberal planning theorists like Baumeister proved effective in convincing the public that certain kinds of regulations were, in fact, in the interest of bourgeois property owners. Baumeister's policy recommendations were taken up by governments and, eventually, municipal authorities, in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In so doing, imperial officials furthered the ideas of liberal planning experts.

In all this, economy played a vital role. Plan design and planning law, as we have seen, were crucially influenced by material interests. This raises the question of how, then, the material agenda of urban planning related to the wider cultural, ideological, and geopolitical ambitions behind urban planning that many historians of Strasbourg and Sarajevo have foregrounded. This question will be explored in the next sections.

1.7   Notables' Politics

The increasing involvement of citizens was not limited to urban planning. It contributed to a wider political development, a climate in which local elites were given greater powers to influence urban affairs in both Strasbourg and Sarajevo. This phenomenon has been variedly referred to as 'indirect rule' or, in the case of Strasbourg, as 'notables' politics'. In both cities, imperial officials were eager to court local elites. The reasons for this strategy were, again, similar between Strasbourg and Sarajevo. They were related to great demographic changes.

In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, the central European empires faced the challenge of mass emigration. Many citizens were opposed to German and, respectively, Austro-Hungarian occupation.[293] In Alsace-Lorraine, inhabitants were given a choice between becoming German or emigrating. Between 128,000 and 150,000 people, almost ten percent of the region's population, chose emigration.[294] 50,000 had left the region by October 1872 already.[295] This movement was large enough to destabilise the region's economic, social and political relations. The so-called 'optants' who chose to leave Alsace-Lorraine comprised of the region's intellectual and economic elites. Affluent urbanites exited the region, while peasants and artisans remained.[296] Entrepreneurs and professionals were particularly quick to pack their bags. The entire jurisdictional class, judges and lawyers, more than half of all notaries and teachers, and almost

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[293] Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 44–55; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 143–51; Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 171.

[294] Stalmann, *Fürst Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst,* p. 168; Werner Lacoste, 'Die Reichsfestung Straßburg 1871-1914', in *Straßburg. Die Geschichte seiner Befestigungen*, ed. by Peter Skibbe, 3rd edn (Saarbrücken, 1997), pp. 54–110 (p. 54).

[295] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 174.

[296] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, pp. 174–75.

all university professors left the region.[297] The French government lured emigrants away with free concessions for land in the colonies, tax breaks and free removal services.[298] In Paris, the *École alsacienne* was founded for the children of émigrés. Young men, who wished to avoid service in the German military, pragmatically opted for emigration. By 1879, the *Daily Telegraph* observed that almost all 'young, energetic, and thoroughly French residents [...] have emigrated to France'.[299] The region stood at risk of being depleted of some of its most valuable resources.

In Sarajevo, Habsburg officials faced challenges not dissimilar to their peers in Strasbourg. When the Austro-Hungarian military conquered Sarajevo in 1878, they encountered there a population largely hostile to their new overlords.[300] They also found a city that was being depleted of its administrative, intellectual, and professional elites. The advent of the Habsburg empire had triggered an exodus of the city's ruling classes to the heartlands of the Ottoman empire. Exact figures are difficult to obtain, though we know, for instance, that there were too few civil servants left to ensure the continued operation of the existing civilian administration.[301] There emerged a vivid debate among Muslims on whether to emigrate or remain, a debate that would go on for more than a

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[297] Ludwig Spack, 'Buchbesprechung: Elsaß-Lothringen unter deutscher Verwaltung. Eine Denkschrift von Georg Mitscher, Landgerichtsrath zu Straßburg, Berlin 1874, Verlag von Mitscher und Köstell', *Strassburger Zeitung* (Strasbourg, 1875), Nr. 64, BNUS, M 9 930.

[298] Christiane Kohser-Spohn, 'Der Traum vom gemeinsamen Europa: Autonomiebewegungen und Regionalismus im Elsaß, 1870-1970', in *Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Philipp Ther and Holm Sundhaussen (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2003), pp. 89–112 (p. 94).

[299] 'His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor William', *Daily Telegraph* (London, 29 September 1879), p. 4.

[300] Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 44–55; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 143–51; Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition*.

[301] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 249; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 188–89.

decade.[302] Scholars' estimates for the total number of emigrees ranges from 65,000 to 260,000, while some contemporary sources circulated figures as high as 700,000, testifying to the highly emotional nature of the emigration question.[303] The threat of Muslim emigration was particularly pertinent as Muslims made up the region's economic elites. Most land in Bosnia-Herzegovina was owned by Muslims.[304] Emigration, as a result, became a major threat.

In response to these pressures, the two empires pursued decidedly pro-elite strategies in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Their representatives sought to incorporate, and placate, local elites. In the 1870s and 1880s, Bismarck's government pursued a strategy of so-called notables' politics *(Notablenpolitik)* in Alsace-Lorraine.[305] This term, though it originated in Napoleonic France, has been used by some historians to describe the political culture of Germany's Bismarck era, a political culture still dominated by individuals rather than mass parties.[306] To contemporaries in Alsace-Lorraine, notables' politics meant something more. It denoted a deliberate political strategy of winning over the local elites by catering to their specific needs. In Alsace-Lorraine, notables' politics was a deliberate strategy to win over established local elites, thus limiting the brain drain to France and creating a stable power base for the German regime. By empowering local elites economically as well as politically, Bismarck hoped to raise their stakes in the new system. After all, entrepreneurs, investors, professionals,

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[302] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 187–92; Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition.*

[303] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 189–90.

[304] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 57.

[305] For a contemporary perspective, see Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm,* pp. 51–52.

[306] Christopher Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Life in Power* (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 76; Thomas Nipperdey, *Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961).

and propertied citizens would have little interest in changing a political and economic system in which they themselves were heavily invested.[307]

In Sarajevo, imperial officials pursued a similar strategy. The historian Clemens Ruthner has called this strategy 'indirect rule', drawing parallels to British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent.[308] While Sarajevo's Muslims, who feared for their established freedoms and privileges, remained suspicious of the occupiers, Austro-Hungarian officials did all that they could to render Muslims pillars of the new regime.[309] 'Your laws and institutions shall not be wilfully altered; your customs and traditions shall be spared. Nothing shall be altered by force without mature deliberation of necessities', read the official declaration to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, issued by the Emperor Franz Josef on 28 July 1878.[310] Joint Finance Minister József Szlávy (1818-1900) sought to build his government on 'personalities who appear able to influence their coreligionists because of their integrity, education, irreproachable conduct, and social status', as he wrote in 1880.[311] Imperial officials directed their policies at the maintenance of existing social and economic relations, in a bid to convince local elites of their continued protection and prosperity by the state.

Indirect rule led to a strengthening of bourgeois participation in Sarajevo. This contributed to an earlier development towards greater political

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[307] Cf. Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs,* pp. 23–88; Hermann Hiery, *Reichstagswahlen im Reichsland: Ein Beitrag zur Landesgeschichte von Elsass-Lothringen und zur Wahlgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches 1871–1918*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 80 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986), pp. 85–92.

[308] Ruthner, 'Bosnien-Herzegowina als k. u. k. Kolonie', p. 38.

[309] Behija Zlatar and others, *Sarajevo: Ulice, Trgovi, Mostovi, Parkovi, Spomenici, Općina Stari Grad* (Sarajevo: Skupstina Kantona Sarajevo, 2006), p. 14.

[310] 'Die Anwendung des allgemeinen bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches in Bosnien und der Hercegovina', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 16 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 136, p. 1.

[311] Szlávy to Dahlen, Vienna, 24 August 1880, OeStA: HHStA, Politisches Archiv, XL, 210, quoted in Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 73.

representation among the urban elites. In 1877, one year before the Congress of Berlin, the Ottoman municipal ordinances had introduced city councils in most cities of the empire.[312] In Sarajevo, these ordinances could not be implemented by the time of the Habsburg conquest.[313] Nevertheless, there were councils of elders for each of Sarajevo's residential districts *(mahalas)*.[314] On 22 August 1878, four days after the conquest of Sarajevo, the Austro-Hungarian military command passed a provisory municipal statute, which installed a city council for the first time. Councillors were initially appointed by the military command.[315] The military command also appointed a mayor, Mustaj-beg Fadilpasić (1830-1892), one of Bosnia's wealthiest landowners. The council and mayor were given certain competencies, which were expanded further in the municipal statutes of 1884 and 1907.[316] Aside from policing, schooling and poor relief, these responsibilities included policing, fire safety, street lighting, water supply and sewerage, tasks that played an important role in the development of Sarajevo.[317]

Sarajevo's highly restrictive municipal suffrage laws, which excluded a majority of the urban population from meaningful participation, meant that the city council remained an elite institution even after the first elections were held in 1884. According to the new municipal statutes, one third of council seats were reserved for local notables appointed by the regional government. The remaining two thirds of councillors were elected by a small body of male citizens above the age of twenty-four who exceeded a specific tax threshold. By contrast, all civil

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[312] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 129.

[313] Ibid.

[314] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 27 January 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 8, p. 1.

[315] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, pp. 129–30; Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878,* p. 68; Sparks, *Sarajevo*; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske*, pp. 28–29.

[316] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* pp. 80, 128.

[317] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 130.

servants, regardless of tax, enjoyed the right to vote. The first elections of 1884 saw no more than 839 voters.[318] This narrow franchise was the key reason why social democracy never gained a foothold in the city council throughout the Austro-Hungarian period. In addition to privileging economic and social elites, the composition of the council followed a confessional key. From 1878 to 1884, the council consisted of six Orthodox Serbs, five Muslims, four Jews and three Catholics. In 1884, the council was expanded from eighteen to twenty-seven, giving greater weight to the landowning Muslims. Of the twenty-seven members, twelve were now Muslims, six Orthodox Serbs, three Roman Catholics, and three Jews.[319]

In Strasbourg, participation in municipal politics proved even more exclusive. Following a row over the French nationalism in 1873, Bismarck suspended the city council and dismissed the elected mayor, Ernest Lauth. Citizens were stripped of their voting rights at the municipal level.[320] In the council's stead, the German-appointed acting mayors relied on the support of a small group of bourgeois landowners, professionals, and entrepreneurs, and especially on bourgeois institutions such as the local chamber of commerce, as we have seen in the events surrounding the planning competition in 1878. Here, too, the class structure of local politics carried religious implications. In contrast with the majority of the population, most of the city's economic elites that thus dominated municipal politics in the first decades of the German annexation were,

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[318] Sparks, pp. 35, 38; Asbóth, János, *An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1890), p. 185-86.
[319] Donia, *Sarajevo,* p. 74; Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, pp. 129–30; Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878*, p. 68; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* pp. 28–29.
[320] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 88; Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit,* pp. 1–16; Adolph Ernst von Ernsthausen, *Erinnerungen eines preußischen Beamten* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1894), pp. 330–41.

like their Prussian rulers, Protestants.[321] It was not until 1886 that municipal elections were reintroduced – with important political effects, as will be shown in chapter 3.

We have already seen how, in both Strasbourg and Sarajevo, planning policy was shaped by the involvement of bourgeois citizens. For public officials, planning became part of a wider effort to appease local elites. Yet by the end of the century, many felt that it was no longer enough to cater to bourgeois citizens. Planners had to respond to new demands from much wider sections of society. This process is the subject of the next chapter.

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[321] Vogler, Bernard, *Geschichte des Elsass* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), p. 148.

Figure 16: The Emperor Franz Josef I (1830-1916) in conversation with Muslim notables in Sarajevo, 1910. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

1.8   Infrastructure

According to Baumeister, general plans, expropriation laws, and building codes were the three central instruments of urban planning.[322] They were not, however, the only components. More conspicuous, and just as costly, were the interventions that we today consider as 'infrastructure'. These construction projects, from embankments, to sewerage, public transport, schools, and museums, were what officials and visitors remarked upon when they wanted to illustrate the modernity of their city. They also constituted a major part of investment in the two cities, swallowing up major shares of government and municipal budgets. They busied increasingly large staffs of architects and engineers in the civil service and transformed the public face of the two cities.

Following their conquest, Strasbourg and Sarajevo witnessed a veritable explosion of public infrastructures. In the 1870s, both cities were, in the eyes of citizens as well as external observers, lacking most of the amenities that distinguished truly modern European cities. By the eve of the First World War however, Strasbourg and Sarajevo had entered the ranks of such cities. They boasted sewerage, water supply, electrical street lighting, electrical trams, state-of-the arts hospitals, museums, and theatres.

Most scholars have understood these infrastructures as manifestations of imperial powers. Historians have often foregrounded the extraordinary efforts taken by central governments to integrate Strasbourg and Sarajevo into their respective empires. They have, for instance, portrayed the grand public architecture of New Town Strasbourg as reflecting an official programme of 'Germanisation', an idea that was indeed central to the ambitions of many

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[322] Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag'.

imperial officials in Strasbourg.[323] Similarly, scholars of Sarajevo have typically linked the infrastructural innovations of the Austro-Hungarian period to that empire's 'civilising mission', an quasi-colonial strategy of carrying civilisation to supposedly backward areas of south-eastern Europa, which became a ubiquitous trope of Habsburg imperial politics from the 1870s.[324] It is not surprising that historians have emphasized the role of empire: imperial officials in Strasbourg and Sarajevo were keen to frame infrastructural innovations as the achievements of their respective regimes.

This section challenges that narrative, for it tends to overemphasise the role of high politics. Instead, it is argued that the infrastructural transformations of Strasbourg and Sarajevo were not so much specific to their respective imperial regimes, as they reflected wider tendencies towards more active municipal governance and civic patronage that were shared across nineteenth-century Europe. While it is certainly true that imperial and military authorities inspired many of the modern infrastructural projects of Strasbourg and Sarajevo, their implementation was unthinkable without bourgeois stakeholders. Perhaps ironically, the imperial predicament and the geopolitical significance of both cities actually spurred the involvement of civic elites: the empires' prioritising investment in military infrastructure meant that there was comparatively little government funding available for civilian infrastructure. City councils, chambers of commerce, and civic associations filled the void. This process unfolded at

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[323] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 32; Claude, 'La germanisation de Strasbourg après 1871'; 'Germanising Alsace', *Daily Telegraph* (London, 30 October 1874), p. 5.

[324] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 34; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 175–76; Ruthner, 'Bosnien-Herzegowina als k. u. k. Kolonie', pp. 31, 40; Julia Rüdiger, 'Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularität(en) im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat', *ERC 758099 Working Paper*, 2 (2018), 1–13 (p. 11); Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnien und Herzegowina: eine Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna: Folio-Verlag, 1998), p. 142; Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism,* pp. 1–3, 26.

different speeds, and in different manners, between the two cities. In Strasbourg, the urban extension ushered in a gradual withdrawal of the military authorities from the task of urban planning. The municipality was forced to adopt an entrepreneurial role, which, in turn, emboldened local politicians and administrators to involve themselves in other kinds of ventures, too. In Sarajevo, where the city council was less inclined to fulfil an entrepreneurial role, the initiative for key infrastructures came from landowners, entrepreneurs, or civic associations.

Empire, in truth, played a diminishing role in the provision of public infrastructures. While both cities' infrastructural transformations were commenced by military authorities, it was bourgeois citizens, middle-class immigrants, religious communities, and city councils that took over responsibility for the bulk of infrastructural development. Those who inspired infrastructural investment were often more concerned with recreating public amenities that could be found throughout Europe, rather than with catering to any specifically German or Austro-Hungarian symbolism. In this process, they paid relatively little attention to national or imperial boundaries. Instead, they developed links to metropolitan centres all across Europe. As a result, their development displayed striking similarities in this respect, too.

After the conquest, the infrastructural development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo followed predominantly military rationales. In Strasbourg, we have seen, the first steps towards an urban transformation were governed by the Prussian general staff. Military authorities invested large sums in the construction of new forts, ramparts, city gates, and army barracks. In Sarajevo, similarly, the greatest infrastructural projects of the 1870s and 1880s were of military nature. The

existing government and military buildings that Austria-Hungary had taken over from the Ottomans were not enough to accommodate the new military administration and accommodate the armed forces. It is telling, in this regard, that the first major public building of Habsburg Sarajevo was an officers' mess, the so-called casino. It was founded in 1878 by Filipović, the conquering military commander.[325] In 1880, Filipović's successor, Württemberg, laid the foundations for a new purpose-designed casino on the banks of the Miljacka.[326] It developed into the centre of military and civilian social life in the early years of the occupation. Accommodating army personal became one of the key priorities in public building. By 1882, work was under way for the new infantry barracks in the city's west. In the same year, a railway station was built to the south-west of the barracks.[327] The early years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation saw the opening of Sarajevo's first railway connections, to Zenica, in 1879, to Brod, in 1882, and to Metković, on the Adriatic coast, in 1892.[328] The high priority that the military-led government placed on these projects suggests that railway building was seen as integral to the movement of troops and equipment. In 1883, the government launched a road building initiative.[329] In both cities, military authorities invested heavily in infrastructure of strategic importance.

In both cities, the initial dominance of military authorities gradually waned. The two empires' military increasingly yielded power to civilian authorities. Bismarck's appointment of the jurist Eduard Moeller (1814-1880) as

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[325] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 18.

[326] See the plans for the opening ceremony, Sarajevo, 29 April 1880, ABiH, ZVS 7. IV/9 (1880).

[327] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 39.

[328] Dževad Juzbašić, *Izgradnja željeznica u Bosni i Hercegovini u svjetlu austrougarske politike od okupacije do kraja Kálayave ere* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1974), p. 101; Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 65; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 220–23.

[329] ABiH, ZVS 30.28/36 (1883).

Supreme President of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 put an end to a brief period of military administration in Strasbourg. In 1879, the creation of a regional government, the so-called Ministry for Alsace-Lorraine, further increased the involvement of civilian officials in the running of the regional executive. In Sarajevo, too, an initial period of exclusive military administration gave way to the increasing involvement of civilian officials. Seminal to this development was the appointment of Benjámin von Kállay as Austro-Hungarian finance minister in 1882. Kállay, an ex-ambassador to Belgrade and an expert on Balkan affairs, assumed oversight over the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had hitherto been in the hands of the imperial military.

The growing involvement of civilian authorities was reflected in the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In both cities, the civilian governments increasingly invested in public construction. In Strasbourg, as the New Town development progressed, the imperial and regional governments involved themselves in the design and delivery of a whole string of major public buildings, such as the Imperial Palace (1884-1890), the Regional Committee (1888-1892), the university, the post office (1896-1899), two ministerial buildings (1899-1901, 1906-1911), and the new university and state library (1889-1895).[330]

In Sarajevo, too, there was intensified interest and investment in civilian infrastructure. In September 1883, Kállay travelled to the city to gain a clearer picture of its transformation.[331] In collaboration with the Viennese architect Josip Vancaš (1859-1932), a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts and mentee of the Ringstrasse architect Friedrich Schmidt (1825-1891), he determined a building

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[330] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*.
[331] Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 14.

site for a Catholic cathedral.[332] He also instructed Württemberg, the military governor, to purchase a site for a new government headquarter.[333] Construction on this project began in March 1884, and was finished in 1885.[334] The same years saw the construction of a tram line to connect the city centre to the emergent station and government district in the city's west.[335] In 1882, the regional government established a planning office for road construction, water infrastructure, and public buildings. In 1884, the planning office was elevated to the ranks of a fully developed government department *(Sektion)*, on a par with the departments for finance, justice, and the interior.[336] Its team of in-house architects and engineers became responsible for the design of all public building projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1898, the department employed 29 civil servants.[337] In 1899, it was restructured to incorporate the district building departments, now comprising of 83 staff.[338] A year later, in 1900, it had grown to a total of 117 officials.[339]

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[332] Kállay to the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vienna, 12 December 1883, ABiH ZVS 28. 13/287 (1883).

[333] Edmund Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegovina von Beginn der Occupation durch die Oesterreichische Monarchie bis an das Jahr 1887* (Vienna: Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina, 1887), pp. 86–94; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 61–62.

[334] 'Bau des Regierungsgebäudes', *Bosnische Post*, 20 March 1884, Vol. 1, Nr. 23.

[335] ABiH, ZVS 36. 9 (1884).

[336] Military governor *(Landeschef)* to district administrations *(Kreisbehörden)*, Sarajevo, 1 August 1884, ABiH, ZVS 35. 1/81 (1884).

[337] *Bosnischer Bote: Universal-Hand und Adressbuch nebst Kalender für alle Confessionen für Bosnien-Hercegovina*, ed. by Adolf Walny (Sarajevo: Commissionsverlag der k. u. k. Hofdruckerei und Verlagshandlung Carl Fromme, 1898), p. 74.

[338] *Bosnischer Bote: Universal-Hand und Adressbuch nebst Kalender für alle Confessionen für Bosnien-Hercegovina*, ed. by Adolf Walny (Sarajevo: Commissionsverlag der k. u. k. Hofdruckerei und Verlagshandlung Carl Fromme, 1899), p. 10.

[339] *Bosnischer Bote: Universal-Hand und Adressbuch nebst Kalender für alle Confessionen für Bosnien-Hercegovina*, ed. by Adolf Walny (Sarajevo: Commissionsverlag der k. u. k. Hofdruckerei und Verlagshandlung Carl Fromme, 1900), pp. 93–94.

While civilian governments increasingly instigated, planned, and implemented infrastructural projects, they rarely paid for these projects. In both cities, government officials tried to involve local institutions in funding infrastructural development. Municipalities found themselves under growing pressure to contribute funds. One example was the regulation of the river Miljacka, the most complex, lengthy, and expensive infrastructural project of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo. For most of the year, the Miljacka is but a gentle stream. But in the spring, rainfalls and snow in the mountains can turn it into a raging torrent. Recurring floods posed a threat to the city centre, whose small lanes, private residences, and coffee-houses came right up to the riverbank. In 1880, the military administration began planning for a river regulation, which would see the bed of the Miljacka lowered, straightened, and canalised, along with the creation of solid embankments on either side, inspired by similar projects in cities such as London (1862-69) and Vienna (1870-75).[340] Heavy floods in early 1881 lent the project further urgency.[341] But funding was difficult to attain. The government suggested that the municipality should pay for the project, while city councillors maintained that thy lacked the funds. As a compromise, the government covered the major part of the construction cost, the municipality paid for the necessary expropriations. In exchange, the government secured the right to sell the building land created along the new embankment, totalling 16,117 square metres, west of Čobanija Bridge.[342] The sale of these plots alone, whose value doubled or tripled in the course of the regulation, covered between 30 and

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[340] ABiH ZVS 2 s. 15755, 1879-80.

[341] Zlatar and others, *Sarajevo,* p. 14; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 223.

[342] Philipp Ballif, *Wasserbauten in Bosnien und der Hercegovina: Flussbauten und Wasserleitungen*, 2 vols (Vienna: Bosnisch-Hercegovinische Landesregierung, 1899), II, pp. 70–72.

50 percent of the project's total cost.[343] Construction commenced in 1886, followed by the opening of Ćumurija Bridge (1886), of Skenderija Bridge (1893), a prefabricated iron construction allegedly designed by the French engineer Gustave Eiffel (1832-1923), Gymnasium Bridge (1899), and the Emperor's Bridge (1897), a concrete-and-steel construction which included electrical lighting.[344] By 1893, the eastern section of the Miljacka embankment had been completed up to Čobanija Bridge. In 1893, the Koševo stream, which separated the old parts of the city from the new station district, was canalised.[345] And by 1897, the entire river had been regulated.[346] The response of the citizenry was, on the whole, positive. According to the planner Philipp Ballif, the municipality made a handsome profit after purchasing and re-selling land on the riverbank between the Latin Bridge and the eastern end of the city. 'The extraordinary increase of municipal income, and the recognition of the great advantages of modern urban facilities *(moderne Städteeinrichtungen)'*, commented Ballif in 1899, 'has completely changed the local citizenry's perception, and has made them open to the advantages of this project'.[347]

In Strasbourg, too, government increasingly relied on the cooperation of municipal authorities. Just as in Sarajevo, waterways played an important role in this development. At the time of the annexation, the navigable section of the river Rhine extended only as far as Mannheim, 140 kilometres north of Strasbourg. As

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[343] Based on the project's total cost of 566,116 forints and land values between 10 and 20 forints per square metre, cf. Ballif, *Wasserbauten in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, II, pp. 69, 74.

[344] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 49; *Sarajevo*, ed. by Nedim Mahić, trans. by Ingrid Kostić and Predrag Kostić (Ljubljana: Delo, 1975), p. 96; Miroslav Prstojević, *Zaboravljeno Sarajevo* (Sarajevo: Ideja, 1991), p. 64.

[345] 'Bauthätigkeit in Sarajevo: Saison 1893', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 17 November 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 92, pp. 3–4.

[346] 'Unser Bauwesen im Jahre 1892', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 1 January 1892), Vol. 9, Nr. 1, p. 1; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 49; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 223.

[347] Ballif, *Wasserbauten in Bosnien und der Hercegovina,* II, p. 69.

long as the city's main business was with France, this had not been a problem. The annexation, however, coupled with subsequent restrictions on trade with France, made it necessary to improve access to the German markets. The importance of a river regulation was widely agreed in the 1878 planning competition.[348] A temporary port was created just outside Metzgertor/Porte des Bouchers, and completed in 1892, while planners awaited a final decision on the Rhine regulation. Implementation, however, proved difficult.[349] Negotiations involved the governments of Alsace-Lorraine, of Baden and Bavaria. The latter were reluctant to help fund to a project whose main beneficiary, they maintained, was Alsace-Lorraine. The government of Baden, especially, feared Strasbourg's competition for its own industrial port, Mannheim. Berlin declined to contribute for fears that the project could develop into a drain on the imperial budget. It was not until 1901 that negotiators reached a provisional agreement: Alsace-Lorraine should cover half the cost of the Rhine regulation, Baden, and Bavaria the remaining half. The state parliament of Baden, however, voted the proposal down. It took a further three years, until 1904, for an alternative to emerge. Baden now demanded that Alsace-Lorraine increase its share of the cost from 13.5 million mark to 14.5 million mark. Increasingly impatient, the government of Alsace-Lorraine passed the extra cost of one million mark on to the municipality of Strasbourg.[350] Despite bitter complaints, councillors widely agreed that Strasbourg's prosperity and long-term development would depend on the river regulation.[351] In 1905, the city council approved its contribution. Construction

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[348] 'Protokoll der Commission zur Feststellung des Bebauungsplanes für die Stadt Straßburg', Strasbourg, 22-28 September 1878, AVES, 159 MW 102.

[349] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 25–32.

[350] Ibid.

[351] Ibid.

began in 1906.[352] Under the leadership of the engineer Moritz Eisenlohr (1855-1924), a seasoned infrastructure planner who had overseen the recent port extension in Mannheim, the municipality built a new port on Sporeninsel, a river island west to the New Town, which soon dwarfed the existing docks in the city's south. Rhine traffic in Strasbourg would grow by factor 180, from 11,000 tons in 1892 to 1,989,000 tons in 1913. Linking the city to the industrial regions of Rhine and Ruhr, to the Netherlands and to the North Sea, the regulation project became, as French President Raymond Poincaré (1860-1934) later put it, the 'source of Alsace's wealth' for decades to come.[353]

The role of the municipality grew steadily. After the turn of the century, the municipality, rather than the government, became the most important provider of public infrastructure in Strasbourg.[354] It was in an advantageous position. Not only did the municipality boast savings from the French Second Empire.[355] By the end of the century, the sale of building land in the New Town was generating a healthy income stream. In the 1890s, payment obligations to the empire ceased. The fact that Bismarck had forced the municipality into financial risk paid off. What is more, thanks to the city's well-established banking sector, the municipal administration enjoyed easy access to loans. Legal innovations, such as hereditary lease and cooperative law, which shall be explored in the next chapter, provided municipal officials with opportunities to deliver infrastructural projects while limiting the requirement for upfront capital. Municipal planners built not only streets, squares, bridges, embankments, and docks, but also infrastructure for public health, culture, and education. New educational

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[352] Ferdinand Geigel, *Rheinregulierung und kein Ende* (Strasbourg, 1906), BNUS, M.112.894.

[353] Quoted after Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 35.

[354] Nohlen, 'Introduction: La politique derrière les bâtiments', pp. 149–50.

[355] Back, *Aus Straßburgs jüngster Vergangenheit*.

institutions included a high school (1888), a school for arts and crafts (1892), a commercial college (1910), a school for girls (1900) and new elementary schools in the suburbs of Ruprechtsau (1901), Musau (1906), and Neudorf (1909), and in the parish of St. Thomas (1907).[356] The municipality built an orphanage and a public bath, a new central cemetery and, adding to the existing two cemeteries, two further ones in the city's north and south.[357] In the New Town, the municipality built a modern alluvial sewer system modelled on cities such as Vienna, Paris, London, and Hamburg.[358] Particularly ambitious was the new civic hospital, which engaged the municipality in lengthy negotiations with the empire. In 1906, the municipality bought a disused military site of 19 hectares from the empire for a sum of 2.5 million mark. The hospital design, by the architects Paul (1877-1956) and Karl Bonatz (1882-1951), followed the so-called pavilion system. Characterised by a series of free-standing individual buildings around a hospital campus, the system, which was popularised across Europe from the 1870s, was intended to prevent the spread of diseases. Strasbourg's hospital comprised separate buildings for gynaecology, paediatrics, psychiatry, neurology, surgery, dermatology, otology, sexually transmitted diseases, for infectious diseases, a

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[356] Clément Keller, 'Les écoles strasbourgeoises: Constitution d'un patrimoine remarquable', *Metacult Cahier / Arbeitsheft*, 5 (2016), 28–62; Fritz Beblo, 'Die Baukunst in Elsass-Lothringen', in *Reichslandwerk: Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Elsass-Lothringen 1871-1918*, ed. by Georg Wolfram, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Elsass-Lothringen-Institut, 1934), III, 241–64; Wolfgang Voigt, 'Préserver le Charactère d'une ville: Paul Dopff und Strassburg', in *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne. Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940*, ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 425–99 (p. 427); Cohen, 'L'encyclopédie et le palimpseste', p. 44.
[357] *Geschichte der räumlichen Entwicklung der Stadt Straßburg*, ed. by Ch. Goehner and F. Brumder (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1935), p. 26; Rudolf Schwander, 'Anlage neuer und Schließung bestehender Friedhöfe' (Strasbourg, 1910), BNUS, M749021.
[358] Nohlen, 'Introduction: La politique derrière les bâtiments', pp. 149–50.

department for X-ray, a maternity ward with an integrated nursing college, a bath house, and several outbuildings.[359]

In Sarajevo, the municipality was in a less advantageous position financially. At the onset of the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, the municipality had virtually no savings, and, in contrast with Strasbourg, as good as no experience in infrastructural development.[360] The city council only dated back to 1876, when Ottoman reforms established a municipal administration after the precedent of the major European powers. In contrast with Strasbourg, Sarajevo had a weakly-developed banking sector. The city's anomalous political position meant that lending houses were often reluctant to issue loans. It had only been since 1876 that the municipality could raise revenue through levies on import, livestock, butchery, market stalls, property transactions, and road tolls.[361] In 1879, Austro-Hungarian officials made first plans to help increase municipal revenues. In 1880, the municipality was allowed to apply a surcharge to property tax, rental income tax and income tax.[362] In 1884, the government granted permission for further surcharges on indirect taxes such as on tobacco and salt.[363] This was welcomed enthusiastically in the press. 'The municipal surcharge has been approved', commented one newspaper, 'in other words, the foundation has been laid for the regional capital to take this opportunity and to join itself to the ranks of the most advanced cities of Europe', adding: 'the municipality has become credit-worthy at one stroke, and we may regard a loan for the construction of water supply, of a sewerage network, and the regulation of the river Miljacka, as

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[359] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 44–45.

[360] Szlávy, 'Zur Orientirung', p. 5.

[361] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina*, pp. 787–89.

[362] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina*, pp. 786–87.

[363] For an overview of indirect taxes, see Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina*, pp. 776–78.

secure'.[364] Improvements in the municipality's tax revenue, it was hoped, would also improve its position on the financial markets. This prediction, however, did not always hold up.

Municipal politicians often had to look hard for funding. This also meant that they became increasingly proficient at using the city's complex and dynamic political system to their advantage. In 1913, for instance, the city council made arrangements to send mayoral deputies Damjanović and Nikola Mandić to Paris to negotiate a loan of the equivalent of 8 million crowns.[365] Austria-Hungary, anxious to prevent tightening links between the city and the French Republic, which also was a large creditor to Serbia, stepped in. When Joint Minister of Finance Leon Biliński (1846-1923) heard of the council's plans, the empire, reluctantly, granted a loan for water supply, gas works and street paving. [366]

Limited budgets led local politicians to partner with civic institutions. An especially important role was played by Muslim elites. Large parts of Sarajevo were owned by Muslim charitable trusts, the so-called *waqfs,* many of which dated back the heydays of Ottoman rule in the seventeenth century. In 1883, the regional government united the city's various waqfs in a central Waqf Commission *(Vakufs-Commission)*, a committee of Muslim leaders who managed the waqfs' disparate land holdings throughout the city.[367] The Commission's first president was Mustajbeg Fadilpasić, one of Bosnia's largest landowners and mayor of Sarajevo.[368] In 1895, the Commission became part of a much larger, Regional

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[364] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 18 September 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 74, p. 1.

[365] Potiorek to Biliński, Sarajevo, 26 June 1913, OeStA, KA NL 1503-2.

[366] Ibid.

[367] ABiH, ZVS 33. 46/153 (1883).

[368] Robert Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina (1878-1914),* East European Monographs, 78 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 22–25; Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 674–76, 685; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 225.

Waqf Commission *(Landes-Vakufs-Commission),* covering the entirety of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with capital holdings valued at 5 million forints and an annual income of 300,000 forints. 'The Waqf Commission', commented one journalist in 1895, 'will be able to involve itself in larger ventures, where its capital can be invested more profitably than ever before'.[369] By this point, the Commission engaged in entrepreneurial ventures, including residential and commercial developments, mortgages, and loans.[370]

The Muslim community became an indispensable partner in infrastructural development. In 1884, for instance, the Waqf Commission sold the government a building site for its new headquarters, a former Muslim prayer-ground, for the price of 4,000 forint.[371] A year later, it leased the adjacent Muslim cemeteries of Čekrečinica and Sehitluk to the government, to form a new park, a project initiated by the Muslim city councillor Mehmed-beg Kapetanovič Ljubusk in 1879.[372] Land transactions were only one of many ways in which the Waqf Commission drove urban development. Infrastructural projects such as water and electricity relied on loans and direct contributions from the waqfs. Between 1884 and 1890, the waqfs contributed 100,000 crowns towards a water supply system from the springs at the Yellow Bastion and Mošćanica. The empire contributed 160,000 crowns; the remainder was paid by the council.[373] By the end of 1898, the city boasted four reservoirs, 145 hydrants and 44.3 kilometres of

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[369] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 12 February 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 13, p. 1.

[370] Vakufskommission, 'Wohnungen zu vermieten', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 2 August 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 175, p. 7.

[371] Madžar, 'Sto godina Vladine zgrade u Sarajevu', p. 252.

[372] Minutes of the Waqf Commission, 8 November 1885, ABiH ZVS 46.15/311; cf. Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 26; Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 14.

[373] 'Wasserleitung', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 4 December 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 4, p. 3; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo,* p. 49.

water pipes.[374] In 1895, the Commission agreed to install hydrants for street cleaning outside its properties in return for an exemption from municipal water surcharges.[375] By negotiating a land swap between its holdings on the river bank and a site in Koševogasse, the Commission also helped facilitate the regulation of the Miljacka.[376] Many of the great infrastructural projects of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo were developed in cooperation with the waqfs. Between 1878 and 1914, according to one estimate, at least ten million crowns were spent on sewerage, a power plant, a modern water supply system, the tramway, street lighting and fire brigade.[377] By 1903, most of the city was connected to the sewerage system.[378] From 1895 on, a power plant provided electrical energy to private households.[379] In April that year, the first lightbulb was lit in Sarajevo.[380] By 1898, there were estimated to have been 12,000 light bulbs across the city.[381] These infrastructures, chimed one newspaper, set 'Sarajevo among the ranks of the most advanced cultural centres'.[382]

Cooperation between Muslims and public authorities was not always smooth. Especially in the early years of the occupation, many Bosnian Muslims remained sceptical about modern infrastructures. City councillor Mustajbeg Mutevelić, for instance, called the idea of a hospital for infectious diseases 'Swabian nonsense' *(svapska besposlica),* using a term that was widely used (also in

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[374] Walny, *Bosnischer Bote 1899*, p. 188.
[375] 'Aus dem Gemeinderathe', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 7 August 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 63, p. 3.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* p. 130.
[378] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 49; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* pp. 32–33.
[379] 'Electricitätswerk in Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 29 January 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 9, p. 3.
[380] Iljas Hadžibegović and Edin Radušic, 'Od orijentalno-islamskog do evropskog gradove', in *Svjetlost Evrope u Bosni i Hercegovini*, ed. by Ismet Huseinović and Dzemaludin Babić (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2004), pp. 19–36 (p. 32).
[381] Walny, *Bosnischer Bote 1898*, p. 189.
[382] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 6 July 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 54, p. 1.

Alsace-Lorraine) to disparage Germans.[383] Another example of the divisions between Muslims and their Christian overlords was the planning of out-of-town cemeteries, part of a pan-European phenomenon that Peter Hanák has called the 'civilisation of death'.[384] Across the continent, new cemeteries sprang up on the outskirts of cities in the nineteenth century. In Vienna, for instance, burying the dead in gardens or churchyards had been illegal since 1783. The 1874 opening of Vienna's Central Cemetery, one of the largest in Europe, led to an increasing tendency to bury the dead far outside cities, to minimise risks to public health and the urban environment.[385] In Sarajevo, too, there were calls for a central cemetery, especially among German-speaking adherents of a civilising mission. Local elites in the council, however, were much more reluctant to break with their Muslim tradition of burying the dead in individual neighbourhoods.[386] As a result, the Austro-Hungarian era only produced one new, Christian, cemetery, north of the government district at Koševo.[387] Designed by Vancaš, it was divided into two sections for Roman Catholics and Orthodox Serbs. It would be used later, in 1939, to bury the remains of the assassin Gavrilo Princip (1894-1918) and has been immortalised in Ivo Andrić's novella *Gospođica* (1945).[388] Another controversy surrounded new city park, on a site of former Muslim cemeteries between the government headquarters and the hillside villa districts at

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[383] 'Der Verein der Hausherren in Sarajevo', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 12 July 1911), Vol. 8, Nr. 158, p. 1.

[384] Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 98–108.

[385] Hans Havelka, *Der Wiener Zentralfriedhof* (Vienna: J & V Edition, 1989).

[386] 'Die Obstruktion im Gemeinderate', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 8 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 154, p. 1; 'Zur Errichtung des neuen Zentralfriedhofes', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 17 July 1911), Vol. 8, Nr. 161, p. 2.

[387] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 50–51.

[388] Ivo Andrić, *Gospođica* (Belgrade: Svjetlost, 1945).

Džidžikovac.[389] As part of the lease, the government agreed to fence off and maintain the existing gravestones. Muslims outside the Waqf Commission, however, reacted with outrage. Constructing a public park around a cemetery, argued city councillor Essad Effendi Kulović, would disturb the peace of the dead as well as the living. The conversion, he continued, 'violated the religious feelings of Muslim citizens'.[390] Kulović demanded further, that the government cordon off the area, annul the lease contract and appoint a new Waqf Commission, to be elected democratically. Thirty others joined his protest, among them Imam Hatil Mohammed Effendi Hafiz Jahić, of the Emperor's Mosque, and the landowner Omerbeg Fadilpasić, whose brother, Mayor Mustajbeg Fadilpasić, had presided over the Waqf Commission's contentious decision to lease the land. The petitioners escalated the matter all the way to the emperor Franz Josef.[391]

The immediate object of these protests may have been the Austro-Hungarian regime, but they were also directed, more broadly, against a modernising development that had its roots in the mid-century. The starting point for Sarajevo's transformation into a modern city, we have already seen, was the arrival of the Tanzimat government in Sarajevo in 1850. It was this period that brought the city's first hospitals – one military and one civilian – and that brought the liberalisation of property, ushering in a period where written contracts and recorded ownership mattered more than habitual usage rights and implicit distinctions between sacred and profane space. Kállay intercepted the petition, which he interpreted as an 'agitation, largely due to personal motives', and advised Franz Josef to decline Kulović's request.[392] He emphasised the indubitable legal

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[389] Petition to the Emperor Franz Josef I, Sarajevo, 11 June 1886, ABiH, ZVS 45.2.188.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Kállay to Appel, Vienna, 29 June 1886, ABiH, ZVS 45.2.188/3-411/BH.

basis for the plans, which he said enjoyed 'the consent of the competent citizenry, i.e., of the Waqf Commission, which consists of Muslims'.[393] The government's plans, he hastened to add, were by no means without precedent. Across Europe, former cemeteries were being turned into parks.[394] Kállay described the transformation of graveyards into public parks as 'a development that can be seen daily, in Turkey too, in Constantinople itself even without anybody taking offense'.[395] The Waqf Commission saw no reason to retract from its contract, either. Increasingly commercially minded towards the end of the century, it was more concerned with generating new revenue streams than in engaging in complex theological debates.

The involvement of religious communities was much less controversial in other areas of infrastructural development. In education, religious communities worked alongside the regional government. The government built a whole ensemble of schools on the Miljacka embankment, including an elementary school for boys, a secondary school *(Realgymnasium)* (1909) and a high school *(Gymnasium)* (1891) – the school attended by students Ivo Andrić, Gavrilo Princip and Vaso Čubrilović, all designed by Karel Pařík (1857-1942).[396] In 1893, Pařík built a college of arts and crafts *(Kunstgewerbeschule)* in collaboration with his colleague Karel Panek.[397] The government also built a technical college, a teachers' college, a commercial college, a college of forestry and a school for

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[393] Ibid.

[394] Hazel Conway, *Public Parks*, Shire Garden History, 9 (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1996), p. 29.

[395] Kállay to Appel, Vienna, 29 June 1886, ABiH ZVS 45.2.188/3-411/BH.

[396] Jiří Kudela, Ivo Vacik, and Branka Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík: Ceh koji je gradio evropsko Sarajevo* (Sarajevo: Ambasada Češke Republike u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2007), pp. 117–18, 120–21; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 70.

[397] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 157; Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* p. 23.

military cadets.[398] In 1895, there were at least 20 educational institutions in Sarajevo.[399] By 1910, their number had grown to 39.[400] Not all of these institutions were foundations of the government. While the government took care of secondary education, primary education predominantly fell into the hands of the confessions. Many, including some of the earliest, went back to bourgeois activists and others to the religious communities. In 1866, for instance, the British suffragettes Paulina Irby (1831-1911) and Georgina Muir Mackenzie (1833-1874) founded a girls' school Sarajevo, intending to convert it into a teachers' college. This school was funded by an English Christian organisation and run by German Protestant deaconesses.[401] In 1910, seven of 39 educational institutions were Muslim-run, three Catholic, three Serbian Orthodox and one Jewish.[402] There was a Muslim law school (1887) and a Serbian Orthodox schäool, both of which were designed by Pařík (1897) and a school for Sephardic Jews, by Vancaš.[403] Towards the turn of the century, greater autonomy in confession-based education became one of the key demands of Muslim and Serbian activists.[404] The results were impressive. By the eve of the First World War, Bosnia-Herzegovina had an elementary school for every 4,052 citizens, a figure not far off from Austria or Germany.[405] In 1918, the Alsatian journalist, travel writer and

[398] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 70.

[399] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 59.

[400] *Bosnischer Bote/Bosanski glasnik 1910* (Vienna: K. und k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei), pp. 334–35, ABiH, P-15/1910.

[401] Neidhardt, *Sarajewo im Lauf der Zeit*, p. 136; Malcolm, *Bosnia,* p. 131.

[402] *Bosnischer Bote/Bosanski glasnik 1910*, pp. 334–35.

[403] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* pp. 120–21; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 69.

[404] Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition*.

[405] Hermann Wendel, *Kreuz und quer durch den slawischen Süden: Von Marburg bis Monastir - Von Belgrad bis Buccari - Krainer Tage* (Frankfurt am Main: Societäts-Druckerei, 1922), p. 180.

social democrat Hermann Wendel (1884-1936) estimated that more than 85 percent of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina could read or write.[406]

Figure 17: The theatre of Sarajevo was one of many cultural institutions that were founded, planned, and funded by bourgeois citizens. Credit: Bosnia History.

Bourgeois initiatives became especially important in the field of culture. In the early years of the occupation, tight budgets meant that the government had to prioritise its public building programme on infrastructures of traffic, health, and the economy. In culture, by contrast, citizens had to show their own initiative. Across Austria-Hungary, institutions of art, theatre, and music, were important platforms for bourgeois self-expression.[407] In Sarajevo, such institutions were

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[406] Wendel, *Kreuz und quer,* p. 180.

[407] Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, distributed by Random House, 1979), pp. 7–9; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire,* p. 346; see also Philipp Ther, *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth Century Central Europe,* trans. by Charlotte Highes-Kreutzmüller (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014).

often products of private initiative rather than of official planning, and only later attracted public funding. One example was theatre. In the 1860s, British Consul William Richard Holmes (1822-1882) established the custom of opening up his house to travelling theatre companies, who performed in front of military staff, civil servants, and their wives.[408] There were performances of operettas, comedy, and drama in the houses of Serbian merchants, in tents and on makeshift, open-air stages. Inspired by the visit of a travelling theatre company in 1881, the architect Hans Niemeczek built a small theatre seating 300 spectators for the hotelier Salomon Salom. In 1890, another local entrepreneur, Dimitrije Jeftanović (1841-1927), reached out to the Viennese architectural practice of Ferdinand Fellner (1847-1916) and Hermann Helmer (1849-1919), about designing a new, larger theatre on his building land. Jeftanović eventually commissioned Sarajevo's Josip Vancaš, a former employee of Fellner & Helmer, but the project was terminated by Jeftanović's untimely death. In 1898, a new initiative emerged to build a generously-sized social centre *(Vereinshaus)* on the Miljacka embankment.[409] The building, designed by Pařík, was funded by a conglomerate of Jews, Muslims, Croats, Serbs and Germans of Sarajevo, by contributions from banks, cultural institutions, such as the Sephardic welfare society *La Benevolencija*, and corporations, such as the Joint Stock Brewery of Sarajevo.[410] It included not only a theatre, but rooms for meetings, talks and informal gathering, which were frequented by the Croatian choral society 'Trebević', by the city's male voice choir, by the gentlemen's club, the Association of Military Veterans

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[408] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 165; Josip Lešić, *Pozorišne život Sarajeva 1878-1918* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), pp. 44–46; on Holmes, see 'Sir William Richard Holmes', *The Times* (London, 21 January 1882).

[409] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 165–66.

[410] Lešić, *Pozorišne život Sarajeva,* p. 179; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 166.

'Baron Appel', and the so-called Slavic Dialogue *(Slovanskà Beseda)*, an association of the city's Czech elites. The middle-class stake in cultural institutions shows that cultural infrastructure was by no means an exclusive project of the imperial executive's hierarchy. European-style institutions, such as the theatre, were promoted by local Muslim elites, by up-and-coming men and women of the hitherto marginalised Serbian Orthodox and Jewish faiths, by entrepreneurs, professionals, immigrant Germans, Czechs, and Croats.
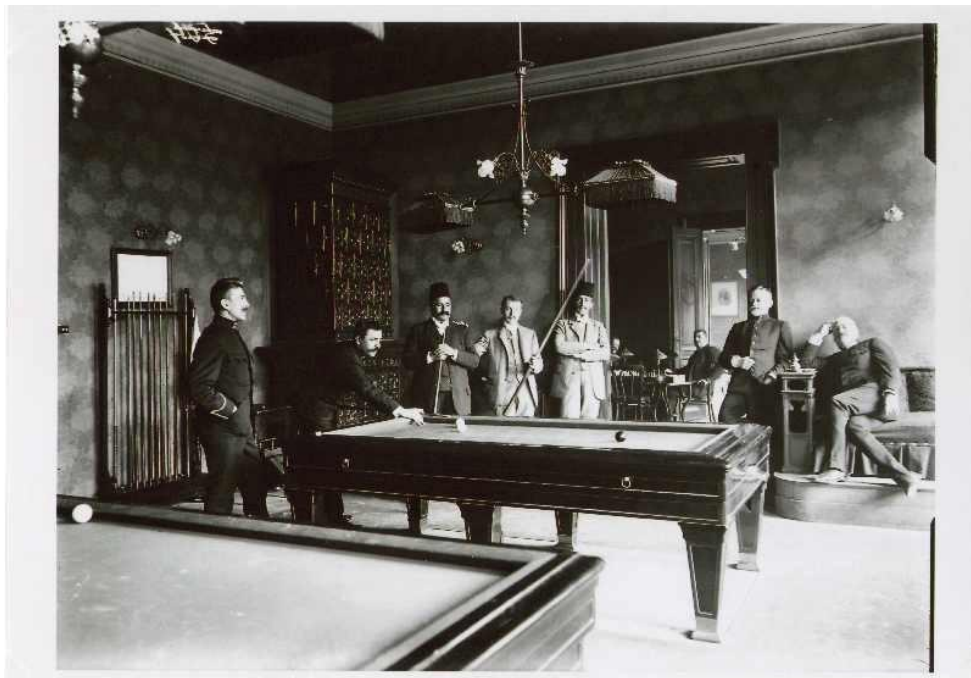

Figure 18: Funded by citizens, the theatre of Sarajevo became a centre of middle-class life. It contained club rooms for formal and informal gatherings. Pictured here are citizens of multiple faiths, engaged in a game of billiards (1904). Credit: Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz.

Cultural institutions made Sarajevo part of a vibrant international community. The citizens who initiated, funded and directed cultural institutions often drew on tight-knit international networks. One particularly striking

example was the physician Julije Makanec (1854-1891) from Agram/Zagreb. Makanec arrived in Sarajevo in 1879. In 1880, he founded the Archaeological Society of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the first organised attempt to record and protect the region's archaeological heritage.[411] In 1884, he established the newspaper *Bosnische Post,* whose aim was to broadcast Bosnia-Herzegovina's 'orderly administration, thriving trade and traffic, the increasing prosperity and education of its people, the visible tendency towards consolidation, improvement, and progress in all areas', in short, to offer German-speaking Sarajevans a canvas for their civilisational visions.[412] Makanec used his newspaper to generate support for another one of his ventures: a society with the aim of founding a regional museum in Sarajevo, established in 1884. Within a few years, the society had gathered 500 members.[413] In 1889, it began publishing its own scientific journal, *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeija,* which has remained one of the most important media for the history, archaeology and anthropology of Bosnia-Herzegovina until today.[414] Its contributors included affluent citizens from many different backgrounds, such as future mayor Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, physician Joseph Preindlsberger, and numerous amateur archaeologists, naturalists and historians from the echelons of the regional government.[415] The flat hierarchies in the journal's organisation, Todor Kruševac has argued, owed to the liberal ideology of the museum society.[416] The museum society established links with scientific institutions, such as museums, libraries and learned societies, throughout Europe,

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[411] Izet Masić, '150 Years of Organized Healthcare Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Medical Archives*, 72.5 (2018), 374–88 (pp. 382–83).

[412] 'An unsere Leser!', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 January 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 1, pp. 1–2.

[413] Masić, '150 Years of Organized Healthcare Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina', p. 183.

[414] Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeija (GZM) continues to be published and edited by what is today the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 144–50.

[415] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 147.

[416] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom,* p. 64.

links which proved instrumental in spreading the word of the cultural institutions of Habsburg Sarajevo to cities such as Belgrade, Skopje, Agram/Zagreb, Basle, Leipzig, Hamburg, Berlin, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Königsberg/Kaliningrad.[417]
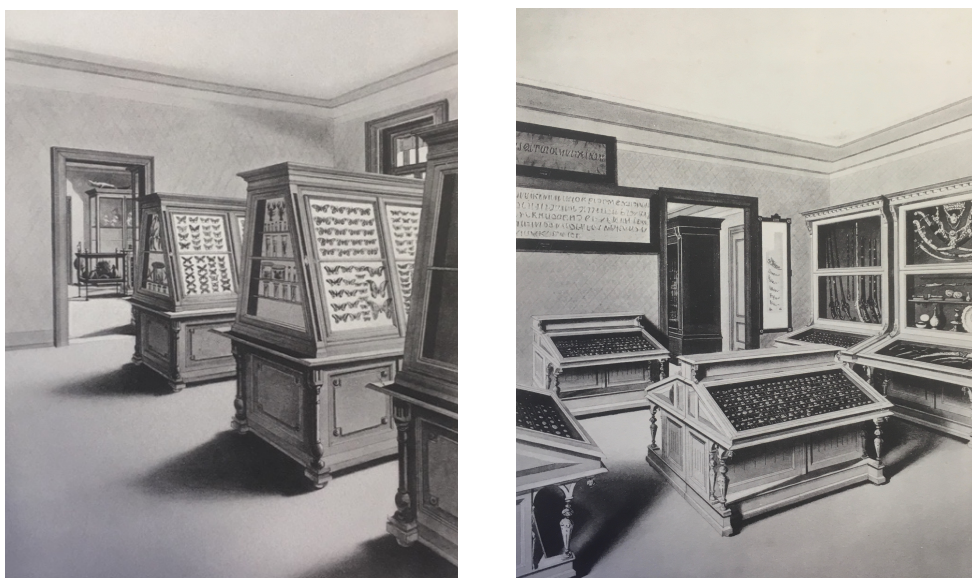

Figure 19: The museum society brought together bourgeois immigrants, professionals, enlightened Muslims and Jews in an emerging network of similar institutions across Europe. Its collections, pictured above, were initially accommodated in a government building and later re-housed to a purpose-built museum. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Bourgeois initiatives produced palpable changes to the urban fabric. In 1886, Makanec employed the archaeologist Ćiro Truhelka (1865-1942), of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Agram/Zagreb, to finally set up a museum in Sarajevo. Thanks to financial support from the municipality and the regional government, it was opened in 1888.[418] Its educational mission aimed to

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[417] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 146, 148–49.

[418] Masić, '150 Years of Organized Healthcare Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina', p. 183; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 145.

enfranchise citizens from all cultural, religious and educational backgrounds. For instance, on one day of the week, admission was limited to Muslim women.[419] Under Truhelka's directorship, the museum established collections of natural history, folk art and dress, a library and an archive.[420] Initially, these collections were housed in a government building, but soon relocated to the government's newly-opened Pension Fund Building on the cathedral square.[421] By the early twentieth century, this location had become too small. The government agreed to help fund a purpose-built museum. In 1908, construction began on a site in the station district. Designed by Pařík and completed in 1913, this building employed some of the most advanced thinking on museum organisation of the time. Its four pavilions, structured around a central botanical garden, housed collections for early history, Roman antiquity, ethnography, and natural history.[422] In preparation for his design, Pařík went on a study trip to visit Vienna, Budapest, Munich, Nuremberg, Prague, Magdeburg and Lübeck.[423] Pařík's design looked to museums in those cities as precedents.[424] The pavilion structure bears resemblance to Vienna's twin museums of natural history and art history, by Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) and Carl Hasenauer (1833-1894), which had

[419] Heinrich Renner, *Durch Bosnien-Hercegovina kreuz und quer: Wanderungen von H.R.* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1896), pp. 51–43; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, pp. 145–46.

[420] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 90; Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 145.

[421] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 89; Almaz Dautbegović, 'Uz stogodišnjicu zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu', in *Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888–1988*, ed. by Almaz Dautbegović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej, 1988), pp. 7–34 (pp. 11–13).

[422] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 124; cf. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, ed. by K. und k. Reichsfinanzministerium (Vienna: K. und k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907); cf. Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 89; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 206.

[423] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* pp. 122–23.

[424] Cf. Markian Prokopovych, 'The City for the Benefit of the Nation. Art Museums in Cracow'; Diana Reynolds, 'The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry: Historicism and National Identity in Vienna, 1863–1900', *Austrian Studies*, 16 (2008), 123–41.

opened in 1889 and 1891 respectively.[425] Pařík's design, the first purpose-built museum on the Balkans, proudly affirmed Sarajevo's belonging into the ranks of civilised cities.[426] The regional museum, Diana Reynolds observed, made Sarajevo into 'the new darling child' among central European cultural centres.[427]

Figure 20: The foundations of the regional museum of Sarajevo go back to civic initiative. In 1908, the government agreed to fund a specially designed museum building. It was executed by civil service architect Karel Pařík in his favoured Neo-Renaissance style. Credit: Bosnia History.

Strasbourg, too, became a node in the network of European cultural centres. Here, as in Sarajevo, bourgeois citizens played a crucial role in founding,

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[425] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 89; cf. Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 123.

[426] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 123.

[427] Diana Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie: Hegemonialer Diskurs oder kreativer Dialog? Wien und die "Volkskünste" 1878 bis 1900', in *Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung*, ed. by Anita Aigner (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010), pp. 85–115 (p. 106).

funding, and frequenting institutions of culture. Central to this development was the opening of the Alsatian Theatre, an institution dedicated especially to performances in the Alsatian language, in 1898.[428] The same year saw the foundation of the *Revue Alsacienne Illustrée,* a journal dedicated to the research and cultivation of regional heritage, in 1898. Like the *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeija,* it featured articles in the local language, the Alsatian dialect, alongside contributions in French and German. In 1900, the *Revue Alsacienne Illustrée* inspired an initiative to found a regional museum, an initiative that led to the formation of a museum society by the physician Pierre Bucher (1869-1921) and the brothers Léon Dollinger (1866-1921) and Ferdinand Dollinger (1862-1936), in 1902. Five years later, in 1907, the Alsatian Museum opened its doors to the public. It was mainly funded by donations, subscriptions and entrance fees.[429] The role of the *Revue Alsacienne Illustrée,* the Alsatian Theatre and the Alsatian Museum in the development of Strasbourg shall be explored in more detail in the third chapter.

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[428] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 210; Sebastian Wemhoff, *Städtische Geschichtskultur zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel: Das Beispiel Straßburg 1871-1918*, Geschichtskultur und Historisches Lernen, 18 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2019), p. 86.

[429] Wemhoff, *Städtische Geschichtskultur*, pp. 86–88; Malou Schneider, 'La création du Musée Alsacien', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), pp. 33–37; Bernadette Schnitzler, 'Les Musées de Strasbourg de 1939 à 1945', *Revue d'Alsace*, 121 (1995), 157–73.

Figure 21: Founded in 1907, Strasbourg's Alsatian Museum quickly developed into a centre of bourgeois cultural life. Pictured here a performance of works by the Alsatian playwrights Emile Erckmann (1822-1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826-1890), in 1908. Credit: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg.

Nevertheless, the role of bourgeois citizens in the making of modern Strasbourg and Sarajevo is easily obscured. Officials who were keen to broadcast the success of the imperial regime contributed to this development. German and Austrian observers celebrated the achievements of the respective municipal administrations and regional governments as outward signs of progress. Commentators frequently looked to the public amenities, building activity, physical and demographic growth of Strasbourg and Sarajevo when they wanted to demonstrate the efficacy of the German and Austro-Hungarian regime respectively. 'If there is any community that has, in a brief period of time, experienced an almost incomprehensible degree of upswing,' one journalist

chimed in 1893, 'it is the regional capital of Sarajevo, which has been, overnight as it were, transformed from the chaos of its former state into a city with modern and functional institutions; whose economical administration and public safety quite rightly form the object of envy of great European cities'.[430] 'Under lawful, orderly administration', another observer observed in the early-twentieth century, 'Sarajevo has developed into a model city *(Musterstadt)* of the Balkans'.[431] The Austro-Hungarian administration was deemed responsible for 'the establishment of wholly-destroyed public safety and order [...], for the creation of orderly affairs, for the advent of an advancing culture, for means of communication, commerce and industry, for raising the moral and intellectual element among its people'.[432]

Advances in urban planning were framed as an outward sign of Austro-Hungarian administrative success. 'Construction in Sarajevo', one commentator wrote in 1895, 'is the truest mirror of the development of the thriving regional capital, which allows us to draw conclusions as to the general elevation of economic life, and of traffic, and of the strengthening of prosperity'.[433] On official visits, congresses, institutional exchanges and spa holidays, travellers were shown the accomplishments of Austro-Hungarian administration. Kállay took such opportunities to tout the rhetoric of civilising mission and to dispel the myth of a backward Bosnia. At a dinner for the Vienna Anthropological Society *(Wiener anthropologische Gesellschaft)* in Ilidza in 1895, Kállay reflected on the tangible results that Austro-Hungarian occupation had already yielded. In his dinner-table

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[430] 'Wo Licht ist fehlt auch der Schatten nicht', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 46.

[431] Adolf Flachs, *Illustrirter Führer durch Sarajevo und Umgebung: Mit 5 Illustrationen und einem Dolmetsch* (Sarajevo: J. Königsberger), p. 13, OeSta, KA, KPS KS G I h 621-33 alpha.

[432] Flachs, *Illustrirter Führer durch Sarajevo,* p. 1.

[433] 'Bauthätigkeit in Sarajevo [IV]: Schluss. Ilidze', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 January 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 3, p. 2.

speech, he urged his listeners to help dispel the myth of the 'wild Bosniaks and their waste country, perceptions which did indeed feature in the world's conception of Bosnia until quite recently. The Society will have been convinced, no doubt, in the short days of their stay, of how exactly things lie in this supposedly barbaric state'.[434] On another occasion, Kállay told his audience that the empire had 'cultivated a barren field'. 'Here and there', he added, 'the seed has not flourished, but in general the effort has succeeded'.[435] Aside from the Vienna Anthropological Society, in 1895 alone, Sarajevo hosted delegations of the chambers of commerce of Moravia and Lower Austria, of the Hungarian Association of Engineers and Architects and of the Imperial Forestry Association *(Reichsforstverein).* Many of their delegates, in turn, spread the word about the civilising mission throughout the monarchy. Members of the Vienna Anthropological Society, for example, gave talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Society of Naturalists in Brünn/Brno, in Zwittau/Svitavy, at the museum society in Breslau/Wrocław and at the Society for Austrian Anthropology *(Verein für österreichische Volkskunde)* in Vienna.[436] In the same year, on a visit to accompany Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria (1869-1955), the liberal jurist Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken (1830-1896), emeritus professor at Kaiser-Wilhelm-Universität Strasbourg, attested that Bosnia and the Herzegovina had 'become flourishing countries, in which govern peace, order and safety, as in any civilised state', an endorsement that was enthusiastically taken up in the local press.[437] It is

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[434] Quoted in 'Die Wiener anthropologische Gesellschaft in Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 7 September 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 72, p. 2.

[435] Quoted after Rüdiger, 'Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularität(en)', p. 11.

[436] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 4 September 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 71; 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 October 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 81, p. 1; 'Vorträge über Bosnien', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 16 October 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 83, p. 2; 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 13 November 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 91, p. 2.

[437] 'Ausländer über Bosnien', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 16 January 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 5, p. 2.

easy to see, in published opinion, how the role of citizens in urban transformation was overlaid by that of the state.

In truth, urban planning, as this section has demonstrated, was never the sole reserve of central government executives. In both cities, public infrastructures, just like plans and building codes, was crucially indebted to the involvement of bourgeois citizens. Their role grew as time progressed. In both cities, an initial phase of military administration gave way to a climate in which civilian officials took increasing responsibility for public infrastructure. For their funding and maintenance, many of these public infrastructures owed more to civic engagement than to central government planning. And while Sarajevans lacked the generous opportunities for formal political participation that their peers in the strong municipality of Strasbourg enjoyed, they found ways to influence planning policy by other means.

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Urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, this chapter has shown, followed broadly similar paradigms. The two cities' modernisation was begun under the auspices of their respective empires' military authorities. But as time went on, military authorities ceded their power to the empires' civilian governments and their subsidiaries in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Civilian governments, in turn, increasingly involved bourgeois citizens, technical experts, city councils, and religious communities in the planning process. By the end of the century, military officials had thus lost their monopoly on urban development.

The reasons for this process were political and economic in nature. In both cities, we have seen, imperial officials strategically involved local elites in the decision making process. What is more, in both cities, public authorities faced tight budget constraints. New general plans for Strasbourg and Sarajevo adhered closely to principles of economy. Officials ditched grand symbolic gestures and ambitious interventions in the old city centres in favour of a more utilitarian approach that responded to the interests of bourgeois citizens. The results were remarkably similar: straight avenues with standardised widths and easy-to-build, rectangular blocks sprang up in Strasbourg's New Town as well as in the western districts of Sarajevo. Visitors from Strasbourg like Hermann Wendel and Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken, found in Sarajevo all the blessings of a modern city that they were familiar with: easy-to-navigate gridiron plans, embankment promenades, meandering parks, public infrastructures such as trams, railways, trams, sewerage, water supply and electricity, hospitals, schools, theatres, and museums, many of which were founded, and funded, by bourgeois citizens.

It is tempting, therefore, to view urban planning as a profoundly inclusive practice. It is true that many more citizens took a stake in the planning process than military leaders had envisaged in the 1870s. But the fact remains that, in the 1880s, those who actively partook in urban planning still constituted a tiny minority of the urban population. Planning theory, discourse, and practice were dominated by the middle classes. Citizens without property played virtually no role in urban planning. It would take until the 1890s for this to change. By the end of the century, planning would find a place within the mainstream of public discourse and undergo momentous changes. The next chapter examines this development.

Chapter 2

Mass Politics

At the end of the last chapter, the imperial predicament still loomed large. Strasbourg and Sarajevo were undergoing ambitious managed transformations that turned them into growing regional capitals of their respective empires. Scholars of fin-de-siècle Strasbourg and Sarajevo have rightly foregrounded the guiding role that the empires' military and civilian executives took in planning urban extensions, in regulating the existing urban fabric, in planning law reform and in infrastructural transformation.

While imperial government commenced these processes of modernisation, we have seen that an increasingly important role in urban planning was played by bourgeois citizens. Local property owners and liberal technical experts, especially, influenced the design of plans, shaped the terms of new planning laws, and helped fund many of the infrastructural projects that characterised fin-de-siècle Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Expert planners derived their prestige not from imperial hierarchies, but from the emergent lateral networks of professional associations, technical universities, and specialist media outlets. The two cities' development soon owed as much to these international networks as to imperial hierarchies. In turn, Strasbourg and Sarajevo became nodes in an increasingly close-knit, international network of planning policy innovations. However, planning was still an elite practice. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, the majority of urban society had almost no involvement in planning discourse and planning processes.

From the 1890s, the international networks that informed urban planning expanded dramatically. A key role in this development was played by the emergence of mass media, mass institutions, and mass politics. These developments unfolded at varying speeds, and at different times, between Strasbourg and Sarajevo. For instance, in Strasbourg, mass parties developed much earlier than in Sarajevo, while in Sarajevo, mass media made up for a lack of formal political participation. Charities, churches, unions, political parties, cooperatives, and lobby groups, many of which operated internationally, set the stimuli for urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

The effects were felt most acutely in one area of urban planning: housing. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, housing became one of the most salient issues in urban planning. Occupation, annexation, and industrialisation contributed to the chronic housing problems that increasingly haunted the two cities from the second half of the nineteenth century. The changes in this policy field were staggering. For most of the nineteenth century, housing had played no role in urban planning at all. Planners limited themselves to the design of infrastructures and general outline plans. Public authorities lacked the means to regulate, let alone enforce housing quality, as will be shown in the first section. In France and elsewhere, mid-century attempts to improve housing quality standards were thwarted by the resistance of bourgeois citizens, who defended their freedom to build against state intervention.

Towards the end of the century, housing policy became an increasingly political theme in both cities, as section two will show. Print media played an important role in this development. Official reports and statistics, letters to the editor, and comment pieces established housing as the object of an increasingly impassioned public discourse. This discourse exposed the successes, but also the

failures of the existing housing markets. In Strasbourg, the discourse on housing conditions was led by municipal politicians. In Sarajevo, where citizens lacked the formal participatory opportunities that their peers in Strasbourg enjoyed, mass media became an important conduit of policy innovation. By the turn of the century, the consensus was that a change of direction was needed.

The result was tighter regulation. In both cities, municipal and regional politicians began to react by imposing tougher housing quality standards. This development unfolded at varying speeds. In Sarajevo, which had stronger central government and no regional legislature, imperial officials were able to impose tougher regulations much sooner. It took longer for changes to materialise in Strasbourg. In Strasbourg, it was municipal politicians, religious organisations, charities, and bourgeois reformers that advocated greater housing regulation. Particularly instrumental to eroding the laissez-faire consensus in housing policy was the rise of social democracy.

However, in reality, tougher regulations were not enough. At the beginning of the twentieth century, more radical measures were needed to improve what had, by then, morphed into a full-blown 'housing crisis.' Under the influence of a new caste of experts – economists, national liberal politicians, and social democrats – citizens of Strasbourg and Sarajevo concurred that a quantity-based, rather than a quality-based solution, was needed, as will be shown in section four. Both cities saw increasing calls for publicly built workers' housing. Mass media, unions, and the social democratic party stepped up their campaigns. In Sarajevo, whose bourgeois-dominated city council categorically refused to develop such housing, the regional government took on the helm of housing reform. It deployed a string of policy measures intended to boost the city's housing supply: government-developed housing, tax breaks, and zoning. These

measures ushered in an era in which planning policy encompassed an increasingly sophisticated range of new policy tools, a development known as comprehensive planning. In Sarajevo, the regional government now intervened in urban development more frequently, more boldly, and in more targeted ways than ever before. Section five examines this development.

New policy instruments emerged. Many of these instruments, such as zoning, are among the most important planning policy tools until today. Due to their different political situations, Strasbourg and Sarajevo developed different blends of planning. In Sarajevo, where the government took charge of housing policy, high-level policies such as zoning and tax law were the result. By contrast, in Strasbourg, it was the municipality that set housing policy, applying measures such as hereditary lease and cooperative partnerships to deliver low-cost housing. By the eve of the First World War, the range of policy instruments at planners' disposal was much greater than it had been in the 1870s.

2.1 Laissez-Faire

For most of the nineteenth century, housing policy played little role in urban planning. It was not until the 1840s that first books, pamphlets, and reports shone a light on living conditions in Britain, France, and Prussia. The European Revolution of 1848 helped put some of the emergent policy ideas into legal practice. But even then, these laws were rarely enforced. In France, as bourgeois citizens extended their political influence in the post-revolutionary decades, housing regulation receded into oblivion. In Sarajevo, no such discourse even existed until the very end of the century. In both cities, the elites that dominated politics had little interest in advancing housing policy. They feared, quite rightly, that housing policy innovations, through tighter regulation, would constrict their freedom to maximise rental revenue. The habit of collaborating with the urban 'notables' in both empires left little room, initially, to change this.

Efforts to improve housing conditions first emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. In this first phase of housing reform, bourgeois social reformers across Europe produced a plethora of initiatives, associations, and laws intended to raise the standards of housing and thus alleviate the predicament of the urban masses.[1] Prussia saw a proliferation of critiques of housing conditions by middle and upper-class social reformers, such as Adelheid Poninska (1804-1881), Victor Aimé Huber (1800-1869), and Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859). This first generation of housing reformers was closely connected to the Protestant church, whose charitable arm, the so-called Inner Mission, founded in 1848, aimed to

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[1] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 139–40; Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France, 1840-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

improve the material conditions of the working classes.[2] In the absence of government policy, Inner Mission activists such as Huber engaged in first efforts to provide model housing for the working classes in booming cities like Berlin.[3]

In Britain and France, policy makers were quicker to respond to bourgeois calls for reform. Among the most influential figures in the British housing reform movement was Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890), one of the architects of the 1834 Poor Law. In 1842, Chadwick published *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, in which he advocated drainage, clean water supply, organised waste removal, and the appointment of medical officers for each town. Improving the living conditions of the working classes, Chadwick argued, would lead to public savings in the long run. His proposal earned the support of the Health of Towns Association, a cross-party pressure group founded in 1844, the same year that Friedrich Engels published 'The condition of the working class'.[4] In 1848, under the impact of yet another cholera outbreak, the government passed

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[2] Johann Hinrich Wichern, *Die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche: Eine Denkschrift an die deutsche Nation, im Auftrage des Centralausschusses für die innere Mission* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses zu Horn, 1849).

[3] On Huber cf. Helmut Walter Jenkis, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der gemeinnützigen Wohnungswirtschaft* (Bonn: Domus, 1973), pp. 48–57, 68–73; Bullock and Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform*, pp. 31–35; Harold Hammer-Schenk, *Kunsttheorie und Kunstgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1985), pp. 213–14; Jürgen Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland*, 1st edn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), p. 34; on the influence of Huber on Monińska in particular, cf. Katia Frey and Eliana Perotti, 'Adelheid Poninska: Die Wohnungsfrage als Angelpunkt städtebaulicher Theorie', in *Frauen blicken auf die Stadt: Architektinnen, Planerinnen, Reformerinnen*, Theoretikerinnen des Städtebaus, 2 (Reimer, 2019), pp. 17–58 (pp. 20, 24); Werner Hegemann, *Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin nebst einem Anhang: Die internationale Städtebau-Ausstellung in Düsseldorf* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1911), p. 62.

[4] Knut Ringen, 'Edwin Chadwick, the Market Ideology, and Sanitary Reform: On the Nature of the 19th-Century Public Health Movement', *International Journal of Health Services*, 9.1 (1979), 107–20.

the Public Health Act, which established an effective framework for local authorities to implement sanitary infrastructure improvements.[5]

In France, the years prior to the revolution of 1848 saw a seemingly endless outpouring of inquiries, surveys, manifestoes and pamphlets that shed light on the material conditions of the urban poor. One of the earliest was an enquiry commissioned by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a charitable organisation under the helm of the Catholic church, in 1842, which drew attention to the hygienic conditions of workers' dwellings in the city of Lille.[6] From 1845, the Society of Charitable Economy, a learned society dominated by Catholic interests, published its widely-read series *Annales de la Charité,* which devoted several volumes explicitly to the sanitary problems of working-class housing.[7] Their findings resonated also with more radical reformers. Excerpts from the *Annales de la Charité* appeared, for example, in an 1848 report on the state of the working classes by the socialist Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-81).[8] In 1849, the head of the Society of Charitable Economy, Armand de Melun (1807-77), proposed a law against insalubrious housing in the French National Assembly, arguably the first in modern history to set binding housing quality standards, to provide public authorities with the means to enforce these standards,

[5] Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen,* p. 14; Kostof, *The City Assembled*, p. 205; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, pp. 49–51.

[6] Leonardo Benevolo, *Die sozialen Ursprünge des modernen Städtebaus: Lehren von gestern, Forderungen für morgen*, trans. by Arianna Giachi, Bauwelt Fundamente, 29 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1971), p. 106.

[7] Mme. de Caron, *Du logement du pauvre et de l'ouvrier*, Annales de la Charité (Paris: Pouissielgue, 1845), pp. 393–402; H. Romain, *Des classes ouvrières*, Annales de la Charité (Paris, 1847), pp. 747–62.

[8] Adolphe Blanqui, *Des classes ouvrières en France pendant l'année 1848*, Petits traites publiés par l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques (Paris: Pagnerre & Paulin, 1849).

and, importantly, to place far-reaching responsibilities on landlords.[9] The so-called Melun Law made property owners responsible for ensuring healthy living conditions and, if the failed to do so, made them liable to a fine for mandatory sanitation works. If they failed to pay in a timely fashion, they risked escalating the fine to twice the cost of works. And, if there were found to be lasting threats to public health emanating from a property, municipal authorities could, under article 13 of the law, even expropriate landlords.[10] The use of expropriation as a punitive instrument meant that, for the first time in French legal history, executive powers initially devised for infrastructural projects, namely railway building, were applied to inner-city development. The recent experience of revolution, and the looming threat of zymotic disease, which was assumed to emanate from working-class districts, led the National Assembly to accept the Law Against Insalubrious Dwellings, under the urgent impression of yet another cholera outbreak in the spring of 1850.[11]

There was no such moral panic in Sarajevo. The Ottoman empire was later to industrialise, and to urbanise, than the states of central Europe. Nineteenth-century Sarajevo experienced no significant population growth prior to the Austro-Hungarian conquest. The only period when housing became a topic of discussion were the years after 1850, when Grand Vizier Omer Paşa-Latas made Sarajevo into the capital of the Eyalet Bosnia. Diplomats from Prussia, Russia and Austria struggled for accommodation. 'Since the government has [moved] its seat here, inflows from all parts of the province have been very great',

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[9] Jeanne Hugueney, 'Un centenaire oublié: la première loi française d'urbanisme, 13 avril 1850', *La Vie urbaine*, 58 (1950), 241–49.

[10] Bulletin des Lois, Ser. XI Nr. 2068, 13 April 1850.

[11] Benevolo, *Die sozialen Ursprünge des modernen Städtebaus: Lehren von gestern, Forderungen für morgen*, pp. 108–9; Hugueney, 'Un centenaire oublié', p. 246.

wrote the Austrian General Consul in Bosnia, Dimitrije Atanaskovich (1793-1857), to the head of the imperial government, Felix zu Schwarzenberg (1800-1852), in 1850. 'All better homes, almost exclusively Christian, have already been designated for military officers [...] I will have great difficulties in finding accommodation; it is outright impossible to find a house that would not require significant repairs and improvements.'[12] Sarajevo, a city of homeowners, with no notable market for rental accommodation and no commercial property development sector, was badly placed to accommodate immigrants. However, the issue was relatively short-lived, and it still touched only a small group of the citizenry. The social question of the 1840s played no role here. Omer Paşa-Latas's government continued to liberalise, rather than regulate, property.

The Austro-Hungarian conquest did little, initially, to change the laissez-faire consensus on housing in Sarajevo. Under Kállay's politics of indirect rule, officials were anxious to uphold landowners' property rights and their freedom to build. But at a time of mass immigration, stagnation in housing policy created serious problems. Many of the military and civilian officials, judges, lawyers, teachers, professors, and clergymen who moved to Sarajevo in the early years of the occupation struggled to find adequate housing. One of them was Čiro Truhelka, an official of the newly established museum society, who arrived in Sarajevo in 1886. 'After a lot of searching I found a "furnished" room on the corner of Čemaluša and the Kulovićgasse, in the house of Huršid-Effendi', Truhelka wrote. 'Here I got a room on the ground floor with a window onto the courtyard. The room was modest, over-modest for a modest man. The floor was of tiles, the door had no lock, the windows let in draughts on all sides, and the

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[12] Dmiitrije Atanaskovich to Felix von Schwarzenberg, Sarajevo, 4 September 1850, OeStA, HHStA F8 32-1 1850-69, Nr. 10873/D.

furnishings comprised a military cot with a straw mattress, a small table with two rickety easy chairs and an old chest'.[13] Truhelka's experience was symptomatic. In 1902 still, a report on the economic development of Bosnia-Herzegovina found that '[t]he existing types of domestic building in the province had little to satisfy modern tastes for security, shelter from the winter cold and comfort'.[14]

The situation was hardly better in Strasbourg. Despite comparatively advanced legal provisions, in practice, housing quality standards proved difficult to enforce. The 1850 Melun Law, much like Britain's Public Health Act of 1848, devolved new powers to local authorities, but provided no substantial powers for central government. This meant that housing reform receded into the hands of the landowner-dominated city councils, which were typically unwilling to incur extra costs in the name of sanitary improvements. As the French Second Republic yielded to the Second Empire, the stabilising political situation decreased public pressure to implement local housing reforms. Many cities never applied the law. The Melun Law did not result in a single expropriation across the entire country.[15] In Strasbourg, initial enthusiasm for tougher regulation quickly receded to the laissez-faire political climate of the post-revolutionary decades. The city council appointed a housing commission on 7 May 1850, consisting of a mayoral deputy, a doctor, an architect, a representative of the chamber of commerce, and four city councillors. However, after its constituting session, the commission did not meet again for another two years.[16] Since all powers of the Melun Law were vested in municipal authorities, there was little that the central

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[13] Quoted after Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 78.

[14] Quoted after Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 78.

[15] Heinrich Albrecht, 'Die Wohnungsfrage in Frankreich', *Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik*, 97 (1901), 166–67.

[16] AVES, 72 MW 48; Alexander Dominicus, *Die Thätigkeit der Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen in Strassburg* (Strasbourg: J. Vogt, 1901), p. 3.

administration could do about it. 'This commission,' wrote the departmental prefect to Strasbourg's mayor on 1 April 1852, frustrated, 'hasn't done anything until this day!'[17] When the commission did convene, its efforts were thwarted by the resistance of local politicians. It lacked the powers for any systematic general survey of the city's housing stock, let along to enforce mandatory improvement works. Under Mayor Théodore Humann (1803-1873), in office from 1864 to 1871, the housing commission reports were filed and fines to landlords reduced to 'a few francs'.[18] Humann took no further notice of the housing issue: 'the number of insalubrious dwellings,' he told the prefect in 1865, 'is hardly very considerable'.[19] When questioned about the accomplishments of Strasbourg's housing commission by the district health council in 1876, Conrath, the municipal architect, replied that these had been 'equal to zero'.[20]

Little changed initially after Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine. Under Bismarck's policy of elite co-option, officials were more interested in cultivating the city's upper strata than in enforcing regulations on private property. In 1871, a first initiative by Back, then the head of the local police, to revive the housing commission met irresolution on the part of the city council. A second attempt by district physician Dr. Krieger failed in 1876. It took repeated, joint efforts by Mayor Back and Departmental President Karl Ledderhose (1821-1899) to reinstate the commission in January 1881.[21] But in strict accordance with the legal text, the commission only inspected properties 'indicated as insalubrious by either

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[17] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 4.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Humann on 28 January 1865, quoted after Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 4.
[20] Quoted after Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 4.
[21] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 5–6.

the local physicians or by the police'.[22] But where the housing commission did gain access to properties, the municipal executive failed to enforce improvement works. Landlords were merely asked to report to the town hall in order to discuss a catalogue of suggested changes. Most did not show up. Where improvement works did take place, these were often limited to most superficial or least costly interventions. 'None of the mandatory works has been carried out', reported the sub-commission for the southern sections of the city in 1883. 'The commission [...] regards it as pointless to return to the inspected properties, unless there be measures put in place to ensure that the respective works are implemented and that the ordinances that it found necessary to put in place are adhered to'.[23]

In the three decades after 1848, little changed in the way of housing policy. In Alsace-Lorraine, bourgeois politicians opposed restrictions to the individual freedom to build, as we have already seen.[24] In Sarajevo, amid a general liberalisation of property, there were no significant initiatives to introduce new regulations on housing, either. It would take until the 1880s for the laissez-faire consensus in housing policy to fray. Only towards the end of the century did significant improvements in housing quality standards begin to materialise in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The next section will explore which developments contributed to this shift.

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[22] Quoted after Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 5–6.
[23] Quoted after Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 5–6.
[24] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 134–45.

2.2 Housing Crisis

At the end of the century, Strasbourg and Sarajevo saw growing discontent with the state of the cities' housing stock. Central to this development was the emergence of mass media. With the advent of newspapers, there emerged a new kind of publicity around housing conditions. Through official reports, market data, and newspaper articles, citizens could inform themselves of the excesses of the housing market. They began to use arguments and concepts not dissimilar to those that were used in many other central European cities at the time. By the early twentieth century, the issue of housing had morphed into the 'housing crisis', a crisis that policy makers could no longer afford to ignore.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, reports of unhealthy, overpopulated, and expensive dwellings mounted. The qualitative and quantitative data collected and published, by governments, municipal administrations, institutions of public health, and lobby groups, helped citizens and policy makers gain a clearer picture of the issue. At the same time, these publications made debates about housing into an increasingly emotional affair. In spite of attempted remedies such as greater quality standards, towards the turn of the century, housing became an increasingly hotly debated topic.

In Strasbourg, as we have already seen, a central role was played by municipal authorities. Founded after the 1850 Melun Law, the municipality's housing commission became the key provider of intelligence on housing conditions. 'The state of the [city's] small streets and housing is a veritable calamity', its first report stated in 1852. 'One is imbued with the most distressing sentiments towards the inhabitants of these insalubrious places; men and women,

mostly in rags, bear on their features the imprint of misery, and their children, with few exceptions, are rickety, scruffy, scabby, of a livid and filthy pallor, which speaks of their parents' unhappy existence'.[25] And in 1862, one commission report called the south-western section of the inner city 'the shame of any civilised city', likening Rue des Menier, Rue des Cheveux and the Rue de L'Aimant to open sewers. The tanneries in this area still discarded their waste into the river Ill. Windows remained shut for months to economise on heating. And not rarely did families of four share one small room, which functioned as a kitchen, bedroom and laundry at the same time.[26] 'There are, in several districts, dwellings that are insalubrious in every respect and they are let at very high prices to the poor', the departmental prefect impressed on the mayor of Strasbourg in 1855.[27]

The discourse on housing intensified after the annexation. The turn of the century saw a new proliferation of official statistics and publications on housing. Newly appointed in 1897, the housing commission began to produce annual reports. After 1898, these reports were complemented by data from the Housing Record Office, which provided quantitative data and housing market forecasts. These publications shone new light on the failings of the housing market. Many of Strasbourg's landlords were charging excessive rents even for the smallest and dingiest of dwellings. One tenant in Nardengässchen (Ruelle du Baquet-à-Poissons) was found to pay ten percent of the property's recent price in annual rent. By subletting, in turn, at an annual thirty percent of property value, the man was making a net gain of 1,300 mark, twenty percent on the price of a

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[25] AVES 72 MW 49.

[26] Laurence Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', in *Attention travaux: 1910 de la Grande Percée au Stockfeld*, ed. by Benoît Jordan and others (Strasbourg: Archives de Strasbourg, 2010), pp. 15–24 (p. 16).

[27] Prefect of the Département du Bas-Rhin to the mayor of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 20 September 1855, quoted in Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 4.

property which he did not even own himself.[28] By 1900, 3,885 landlords in Strasbourg let furnished rooms, the cheapest accommodation option, to individuals too poor to afford their own furniture.[29] Such was demand that landlords could capitalise even on the most ill-suited of properties. In 1904, the District Health Council officially advised against living in the centre of Strasbourg. Its high population density, it was argued, was still chiefly responsible for ailments such as tuberculosis, fever, and rheumatism.[30] In 1898, Strasbourg became the German city with the highest infant mortality.[31]

In Sarajevo, too, housing became the subject of an increasingly public debate. This debate was spurred by the advent of mass media. The city's first printing press was installed in 1866 by the government of Vizier Topal Şerif Osman Paşa (1804-1874).[32] The Austro-Hungarian authorities took it over to print laws, decrees, and official notices. Supply and demand for print products increased markedly, as the introduction of compulsory elementary education increased literacy among citizens. 1877 saw the foundation of Sarajevo's first Bosnian newspaper, *Sarajevski list*, which appeared in Latin and Cyrillic script. In 1884, the physician Julije Makanec, from Agram/Zagreb, founded the city's first German-language newspaper, *Bosnische Post*, which was sold throughout Austria-Hungary as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[33] Initially reliant on government subsidisation, *Bosnische Post* developed a strong economic base among affluent immigrants. From 1904 on, the newspaper supported itself without subsidies. In 1902, a second German-speaking newspaper emerged, *Sarajevoer Nachrichten*

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[28] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 12–13.

[29] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 19.

[30] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 19.

[31] Schütter, 'Von der rechtlichen Anerkennung zur Ausgrenzung', p. 92.

[32] Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 35.

[33] 'An unsere Leser!', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 January 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 1, pp. 1–2.

(Sarajevoer Tagblatt after 1904), offering a lighter alternative to *Bosnische Post*. Visitors to fin-de-siècle Sarajevo were often impressed by the wide array of foreign and local news media available in coffee houses, clubs, and hotels.[34]

The public sphere thus created did not, of course, include everybody. Especially in the early years of the occupation, readerships were drawn predominantly from officials, professionals and the affluent middle classes. The first chief editor of *Bosnische Post*, Eugen Toepffer, had arrived in Sarajevo as a 'poor insignificant actor' from Vienna.[35] Toepffer bought the newspaper in 1886 and three years later bequeathed it to his fiancée, Milena Mrazović (1863-1927), a Croat educated in Budapest, who had moved to Sarajevo with her father, an Austro-Hungarian army officer, in 1878. During her period as publisher, Mrazović contributed to major German and Austrian newspapers such as the Viennese *Reichspost.* In 1896, she married the chief consultant of Sarajevo hospital, Josef Preindlsberger, with whom she eventually left Sarajevo for Vienna.[36] She later sold *Bosnische Post* to the Viennese entrepreneur Johann Baptist Schmarda, a friend of Finance Minister Benjámin von Kállay.[37] Another chief editor of *Bosnische Post*, Franz Mach (1872-1938), would go on edit the Viennese *Neue Wiener Tagblatt.* He was succeeded in Sarajevo by Hermengild

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[34] *Sarajevo*, ed. by Andrea Zink and Michaela Simmerer, Europa Erlesen (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2016), pp. 89–90.

[35] Bosnische Post, 27 July 1889, quoted from Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism,* p. 58.

[36] S.K. Kostić, 'Preindlsberger von Preindlsperg, Milena; Geb. Mrazović (1863-1927)', *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, 1981, 255–56; Mary Sparks, 'The Good Woman of Sarajevo', *History Today*, December 2013, 20; Dragana Tomašević, 'Milena Mrazović-Preindlsberger: prva novinarka u BiH', *STAV*, 6 May 2017 <https://arhiv.stav.ba/milena-mrazovic-preindlsberger-prva-novinarka-u-bih/> [accessed 22 November 2021].

[37] Carl Bethke, 'Die Zeitungen Bosnische Post und Sarajevoer Tagblatt 1903-1913', in *Nijemci u Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj: nova istraživanja i perspektive*, ed. by Husnija Kamberović, Jasna Turkali, and Carl Bethke, Posebna Izdanja, 13 (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2015), pp. 137–74 (pp. 140–41).

Wagner, of the *Österreichische Volkszeitung,* who, in turn, would go on to work for the Viennese *Reichspost*.[38]

In the 1890s, the press landscape widened to include new readerships. The newspaper *Bosnische Post* now issued a Bosnian-language edition, thus catering especially to the city's Muslims and ethnic Croats. In 1904, the government licensed first Serbian newspapers, printed in Cyrillic script. The subsequent press law of 1907 loosened censorship, which led to a further profusion of print organs.[39] Social democratic newspapers such as *Radnička Sveza* catered to a second wave of immigrants, mainly workers and low-ranking administrators from the rural parts of Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia.[40]

Fuelled by economic growth, increasing literacy, and technological progress in the printing industry, the final decades of the nineteenth century accompanied an explosion of print media in Strasbourg, too. Post-annexation Strasbourg saw the emergence of German newspapers such as *Straßburger Neueste Nachrichten,* which first appeared in 1877. In 1882, the *Kölnische Zeitung* founded its filial *Strassburger Post*. Towards the end of the century, bourgeois newspapers were complemented by religious or party political newspapers, such as the *Revue catholique d'Alsace* (1880), the social democratic newspapers *Elsaß-Lothringische Volkszeitung* (1890), *Freie Presse* (1898), or *Le Volksfreund* (1900).[41] Initially, these media were subject to tight censorship (between 1875 and 1897, twelve newspapers were banned).[42] By the turn of the century, however,

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[38] Bethke, 'Die Zeitungen Bosnische Post und Sarajevoer Tagblatt', p. 144.
[39] Bethke, 'Die Zeitungen Bosnische Post und Sarajevoer Tagblatt', pp. 140–44.
[40] 'Ein neues Arbeiterorgan', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 127, p. 4.
[41] Vogler; *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, Hartmut Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung im Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen (1871-1918): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte eines europäischen Grenzlandes' (doctoral dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1963), p. 60.
[42] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 182.

censorship yielded to a climate of greater freedom of the press. Alsace-Lorraine developed a particularly rich and diverse press landscape. Strasbourg became one of the top ten publishing markets in the German empire.[43] With 17 daily, 26 weekly or bi-weekly newspapers, Alsatians were particularly eager newspaper readers: in 1913 there was a daily printed paper for every 4.87 inhabitants.

Newspapers helped create an increasingly public discourse on housing. In Sarajevo, whose mass media were either subject to censorship or in other ways dependent on the government, newspapers such as *Bosnische Post* and *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* had to tread carefully around contentious political topics.[44] By contrast, they could report relatively freely on local issues such as urban development. The state of public spaces and public infrastructure, the advances in road building, street regulation, railway construction, waterways and architecture formed the subject of news articles, comment pieces, and notices. In letters-to-the-editor and other contributions, Sarajevans voiced their frustration about the state of streets and squares, about public nuisances arising from building sites, drunkenness, criminals, beggars, roaming dogs and the wholly incomprehensible fashion for excessive-length hat pins that haunted the streets and pavements of early-twentieth century European cities. Citizens became increasingly accustomed to turning to newspapers, rather than state officials, when they wanted to flag up such issues.

The public discourse on housing picked up pace towards the end of the century. In the 1890s, newspapers began to refer to the 'housing crisis' *(Wohnungsnot),* to 'housing misery' *(Wohnungs-Misère),* 'housing squeeze' *(Wohnungswucher)* or 'rent squeeze' *(Zinswucher),* borrowing terms and

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[43] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 108.
[44] Bethke, 'Die Zeitungen Bosnische Post und Sarajevoer Tagblatt', pp. 144–45.

arguments from public discourse in Germany and Austria. While in the 1880s and early 1890s, middle-class observers had foregrounded their concerns for public hygiene, cleanliness, structural soundness, traffic flow and green spaces, there developed an increasing awareness of the social issues surrounding urban development. Middle-class observers wrote passionately about the issue of affordability that haunted the urban masses. Publications such as *Bosnische Post* and *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* reported on the 'frightening dimensions' of rent inflation,[45] problematised the plight of immigrant families[46] and of low-paid civil servants or emphasized risks to public health, reporting, for example, on the links between housing shortage and infant mortality.[47] Politicians were showing increasing concern about the city's 'unhealthy dwellings', about the 'carbuncles *(Spelunken)'* in which most workers lived and about the diseases that arose from them.[48] Newspaper commentators pointed out that exorbitant rents led to overcrowding even in the dingiest and most insalubrious urban quarters, further exacerbating the risk to public health. Readerships learnt about price records for the dingiest, darkest and most insalubrious rooms and were treated to especially stark examples of rent inflation being called out.[49] Catering to ever-widening audiences forced journalists, external commentators, and letter-writers to the editor to explore the perspectives of different sections of society, be they low-ranking officials, young families or immigrant workers. Working-class citizens,

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[45] 'Wohnungsnot in Sarajevo', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, 26 August 1910, Vol. 7, Nr. 194, p. 2.

[46] 'Die Kinderreichen', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 13 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 158, p. 1.

[47] 'Wohnungsnot der Bahnbediensteten', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, (Sarajevo, 7 September 1910), Vol. 7, Nr. 220; 'Säuglingssterben und Wohnungsnot', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, (Sarajevo, 19 August 1911), Vol. 8, Nr. 190, p. 1; Josip Pospišil, 'Teure Häuser, Billige Wohnungen', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 1 August 1910), Vol. 27, Nr. 173, p. 2.

[48] Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić, quoted in 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.

[49] 'Hauptstädtische Misèren', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 5 August 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 62, p. 3; 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.

too, began to partake more eagerly in information-gathering and public discourse on planning. It is thanks to them that we have precise statistics about the extent of the problem. Labour activists estimated, for instance, that by 1913, workers in Sarajevo were spending almost a third of their income on rent, compared to roughly ten percent in 1871.[50] The housing crisis was becoming a recurrent theme of Sarajevan news reporting. It may have initially meant different things for different people. What united them, however, was the experience that something needed to be done about the housing crisis. There was, as one journalist observed in 1909, a consensus that 'things cannot go on like this'.[51]

By the turn of the century, housing had become a salient theme of public debate in both cities. In Strasbourg, where opportunities for formal democratic participation were incomparably greater than in Sarajevo, mass parties would play played a leading role in this development. Sarajevans lacked the generous opportunities for formal democratic participation that citizens of Strasbourg enjoyed, but they found other ways to raise their voices. In contrast with Strasbourg, there were no unions, political parties, or genuine democratic elections at municipal, regional, let alone imperial level. Mass media filled the void. While the government continued to curb any formal political participation, promoting the development of a modern press culture became part and parcel of its mission.[52] Mass media served as a platform for dissatisfied citizens to propagate

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[50] Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition,* p. 177; *Spomenica 30-godišnjeg rada I borbe gradjevinarskih radnika u Sarajevu 1905-1935,* ed. by Franjo Raušer (Sarajevo, 1935), p. 49.

[51] 'Wohnungsnot in Sarajevo', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt,* 26 August 1910, Vol. 7, Nr. 194, p. 2.

[52] Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* p. 213; Srećko Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918): Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie,* Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 93 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 93–102; Risto Besarović, 'Periodikai knjiga u doba austrougarske okupacije', in *Pisana riječ u Bosni i Hercegovini od najstarijih vremena do 1918. godine,* ed. by Alija Isaković and Miroslav Popadić (Sarajevo, 1982), pp. 255–83.

their demands, vent their anger and to raise awareness of the housing crisis. In both cities, the final decades of the nineteenth century introduced a new dynamism, new terms of debate and new demands to urban planning. Housing, a peripheral issue for most of the nineteenth century, became an integral part of planning discourse and planning policy. The next section explores how policy makers responded to these challenges.

2.3   Quality Standards

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw important changes in housing policy. Fuelled by mass migration, and spurred by mass media, an increasingly active debate on housing forced policy makers to take action. Their initial response, as this section will show, was to impose higher quality standards. Ensuring healthy, sound and sizeable dwellings became the number one priority. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, public authorities became more inclined to impose tougher quality standards on property owners. This development began much earlier in Sarajevo, where imperial officials were free, in essence, to rule by decree. In Strasbourg, by contrast, where bourgeois citizens had a larger stake in the legislative process, the deadlock on housing standards did not give way until the 1890s. It took the emergence of social democracy for bourgeois local politicians to recognise that reform was necessary. By the turn of the century, Strasbourg was implementing housing quality standards not unlike those of Sarajevo.

Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo was fertile terrain for housing reform. The challenges of accommodating a great influx of migrants from the Habsburg empire were

palpable. Due to the city's peculiar political situation, officials were well-placed to respond. The regional government was able to promulgate new planning laws by decree. Government officials were thus able to adhere closely to the policy recommendation of institutions like the professional associations and of planning experts like Baumeister. In 1880, as we have already seen, Austria-Hungary passed a new building code for Sarajevo. Comprising twenty-five pages with eighty-six paragraphs, the building code contained not only measures to standardise the planning application system and ensure the free flow of traffic, but it also imposed rigorous standards for hygiene, fire safety, and structural soundness. For instance, it was recommended that every flat should have its own toilet; while it was forbidden for more than two flats to share one (§65). To ensure sufficient ventilation, all windows had to be at least one meter high and sixty centimetres wide (§55).

The building code marked an important step towards improving Sarajevo's housing stock. From May 1880, all new builds had to comply with the new building code. Before construction could begin, owner and architect had to submit a planning application replete with plan, elevation and construction drawings to the municipality, whose planners would then approve the application, survey the works and, finally, authorise the finished building prior to move-in.[53] The municipality dealt with the day-to-day management of planning applications, but it was the government that set the terms on which the planning system operated. It was kept abreast even of planning through its special envoy to the municipality. By approving the new building code, Sarajevo city council also

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[53] *Bau-Ordnung für Sarajevo (1880)*, pp. 1-9 (§1-22).

effectively acknowledged the government's ultimate competency in that policy area.[54]

The building code did much to intensify public discourse on urban planning. The new system of planning applications, especially, generated an entirely new kind of intelligence in urban development. For the first time in its history, government officials were able to survey and, indirectly, control all construction activity in Sarajevo. Planning applications became an object of common knowledge and, indeed, of public interest. The city's press reported frequently on the number of applications under review, on statistics of buildings under construction and of recently completed properties. Journalists commented favourably on construction projects and unfavourably on the lack thereof, spurring the authorities' acceleration of planning processes. 'As we are being told from expert circles,' one newspaper wrote on 9 February 1895, for instance, 'there is to be expected a major standstill in construction activity and in the development of Sarajevo this year'.[55] Two weeks later, readers of the same organ learnt that the municipality had received twelve new planning applications, a promising start of the new construction season.[56]

In Strasbourg, it took longer for quality standards to be updated. One chief reason, we have already seen, were the greater legislative powers wielded by bourgeois citizens. Bourgeois representatives dominated the Regional Committee of Alsace-Lorraine, which repeatedly thwarted the authorities' efforts to put in

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[54] Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje djelatnosti,* p. 66; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 25.

[55] 'Stockung der Bauthätigkeit ins Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 February 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 12, p. 3.

[56] 'Zur kommenden Bausaison', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 26 February 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 17, p. 2.

place tougher restrictions on the individual freedom to build. It was not until the 1890s that bourgeois resistance began to dissolve.

The decisive factor, in Strasbourg, was the emergence of social democracy. In 1890, Bismarck's 1878 socialist law, which dictated severe repressions against social democrats, expired. This marked the breakthrough of social democracy in Alsace-Lorraine. In Mülhausen/Mulhouse, 3,000 had voted for a social democratic candidate in the 1884 Reichstag elections already. And 1890 saw the worker Charles Hickel (1848-1934) returned to Berlin.[57] Around that time, the 1848 revolutionary Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900), one of the principal founders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), became an active presence in Mülhausen/Mulhouse.[58] In Strasbourg, August Bebel (1840-1913), the SPD's chairman from 1892 until 1913, received 4,000 votes in the Reichstag elections of 1890; in 1893, he managed to win the seat. By this point, the government's attempts to curb social democratic activity were proving futile. When the head of Alsace-Lorraine's government, Secretary of State Max von Puttkamer (1831-1906), tried to ban social democratic meetings, Strasbourg's social democrats assembled in Kehl, in the more liberal Grand Duchy of Baden, while those of Mülhausen/Mulhouse went to the Swiss city of Basle. Puttkamer's ban of the *Elsass-Lothringische Volkszeitung,* the party newspaper in Mülhausen/Mulhouse, proved equally short-lived. After 1898, the government became increasingly accommodating towards the social democrats.[59]

In less than a decade, the social democrats morphed from a clandestine organisation to an important political partner for the imperial government. One

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[57] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, p. 68.

[58] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, pp. 78–80.

[59] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, p. 81.

key reason for this development lay in the social democrats' U-turn on the national question. In the 1870s, the SPD had firmly opposed Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. When the members for Alsace-Lorraine launched a formal complaint in the Reichstag in 1874, the SPD had been the only party to join their protest. Both Liebknecht and Bebel had been vociferous critics of Bismarck's annexation demand during the Franco-German War.[60] However, by the mid-1880s, social democrats began to question their oppositional stance. In 1889, Strasbourg's social democratic Reichstag candidate, Bebel, modified his once unconditional support for the French cause, and in 1892, the Strasbourg branch of the SPD ruled out a return to France.[61] In Mülhausen/Mulhouse, too, change was under way. After the native party leader, Fernand Bueb (1865-1906), had made several failed attempts to forge links with the French Republic – attempts that were repelled, in parts, by the French government's refusal to collaborate with Alsatian social democrats – anti-annexationism lost momentum from 1890.[62] Bueb's internal rival, Jean Martin (1868-1922), editor of the German-speaking social democratic newspaper *Elsass-Lothringische Volkszeitung,* supported a different view. Social democracy, Martin argued, was international in outlook. Therefore, the movement had to prioritise class struggle over national struggles. Acknowledging the annexation, putting the national question aside, and focusing on class politics was the order of the day. In 1900, Bueb was forced to step down from his Reichstag mandate and to retire from politics.[63] His downfall marked the endpoint of the SPD's anti-annexation opposition. In 1901, one social democratic journalist observed, "the [anti-German] protest is past, it is

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[60] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, 79.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', pp. 55–57, 94–96.
[63] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, 79–81.

class struggle that rules the day".[64] While, by the early twentieth century, the Catholic Centre still advocated a return to France, the SPD sided with the empire. German government officials, regional and local politicians became increasingly prepared to side with the SPD, too.

Another key reason for the ascent of the social democrats were the region's generous municipal suffrage laws. In the French Second Empire, city councils had been elected under universal manhood suffrage. Germany honoured this legal tradition. Following a thirteen-year suspension of the city council, first city council elections were held in Strasbourg in 1886.[65] Universal manhood suffrage in Alsace-Lorraine helped social democrats more than elsewhere in central Europe (in Prussia, Austria, and Hungary, municipal suffrage laws were much more restrictive). In 1896, the SPD first entered the city councils of Strasbourg and Mülhausen/Mulhouse. In 1902, it gained a third of the council seats.[66] By 1914, social democrats would hold a majority in the city council of Strasbourg.[67] In regional politics, social democrats attained a similarly central role. The Regional Parliament *(Landtag),* established as the successor of the Regional Committee in 1911, facilitated the shift from Bismarck-era notables' politics to an era of mass politics. Alongside a first chamber, comprising notables such as members of the clergy, mayors, and representatives of the region's chambers of commerce, the Regional Parliament consisted of a second chamber, which was elected under universal manhood suffrage and in which the SPD became a decisive force. By the

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[64] Quoted from Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, 81.
[65] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 97.
[66] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', pp. 125–27.
[67] Schütter, 'Von der rechtlichen Anerkennung zur Ausgrenzung', pp. 88, 91.

eve of the First World War, it had become virtually impossible to attain a majority without the social democrats.[68]

The rise of the social democrats changed the public discourse on housing.[69] Better housing conditions became one of the SPD's core demands.[70] The party drew special attention to the inadequate housing conditions of the region's workers. Alsace had once been admired for its pioneering role in workers' housing, especially the workers' city *(Cité ouvrière)* of Mülhausen/Mulhouse, a development built after 1853 by the city's leading employers, which featured centrally in the Paris World Fair of 1867 and which provided inspiration for similar schemes in Britain and Germany.[71] But by the end of the century, the Alsatian model of employer-built housing attracted increasing criticism among social democrats.[72] Bourgeois reformers lent these arguments further weight. Among them was Lujo Brentano (1844-1931), a professor at the university of Strasbourg and one of Germany's leading left-leaning national economists, who became a vociferous critic of laissez-faire housing policy. In 1887, Brentano's doctoral student Heinrich Herkner (1863-1932) published a damning report on the conditions of the working classes in Mülhausen/Mulhouse.[73] The model of the *cité ouvrière,* Herkner argued, had in fact coerced workers into exploitative contracts, burdened them with payment obligations from which they could not extricate themselves while the entrepreneurs behind the development had,

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[68] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, 195–96.

[69] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', pp. 13–14.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Hervé Doucet, 'Le logement social à Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XXᵉ siècle', in *L'urbanisme à Strasbourg au XXᵉ siècle. Actes des203ite203rencess organisées dans le cadre des 100 ans de la203iteé-jardin du Stockfeld* (Strasbourg: Ville de Strasbourg, Direction d'Urbanisme, de l'aménagement et de l'Habitat, 2011), pp. 134–43 (p. 134).

[72] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', pp. 13–14.

[73] Heinrich Herkner, *Die oberelsässische Baumwollindustrie und ihre Arbeiter: Auf Grund der Thatsachen dargestellt* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1887).

according to Brentano, generated huge profits and were, in effect, dictating the terms and direction of urban development.[74] Herkner's report resonated to an extent unforeseen by the author. In the run-up to the Reichstag elections of that year, it added fuel to an already tense situation, a situation that would result in one of the government's worst electoral defeats in the history of German Alsace-Lorraine, and which would cost a whole rank of government officials their careers, including Karl Ledderhose, the departmental president who had overseen the making of the New Town.[75] Strasbourg activist Elly Knapp (1881-1952) began touring Germany to lobby for greater public intervention in working-class housing, clashing, on occasion, with some of the empire's leading industrialists.[76]

The situation in the Alsatian capital may not have been as alarming as in Mülhausen/Mulhouse – rents were still modest in comparison with other German cities.[77] Nevertheless, prices were rising, here, too. The underlying issue was, in fact, much the same in as in Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo. Housing supply could not keep up with immigration. In both cities, the military conquest had ushered in an era of rapid population growth, as an influx of working-class migrants followed at the heel of the earlier wave of officials, professionals, and military staff. Between the 1870s and the First World War, both roughly doubled in population, but housing supply did not keep up.

The 1890s, finally, saw important housing reforms in Strasbourg. In 1892, the Regional Committee assented to an updated Law for the Limitation of the Freedom to Build.[78] In 1893, after more than a decade of deliberations, the

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[74] Lujo Brentano, *Elsässer Erinnerungen*, 4th–6th edn (Berlin: Reiß, 1917), pp. 91–102.

[75] Brentano, *Elsässer Erinnerungen*, pp. 103–9.

[76] Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm,* p. 86.

[77] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 13.

[78] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 146–56.

Committee passed a building code for Strasbourg, which integrated the existing regulations with tougher quality measures in the field of hygiene, fire safety, and structural soundness.[79] The new building code, chapter one has shown, bore close resemblance to the earlier building code for Sarajevo (1880), which received an update in 1893.[80] New builds in Sarajevo and Strasbourg were now subject to very similar standards.

Tougher regulations were complemented by interventions in the existing housing stock. The most important changes, in this field, emanated from local politics. In 1895, the regional government passed a new communal law *(Gemeindestatut),* which gave greater powers to municipalities like Strasbourg.[81] After the SPD first entered Strasbourg's city council in 1896, the municipal administration took new steps to improve the city's housing market. In May 1898, the municipality founded a municipal Record Office *(Wohnungsnachweisamt).*[82] Its aim was to do for the housing market what the labour exchange had done for the local job market. In an effort to improve the efficiency of the housing market, which had been opaque and difficult to navigate, the Housing Record Office collected and managed a list of all available rental properties, developing into a first point of call for tenants. Within three years of its existence, it had processed 14,000 individual inquiries. It also mediated in conflicts between tenants and

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[79] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 163–74.

[80] *Bau-Ordnung für Sarajevo (1880)*; *Bau-Ordnung für die Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo: Genehmigt mit Allerhöchster Entschliessung vom 23. Juli 1893 und publicirt mit Verordnung der Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina vom 5. August 1893, Zahl 76.174* (Sarajevo: Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina, 1893), ZMBiH, D3690.

[81] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 94; Rolf Wittenbrock, 'Die Auswirkungen von Grenzverschiebungen auf Stadtentwicklung und Kommunalverfassung: Metz und Strassburg (1850-1930)', in *Grenzen und Grenzregionen*, ed. by Wolfgang Haubrichs and Reinhard Schneider (Saarbrücken: SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), pp. 239–65 (pp. 254–57).

[82] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 23.

landlords. From 1909, the Housing Record Office was complemented by another institution, the Legal Advice Bureau for Rent Affairs *(Rechtauskunftsstelle für Mietangelegenheiten)*, which, founded at Schwander's behest, dispensed free legal advice to tenants. By the eve of the First World War, the Housing Record Office was providing market information, forecasting and housing policy advice to the municipal administration.[83] The reports and statistics issued to city councillors and municipal officials made it difficult to ignore the condition of the city's housing stock. Together, these two institutions did much provide greater transparency in the housing market. Increasing insight into market conditions only intensified calls for action.

By the end of the century, many agreed that bolder measures were needed. City councillors were willing to take more decisive action – a far cry from the laissez-faire climate of the 1870s and 1880s, when bourgeois politicians, as we have seen, had consistently opposed such efforts. A new generation of experts catalysed this political shift. Particularly instrumental was Otto Mayer (1846-1924), a Bavarian lawyer who had moved to Mülhausen/Mulhouse in the aftermath of the occupation.[84] In 1882, Mayer was appointed to the chair for administrative law at the university of Strasbourg. As a newcomer to the city, he was instantly struck by the appalling sanitary conditions in the centre. Mayer repeatedly warned that, were another outbreak of cholera to strike, the consequences would be disastrous. The leading authority on the region's French legal tradition, Mayer impressed on the mayor, Otto Back, that the existing body of laws was, in fact, enough to enforce better housing standards.[85]

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Volkmar Heyen, 'Mayer, Otto', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1990), 550–52; Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 17.

[85] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 17.

In 1897, Mayer, by then a council member, proposed the appointment of a new housing commission. His motion received support from liberals and social democrats in the council, who duly elected their party leader, Böhle, into the commission. Founded in 1898, the new commission thus had a stronger political mandate than all its antecedents in the Second Republic, the Second Empire and during the Bismarck-era. Moreover, it was backed by a younger, more progressive, fully professional municipal executive that was less afraid than its predecessors to intervene with property rights.[86]

The new commission commanded unprecedented powers. While its antecedents had relied on prompts from the police to visit individual properties on a case-by-case basis, the new commission, emboldened by Mayer's legal guidance and with the political backing of the council and municipal executive, was now able to access any property to survey the entire inner city. To speed up the process, the commission divided itself into five subgroups, each of which was assigned three building inspectors as aides by the municipal administration. Less than two months after the first meeting, one subgroup had already surveyed 120 properties, while another had inspected as many as 420.[87]

There emerged, for the first time, a complete picture of the city's housing stock. The commission entered its findings in a cadastre, which grew with time into a complete record of the city's dwellings. Listed by street names, the local administration could ascertain the state of any unit at a glance. Written records were complemented by sketches and photographs, a labourious but highly effective way to illustrate the full extent of the plight of the urban poor. Images of

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[86] Steinhoff, *The Gods of the City,* p. 97; Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 17; Jonas, 'Strasbourg 1900: Ville de frontière et d'innovation (1890-1918)', pp. 18–22.

[87] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 8–9.

gloomy courtyards, narrow staircases, bedrooms without windows, underfed children and pale adults, may have appeared as alien to Strasbourg's middle classes as the Paris of Victor Hugo or the London of Gustave Doré.[88] The overall state of inner-city housing, the commission found, was dismal. More than two thirds of its population inhabited very small flats of one or two rooms, almost half shared a bed with at least one other person, twenty percent lived in very dark rooms and fifteen percent lived in what the commission described as 'particularly insalubrious conditions'.[89] Many bedrooms had access to neither daylight nor fresh air. Sewerage and water supply were still incomplete in the inner city and, as a result, only very few houses had water closets. Many did not even have a cesspit of their own, but shared outhouses with neighbouring properties. In some cases, the commission found no fewer than fifty people sharing one privy.[90]

[88] AVES 126 MW.
[89] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 17.
[90] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 12.

Figure 22: Photographic record of an unhealthy dwelling, 10 Große Stadelgasse (Grande rue de la Grange). Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

Complementing the work of the commission were new sanitary standards. Set by the municipal executive, the new standards for healthy dwellings were nothing short of radical. For instance, for every adult, there had to be ten cubic metres of air space, and five for every child under the age of ten. Main rooms had to have at least one window, which had to cover at least one square metre. Light-trapped rooms were no longer allowed as bedrooms. Most notably, perhaps, there had to be a separate bed for each occupant, and a water closet for every fifteen inhabitants.[91]

Enforcement was swift and stringent. When a dwelling was found to violate municipal standards, owners were sent a catalogue of mandatory works shortly after the inspection. They had a month to make amends, or else to submit

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[91] AVES, 72 MW 50 17; Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, p. 15.

their objections to the housing commission. Any further negotiations were delegated to the municipal executive – a procedure that professionalised enforcement and saved the commission members valuable time that could be spent on the survey. Of 2893 properties in the inner city, 562 underwent improvements in the first three years of the commission's existence alone.[92]

Quality standards were not the only area of urban planning in which Strasbourg's social democrats made an impact. Another example was the regulation of the river Rhine. In the early years of the twentieth century, the regional government negotiated a trilateral deal with Bavaria and Baden, which imposed a cost of one million marks on the municipality. Dissatisfied with the costly deal, Strasbourg's chamber of commerce produced a rival project, which scrapped the intended river regulation in favour of a canal on the river's west bank. The council elections of 1904 brought strong gains for the bourgeois dissidents.[93] But municipal officials were able to win the support of the social democrats (who, unlike other council factions, always voted in unison). It was thus thanks to social democratic support that the municipal administration was able to sway the vote in its favour.[94]

Bourgeois citizens had to acknowledge, not without bitterness, that the political climate had changed. The Rhine regulation made it hard to deny that the era in which bourgeois advocacy coalitions, such as the chamber of commerce, had dictated the course of municipal policy, was past. In the decisive council meeting, held on 19 July 1905, representatives of the chamber of commerce reacted with outrage. 'I do not believe that it has ever, anywhere, occurred,'

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[92] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen*, pp. 8–14.
[93] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 25–32.
[94] Geigel, *Rheinregulierung und kein Ende*.

thundered Councillor Charles-Léon Ungemach (1844-1928), president of the chamber of commerce and one of Strasbourg's largest employers, 'that a municipal administration has thus acted against the representatives of industry and the chamber of commerce' and, he went on 'that [material] interests are thus treated as if civil servants knew better what is conducive to the interests of the industry and of trade'.[95] But with the social democratic vote in support of the municipal administration, Strasbourg's industrialists had no choice but to accept defeat. Seventeen councillors voted for the Rhine regulation but only eleven against it. Three representatives of the chamber of commerce resigned in protest.[96]

Under social democratic influence, the municipality pursued an increasingly bold, interventionist social policy. Though himself a national liberal, Mayor Otto Back, approaching seventy, prided himself on the reformist spirit of his youthful circle of deputies who reverently dubbed him 'father Back'.[97] Their influence was felt across many areas of municipal policy, such as poor relief, workers' rights, tenants' rights, education and public health. One example was the city's innovative poor relief policy, the so-called Strasbourg system, put in place in 1901, which combined benefit payments with personal mentorship, and which forced the municipality to define minimum living standards.[98] This, in turn, paved the way for important innovations in workers' rights. In 1903, Strasbourg introduced a local minimum wage. It was the first German city to do so. In 1905, its Municipal Workers' Ordinances introduced important concessions to municipal employees, including additional payments contingent on family size

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[95] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 34.
[96] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 34–35.
[97] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 47.
[98] Schütter, 'Von der rechtlichen Anerkennung zur Ausgrenzung'; Jonas, 'Strasbourg 1900', pp. 18–22.

and annual paid leave. Many other German cities did not introduce comparable ordinances until the Weimar Republic.[99] In 1906, the city adapted the so-called Ghent System of unemployment benefits, under which unemployment insurance was jointly paid for by employers and employees, but administered by the unions.[100] But most notably perhaps, Strasbourg became one of the first cities in the empire to introduce a labour exchange, the so-called Labour Record Office (*Arbeitsnachweis*), a municipal institution that kept a public listing of all open positions and to which firms were obliged to turn when seeking new staff. The example of Strasbourg, eventually led to the implementation of a nationwide system of labour exchanges in the Weimar Republic.[101]

Urban planning was increasingly considered an integral part of social policy. For instance, the municipality used public works to smooth over fluctuations in the labour market. Demolitions and infrastructural development in the New Town were carried out in the winter months, when building activity was low and seasonal unemployment was high – a practice that became known locally as winter works *(Winterarbeiten).*[102]

Sarajevo had been quicker than Strasbourg to reform its housing policy. But thanks to the increasingly active role played by politicians at the municipal level, Strasbourg followed suit around the turn of the century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the two cities' flourishing housing sectors were subject to a rigorous set of regulations, regulations that were closely aligned with those of many other European cities. These quality standards were not, however, sufficient to solve the cities' housing crises. In particular, while they made new

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[99] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 51–52.
[100] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 50.
[101] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 40–46.
[102] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 50, 84.

developments safer and healthier, they also added to the increasing cost of housing. The next section examines what steps were taken to address the issue of housing affordability.

2.4   From Quality to Quantity

Tightening housing regulation in Strasbourg and Sarajevo was in line with most nineteenth-century housing reform thinking. In the event, however, housing standards often seemed to make matters worse.[103] By increasing the cost of construction, greater quality standards in housing actually intensified the worst excesses of urban poverty.[104] Though well-intentioned, these policies drove up the cost of housing, contributing to a general price increase amid the economic recovery after the Great Depression in central Europe (1873-1896).[105]

In Strasbourg, price inflation drove the poorest out of the city. The New Town, designed to the highest specifications with wide avenues, generous front gardens, spacious villas and airy blocks of flats, was, in effect, only affordable to the middle classes – a tendency that was reinforced with the introduction of the 1893 building code, with its binding standards for structural and fire safety, aeration, and sanitary fittings, which further increased the cost of design and

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[103] Cf. Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 242; Clemens Wischermann, 'Wohnungsmarkt, Wohnungsversorgung und Wohnmobilität in deutschen Grossstädten 1870-1913', in *Stadtwachstum, Industrialisierung, sozialer Wandel: Beiträge zur Erforschung d. Urbanisierung im 19. u. 20. Jh,* ed. by Peter Borscheid and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1986), pp. 101–33.

[104] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City,* p. 31.

[105] Cf. Hans Rosenberg, 'Political and Social Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in Central Europe', *Economic History Review,* 13.1–2 (1943), 58–73.

construction.[106] As Deputy Mayor Alexander Dominicus (1873-1945), a member of Strasbourg's housing commission, reported in 1901, almost eighty percent of the city's new builds were in the high-end sector, leading to price inflation at the opposite end of the spectrum. Of 2,300 new flats delivered since 1896, only 500 were low-cost dwellings with either one or two rooms.[107] Due, in part, to the new healthy living standards in the inner city, even the old centre of Strasbourg became increasingly unaffordable for working-class tenants. While the inner city's population stagnated at 100,000 inhabitants, the suburbs, exploded. This development was aided by the fact that Strasbourg's building regulations did not apply there. Planning law in the suburbs, which occupied the zone between the city walls and the outer ring of forts, was the responsibility of the military authorities. For most of the nineteenth century, these settlements had been mere villages. It was not until the turn of the century that the military authorities found it necessary to pass building regulations for Neudorf (1895), in the south, for Robertsau (1900), in the north, and for the western suburbs of Cronenbourg, Koenigshoffen and Grünberg/Montagne-Verte (1902).[108] Extrapolating the growth rates from 1900 to 1909, municipal officials predicted that the southern suburbs of Neudorf, Neuhof, Musau, and Metzgerau alone would soon outgrow the inner city, quadrupling from 30,000 inhabitants in 1901 to 120,000 by 1930.[109]

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[106] *Entwurf einer Bauordnung für Straßburg 1883.*

[107] Dominicus, *Kommission gegen die ungesunden Wohnungen.*

[108] Hélène Antoni, 'Architecture et urbanisme dans les zones de servitudes militaires à Strasbourg', in *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne. Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940*, ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 313–25 (p. 322); Cohen, 'L'encyclopédie et le palimpseste', p. 42.

[109] Schwander, 'Anlage neuer und Schließung bestehender Friedhöfe', (Strasbourg, 1910), BNUS, M749021, pp. 1–2.

In Sarajevo, too, housing regulation accelerated price inflation. Central to this development were the regulations imposed in the 1880 building code. With their rigorous standards for documentation and inspection, health and safety, they transformed the city's construction sector from one dominated by untrained master builders to one that involved highly skilled, academically-trained architects, lengthy administrative procedures, and modern building materials such as kiln-fired brick, iron, zinc, lead, and ceramics.[110] The increasing cost of construction, compounded by the continuing inflow of working-class migrants, led supply to lag behind growing demand. Between 1885 and 1895, while Sarajevo's population grew by 44 percent,[111] the city's housing stock only grew by 20.4 percent.[112] As a result, population density rose steadily, from 2,335 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1885, to 3,174 in 1895, to 3,999 in 1910.[113] Prices spiralled. Labour movement activists estimated that rents in Bosnia-Herzegovina quadrupled, in nominal terms, between 1905 and 1911 alone.[114] The very measures that had been intended to improve housing conditions contributed to their deterioration.

Policy failures as in Strasbourg and Sarajevo prompted planning experts to reconsider their position. In specialist circles, there was increasing doubt whether quality standards could improve housing conditions.[115] For most of the nineteenth century, the question of housing had been debated almost exclusively

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[110] Said Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', in *Svjetlost Evrope u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2004), pp. 11–12 (p. 11).

[111] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 13 November 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 91, p. 2; Ferdinand Hauptmann, 'Die Mohammedaner in Bosnien-Herzegowina', in *Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918: Die Konfessionen*, 12 vols (Vienna, 1985), IV, 670–701.

[112] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 August 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 62, p. 1.

[113] Hauptmann, 'Die Mohammedaner in Bosnien-Herzegowina'.

[114] Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition,* p. 177; *Izvještaj glavnog redničkog saveza za Bosnu i Hercegovinu za poslovne godine 1907-1913* (Sarajevo, 1908), p. 18.

[115] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 179–84.

in terms of sanitation and hygiene, but in the final years of the century, terms such as demand, supply, rents and investment came to dominate the discussion.[116] This shift in the public discourse was accompanied by a new caste of experts: economists such as Theodor Goecke (1850-1919), Rudolf Eberstadt (1856-1922), Adolf Damaschke (1865-1935), and Andreas Voigt (1860-1940) were making a name in planning, in academic publications, pamphlets, or through their work in organisations such as the German Land Reform League *(Deutscher Bund für Bodenreform),* the German Association for Housing Reform *(Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform),* the Association for Housing Law *(Verein Reichswohnungsgesetz)* or the Institute for Welfare *(Institut für Gemeinwohl),* powerful institutions whose membership comprised hundreds of thousands across Germany and Austria-Hungary.[117] Voigt, a mathematician by training and professor of economics at the university of Frankfurt, argued together with the architect Paul Geldner that there was a trade-off between housing quality and quantity delivered, in other words between hygiene and economy.[118] Better standards, they argued, had driven up construction cost also to the detriment of tenants.[119] In this line of argument, the only real solution was to deliver more housing. To do so, public authorities had to boost construction, rather than further constrain the market. This idea was a far cry from the thinking of first-generation housing reformers, but it resonated widely.

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[116] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, p. 28.

[117] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, pp. 35–40.

[118] Andreas Voigt, 'Der Einfluss der Baukosten auf die Mietpreise', in *Neue Untersuchungen über die Wohnungsfrage in Deutschland und im Ausland*, Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, 94–97, 3 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1901), I, 337–64; Andreas Voigt and Paul Geldner, *Kleinhaus und Mietkaserne: Eine Untersuchung der Intensität der Bebauung vom wirtschaftlichen und hygienischen Standpunkte* (Berlin: Springer, 1905).

[119] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, p. 31.

In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, too, the discourse changed. In both cities, the debate shifted from housing quality to quantity-based solutions. It became increasingly guided by economic data and centred on terms such as supply, demand and revenues. The new wealth of market data, forecasts, and reports generated by institutions such as Strasbourg's Housing Record Office, confronted local politicians and officials with the full extent of the problem. 'The causes of [the housing crisis] lie in the large demand for halfway tolerable rooms and in their short supply,' argued one Sarajevo journalist in 1893. And 'as with all goods, prices were bound to rise'.[120] Lead articles, news reports and letters-to-the-editor shared the sense that only 'with [rising] quantity of available rental flats would their price decrease'.[121] New political coalitions, such as the union of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina *(Vereinigte Serbische und Kroatische Kräfte)*, co-founded in 1913 by Sarajevo's Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić (1869-1945), now included manifesto pledges for workers' housing 'in the whole country', but they refrained from specifying any quality standards for such housing.[122] Boosting housing supply, rather than tightening standards, became an increasingly popular demand.

Mass parties contributed to this development. Across central Europe, labour movement activists increasingly criticised bourgeois reformers for their narrow focus on quality standards, as Brian Ladd has put it, for their 'failure to acknowledge the realities of the market'.[123] Liberals and social democrats now largely concurred that the housing question boiled down to demand and supply,

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[120] 'Wohnungsmisère', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 12 May 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 38, p. 1.

[121] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.

[122] German translation of the party manifesto, in: Potiorek to Biliński, 26 August 1913, OeStA/KA NL 1503:2, Nr. 417 I.

[123] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 183.

rents and income. 'The housing question is a wage question', claimed the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* in 1891, echoing Friedrich Engels's writings on *The Housing Question* (1872).[124] And as discourse on housing supply intensified, concerns about housing quality receded further. In Sarajevo, social democrats, who were vociferous in demanding workers' housing, hardly mentioned such quality measures as fire safety, structural soundness, sanitation and hygiene, terms that had been central to middle-class housing reformers. In the eyes of the labour movement, what mattered more was the sheer number of dwellings required. The housing crisis, which mattered to a vast majority of urban society, offered social democrats an opportunity to speak to voters beyond their immediate clientele of unionised working classes. Finally, addressing the housing crisis would allow the young social democratic movements to test their informal power and increase their leverage while its representatives were still vying for better organised democratic participation. Organising protests and demonstrations, vivifying the published discourse on housing engaged social democrats in a head-to-head struggle with the established local elites, raising demands which public authorities could no longer afford to ignore.

The problems facing Strasbourg and Sarajevo were broadly similar. The way in which policy makers responded, however, differed. Differences in the two cities' municipal suffrage laws were a key factor. In Strasbourg, thanks to the city's French legacy of universal manhood suffrage, social democrats enjoyed a standing quite unlike in any other part of the German empire. From the 1890, the SPD was able to influence housing policy directly in the city council. In Sarajevo, by contrast, suffrage remained highly restrictive throughout the Austro-Hungarian period, and social democrats were denied formal representation at either state or

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[124] Ibid.

city level. As a result, they made their voices heard by other means. Taking to the streets, social democrats in Sarajevo turned against the bourgeois-dominated city council and prompted the regional government to intensify its innovative housing policies instead.

In Sarajevo, where social democrats had fewer opportunities for formal political participation they applied the institutions of mass politics – mass media, unions, parades, demonstrations – to increase pressure on the unresolved issue of housing. When the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina was founded in 1911, housing was among the first issues that party activists turned to. At the 1911 May Day celebrations of the Croatian-Nationalist Union, held at the city park in front of the government headquarters, the typesetter Ivan Andrić held a rousing speech, demanding, among other things, a concerted programme for the construction of workers' housing.[125] In June 1911, the working-class newspaper *Radnička Sveza* appeared for the first time, quickly developing into an ardent advocate of workers' housing.[126]

Working-class activism prompted bourgeois citizens, too, to renew their campaigning. Middle-class citizens had been the first to problematise the housing crisis in the mid-1880s. By the 1910s, they saw themselves forced to react to the increasing demands of working-class activists. In July 1911, there were first calls to incorporate working-class housing in the agenda of the city council, enthusiastically supported by the Croatian newspaper *Hrvatski Dnevnik*.[127] The pro-government *Bosnische Post* followed suit. 'The question of the construction

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[125] 'Versammlung der kroatisch-nationalen Arbeiter', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 May 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 101, p. 2.
[126] 'Ein neues Arbeiterorgan', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 3 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 127, p. 4..
[127] '"Hrvatski Dnevnik" über die Situation im Gemeinderate', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 5 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 15, p. 2.

of workers' houses', its editors demanded, should be 'touched and, hopefully, acted upon too' in the council. Workers' housing, the newspaper declared, had by now grown into a question 'of the most vital importance to the capital [...] whose solution the city's inhabitants expect with justified impatience'.[128] Leading middle-class politicians sided with these demands. Vancaš, the leader of the Croatian Party *(Udruga)* in the city council declared that his faction would put an end to its months-long obstruction of council work especially to vote in favour of a working-class housing programme.[129] 'The construction of workers' houses', assented Deputy Mayor Mandić, appeared 'urgent'.[130]

The natural addressee of these demands was the municipality. Its responsibilities included policing, street lighting, water supply and sewerage, poor relief, and the administration of schools – competencies assigned to it by the occupying forces in 1878 and affirmed in the municipal statutes of 1884 and 1889.[131] The council routinely debated issues such as street regulation and paving, cleanliness of public spaces, drainage and lighting and negotiated petitions from property owners and inhabitants on urban development. Managing these issues forced the council also to collaborate more closely with the professional arm of the municipal administration. After 1893, for instance, sessions were attended not only by a government envoy but also by the head of the municipal building department, for advice on technical matters.[132] By the end of the century, the city council had developed into an institution whose routines, responsibilities, competencies and even whose electoral system resembled those of their

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[128] 'Die Obstruktion im Gemeinderate', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 8 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 154, p. 1.
[129] Ibid.
[130] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.
[131] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* pp. 28–29.
[132] 'Aus dem Gemeinderathe', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 29 July 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 6, p. 4.

equivalents in Prussia, Austria, and the south German states. Across Europe, workers' housing typically fell into the remit of municipal administrations. In Budapest, for example, the municipality had recently passed an ambitious programme for the construction of workers' houses, a decision that played an exemplary role in the public discourse on housing in Sarajevo.[133] Sarajevans expected their city council to take similar action.

There were some who thought, as a consequence, that the municipality of Sarajevo should build working-class housing. In the council session on 10 July 1911, Vice President Damjanović proposed a loan of one million crowns for worker's dwellings. Vancaš seconded the motion. Deputy Mayor Mandić appealed to councillors' sense of commensurability. Workers, regardless of origin or faith, he argued, had a right to live in affordable and salubrious dwellings. 'Whoever pays municipal taxes also has the right to demand something from the municipality.' Illustrating the consequences of inaction, Mandić's argument followed a line of argument with which city councillors were by now familiar. 'There are 4,000 workers in Sarajevo [...] Until now, nothing has been done for these people. The dwellings in which they live are against all sanitary measures. And unhealthy dwellings produce diseases, which in turn will infect the [whole] city. The municipal administration,' he concluded, 'should cater for the workers, if not for altruistic reasons, then it is for egotistic ones. Any negligence in this matter will avenge the entire city'.[134]

The majority of the council objected. Muslim landowners, especially, opposed to the idea of municipal housing. Councillor Mustajbeg Mutevelić, the motion's main opponent, questioned 'whether the municipality should help

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[133] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.
[134] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 11 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 156, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).

workers just in this way' and 'if Sarajevo [was] and industrial city and if it [thus had] to provide workers' houses'. He argued that 'the lack of workers' houses in Sarajevo could not be compared to that in Vienna or Budapest. The question is not as urgent here as it is in Budapest'.[135] Councillor Vekić stressed the point that 'the question of workers' housing is not such a pressing one at the moment and that 'it would be therefore advisable not to rush things'.[136] Opponents of the motion maintained that they were not, in principle, opposed to the idea of workers' housing. Rather, they insisted, as Mutevelić would later assure, that housing 'was not among the most urgent questions and that sewerage and water supply should be solved before'.[137] The city council voted to remove the item from the agenda.

Elite interests in the city council put a stop to municipal plans to build working-class housing. Like most council members, Mutevelić and Vekić owned property in the city, benefitting directly from the housing shortage and from the inflation in house prices and rent. 'The construction of workers' houses', Mutevelić impressed on the council, 'would deal a blow to our small property owners', adding, ominously, that in such a case 'uproar should be expected'.[138] Mandić's assurance that 'the property owners need not fear that rents will drop too far; they will drop only to the normal level' did little to appease the council majority – as little as his accusation of 'cold-heartedness' did to Mutevelić, who, as one journalist summed, appeared 'very concerned for the poor property

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[135] 'Gemeinderat: Die Frage der Arbeiterwohnungen', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 18 August 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 188, p. 7.
[136] 'Gemeinderat: Die Frage der Arbeiterwohnungen'.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

owners'.[139] Commentators accused council members of cronyism and 'landlords' politics' *(Hausherrenpolitik).*[140]

The intransigence of the city council merely intensified the campaigning of the housing activists. The issue united social democrats and bourgeois reformers, pitting them against the local elites in the city council. Frustrated by the council, housing activists took to the streets. On 24 July 1911, the Social Democratic Party and leading bourgeois activists organised a demonstration to protest against the deadlock in the council. Held in the city park in front of the government headquarters, the demonstration attracted no fewer than six thousand citizens, middle classes and workers alike. Social democratic leaders addressed the crowds alongside representatives of the bourgeois reformers. Among the speakers was Franjo Markić, Director of the District Health Insurance Company, who gave a speech in which he attacked Mutevelić and his political allies. Another speaker, Sretem Jakšić, chief editor of the working-class paper *Glas Slobode,* accused council members around the Jew A.D. Salom of acting against the interest of the people. He went on to demand radical changes to the council, 'universal, equal and proportional suffrage' in council elections, and concluded by reminding his listeners that 'we are the largest power in Sarajevo!'[141] Protesters occupied the city park and the adjacent main road, Čemaluša (today's Maršala Tita) long into the night hours.[142]

The era of mass politics created an altogether new kind of critical publicity around housing, one that imperial officials could no longer ignore. While the

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[139] Ibid.

[140] 'Gegen den Wohnungswucher', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 25 July 1911), p. 2.

[141] 'Eine Protestversammlung gegen den Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 25 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 168, pp. 2–3.

[142] 'Gegen den Wohnungswucher', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 25 July 1911), p. 2.

demonstration of 24 July 1911 was not – at least not unreservedly – anti-regime, it was very clear that protesters sought the attention of the Habsburg regional government. Demonstrators were turning to imperial officials in the hope that it could administer high-level change where the municipality had failed. As a matter of fact, Vienna had routinely involved itself in Sarajevo's municipal affairs. Stephan Burián von Rajecz (1851-1922), Kállay's successor as imperial finance minister, had recently assured the deputy mayors of Sarajevo of his ministry's support. Vancaš, who knew of Burián's pledge, urged the government to incentivise workers' housing through tax breaks for the municipality.[143] Where political discourse had failed, Vancaš hoped that material incentives would bring the municipality to embrace workers' housing. Mutevelić, meanwhile, tried to deflect responsibility onto the government. He, too, hoped that government would relieve the municipality from any responsibility for housing policy. In the council session on 18 August, he demanded to know 'how much support [the regional government] was planning to give to workers' houses'.[144]

The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina was well-placed to respond to these demands. Housing activists knew that the regional government enjoyed far-reaching powers unchecked almost by any other institution. The absence of any representative institutions and the resultant executive freedom were exceptional even within nineteenth-century central Europe. Not even the diets of Austria and Hungary had any detailed insight, let alone influence, in its conduct.[145] Headed,

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[143] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 11 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 156, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).

[144] 'Gemeinderat: Die Frage der Arbeiterwohnungen', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 18 August 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 188, p. 7.

[145] Jana Osterkamp, 'Föderale Schwebelage: Die Habsburgermonarchie als politisches Mehrebenensystem', in *Föderalismus in historisch vergleichender Perspektive*, 2014, pp. 197–220 (p. 212); Harald Bachmann, *Joseph Maria Baernreither, 1845-1925: der Werdegang eines altösterreichischen Ministers und Sozialpolitikers* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Schmidt in Komm, 1977), p. 38.

formally, by the military governor of Sarajevo, the regional government of Bosnia-Herzegovina reported solely and ultimately to the imperial finance minister. In fact, contemporaries were extremely aware of the risks and opportunities of such an anomalous situation. 'Minister Kállay has been spared the blessings of modern parliamentarism', wrote the economist Friedrich Kleinwächter (1838-1927), professor at the university of Czernowitz/Czerniowce/Cernăuți, in 1893. 'The head of the state administration can move quite freely; he does not face any parliamentary parties which could impede his plans and of whose goodwill he would have to ensure himself through numerous major and minor concessions, but he can do simply what promotes the country's welfare, even if it goes against the interest of single groups or influential individuals'.[146] While some democratic politicians called Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina a 'Pašaluk' or dubbed it, somewhat more neutrally, the 'guinea pig' of Vienna, many supporters of the regime were increasingly prepared to look sympathetically even upon its boldly interventionist, or, as Kleinwächter summed, 'state socialist' *(staatssozialistisch)* tendencies.[147] Whatever their stance towards Kállay's regime, observers concurred that policy-making in Bosnia-Herzegovina was both bolder and faster than in other European regions. Worrying to some, this degree of executive freedom was an opportunity for housing activists: if only the government would acknowledge mass demands, it could, in effect, break the deadlock on housing in the city of Sarajevo.

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[146] Quoted after 'Eine auswärtige Stimme über die occupirten Provinzen', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 10 November 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 90, p. 2.

[147] Ibid.; Miho Jerinić in the *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 17 August 1912, quoted in Potiorek to Biliński, Sarajevo, 25 August 1912, OeStA/KA NL 1503:1.

2.5   Comprehensive Planning

In Sarajevo, mass protests led the government to step up its housing policy. Under the impression of demonstrations, party rallies and an increasingly vociferous local press, earlier, piecemeal measures to alleviate the housing shortage yielded to an increasingly coordinated programme. This programme put a new spin on well-established policy instruments, such as building codes, which became increasingly sophisticated and tailored to the needs of housing supply. It also synthesized traditional policy instruments with more novel policy tools such as tax law, creating a coherent regulatory approach to urban development. The increasing integration between different policy instruments, the emergence of a holistic approach to urban development made Sarajevo one of the earliest cities in Europe to engage in what historians have referred to as 'comprehensive planning' – a new era in the history of urban planning, in which public authorities departed from the relatively narrow policy toolset of nineteenth-century planning in favour of a more rounded, and interventionist, approach. In what follows, it will be shown how planning policy developed in this process.

The government's attention to housing policy was not new. Since the onset of the occupation, the Habsburg government had been experimenting with policy initiatives to improve the city's housing stock.[148] One such initiative was state-built housing. Especially in the early years of the occupation, the government invested routinely in housing just as well as it invested in administrative buildings, churches, schools, army barracks and railway infrastructure. Especially influential

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[148] Dusan Grabrijan, *Bosensko Orientalska Arhitektura v Sarajevu s Posbnim Ozirom Na Sodobno* (Sarajevo: Založba Partizanska knijga, 1949), p. 46; Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition,* p. 127.

was the so-called Pension Fund Building, one of the first public buildings of the Austro-Hungarian administration and the first major residential development in Sarajevo. It was completed in 1885 next to the new Roman Catholic cathedral. Designed by the architect Karel Pařík, the building combined a Viennese-style coffee house and shops on the ground floor with twenty-one rental flats above – a novelty in style, dimensions, and type. Not only was this among the first buildings in a classicising architectural language in Sarajevo. It was by far the largest non-public building in the city, at four storeys high and extending an entire block between the main thoroughfares of Ferhadija and Čemaluša (Mula Mustafa Bašeskije), dwarfing the surrounding low-rise architecture. And it was the first example of a new type of commercial development that would soon take over the city, a type modelled on European precedents, a combination of residential, retail and hospitality functions unknown in Ottoman Sarajevo.

At a stroke, the government had become the city's largest housing provider. When the Pension Fund Building was completed in 1885, other state-funded residential projects followed.[149] In 1887, the government completed two civil servants' residences on the hillside above the city park.[150] In 1893, it built another house in Bakarevića and three more in Džidžikovac ulica.[151] These projects created much sought-after rental accommodation at a standard that was deemed acceptable by middle-class immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian heartlands. They expanded the city's housing supply at a time when demand was rising sharply, but when Sarajevans were still hesitant about investing in property.

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[149] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 78.

[150] Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegovina,* p. 99.

[151] 'Bauthätigkeit in Sarajevo: Saison 1893', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 17 November 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 92, pp. 3–4.; Krzović and others, *Arhitektura Bosne I Hercegovine,* p. 119.

Pensionsfonds-Gebäude der bosn.-herceg. Landesregierung.

(Museum.)

Figure 23: The Pension Funds Building on the cathedral square. Austro-Hungarian buildings stood out in style, type, and dimension from the city's traditional low-rise architecture. Credit: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine.

Publicly built housing proved less popular in Strasbourg. In contrast with Sarajevo, the city boasted a well-developed private housing sector. Bourgeois investors regarded public residential projects as unwelcome competition. In the French Second Empire, model developments, such as the *Cité Napoléon* in Paris, one of the earliest public housing estates in post-revolutionary France, would

ultimately remain just that: an exception.[152] Bourgeois citizens in Strasbourg objected to similar ideas. When Mayor Charles Coulaux (1822-1864) proposed an ambitious programme for the construction of public housing in Strasbourg's new station district, he encountered fierce opposition in the council, where propertied elites had the upper hand. In 1864, Coulaux retired and his successor, Théodore Humann (1803-1873), was quick to bury the project.[153] At the municipal and regional level, the authorities refrained from public housing developments until the very end of the century.

Direct market interventions were not, in any case, enough to solve the housing crisis. In Sarajevo, the government tried hard to find other ways of boosting housing supply. One way was tax policy. In 1880, the year after the great fire of Sarajevo, the government granted a tax break of thirty years for all new buildings, and of five to fifteen years for renovations and refurbishments, to be exempt both from rental income tax *(Hauszinssteuer)* and property tax *(Hauswertsteuer).*[154] Similar tax breaks had accompanied the construction of Vienna's Ringstrasse.[155] In Sarajevo, what had been intended as a temporary fix turned into a policy instrument that was soon applied routinely and liberally to alleviate the housing shortage. In the decades that followed, the government applied tax breaks whenever construction appeared to be flagging. It often had but little choice. In 1884 already, it granted a second tax break of ten years for new-builds and five years for alterations, valid in Sarajevo and Mostar. When the

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[152] Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*, trans. By Judith Landry (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967), p. 125; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City.*

[153] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 17; Grégory Lamarche, 'La Grande Percée et sa société ouvrière: un projet social méconnu à Strasbourg au XIXᵉ siècle (1853-1865)', *Ville, histoire et culture*, URA CNRS, 1010.1 (1994).

[154] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 25.

[155] Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,* p. 54.

second grace period was nearing its end in 1894, experts feared 'a major standstill in construction', forcing the Habsburg administration to act again.[156] In June 1895, the government issued a third, short-time tax break 'for all new-builds which shall be completed by the end of 1896', exempt for a period of eight years, in the case of new builds, and four years for alterations and extensions.[157] Towards the end of the century, while the government retreated from active housing construction, it stepped up its efforts to incentivise supply on the free market.

As the housing crisis was turning into an object of mass politics, tax policy developed into an integral part of planning policy. A catalyst of this development was the empire's formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the autumn of 1908, an event that sparked an international diplomatic crisis, which shook public confidence in the stability of the Austro-Hungarian regime in Sarajevo. Private investment came to a near standstill. The government responded swiftly, on 1 January 1909, by announcing a tax break of twenty years for all buildings completed by the end of 1912.[158] In April 1910, it issued another tax break for projects begun within the following twenty months and completed before 1914. New-builds were exempt for twenty years, while renovations, extensions and conversions were granted a tax break of ten years.[159] And in 1913, under the impression of intensifying housing activism, the government extended the tax

[156] 'Stockung der Bauthätigkeit ins Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 February 1895), Vol. 12, Nr. 12, p. 3.

[157] 'Aus dem Gemeinderathe', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 29 July 1893), Vol. 10, Nr. 6, p. 4.

[158] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 43.

[159] 'Verordnung betreffend Steuererleichterungen für Neubauten im Stadtbereiche Sarajevo und Neueinschätzung der Werte der Baustellen und Gebäude daselbst, Landesregierung von Bosnien-Herzegowina, 22 April 1910', in *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Bosnien und die Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1910), pp. 127–28.

break to new builds begun until 1917.[160] In the four decades of Austro-Hungarian rule, tax breaks developed from an instrument to incentivise general supply to one that was tightly targeted, employed more frequently, at short notice and that responded to short-term fluctuations.

By most accounts, the effects were significant. At the height of the annexation crisis, when property development had ground to an almost complete halt, tax incentives did much to restore the confidence of private investors. Indeed, there developed such a rush to invest that some scholars have, in retrospect, regarded the annexation as the beginning of a building boom which was to last until the outbreak of the First World War.[161] As a matter of fact, the annexation itself had had a detrimental effect. The number of new builds decreased from 1908 to 1909. It took for some time before construction recovered under the impact of tax breaks but when it did, the changes were very palpable. In 1910, the number of new builds quadrupled to a new record and 1911 became the second most productive year for construction since the occupation.[162] 'In all circles of society there is great relief [...] that such vibrant construction activity has begun', one journalist chimed in 1911. 'There still is a housing crisis [but] by the autumn of this year there will be a very significant number of rental flats available'.[163] Even critics of the government conceded that post-annexation tax policy had had undeniable effects. 'Sarajevo has become one single building site' wrote the architect Josip Pospišil in 1911. 'This, of course, is a result of the tax

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[160] 'Verordnung betreffend die zeitliche Hauszinssteuerbefreiung aus dem Titel der Bauführung, Landesregierung von Bosnien-Herzegowina, 6 May 1913', in *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Bosnien und die Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1913).

[161] Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 23.

[162] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 74.

[163] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 11 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 156, pp. 1–2.

break'.[164] The pre-war years saw a flourishing of investment on Čemaluša (Maršala Tita), on the Appel-Quay (Obala Kulina bana) and around Marienhof (Marijn Dvor), to the west of the old city centres, featuring especially dense, tall residential architecture. In contrast with many accounts of Sarajevo's political history and thanks, partly, to economic policy, the final years of Austro-Hungarian rule were marked by a climate of confidence and trust among private investors, corporations, and credit institutes.[165]

Arguably the most momentous, and long-lasting, innovation in nineteenth-century planning was a practice known as zoning.[166] It allowed planners, for the first, time to distinguish between different parts of a city and to set different parameters for maximum dimensions, building lines, green spaces, and usage types for different city quarters. These were specified in local building codes, which became known as 'differential building codes' *(abgestufte Bauordnungen)* or, more frequently, as 'stepped building codes' *(Staffelbauordnungen).*[167]

Like many innovations in modern urban planning, the concept of zoning originated in professional circles. By 1890, both the Association of German Architects and Engineers *(Verband deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieurvereine)* and the Association for Public Health *(Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege)* had passed first resolutions to that effect.[168] The idea's main proponents were the planning theorists Baumeister and Stübben, alongside Franz Adickes (1846-

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[164] Josip Pospišil, 'Nach der grossen Wohnungsnot', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 17 July 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 161, p. 1.
[165] Sparks, *Sarajevo.*
[166] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 187–95.
[167] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City,* p. 32.
[168] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City,* p. 32; Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen,* p. 111; Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 189.

1915), the mayor of Hamburg-Altona, who had recently managed his city's recent port extension.[169] When Adickes was elected mayor of Frankfurt am Main in 1891, he implemented Germany's first stepped building code in that year.[170] Many others followed suit. In 1890, work had commenced on a new general plan for Vienna, which was eventually to include a stepped building code. In 1893, Munich, too, commissioned a stepped building code to complement its new general plan, though both took until 1904 to come into effect. Originating in central Europe, zoning spread throughout the Western world. In 1908, Los Angeles became the first American city to introduce zoning. New York City followed its example in 1916. In 1910, Baltimore introduce zoning to racially segregate its population, whereas the stepped building regulations of Richmond, Virginia, passed only a few months later, were struck down by the state's supreme court.[171] By the 1920s, zoning had entered building codes and planning laws across the United States.

Sarajevo became one of the first European cities to introduce zoning. In 1893, its government produced a stepped building code, which was ratified by the Emperor Franz Josef Joseph on 23 July, and which came into effect on 5 August 1893.[172] Officials in Sarajevo now wielded unprecedented control over urban development. In contrast with many other building codes of the period, the Sarajevan building code distinguished not only between different parts of the city (north and south of the river Miljacka) but between individual streets and even between sections of the same street. For instance, it permitted buildings up to

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[169] Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen,* p. 111.
[170] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, p. 32.
[171] Gordon Whitnall, 'History of Zoning', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 155 (1931), 1–14.
[172] *Bau-Ordnung für die Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo (1893).*

three storeys high on the Appel-Quay between town hall and theatre, but only two storeys high beyond the theatre. In the eastern section of the street, buildings could come up right to the pavement but further west, houses had to be set back from the street by five metres, and by three metres from the plot boundaries. Just opposite, on the left bank of the Miljacka, buildings could become up two storeys high, but had to include front gardens and sufficient distance to neighbouring plots.[173]

Zoning allowed policy makers to manage population density much more precisely. The government used the building code to create high-quality, high-density housing close to the city centre. The strict stipulations for the eastern section of the Appel-Quay – no more and no fewer than three storeys –was meant to effect the construction of blocks of flats rather than single-family homes.[174] The effective ban of large-scale housing further away from the centre, by the same logic, was intended to prevent speculation on remote sites and concentrate building activity on the centre. The idea, in a nutshell, was to increase housing supply where and when it was needed.

Taken together, measures like zoning and tax breaks ushered in a new era where planners could direct urban development much more proactively. The Appel Quay (Obala kulina bana) is a case in point. Not untypical for this development was Jošua D. Salom, a Jewish investor who developed several rental properties on the street before moving there himself in 1901.[175] The opening of his house, designed in a fashionable secession style by the city's leading architect, Vancaš, was attended by many of the city's Habsburg luminaries – among them

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[173] *Bau-Ordnung für die Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo (1893)*, pp. 17, §48.
[174] *Bau-Ordnung für die Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo (1893)*, pp. 17, §48.
[175] See telephone directory in *Bosnischer Bote/Bosanski glasnik 1910.*

the military governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Johann von Appel (1826-1906), and the head of the civilian government, Hugo Kutschera (1847-1909), testimony to a climate of trust and cooperation between the government and its developers.[176] In the following years, the municipal and government planning authorities successively relaxed some of the restrictions of the 1893 building code. Before too long, they permitted multi-storey blocks of flats on the south bank right up to the street. And after 1900, they granted planning permissions for buildings up to five storeys tall along the Appel-Quay.[177] Once a back-of-house area, the Appel-Quay was turning into one of the city's prime locations. By the eve of the First World War, it had become one of the most densely built-up parts of Sarajevo.

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[176] 'Wohnhaus des Herrn Bankiers Jesua D. Salom in Sarajevo', *Der Bautechniker: Zentralorgan für das österreichische Bauwesen*, 24.6 (1904), 101–2; cf. Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 159.

[177] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 31; Maximilian Harthmuth, 'Sarajevo 1878-1918: Der Wandel im Stadtbild der bosnisch- herzegowinischen Landeshauptstadt unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung' (magister thesis, University of Vienna, 2003), p. 32.

Figure 24: The central section of the Appel-Quay, ca. 1910. After the government introduced a stepped building code in 1893, triple-storey tenement blocks gradually replaced older, low-rise structures. Credit: Bosnia History.

In Strasbourg, zoning took much longer to implement. The idea of differential treatment for different plots of land, based solely on their location, initially met resistance on part of bourgeois citizens. In 1880, the Regional Assembly rejected Otto Back's draft Law for the Limitation of the Freedom to Build on grounds that it discriminated unfairly against some property owners to the benefit of others. The 1892 building code made no provisions for zoning and neither did its updated version from 1904.[178]

In both cities, advocates of zoning argued that the practice would increase housing affordability. In Sarajevo, zoning had been put in place to boost the density, and thus quantity of housing in the inner city. In Strasbourg, the rationale was slightly different. In 1905, the city's social democrats raised the idea of a differentiated building code to put small homeowners at an advantage vis-à-vis commercial developers. Small homes, social democrats argued, should have more lenient regulations imposed on them than expensive property in the city centre. On 19 September 1906, the city council agreed to strip down some of the existing building regulations in the suburbs. For instance, the council decreased the minimum wall thickness.[179] In 1909, the jurist Heinrich Emerich (1872-1933), deputy mayor of Strasbourg, advocated the extended use of zoning in an article in

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[178] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 134–45.
[179] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 228.

the legal journal *Rheinische Zeitschrift für Zivil- und Prozeßrecht*.[180] In an article in *Straßburger Bürgerzeitung*, he criticised 'the standardised, undifferentiated application of almost all regulations for the entire city, for buildings of all kinds, the disregard for all significant differences in the vast city areas of Strasbourg, with regards to location, ground conditions, traffic, buildability, land values, existing buildings, economic situation of the inhabitants, [and] social structure'.[181]

Eventually, Strasbourg, too, introduced zoning. In 1909, Emerich drafted a new, stepped, building code for Strasbourg. Emerich based his draft on the guidelines of the Association of German Architects and Engineers and the Association for Public Health, on the recommendations of international housing congresses, and on the recent planning laws of Saxony, Baden, and Württemberg. The new building code introduced eleven different zones, ranging from areas of dense residential architecture to protected areas, in which construction was severely limited. The most densely developed areas would be the inner city (zone 1), followed by the New Town (zone 2), and the main traffic arteries leading out of the city (zone 3). The building code came into force on 12 April 1910.[182] In line with the demands of Strasbourg's social democrats, it extended preferential treatment for small homes of one or two units. Just as in Sarajevo, zoning was also used to increase the density, and thus profitability of inner-city plots vis-à-vis the suburbs, to concentrate investment in central locations and thus to decrease speculation on the margins of the city.

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[180] Heinrich Emerich, 'Baupolizeiliche Eigentumsbeschränkungen in Elsass-Lothringen', *Rheinische Zeitschrift für Zivil- und Prozessrecht*, 3 (1909), 424–58.

[181] Heinrich Emerich writing in Straßburger Bürgerzeitung, 4 April 1910, quoted in Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 232.

[182] Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, pp. 231–34; Steinhoff, p. 97; Stéphane Jonas, 'La ville de Strasbourg et son université', in *Strasbourg, capitale du Reichsland Alsace-Lorraine et sa nouvelle Université 1870-1918*, ed. by Stéphane Jonas and others (Strasbourg: Éditions Oberlin, 1995), pp. 17–56 (pp. 49–50).
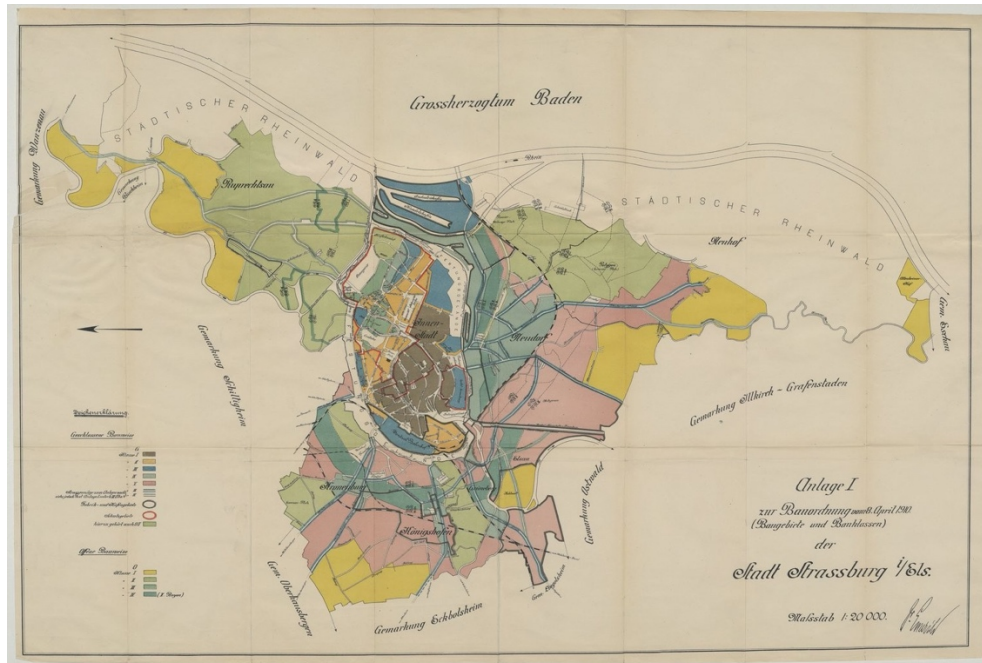
Figure 25: In 1910, Strasbourg, too, introduced zoning. By this point, the practice was becoming increasingly sophisticated. There were eleven different zones with different building regulations. Pictured here is the zoning plan that was published alongside the new building code (1910). Credit: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg.

By the eve of the First World War, both cities had put in place policies intended to boost housing supply. In Sarajevo, the government ditched publicly built housing in favour of more sophisticated policy measures. Tax breaks and zoning were intended to increase profitability and thus to incentivise private investment in property. In Strasbourg, government was less able, and less inclined, to introduce new legislation. But here, too, the authorities eventually followed suit. The next section will examine some of the problems that these policies created.

2.6   The Struggle Against Speculation

Boosts to construction had their disadvantages, too. While tax breaks and zoning did help to spur investment in housing supply, price effects were more equivocal. As government policies made property more profitable, the value property of property increased short-term. The price hike led investors to enter the market on the expectation that prices would further rise, a practice known as speculation, which, in turn, put further upward pressure on prices.[183]

Speculation was one of the problems that most troubled planners, local politicians and economists across Europe and the US.[184] Since the mid-century, intellectuals such as John Stuart Mill (1806-73), Karl Marx (1818-83) or Henry George (1839-97) had problematised speculation. The emergence of mass politics endowed it with a new urgency. In Germany, institutions such as the Association for Social Policy *(Verein für Socialpolitik)*, in which Strasbourg economists Brentano, Knapp, and Herkner played leading roles, fostered increasingly vociferous critiques of speculation. Particularly instrumental to this development were two organisations, the Land Ownership Reform League *(Bund für Bodenbesitzreform)*, originally founded in 1888 and re-named the German Land Reform League *(Bund deutscher Bodenreformer)* in 1898, and the National-Social

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[183] Rolf Wittenbrock, 'Das Enteignungsrecht als Instrument der Stadtplanung in Belgien, Luxemburg und Elsaß-Lothringen. Die bodenrechtliche Debatte im Einflußbereich französischer und deutscher Normen (1800–1918)', *Zeitschrift für neuere Rechtsgeschichte*, 14 (1992), 1–32 (p. 5).

[184] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 177–78; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, p. 15; Hartog, *Stadterweiterungen,* p. 2; Wittenbrock, *Bauordnungen*, p. 51; Helmut Brede, 'Ökonomie und Städtebau: Zur "Theorie" der städtischen Grundrente vor der Jahrhundertwende', in *Städtebaureform 1865-1900: Von Licht, Luft und Ordnung in der Stadt der Gründerzeit*, ed. by Juan Rodríguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl, Stadt, Planung, Geschichte, 5, 1985, pp. 59–90 (pp. 94–98); Orth, *Entwurf zu einem Bebauungsplan für Strasburg*, p. 4; Axel Schollmeier, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland: ihre Geschichte, städtebauliche Entwicklung und Architektur zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Kunstgeschichte: Form und Interesse, 28 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1990), p. 29.

Association *(National-Sozialer Verein),* a group of reformers centred around its founder, the charismatic Protestant pastor-cum-politician Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919), after 1896.[185] Naumann's National-Social Association drew together some of the most innovative thinkers on housing policy in the German empire, most notably the economist Adolf Damaschke, who experimented with policies to communalise or even nationalise building land. The Land Reform League, in which Naumann and Damaschke also played a leading role, campaigned for a capital gains tax to limit speculation, and thus to communalise the value increases of building land.[186]

The land reform movement found fertile soil in Strasbourg. The city's political climate was conducive to ideas fostered by the likes of Naumann and Damaschke. The most important factor in this development, arguably, was the seemingly unstoppable rise of social democracy. By the early twentieth century, social democrats had taken hold of local politics. As the working-class suburbs grew, Strasbourg's system of electoral districts, which had been designed in the 1870s to favour the German officials in the villa districts around the inner city, aided the rise of the SPD.[187] In 1896, the SPD first entered the city council of Strasbourg. By 1904, it had become the largest party.[188] The pinnacle of its influence, arguably, was the election of the social politician Rudolf Schwander (1868-1950) as mayor with the votes of the social democrats in 1906, an event that so outraged the city's military leadership that it appealed, in vain, to the Emperor

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[185] Frederick Bacher, *Friedrich Naumann und sein Kreis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017); Bullock and Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform,* pp. 159–63.
[186] Bullock and Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform,* pp. 159–63.
[187] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', p. 127.
[188] Soell, 'Die Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung', p. 129.

Wilhelm II to revoke the election.[189] Though not a party member himself, Schwander was well-attuned to Strasbourg's social democrats. The engineer of the recent council majority on the Rhine regulation, Schwander had published in social democratic newspapers such as *Freie Presse* and, as a man of humble origins, entertained a trusting relationship with the pro-German leader of the social democrats in the council, Bernhard Böhle (1866-1939), a shoemaker from rural Baden.[190] Schwander's mayoralty (1906-1914) thus intensified his predecessor's attempts to respond to the social question. It was partly due to such personal, political and intellectual connections, that Strasbourg developed into a leader in 'municipal socialism', a term borrowed from Britain and used to describe a growing movement in Germany towards bold, interventionism in municipal policy.[191]

Schwander's municipal executive was well-connected to the land reform movement. A former doctoral student of Georg-Friedrich Knapp, Schwander was steeped in the left-liberal circles of Strasbourg University economists.[192] It was Knapp who introduced Schwander to the reformer Friedrich Naumann, whose mentor, in turn, was of Knapp's colleague Brentano.[193] Schwander and Naumann, who met at the wedding of Knapp's daughter Elly and the journalist and Naumann supporter Theodor Heuss (1884-1963), future president of the

[189] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 45–46; Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm*, pp. 52–53.

[190] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, pp. 33–34, 46.

[191] Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, p. 36; Wolfgang Krabbe, 'Munizipalsozialismus und Interventionsstaat: Die Ausbrietung der städtischen Leistungsverwaltung im Kaiserreich', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 5 (1979), 265–83.

[192] Matthias Leitner, 'Der Kreis um den Straßburger Ökonomen Georg Friedrich Knapp vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Jahrbuch zur Liberalismus-Forschung*, 5 (1993), 162–75.

[193] Paul Wentzcke, *Rudolf Schwander 1868-1950: Worte der Erinnerung* (Frankfurt am Main: Trajanus-Presse, 1950), p. 8; Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm*, pp. 71–75, 88.

Federal Republic of Germany, in Strasbourg in 1908, became lifelong friends.[194] Naumann, Heuss later recalled, viewed Strasbourg as 'the practical experiment of his intellectual school'.[195] He visited the city frequently, and became of enormous influence to the city's left-liberals.[196]

Under Naumann's influence, Strasbourg engaged in a string of increasingly innovative policies in urban planning. Here, as in Sarajevo, the widely agreed aim was to boost housing supply. Partly as a result of the revenue and experience from the New Town expansion, and unlike Sarajevo, the municipality of Strasbourg commanded the resources for large-scale market interventions. Moreover, in contrast with Sarajevo, the strong working-class presence in the city council meant that there were fewer objections against a municipal housing programme.

Limiting speculation became an integral ambition of these policies. The only real solution to this problem, land reformers argued, lay in communalising property ownership in some form. This was often challenging in practice. In Strasbourg, successive attempts to reform the extant French planning law had failed on the resistance of bourgeois citizens in the Regional Committee, with the result that neither regional nor municipal executives were able, effectively, to expropriate land in the common interest. The enormous complexities, and cost, connected to the extant legislation from 1907, 1841, and 1852, Schwander's predecessor Otto Back told the Regional Committee in 1904, meant that the

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[194] Other wedding guests included the theologian, physician, Bach biographer, and future Nobel laureate Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), who played the organ at the service. Schweitzer would go on to marry Elly Knapp's friend Helene Breslau (1879-1957). Another wedding guest, Helene Fehling (1880-1963), later married Schwander's deputy Alexander Dominicus; cf. Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm,* p. 55; Brentano, *Elsässer Erinnerungen*, p. 145.

[195] Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm,* p. 378; Nishiyama, 'Erziehungsstadt statt Erziehungsstaat', p. 262.

[196] Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 187.

municipality no longer even attempted to expropriate using these instruments.[197] Purchasing land outright, by contrast, would have sent cost spiralling even higher. One way of overcoming these difficulties were secret acquisitions. In 1907, one year after his election, Schwander secured the confidential agreement of the faction leaders in the city council to embark on a piecemeal programme of land purchases. With the help of several individual estate agents, between 1907 and 1910, the municipality tacitly acquired a total 3 hectares of the inner city at a total cost of 12 million mark.[198] This way, in sharp contrast with Sarajevo, the municipality became one of the largest landowners in the city.

Another important innovation to combat speculation was hereditary lease *(Erbbaurecht)*. This concept, a product of Germany's 1900 Civil Code (BGB), was a non-permanent form of ownership, in which leaseholders acquired the right to use a building plot over a number of decades without ultimately owning it.[199] During this term, leaseholders could build on the plot as they were wont. At the end of the lease term, the property would revert to the original owner in its entirety. The advantages of this system were three-fold: it enabled citizens to purchase building land without large upfront payments. It incentivised active use of land since leaseholders had to build quickly to maximise their returns over the remaining term. And, since the land would revert to the original owner,

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[197] Wittenbrock, 'Das Enteignungsrecht als Instrument der Stadtplanung in Belgien, Luxemburg und Elsaß-Lothringen. Die bodenrechtliche Debatte im Einflußbereich französischer und deutscher Normen (1800–1918)', p. 28.

[198] Franck Burckel, 'Le "Boulevard des 12 Millions"', in *Attention travaux. 1910 de la Grande Percée au Stockfeld*, ed. by Benoît Jordan and others (Strasbourg: Archives de Strasbourg, 2010), pp. 25–27 (p. 25); Wittenbrock, 'Das Enteignungsrecht als Instrument der Stadtplanung in Belgien, Luxemburg und Elsaß-Lothringen. Die bodenrechtliche Debatte im Einflußbereich französischer und deutscher Normen (1800–1918)', p. 29.

[199] 'Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch: Drittes Buch. Sachenrecht', *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt*, 21 (1896), 342–415 (pp. 370; §1012-§1017).

speculation ceased to be an issue. If the building land was owned communally, as in Strasbourg, long-term capital gains, too, would thus be communalised.

The municipality of Strasbourg was among the first, if not the first, as Dominicus later claimed, to apply hereditary lease in housing policy.[200] The opportunity arrived when Schwander embarked on his most ambitious urban planning project, the so-called Great Piercement *(Großer Straßendurch-bruch/Grande Percée),* a programme to transform some of the most crowded and insalubrious parts of the inner city into a modern development, replete with high-rise housing, sewerage, electricity, and a tram line. The municipality used its newly acquired land to clear the existing buildings and develop a wide boulevard that would ease traffic and sanitary problems. In 1907, Schwander first entered negotiations with local banks, none of which, however, were prepared to strike a deal.[201] French lending houses traditionally abstained from property development.[202] None had experience in dealing with hereditary lease. Instead, the municipality entered a contract with the South German Credit Association *(Süddeutsche Diskonto-Gesellschaft),* a branch of one of the empire's biggest banking houses and a predecessor of today's Deutsche Bank*,* headquartered in nearby Mannheim. The Credit Association took charge of all financial transactions. It provided the required 12 Million Mark for the land acquisitions and marketed the newly created building plots, at standardised conditions, for a fixed lease term of 65 years. (§15).[203] It also agreed to purchase any plots that had

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[200] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 61; on applications of hereditary lease in other German cities see Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 198–99.

[201] Burckel, 'Le "Boulevard des 12 Millions"', p. 25.

[202] Stefan Fisch, 'La Grande Percée', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), pp. 240–43 (p. 241).

[203] *Entwurf des abgeänderten Vertrages mit der Süddeutschen Diskonto-Gesellschaft, A.-G. in Mannheim, betr. den großen Straßendurchbruch* (Strasbourg: Elsaß-Lothringische Druckerei u. Lithographie-Anstalt, 1911), AVES, 153 MW 591.

not been sold by 1 April 1913 and to develop them by 1 October 1914 (§15) (private buyers had to have their buildings ready for move-in by the same date).[204] The municipality, in turn, committed to having the new street paved, lit, and the tram running by 1 December 1914.[205]

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[204] *Entwurf des abgeänderten Vertrages mit der Süddeutschen Diskonto-Gesellschaft* (Strasbourg: Elsaß-Lothringische Druckerei u. Lithographie-Anstalt, 1911), AVES, 153 MW 591.
[205] Ibid., §16.
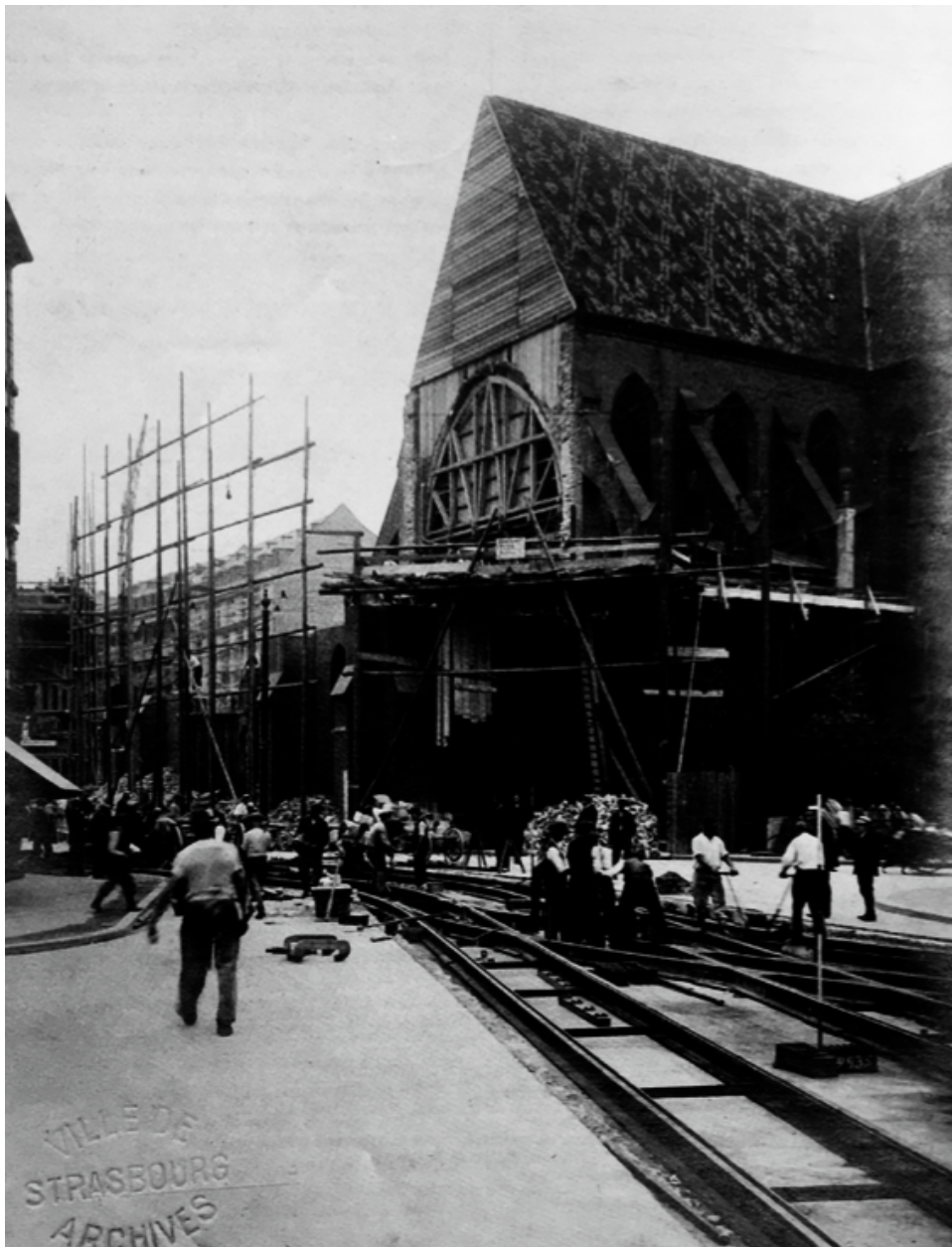
Figure 26: Construction on the Great Piercement (Rue-du-22-Novembre), ca. 1913. Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

Another hugely important innovation was the cooperative. Pioneered in the 1840s, this organisational model gained enormous popularity across Europe by the end of the nineteenth century.[206] It would prove central to the development of urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, too. The cooperative idea of shared ownership, open membership, and democratic organisation helped consolidate bourgeois housing reform ideas – with their emphasis on cleanliness, propriety, and sobriety – with working-class demand for more affordable housing, while circumventing the vices of speculation. Combining the advantages of communal ownership and long-term leases, the cooperative would prove instrumental to addressing the housing crises in Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

The cooperative was a truly European development. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there emerged a tight-knit network of cooperatives across the entire continent. These institutions formed a network in several senses: not only did all cooperatives share the same fundamental principles. They were often founded and endowed by the same men and women, who, in turn, organised themselves in international lobby groups, charitable societies, and conferences. The fundamental principles of the cooperative – open membership, democratic governance, religious and political tolerance – were first laid out by the *Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers*, founded in 1844 at the behest of the philanthropic entrepreneur Robert Owen (1771-1858). Across Europe, social reformers followed suit. In Prussia in 1846, the local politician Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen (1818-1888) founded a cooperative to alleviate that winter's food shortages, a model hat found eager uptake across central Europe in the years around the 1848 revolution. And the jurist Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch (1808-1883) founded a

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[206] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* pp. 140–41, 147, 181.

string of cooperatives for individual unions *(Berufsgenossenschaften),* for private saving *(Sparvereine)* and for private consumption *(Konsumvereine).*[207]

It was not long before the cooperative movement extended to the housing question. The earliest cooperatives focused on consumer goods, but their central mechanisms – bulk-purchases to drive down the cost to individuals – were soon applied to housing developments, too. Some of Europe's first building cooperatives emerged in Prussia. The earliest, the Berlin Charitable Housing Cooperative *(Gemeinnützige Wohnungsgenossenschaft),* was founded in 1847 by Victor Aimé Huber, a liberal publicist and convert to Protestantism, whose declared aim was to deliver low-cost workers' housing for up to 500 families.[208] The foundation of the so-called Inner Mission, the charitable arm of the German Protestant churches, in 1848, gave leading figures in the cooperative movement a platform to organise themselves and to demand greater political support. It was another member of the Inner Mission who helped the building cooperative to its ultimate breakthrough. In 1885, Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831-1910), a charismatic pastor and intimate friend of the later German Emperor Friedrich III (1831-1888), founded the first of a series of building cooperatives. Bodelschwingh's Worker's Housing Association *(Verein Arbeiterheim),* aimed to develop working-class settlements with low-cost homes, each surrounded by its own garden, space for children's play and with a shed for tools and small livestock,

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[207] See Johnston Birchall, *The International Co-Operative Movement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); K.D. Sievers, 'Anfänge der Baugenossenschaftsbewegung in Norddeutschland zur Zeit des zweiten deutschen Kaiserreiches', in *Homo Habitans: Zur Sozialgeschichte des ländlichen und städtischen Wohnens in der Neuzeit*, ed. by Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags, 4 (Münster: Coppenrath, 1985).
[208] Bullock and Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform,* pp. 31–35; Jenkis, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der gemeinnützigen Wohnungswirtschaft,* pp. 48–57, 68–73; Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland,* p. 34.

outside the industrial city of Bielefeld.[209] The Worker's Housing Association proved more successful than its precedent in Berlin. It developed 372 workers' houses, which found an enthusiastic uptake, attracting workers, artisans, teachers and civil servants as their first cohort. The Association reserved a right of first purchase at prespecified conditions. This way, capital gains would be absorbed back into the cooperative. Subscription payments could thus be kept well below market rates.[210] In the years that followed, Bodelschwingh worked tirelessly to promote similar foundations elsewhere.

The cooperative movement thrived on particularly fortuitous legal conditions in the German empire. The tight connections between the political elite and the Protestant church in Berlin, the growing power of the Inner Mission, and the privileged access that Inner Mission members like Bodelschwingh enjoyed to the top of the empire's political hierarchy, helped create a legal environment that proved more fertile ground for the emergence of building cooperatives than in any other of the European powers. The empire's second cooperative law, passed shortly after the death of Bodelschwingh's childhood friend, the Emperor Friedrich III in 1888, freed cooperative members from personal liability.[211] The law sparked a profusion of building cooperatives in Germany, which were soon alternatively referred to as Bodelschwingh's Building Societies *(Bodelschwinghs Bausparkassen)*.[212] Social democrats, too, embraced the building cooperatives.[213]

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[209] Bernhard Gramlich, *Friedrich von Bodelschwingh: Werk und Leben* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1981), pp. 154–57.

[210] Gramlich, *Friedrich von Bodelschwingh,* p. 154.

[211] Fritz Neumeyer, 'Bauträger und Baustil: Baugenossenschaften und Werkwohnungsbau in Berlin um 1900', in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich: Kunst im Wandel der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. by Ekkehard Mai, Hans Pohl, and Stephan Waetzold (Berlin: Mann, 1982), pp. 309–27 (p. 310); Schollmeier, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland,* p. 34.

[212] Gramlich, *Friedrich von Bodelschwingh,* p. 157.

[213] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 181.

The number of such cooperatives spiralled from twenty-eight in 1888 to 385 in 1900, and 1056 in 1910, the year that Bodelschwingh died.[214] According to Baumeister, in 1914, Germany boasted 1200 building cooperatives, accounting for 15,000 homes, or 1.5 percent of the total housing stock.[215]

Alsace-Lorraine formed part of this cooperative network. By 1913 there were 18 dairy cooperatives, 3 winemakers' cooperatives, 7 farming cooperatives, with a total membership of 51,000 across the region.[216] A particularly important role was played by Strasbourg. Partly due to the city's imperial predicament – and especially to the influx of Prussian Protestant elites – Strasbourg fostered a vibrant cooperative movement. Central to this development was Alexander von der Goltz (1832-1912), deputy mayor for poor relief and political mentor to the future mayor Rudolf Schwander. Goltz was well-connected within German Protestantism. His father, Alexander (1800-1870) had made a name outside his military career as a writer of popular theological literature and as a central figure in Berlin's evangelical reform circles.[217] His younger brother Hermann (1835-1906) became Prussia's highest-ranking clergyman in 1892. And his nephew Eduard (1870-1939) would go on to a prestigious chair of theology at the university of Greifswald.[218] In 1883, Goltz met Bodelschwingh at a conference of

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[214] Stéphane Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld: une réalisation d'économie sociale modèle du Strasbourg 1900', in *L'urbanisme à Strasbourg au XXᵉ siècle: Actes des conférences organisées dans le cadre des 100 ans de la cité-jardin du Stockfeld* (Ville de Strasbourg, Direction d'Urbanisme, de l'aménagement et de l'Habitat, 2011), pp. 28–43 (p. 30).

[215] Baumeister, 'Städtebau', p. 1531.

[216] Igersheim, *L'Alsace des notables*, p. 75.

[217] Carl Krafft, 'Goltz, Alexander Freiherr von der', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1879, 350–51.

[218] Hans Hohlwein, 'Goltz, Hermann Freiherr von der', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1964), 629.

the Inner Mission in Hanover.[219] The two men stayed in touch. In 1899, Goltz led first exploratory talks, which resulted in the 1900 foundation of a Charitable Building Cooperative *(Gemeinnützige Baugenossenschaft)* in Strasbourg, with the aim of 'providing healthy and affordable dwellings at a large scale to the poorest of society'.[220] The cooperative's sixteen founding members included merchants, academics, lawyers, clergymen, civil servants, and architects. It issued shares at 200 mark, the lowest permissible value by the empire's cooperative law. With an expected return of ten percent, the cooperative was by no means unattractive as an investment opportunity for Strasbourg's middle classes. It accumulated a total starting capital of 340,000 mark.[221]

Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, too, saw the emergence of building cooperatives. Here, the cooperative appeared as a way to circumvent the municipal deadlock on social housing, while softening the effects of speculation that had been intensified, inadvertently, by recent government policy. In July 1911, a group of junior officials founded the Civil Servants' Building Cooperative *(Beamten-Baugenossenschaft),* with the aim of providing housing for low-ranking civil servants, military staff and railway workers.[222] Simultaneously, credit institutes were becoming more prepared to support the development of mass housing. In June 1911, the Croatian Central Bank *(Kroatische Zentralbank)* signed an agreement with another local building cooperative to develop family

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[219] 'Die Errichtung einer Arbeiterkolonie in Elsass-Lothringen', *Straßburger Post*, 31 March 1900, Nr. 277, noon edition, p. 1, clipping in AdBR, 27 AL 202.

[220] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 58; Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld: une réalisation d'économie sociale modèle du Strasbourg 1900', pp. 31–32; cf. Gemeinnützigen Baugenossenschaft Straßburg, *Statut der Gemeinnützigen Baugenossenschaft Straßburg (eingetragene Genossenschaft mit beschränkter Haftpflicht)* (Strasbourg: DMont Schauberg, 1909), AdBR, 27 AL 1147.

[221] Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld: une réalisation d'économie sociale modèle du Strasbourg 1900', pp. 31–32.

[222] 'Beamten-Baugenossenschaft', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 19 July 1911), p. 2.

homes at Kovačići, a hillside district in the city's west, across the river Miljacka from the station district.[223] Not even a year later, by 1912, the first twenty-five houses had been completed.[224] Another low-cost settlement, New-Sarajevo *(Neu-Sarajevo/Novo Sarajevo),* had emerged in the 1890s farther out to the west, at Gradski Pofalići, beyond the city boundaries, and was incorporated into the municipality in 1898.[225]
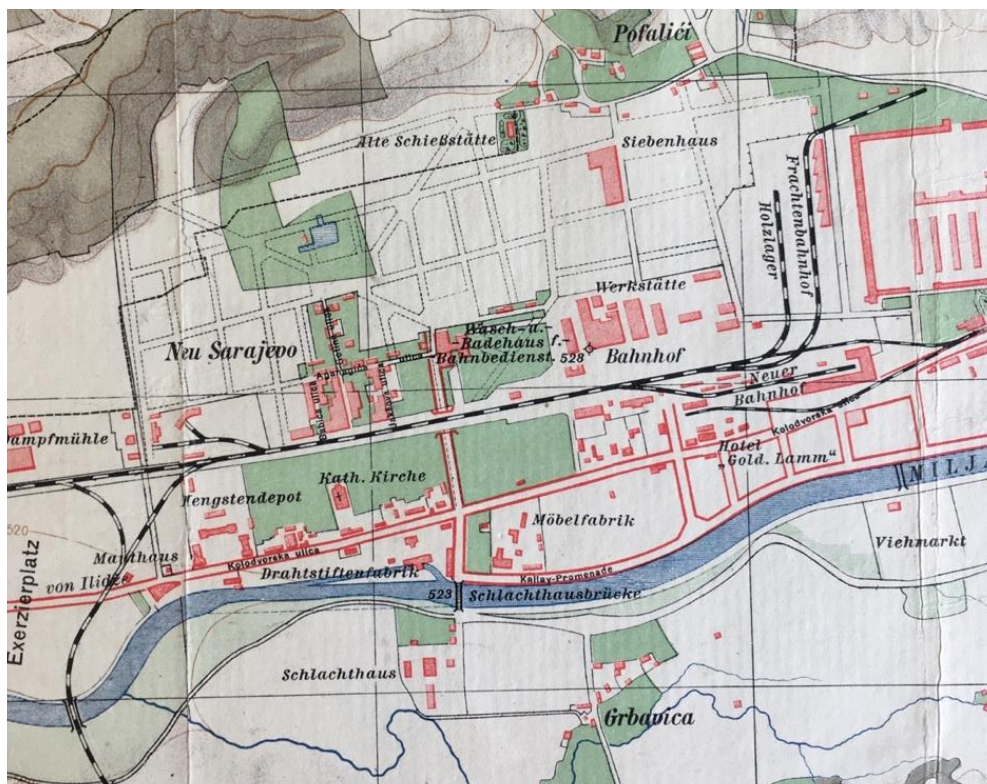

Figure 27: New-Sarajevo in Walny's map of Sarajevo, 1912. Credit: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

[223] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131, p. 4.
[224] Walny's Plan für Sarajevo, Neuauflage 1912, OeStA, KA G I h 621-20.
[225] Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 13.

In Sarajevo, these projects owed more to civic and corporate initiative than to the municipal leadership. It was despite, rather than thanks to, municipal intervention that affordable developments did, eventually, emerge. Many council members systematically combated Sarajevo's westward expansion. For example, the city council continued to refuse basic infrastructure to New-Sarajevo even when it was evident that the area would, before too long, turn into a major working-class settlement. By 1911 still, there was no street lighting, no running water, no street paving; neither schools nor doctor's practices in New-Sarajevo.[226] 'The inhabitants of Gradski Pofalići', one journalist wrote, 'pay direct and indirect taxes just as the citizens of Franz Josefsgasse [sic] do, but they do not gain any right to sewerage, water supply, or street lighting. In other words, they bear all the duties of citizens, but enjoy none of the advantages'.[227] At Kovačići, the city council refused to build streets, delegating that responsibility to the Croation Central Bank, whom it promised to reimburse for the cost – but not until the entire inner city had been covered with a sewerage network.[228]

Critics of Sarajevo's relative sluggishness on social housing frequently looked to Germany for inspiration. Between 1901 and 1908 alone, one Sarajevo newspaper reported, the German empire had spent almost 33 million mark on cooperative housing projects. Bolder yet was Prussia, whose expenditure on workers' housing amounted to 100 million in the same period. By contrast, Austria-Hungary had allocated a mere four million crowns, from its 1906 budget surplus, for housing.[229] The imbalance, the newspaper suggested, was systematic.

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[226] 'Stadtmiseren', *Bosnische Post* (3 June 1911, 3 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 127, pp. 6–7 (p. 6).
[227] Ibid.
[228] 'Gemeinderat', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 9 June 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 131.
[229] 'Zum neunten internationalen Wohnungskongreß in Wien', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 27 January 1910), Vol. 7, Nr. 21, p. 1.

While almost all major German municipalities were engaged in social housing projects of some kind, by the eve of the First World War, Vienna had almost no social housing still.[230] The same imbalance was reflected in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. While Sarajevo's city council systematically blocked social housing, Strasbourg's municipal administration made great strides.

In Strasbourg, municipal politicians now partnered routinely with building cooperatives. Most frequently, the municipality acted as a guarantor for loans to the cooperatives or assisted with land acquisitions. The earliest example of this kind of partnership was the city's bachelors' hostel *(Ledigenheim/Maison célibataire),* an institution whose aim was to provide healthy accommodation for single male workers at a discounted price. Modelled on precedents in Vienna and Berlin-Charlottenburg, the hostel was built, owned, and managed by Goltz's Charitable Building Society from 1909.[231] After its opening in 1910, the hostel housed 200 men. But such was demand that, in 1913, an extension was added with a further 135 rooms. Inhabitants enjoyed the amenity of a single room, with shared communal areas that offered dining, non-alcoholic drinks and games. The hostel attracted not only workers but secretaries, engineers, junior civil servants and students.[232]

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[230] Hans Bobek and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Bauliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Böhlau, 1966), pp. 56–57; Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,* p. 26.

[231] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 62; on the Charlottenburg precedent, see Wolfgang Hofmann, 'Kommunale Daseinsvorsorge, Mittelstand und Städtebau 1817-1918 am Beispiel Charlottenburg', in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich: Kunst im Wandel der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. by Ekkehard Mai, Hans Pohl, and Stephan Waetzold (Berlin: Mann, 1982), pp. 167–96 (pp. 190–93); *Die gesundheitlichen Einrichtungen der königlichen Residenzstadt Charlottenburg: Festschrift, gewidmet dem 3. Internationalen Kongress für Säuglingsschutz in Berlin im September 1911* (Berlin: Stilke, 1911), pp. 76–80.

[232] Dominicus, *Straßburgs Bürgermeister*, p. 62; Erin Eckhold Sassin, *Single People and Mass Housing in Germany, 1850–1930* (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020).
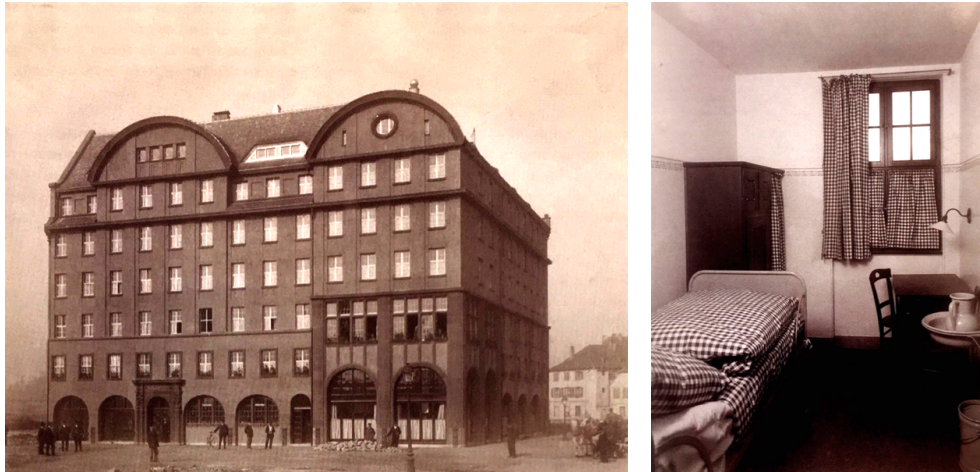
Figure 28: The Bachelors' Hostel (1911). Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

The partnership between cooperative and municipality proved such a success that, after 1910, it became the predominant model of delivering low-cost housing. The bachelor's hostel was only one in a series of working-class residential developments that emerged in the pre-war years. Even more important, conceptually and in terms of the quantity of housing delivered, was another project: the garden city.

2.7   The Garden City

The idea of the garden city ebecame popular in the early twentieth century. It has since then developed into one of the most long-lived, and influential ideas in urban planning.[233] The central premises – a not-for-profit settlement that brought the amenities of urban modernity to healthy, clean, and green outer-city locations – emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the turn of the century, garden city activists formed a veritable movement, which soon eclipsed the entirety of western and central Europe. While the garden city has long been popularly perceived as a British innovation, it was, in truth, a shared international project from its onset. The reception that the garden city movement found in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, and the important role that Strasbourg, in particular, played in its history, illustrate this point. In this history, the cooperative movement acted as a catalyst. It provided the organisational and financial structures prerequisite for the garden city movement to flourish. Both Strasbourg and Sarajevo formed nodes in a network that would, eventually, help the garden city develop from a utopian construct fostered by bourgeois social reformers, to an idea that stood at the heart of many public authorities' urban planning projects in the course of the twentieth century.

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[233] *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Stephen Ward, Studies in History, Planning, and the Environment, 15 (London: E & FN Spon, 1992); Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 3rd edn (Malden, Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), pp. 90–148; A.E.J. Morris, *History of Urban Form: Before the Industrial Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Longman Scientific & Technical, 1994), pp. 779–81; Walter Kieß, *Urbanismus im Industriezeitalter: von der klassizistischen Stadt zur Garden City* (Berlin: Ernst, 1992); *Cités, cités-jardins, une histoire européenne : actes du colloque de Toulouse des 18 et 19 novembre 1993, organisé par le Groupe de recherches Production de la ville et patrimoine des écoles d'architecture de Toulouse et Bordeaux*, ed. by Paulette Girard, Bruno Fayolle Lussac, and Groupe de recherches Production de la ville et patrimoine (France) (Talence: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme d'Aquitaine, 1996).

Extending the history of the garden city to Strasbourg and Sarajevo carries an important historiographical contribution. The garden city, it is shown, was never a single, monolithic idea, or a fully coherent movement. Its intellectual origins are as diverse as its material development is complex. The garden city was made not only in Britain, but also in France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.[234] The garden city idea did was not only applicable to metropolitan contexts. It proved as pertinent in relatively small, peripheral cities, and, in the case of Sarajevo, even in places that may have appeared ill-suited due to their particular geographical conditions. In turn, the way in which the garden city idea travelled to Strasbourg and Sarajevo, the way in which citizens, activists, and policy makers adopted and adapted the idea, sheds new light on these two cities.

The garden city idea had its roots in nineteenth-century social reform thinking. Still popularly regarded as a chiefly British invention, its emergence owed, in truth, to a much wider, shared European development. The man typically credited as the idea's originator, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), was only one in a long string of bourgeois social reformers who had been promoting similar ideas and concepts.[235] Some of Howard's ideas had been formalised as early as 1801 in Thomas Spence's *Constitution of Spensiona, A Country in Fairyland Situated*

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[234] However, the German garden city, especially, has received little attention thus far, cf. Schollmeier, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland*, p. 5; the apparent neglect of the German garden city has not been limited to English-speaking scholarship. Key works in the Italian, French and German language have largely omitted the topic, cf. Leonardo Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, 2 vols (Bari: Laterza, 1960); Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme: Époque Contemporaine*, 2nd edn (Paris: H. Laurens, 1952), III; Ernst Egli, *Geschichte des Städtebaues: Die neue Zeit*, 3 vols (Zurich and Stuttgart: Rentsch, 1967), III; even those that examine the history of urban planning in Germany more specifically remain detached from the issue, cf. Piccinato, *Städtebau in Deutschland*; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *Architektur und Städtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1981).
[235] Sidney Albert, 'Evangelizing the Garden City', *Shaw*, 19 (1999), 41–77 (p. 41).

between Utopia and Oceania, prefiguring many of the core demands of the later garden city movement. At around the same time, the entrepreneur Robert Owen began to experiment with housing reforms in his world-famous workers' settlement at New Lanark, outside Glasgow. With his plans for 'villages of co-operation' he advocated the development of mixed agrarian-industrial settlements, which would combine the benefices of town and country.[236] Like him, Charles Fourier proposed to reform society through new model towns in *Le nouveau monde industriel* (1841). Reform thinking intensified in the 1840s. In *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (1849), James Silk Buckingham published plans for a modern model city. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's *Art of Colonisation,* published in the same year, advocated the systematic creation of model settlements in far-off lands.[237]

Similar ideas sprang up in Germany around the same time.[238] The first major book to foreground working-class living conditions of the working classes was Bettina von Arnim's *Dies Buch gehört dem König* (1843), a passionate call for social reform in the form of a fictional dialogue between the mothers of Goethe and of the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhem IV.[239] First calls for housing reform emerged in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution,[240] while cooperative pioneer Victor Aimé Huber engaged in first practical efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes in Berlin.[241] Critiques of the industrial metropolis were

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[236] Robert Owen, *New View of Society and Other Writings* (London: Dent, 1927).

[237] Albert, 'Evangelizing the Garden City', p. 44; Arthur Morton, *The English Utopia* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1952), p. 131; A.J. Brown and H.M Sherrard, *An Introduction to Town and Country Planning* (New York: American Elsevier, 1969), pp. 273–74.

[238] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 140.

[239] Bettina von Arnim, *Dies Buch gehört dem König*, 2 vols (Berlin: Schroeder, 1843).

[240] Adelheid Poninska, *Grundzüge eines Systemes für Regeneration der unteren Volksklassen durch Vermittlung der höheren* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854).

[241] Ladd, *Urban Planning,* p. 140.

mounting, the most popular of which, historian Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's *Naturgeschichte des Volkes* (1855), became a standard read in many German bourgeois households for generations to come.[242] In 1874, Countess Adelheid Poninska, a Protestant social reformer, published *Die Großstädte in ihrer Wohnungsnot,* which had a momentous impact.[243] It was not only one of the first appearances of the term 'housing crisis' *(Wohnungsnot).* It was, Gerd Albers has argued, the first comprehensive exposé on urban planning in the German language.[244] What is more, Poninska's book for the first time assembled all essential principles of the later garden city movement, including legislation, financing and organisational structure. In 1896, the far-right publicist Theodor Fritsch (1852-1933) developed principles of the garden city in *Die Stadt der Zukunft*. In 1898, Howard published *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform,* a 'unique combination of parts' rather than an entirely original idea, by his own concession.[245] The parallels between Fritsch and Howard, as Bernhard Kampffmeyer, director of the German Garden City Association, explained, showed just 'how much the idea was in the air'.[246]

The early twentieth century saw the emergence of an organised garden city movement. In 1899, Howard founded the British Garden City Association,

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[242] See especially Vol. 3, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Social-Politik: Die Familie* (Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1855), III.

[243] Poninska published under the pseudonym 'Arminius': Arminius, *Die Großstädte in ihrer Wohnungsnoth und die Grundlagen einer durchgreifenden Abhilfe* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1874).

[244] Albers, 'Städtebau und Menschenbild', p. 231.

[245] Ebenezer Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), p. 102.

[246] Bernhard Kampffmeyer, 'Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land: Die englische Gartenstadtbewegung (1903)', in *Gartenstadtbewegung: Flugschriften, Essays, Vorträge und Zeichnungen aus dem Umkreis der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, ed. by Tobias Roth (Berlin: Verlag das kulturelle Gedächtnis, 2019), pp. 23–51 (p. 26).

later known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA), a group that in turn inspired a number of similar organisations abroad and helped put Howard's ideas into practice with the foundation of Britain's first garden city at Letchworth. The first German translation of Howard's book appeared in 1902.[247] In the same year, the German Garden City Association *(Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft)* was founded as a 'propaganda society' targeted at 'winning the [German] people over for the foundation of garden cities'.[248]

The garden city idea found fertile ground among the protagonists of the German land reform movement, such as Friedrich Naumann. Naumann had argued as early as 1895 that 'life in the country' was 'morally and physically healthier than life in the big cities', where 'spiritual emaciation' prevailed.[249] The garden city, he hoped, would not only solve the salient economic problems in housing, but also reconcile modern life and work, the modern city and the countryside, industrial and proto-industrial production, aims that he had outlined in his 1904 essay *Kunst im Zeitalter der Maschine*.[250] It was Naumann's contribution that connected the Garden City Association to one of the first large-scale attempts at building such a settlement in Germany. Ever the networker, Naumann personally advised and urged his friend, the philanthropic entrepreneur Karl Schmidt, toward the foundation of what would become Hellerau Garden City, outside Dresden.[251] In this connection, Naumann also played a crucial role in obtaining the support and contribution of Hermann

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[247] Cf. *Gartenstädte von morgen: Ein Buch und seine Geschichte*, ed. by Julius Posener (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2015).

[248] Statutes of the German Garden City Association, §1, quoted after Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), p. 27.

[249] Friedrich Naumann, 'Wochenschau', *Die Hilfe*, 1.2 (1895).

[250] Friedrich Naumann, *Die Kunst im Zeitalter der Maschine* (Berlin: Buchverlag der Hilfe, 1908).

[251] Thomas Nitschke, *Grundlegende Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Gartenstadt Hellerau: Die Gründerjahre* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2005), I, pp. 124, 144.

Muthesius (1861-1927), the renowned connoisseur of British architecture and an avowed Naumannite. And it was Naumann who chose the project's executive director: Wolf Dohrn (1878-1918), a former student of Brentano's, ex-activist in Naumann's National-Social Association and a member of the Land Reform League.[252]

The idea found particularly strong adherents in Strasbourg. It was Naumann himself, likely, who introduced Mayor Rudolf Schwander to the garden city concept, and who first proposed founding one there. This suggestion was welcome news for Schwander, who had been looking for ways to accommodate the working-class tenants displaced by the Great Piercement, the slum-clearance in the inner city. In March 1909, Schwander began to search for a suitable site.[253] The Housing Record Office returned a number of proposals. Most promising was Stockfeld, an area to the south of the working-class suburb of Neudorf. Once again, the municipality found a partner in the Charitable Building Cooperative, as the developer for Stockfeld Garden City. The cooperative took eagerly to the concept of the garden city which, it told prospective tenants in 1909, 'will exert great attraction, as it combines the amenities of the city with the good, pleasant, and healthy living in the countryside, in the midst of blooming gardens.'[254] The cooperative purchased the building land, 24 hectares, at a heavily discounted price (0.60 mark per square meter, the lowest price in the history of the German garden city movement), constructed and

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[252] Nitschke, *Grundlegende Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Gartenstadt Hellerau*, I, pp. 124, 144.

[253] Schwander to Housing Record Office *(Wohnungsnachweis)*, Strasbourg, 1 March 1909, AVES, 153 MW 591 IIIb Nr 1829.

[254] Gemeinnützige Baugenossenschaft Straßburg, 'Einladung zur öffentlichen Versammlung', 1909, p. 15, AdBR, 27 AL 1147.

manage the garden city.[255] Of the total cost of 2 million mark, half was paid by equity from the cooperation, the remaining million by a forty-year loan at four percent interest from the Regional Insurance Company *(Landesversicherungs-anstalt),* with the municipality acting as guarantor.[256] The municipality took care of the planning process. It tasked the German Garden City Association with a brief for an architectural competition. The Garden City Association envisaged a settlement of small houses, containing dwellings at a size between forty-five and fifty-five metres squared, with individual gardens, between 200 and 250 metres squared. Each unit should have its own water closet and laundry room, running water and gas. Fifteen percent of all houses should be detached, twenty-five semi-detached and the remaining sixty percent should contain no more than four dwellings. In addition, the garden city should contain a grocery store, a bakery, a school, a restaurant and a community centre.[257]

The project was carried out without delay. A competition was held in 1909 under the leadership of Deputy Mayor Dominicus. The final plan, by the architect Edouard Schimpf (1877-1916), was approved in December of that year and building works started in July 1910. Six months later, 363 houses had been completed.[258] By January 1911, more than half the units were occupied, and the restaurant was operating. In 1911, 12,000 house visits were recorded and by the winter, ninety percent of the dwellings were occupied. By the end of 1912, all 457

[255] Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld', p. 32.

[256] Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld', p. 35.

[257] Benoît Jordan, 'Le relogement des habitants', in *Attention travaux: 1910 de la Grande Percée au Stockfeld*, ed. by Benoît Jordan and others (Strasbourg: Archives de Strasbourg, 2010), pp. 56–63 (p. 56); Theodor Goecke, 'Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld in Straßburg-Neudorf', *Der Städtebau*, 8.4 (1911), 37–39 (pp. 37–39).

[258] Benoît Jordan, 'Le relogement des habitants', p. 59; Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld', p. 37.

houses were completed, and the settlement counted 2,604 inhabitants.[259] Rents ranged from 15.5 to 27 Mark per unit per month, well below inner-city prices.[260] Almost two thirds of residents were working-class, with the remaining third comprising employees, craftsmen and small merchants, retirees and widows. The garden city was particularly popular with families. In 1911, children accounted for more than half of its population.[261] The German Garden City Association counted it among the first ten garden cities in Europe.[262] In 1911 the garden city activist Hans Kampffmeyer called Stockfeld 'the largest charitable housing development [...] that was created in Germany in cooperation with a municipality'.[263]

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[259] Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld', p. 37; *Hellerau, Stockfeld: Deux cités-jardins, un regard. Zwei Gartenstädte werden hundert*, ed. by Anne Mariotte and Claire Kuschnig (Institut Français Dresden, Archives de Strasbourg, and Werkbund Sachsen, 2010).

[260] Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld', p. 38.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 21; for an in-depth treatment of Stockfeld see Goecke, 'Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld'; Stéphane Jonas, *Le Faubourg-Jardin du Stockfeld à Strasbourg: Fondation et perspectives* (Vezsprém and Budapest: Magyar Képék, 2010); Jonas, 'La cité-jardin du Stockfeld'; Goehner and Brumder, *Geschichte der räumlichen Entwicklung der Stadt Straßburg*, p. 25.

[263] Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung: zusammenfassende Darstellung über den heutigen Stand der Bewegung* (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1911), p. 60.
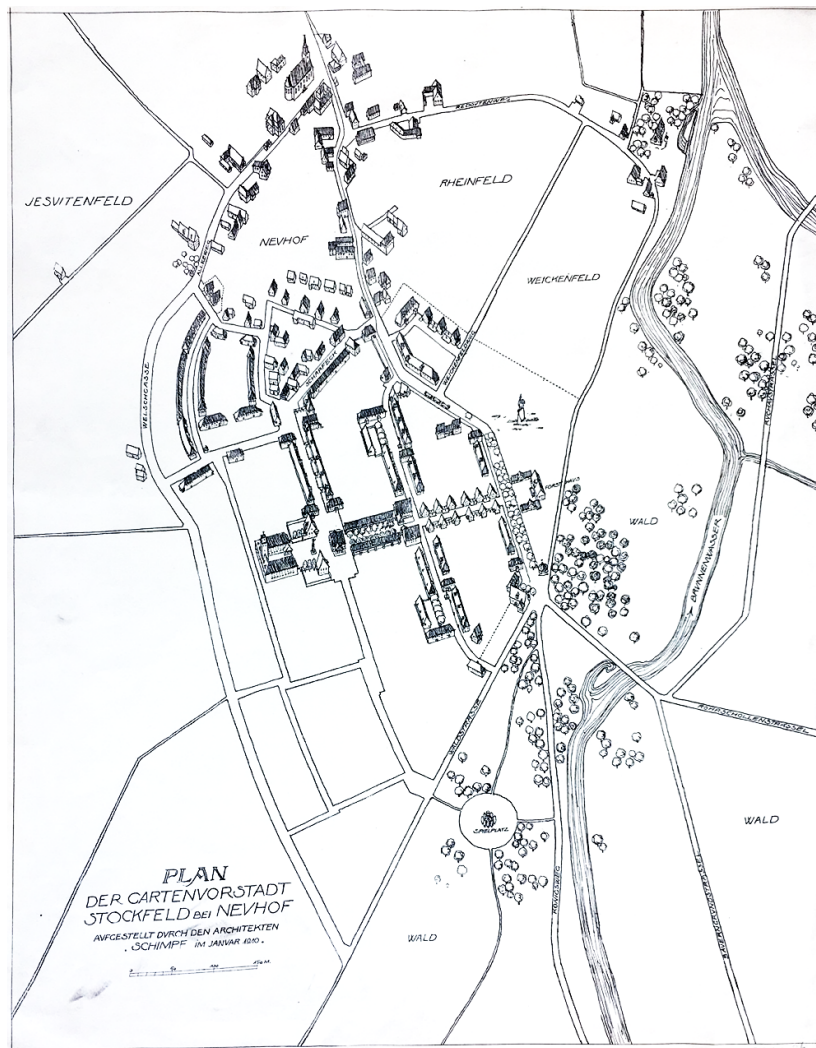
Figure 29: Plan of Stockfeld Garden City, 1910. Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

Emboldened by the success of the garden city, the municipality began to replicate the model. In 1913, it entered another partnership with the Civil Servants' Building Cooperative *(Beamten-Baugenossenschaft),* on similar terms as in Stockfeld, for the development of a second garden suburb, Meinau. The municipality sold 100 hectares of vacant building land to the cooperative, in turn reserving the right to influence the design process. To prevent speculation, a

similar mechanism not dissimilar to hereditary lease was put in place: individual plots would be sold on to individual at 4-9 mark per square metre, which would reduce to 2-5 mark if the purchaser agreed to a grant the municipality pre-emption rights at pre-specified conditions.[264] This way, any long-term capital gains would be absorbed by the municipality.

Figure 30: Stockfeld Garden City, 1910. Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

Conditions were not as fortuitous in Sarajevo. A garden city of the scale of Stockfeld seemed unthinkable there. The local building cooperatives had less

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[264] Beamten-Baugenossenschaft, 'Einladung zum Beitritt zur Beamten-Baugenossenschaft Straßburg', 1913, AdBR, 27 AL 1147.

capital and, as we have seen, lacked municipal support. What is more, Sarajevo's geography lent itself much less readily to the garden city idea. Wedged in the Miljacka valley, the city had much less room to expand than Strasbourg. The only direction in which Sarajevo could feasibly grow was to the west. Limited supply put upward pressure on prices, which would have made any garden city project much more costly than in Strasbourg, where building land was plentiful and where the municipality was prepared to sell it to cooperatives at a discounted rate.

Nevertheless, garden city thinking resonated in Sarajevo, too. Citizens adopted ideas of the garden city movement. One such idea was the green belt – a central demand of garden city activists. In 1874, Poninska had first proposed a 'green ring' around Berlin.[265] Its purpose was to limit urban sprawl while providing space for exercise, leisure and relaxation within easy reach of the city. Parks, promenades, gardens for individuals, families and cooperative societies, open-air restaurants, nurseries and youth centres would cater to the needs of mass population. Every urbanite, regardless of home or class, should be able to access greenery and fresh air directly and daily.[266] In 1898, Howard took up the idea. He proposed to limit the growth of existing cities with a green belt, which would separate them from the new garden cities. The concept caught on. Vienna, under its prolific mayor Karl Lueger (1844-1910) purchased large stretches of woodland surrounding the city, the so-called Wienerwald, as recreational land.[267] In Berlin, a similar initiative was lobbying to secure the woodlands at Grunewald for public enjoyment.[268] Observers in Sarajevo pointed to these developments in an effort to

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[265] Arminius, *Die Großstädte in ihrer Wohnungsnoth,* pp. 135–50.

[266] Ibid.

[267] *Urban Green Belts in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Marco Amati (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 167–84.

[268] Amati, *Urban Green Belts,* pp. 185–202.

effect similar policies. In an article in *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* from June 1911, an official advocated a green belt for Sarajevo.[269] The city, he argued, had to provide recreational spaces within easy reach of its centre. As Sarajevo grew into a modern capital of great dimensions, those who worked in offices and factories should continue to be able to enjoy access to fresh air, recreation, and health.[270]

The idea of a green belt created some controversy. It pitted social reformers against established citizens. The proponents of a green belt wanted to plant new woodlands on the hillsides surrounding the city, as was already the case on the slopes of mount Trebević, to the south of the centre. However, the project encountered fierce resistance from local livestock farmers and shepherds, who feared for their grazing land. These groups had been lobbying for further de-forestation in the Regional Assembly and had gained favour with several members of the house. Advocates of the green belt warned, by contrast, that succumbing to the demands of the farmers would cause lasting damage to public welfare. A lack of recreational spaces, they argued, would hit those in need the hardest, who were relying on public provision for their basic needs.[271]

The garden city idea was not entirely uncontroversial in Strasbourg, either. The cooperatives subjected their tenants to a strong educational mission. In Stockfeld, inhabitants attended courses in gardening, sewing, cooking, maintenance and household economy, talks and cultural events and could borrow books from the local lending library.[272] They could win prizes for the best-maintained gardens, in the summer, and for the 'best-kept dwellings', at

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[269] 'Ein Wald- und Wiesengürtel um Sarajevo?', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 14 June 1911), p. 2.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Gemeinnützige Baugenossenschaft Straßburg, 'Einladung zur öffentlichen Versammlung', 1909, p. 15, AdBR, 27 AL 1147, p. 14.

Christmastime.[273] Not entirely dissimilar, residents of the bachelors' hostel, had to conform to a strict set of house rules and standards for personal hygiene. They were subject to regular checks. Both institutions upheld a strict no-alcohol policy. In practice, to those who struggled to make ends meet, the bucolic surroundings of Stockfeld proved a curse as much as a blessing. The long distance between the workplace and living place meant that men could no longer, as was customary, join their families for lunch. Spouses, dependent on short distances from the home, found it difficult to find additional employment in the vicinity.[274] With a growing number of policy instruments, there also developed new challenges.

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[273] Gemeinnützige Baugenossenschaft Straßburg, 'Einladung zur öffentlichen Versammlung', 1909, p. 15, AdBR, 27 AL 1147, pp. 10, 14–16.

[274] Perry, 'La Dimension hygiénigiste et la sociale de la Grande Percée', p. 21.

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At the eve of the First World War, urban planning had developed into a truly international practice. Innovations such as the garden city and the building cooperative, though they found particularly fruitful ground in Germany, were part of wider, transnational developments, developments that engaged new kinds of stakeholders in the urban planning processes. The proliferation of the movement for land reform, of the network of cooperatives and of garden city associations integrated Strasbourg and Sarajevo into an international network of policy innovations in urban planning. The creators of these innovations no longer presented themselves as scientists or technicians. They were overtly political, public intellectuals, such as Fritsch and Damaschke, national politicians, such as Naumann, or religious leaders, such as Huber and Bodelschwingh. These men and women found enthusiastic reception in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Like-minded citizens organised themselves as part of the emergent international network of cooperative members and garden city activists. The institutions that they created soon fulfilled an active function in urban planning, sometimes in conjunction with, at other times as alternatives to the efforts of public authorities to alleviate problems such as the housing crisis.

The development of Strasbourg and the development of Sarajevo became increasingly related. From the end of the nineteenth century, planning in both cities responded to similar stimuli. Thanks to mass media, citizens of Strasbourg and Sarajevo not only spoke about issues such as hygiene and housing in much the same terms. The emergence of mass institutions meant that in both cities, the same policy responses were discussed. The ideas of Christian social reformers, the demands voiced by unions and social democratic parties, and the policy

innovations fostered by land reform activists, spoke to citizens of Strasbourg in much the same way that they proved applicable to citizens of Sarajevo.

As a result, Strasbourg and Sarajevo increasingly looked like each other, and like many other central European cities. By the turn of the century, there was more, arguably, to unite the two cities than to separate them. This also meant that some of what had made the two cities special was at risk of being lost. The next chapter explores how citizens dealt with this issue.

Chapter 3

The Pursuit of the Vernacular

At the end of the nineteenth century, as I have shown, urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo was evolving along parallel paths. From general plans to the minutiae of building codes, planning application systems, expropriation laws, housing quality standards, to the kinds of new public infrastructures, planning processes now resembled each other. As a result, the two cities looked increasingly like each other. This development was spurred by the conquest, occupation, and annexation into the two central European empires. But as time went on, we have seen, their development was increasingly shaped by the initiative of citizens, landowners, journalists, and local politicians.

This chapter takes leave, once and for all, of the cities' imperial predicament. By the outbreak of the First World War, it is shown, the special influence of imperial politics on the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo had vanished almost completely. As far as urban planning was concerned, the most salient innovations of the pre-war years owed much less to policy makers than to avant-garde artists, conservation activists, and architects. These innovations were negotiated locally as well as internationally. They were informed by art journals, international exhibitions, artistic movements, and international networks for the protection of architectural heritage. What distinguished these innovations from earlier knowledge transfers in urban planning was the speed at which new ideas travelled, and the mass audiences they commanded.

In these developments, Strasbourg and Sarajevo were more than mere recipients of innovation. They became active nodes of a network of modern

European cities, which in turn shaped contemporary discourse on art, architecture, and urban planning. By the eve of the First World War, the development of the two cities no longer merely moved in parallel paths; the two were actively linked. Strasbourg and Sarajevo were constituent part of the same intellectual networks, and practical movements, of urban planning.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the transnational networks that shaped urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. A particularly important role in these networks was played by architects who arrived following the two cities' conquest. Architects became one of the most affluent and mobile groups of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. They were well-connected, as the first section of this chapter shows, to their peers in other European cities. They were also increasingly well-attuned to international developments in the discipline. The two cities' distinctive common aesthetic reflects is a testimony to the growing impact of international trends in architectural education and professional discourse on the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

Architects, in particular, helped to integrate Strasbourg and Sarajevo into a growing international discourse on aesthetics. Across Europe, around the turn of the century, the paradigms of nineteenth-century design came under scrutiny from architectural critics, academy professors, and practitioners. They thought and wrote more critically than ever before about their cities' recent development, sparking local debates that reflected the terms and arguments that were being discussed, simultaneously, in cities such as Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Brussels, and Chicago. The great modernisation efforts that Strasbourg and Sarajevo had seen in the 1870s and 1880s became catalysts for their integration into a transnational architectural discourse. This development forms the subject of section two of this chapter.

As a result, the two cities developed into regional hubs of an international avant-garde. While nineteenth-century architecture fell increasingly out of fashion, artists, designers, and architects found inspiration in historic city centres. New artistic movements drew attention to the pre-modern city: to old markets, narrow streets, crooked lanes, to traditional building techniques and local materials, to folklore, regional arts and crafts. A new generation of artists, writers, and architects, it will be shown in section three, now celebrated what made their city distinctive. They displayed their creations in international expositions and galleries, as well as in local exhibitions, artistic circles, and art magazines, further integrating Strasbourg and Sarajevo into an international public sphere.

Strasbourg and Sarajevo saw the emergence of proto-modernist regionalist architecture, a movement that, by the early twentieth century, engulfed the entire continent. This movement derived its inspiration not from classical, formal, urban architecture, but from vernacular, informal, and regional modes of building. Strasbourg and Sarajevo were more than mere recipients of this development: they contributed crucially to its emergence, as the fourth section of this chapter shall demonstrate. The authorities in both cities quickly embraced these new styles. By the eve of the First World War, many public buildings in Strasbourg and Sarajevo were executed in regionalist styles. These buildings no longer signified nation or empire but were part of an international movement that emphasized local specificities.

The turn to the vernacular coincided with the emergence of the modern conservation movement. At the end of the nineteenth century, there emerged connected initiatives to survey, list, and protect built heritage throughout Europe. These initiatives developed almost always bottom-up: they were driven by bourgeois citizens, art historians, and architects. Strasbourg and Sarajevo saw the

emergence of a conservation movement that lobbied for greater state protection of an expanding range of historical monuments, which now included private buildings as well as sacred and public buildings. Conservation, it will be argued in section five of this chapter, became an integral part of urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In both cities, public administrations reacted with policies such as heritage listings and by-laws for the protection of cityscapes. By the eve of the First World War, conservation had become an integral part of urban planning.

The reaction against the dominant aesthetics of the nineteenth-century city also engulfed planners. Across Europe, a new generation of planning theorists now polemically rejected the works of their forebears. As a result, there emerged a new approach to planning, commonly referred to as 'artistic planning', in Vienna, from where it spread across central Europe. Artistic planners took office in Strasbourg and Sarajevo, too. By the eve of the First World War, the development of the two cities was in line with artistic planning principles, as section six demonstrates.

The new urban aesthetics accompanied important political reforms. Although planning was still rarely spoken about in political terms, the movements for conservation, artistic planning, and architectural regionalism were connected with the movements for greater political independence from Berlin and Vienna. In the pre-war years, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Alsace-Lorraine finally received modern constitutions that devolved important political powers to the two regions. Aesthetic emancipation from Berlin and Vienna went alongside political emancipation, as will be shown in the final section of this chapter.

Figure 31: With wide, clean, paved streets, electricity and sewerage, Strasbourg's New Town mirrored many other modern European cities. *Église de Saint Pierre le Jeune* (ca. 1895) by Lothar von Seebach (1853-1930). Credit: Musées de Strasbourg.

3.1 Stylistic Standards

Architects played an important role in creating the modern European city. Catering to the tastes of internationally minded investors, bourgeois citizens, and tourists, architects helped spread aesthetic standard across European cities. They were among the most mobile professional groups of the nineteenth century. Europe's most successful architects trained at the same academies using the same textbooks and curricula, moved with relative ease between educational institutions, architectural practices, and cities, and shared their ideas in professional associations, expert journals, and international conferences. Strasbourg and Sarajevo, which looked increasingly alike towards the end of the century, are cases in point.

Despite their modest size, Strasbourg and Sarajevo became attractive destinations for architects. The reforms of the 1850s and the conquest of the 1870s, which were followed by the cities' reconstruction and expansion, created new opportunities in the building sector. In Sarajevo, the introduction of a modern planning application system in the 1880 building code, with its rigorous requirements for technical documentation, put the city's established master builders out of business.[1] Formally trained architects from central Europe flocked to the city to take their place. In Strasbourg, which already had an established community of formally trained architects, competitors from Germany arrived in the wake of the city's ambitious New Town extension.

The architects of fin-de-siècle Strasbourg and Sarajevo in many senses reflected the wider European architectural community. Whereas they originated

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[1] Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', p. 76; Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* p. 19.

from a great many diverse places, they were all trained at a relatively small set of educational institutions: art academies and polytechnics. Art academies had existed since the late seventeenth century. After the French Revolution, they developed into fully public, modern educational institutions. Existing royal academies, such as the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, founded in 1648, gained independence. The Parisian academy was renamed *École des Beaux-Arts* in 1799 and was granted complete autonomy by Napoleon III in 1863. Vienna's numerous art academies were centralised by the Empress Maria Theresia in 1772, reorganised in 1812 and given university status as the *Akademie der bildenden Künste* in 1872. In Berlin, the *Bauakademie,* established by King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1799, gained the status of a technical university in 1879. The second set of architectural institutions were polytechnics. The *École polytechnique* of Paris, founded in 1794, inspired the foundation of polytechnics in Prague (1806), Vienna (1815), Karlsruhe (1825), Dresden (1827), Copenhagen (1829), Stuttgart (1829), Lemberg/Lviv/Lwów and Hanover (1847). After 1848, a second generation of polytechnics were founded in Zurich (1854), Turin (1859), Milan (1863), Brunswick (1863), Bucharest (1864), Aachen (1870), and Brussels (1873). By the 1880s, most had been elevated to universities.

Many of Sarajevo's architects had crossed paths during their studies in Vienna, Budapest, or Prague. This was especially true of the graduates of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts. Among them was Josip Vancaš, the son of a Croat postmaster who was born in the Hungarian town of Ödenburg/Sopron, attended school in Agram/Zagreb and took up his architectural education at the Technical University of Vienna, before moving to the Academy. He went to Sarajevo, still in his mid-twenties, to design the new Catholic cathedral, a government commission that he had won on the recommendation of his teacher

at the Academy, Ringstrasse architect Friedrich Schmidt.[2] Vancaš convinced a fellow academician, the Czech Karel Pařík, to join him on the project. Pařík was a member of the prestigious Hansen Club, a highly selective international association of architects named after the head of the Academy of Fine Arts, the Dane Theophil Hansen (1813-1891).[3] In Sarajevo, Vancaš and Pařík were joined by fellow Academy graduates August Butscha (1855-1925) and František Blažek (1863-1944), both of whom hailed from rural Moravia, the Croat Ciril Iveković (1864-1933), Josip Pospišil (1868-1918), and the Laibach/Ljubljana born Swede Rudolf Tönnies (1869-1929). Some of them had been part of the same architectural practices, too. Vancaš, Blažek, and Pospišil, for instance, had all worked for Vienna's Fellner & Helmer, an architectural practice that designed public buildings all over Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland.[4]

Nationality played a decreasing role in the education of the architects who practiced in Sarajevo and Strasbourg. One particularly striking example is Skjøld Neckelmann (1854-1903). Born as a Dane in Hamburg, Neckelmann studied with Hansen at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna before moving to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the late 1870s. In 1885, he founded an architectural practice with August Hartel, from Cologne, in Leipzig, which developed into one of the most prolific designers of public buildings in Strasbourg. Among an elder generation of Strasbourg architects, such as Eugène Petiti (1809-1883) and Jean-Geoffrey Conrath (1824-1892), the École des Beaux-Arts had still been the preferred destination. But the next generation increasingly frequented international destinations. They moved with relative ease between German and

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[2] Krzović and others, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* p. 14.

[3] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 60.

[4] For an overview on the architects who practiced in Sarajevo, see Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* pp. 155–69; Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* pp. 199–204.

French destinations, between polytechnics and art academies. Émile Salomon (1833-1913) and Philippe Auguste Brion (1832-1902), two of the city's most accomplished architects of the Second Empire and the German era, had studied in Munich before moving on to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Jules Berninger (1856-1926) and Gustave Krafft (1861-1927), who pioneered Art Nouveau in Strasbourg, had been trained at the polytechnic of Stuttgart before moving on to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Salomon's son Henri (1876-1940) studied at Karlsruhe, as did Theo Berst (1881-1962). Alsatians Paul Schmitthenner (1884-1972) and Paul Dopff (1885-1965) studied in Karlsruhe and Munich, as did Karl Bonatz (1882-1952), before joining his elder brother Paul (1877-1956) in Stuttgart. Only few, namely Johann Eduard Jacobsthal (1839-1902), Hermann Eggert (1844-1920) and the hapless August Orth, had been trained in Berlin.[5]

Their transnational backgrounds meant that architects between Strasbourg and Sarajevo were exposed similar ideas, design approaches and styles. Students of architecture could move freely between universities and states because architectural education employed similar curricula, textbooks, and methods. Particularly popular was a grid-based, modular design approach popularized by Jean-Nicolas Durand (1760-1834) in Paris. In his lectures at the École Polytechnique, Durand demonstrated that buildings of any type could be easily designed based on a square grid, which was then fitted with whatever decorations were deemed appropriate, usually in a classicising style. The ensuing coursebook, published between 1802 and 1805, was translated, reissued repeatedly and was

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[5] For an overview of the architects who practiced in Strasbourg, see Möllmer, *Strassburg*, pp. 530–55.

adopted at the *École des Beaux-Arts,* with which it became most closely associated.[6] It is for this reason that scholars have referred to the dominant style of the nineteenth century as 'Beaux-Arts'.[7] It was in the context of the Beaux-Arts approach that the term 'modern' was first applied to architecture.[8] Whether this style is more aptly denoted as 'Neo-Renaissance' or 'Neo-Baroque', as some scholars have attempted, is perhaps impossible to settle.[9] It was, in any case, a transnational, European style.[10] The enormous versatility of the Beaux-Arts approach to design was an important factor in its proliferation.

The buildings that architects designed in Strasbourg and Sarajevo were part of the same intellectual school. The two cities' most prestigious public buildings of the nineteenth century were all executed in variations of the Beaux-Arts aesthetic. In Ottoman Sarajevo, first attempts to promote a modern 'European' style date back to the Tanzimat administration. Back in Constantinople, Sultan Abdülmecid I had commissioned Paris-educated architect Nigoğayos-beg Balyan (1826-1858) with the design of his new residence, Dolmabahçe Palace, finished in in 1856. A testimony to similar efforts in Sarajevo was the vizier's palace *(Konak),* designed by Franjo Linardović and Franjo Moise from Austro-Hungarian Split and completed in 1869, which displayed a fanciful

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[6] See, for instance, Mohamed Scharabi, 'Einfluß der Pariser Ecole des Beaux-Arts auf die Berliner Architektur in 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts' (doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Berlin, 1968).

[7] William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon, 1987), pp. 20–21.

[8] Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth', pp. 266–67.

[9] For a discussion of these terms, see Klinkott, 'Der preußische Baurat August Orth', p. 276.

[10] Melchior Fischli, 'Die Stadt in Besitz nehmen: Die Piazza Vittorio Emanuele und der Umbau des Stadtzentrums von Florenz', in *Platz-Architekturen: Kontinuität und Wandel öffentlicher Stadträume vom 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. by Brigitte Sölch and Elmar Kossel (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 93–112 (p. 109).

classicising design.[11] The architects who arrived after 1878 contributed to the profusion of Beaux-Arts design. Vancaš's government headquarters (1884), August Butsch's market hall (1885), Karel Panek's Railway Directorate (1897) and Karel Pařík's Pension Fund Building (1885), police station (1892), theatre (1899), museum (1913), and schools are examples of the symmetrical, grid-based, classicising aesthetic predominant among public buildings.

In Strasbourg, too, almost all nineteenth-century secular public buildings were designed in the Beaux-Arts manner. In the New Town, Hermann Eggert's Imperial Palace (1890), the Regional Committee (1890) and the university and state library (1895) by August Hartel and Skjøld Neckelmann, were designed in highly ornate Neo-Renaissance styles, as was Otto Warth's university main building (1879-84), and Johann Eduard Jacobsthal's new railway station (1883). The historian Niels Wilcken has called their Beaux-Arts aesthetics the 'official style' of the 1870s and 1880s.[12] To many contemporaries, the Beaux-Arts aesthetic appeared reassuringly familiar. According to the art historian Adolf Rosenberg (1850-1906), the visual language of the Beaux-Arts was 'universally comprehensible to the entire educated world'.[13] Many of the public buildings of Strasbourg and Sarajevo were virtually interchangeable with those of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, or London.

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[11] Kenan Šurković and Elvira Bojadžić, *Osmaska Arhitektura Sarajeva* (Sarajevo: Izdavac, 2017), p. 213; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 62.
[12] Niels Wilcken, 'Strasbourg et l'architecture publique dans le Reichsland (1871-1918)', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), pp. 178–85 (p. 178).
[13] Adolf Rosenberg, *Geschichte der modernen Kunst: Die deutsche Kunst*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Grunow, 1889), III, p. 370.
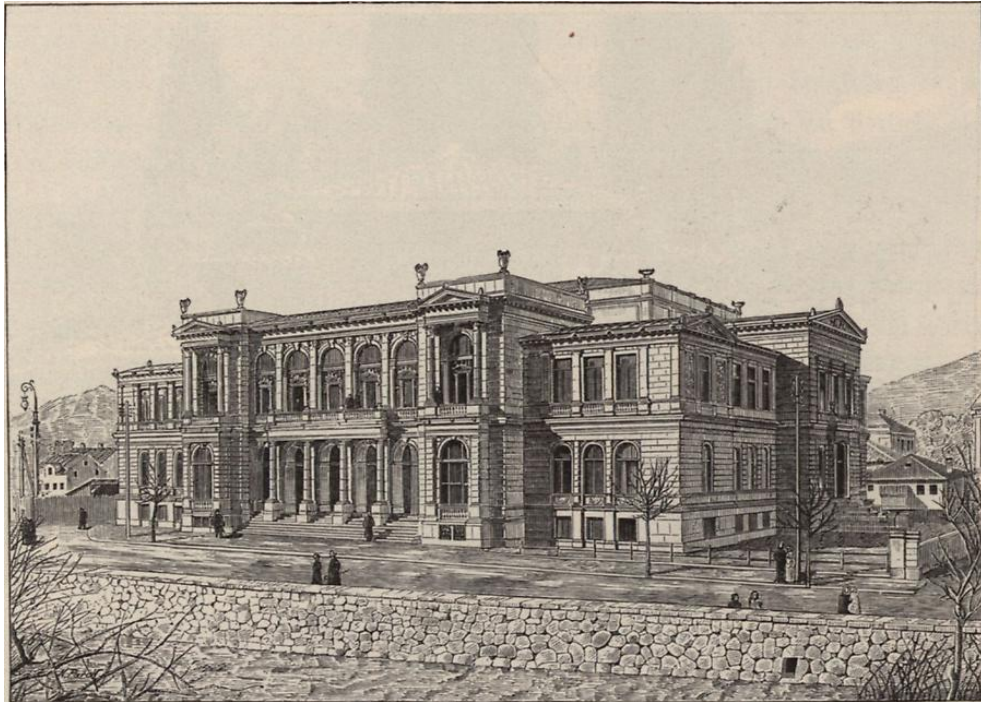
Figure 32: Sarajevo Theatre, by Karel Pařík. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
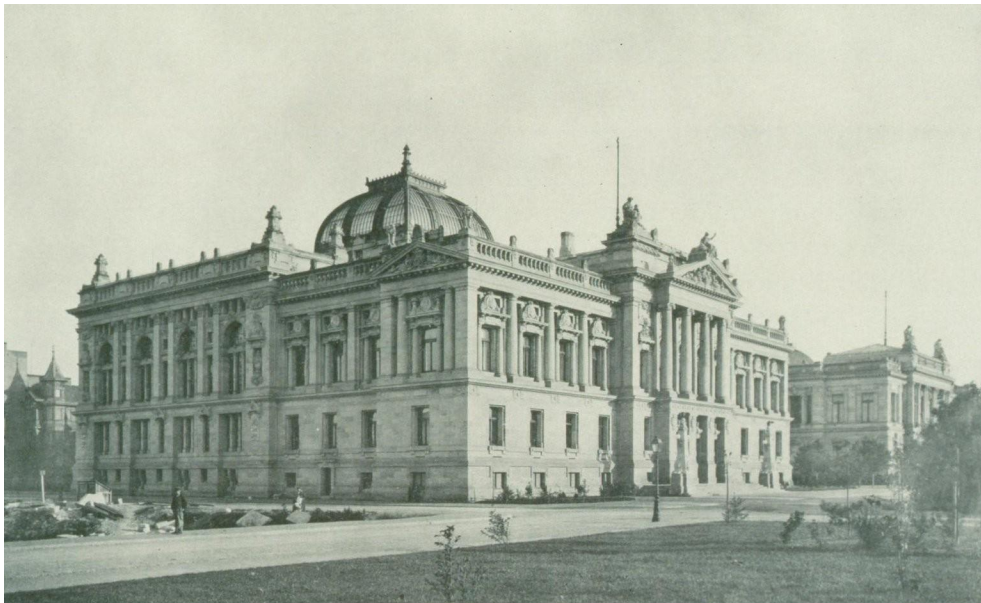

Figure 33: University and State Library of Strasbourg, by August Hartel and Skjøld Neckelmann. Photograph by Sébastien Hausmann, 1897. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Figure 34: Art Historical Museum in Vienna, by Gottfried Semper and Carl Hasenauer, ca. 1880. Photograph by Michael Frankenstein. Credit: Wien Museum.
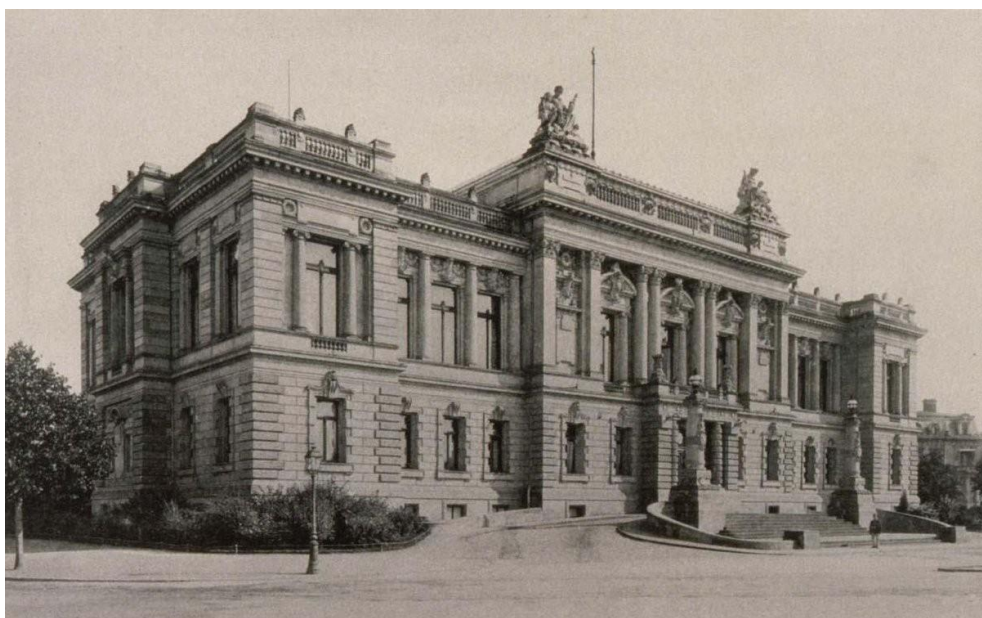

Figure 35: Strasbourg's Regional Committee, by August Hartel and Skjøld Neckelmann, 1897. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Figure 36: Sarajevo Museum, by Karel Pařík, ca. 1913. Credit: Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine.

Figure 37: University main building, by Otto Warth, 1885. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

In the final years of the nineteenth century, architects across Europe became increasingly experimental. The architects of Strasbourg and Sarajevo had been taught by architects who switched easily between several historicizing styles. Part of the appeal of the Beaux-Arts approach was that it allowed designers to apply any kind of façade to standardized, modular floor plans. The result was a proliferation of highly eclectic stylistic creations.[14] In Bosnia-Herzegovina in the second half of the 1880s, architects increasingly adopted a fantastical style that was referred to by contemporaries as 'Oriental'. Historians have sometimes called this style 'Moorish' or 'Pseudo-Moorish', though recent scholars, such as Maximilian Harthmuth, whose work has recently led to a critical reappraisal of this architectural movement, prefer to speak of an 'Orientalising' style.[15] The Orientalising style was characterized allusions to Islamic architecture such as Arabesque ornaments, ogee arches, and polychrome façades. Among its leading proponents were Pařík, who introduced the style to Sarajevo with his Sharīʿah Law School (1887), and Vancaš, who used it for his Muslim reading room *(kiraethana)* (1888) and in his public baths (1891).

Sarajevo's Orientalising style has been subject to some debates. Mehmed Bublin's suggestion that the Austro-Hungarian government erroneously

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[14] Curtis, *Modern Architecture,* pp. 20–21.

[15] Maximilian Harthmuth, 'Orientalizing Architecture in Northern Bosnia under Habsburg Rule: Exaggerating Alterity as a Means of Cohesion?', *ERC 758099 Working Paper*, 4 (2020); Maximilian Harthmuth, 'Amtssprache Maurisch? Zum Problem der Interpretation des orientalischen Baustils im habsburgischen Bosnien-Herzegowina', in *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. by Tamara Scheer and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2018), pp. 251–66; Maximilian Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial? Contextualizing Architecture and Urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918', in *Wechselwirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918*, ed. by Clemens Ruthner (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 155–84; Alexander Zäh, 'Die orientalisierende Architektur als ein stilistischer Ausdruck des offiziellen Bauprogramms der k. u. k. bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesregierung 1878-1918', *Südost-Forschungen*, 72 (2013), 63–97.

understood the new style as a genuine, 'indigenous expression' now appears highly improbable.[16] It is much more likely that Habsburg officials understood the Orientalising style as a hallmark of modernity that still acknowledged the empire's unity in diversity.[17] It was, as the government official Johann Kellner noted in 1901, a fitting expression of what the empire's elites saw as their civilising mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[18] While some have suggested that the government's embrace of the Orientalising style was a gesture towards the city's Muslims, Fran Markowitz argues that it was directed more at international audiences than at the local population.[19]

While supposedly catering to Sarajevo's Islamic heritage, the Orientalising style was, in fact, a truly international style. It also stood in a lineage of Orientalising architecture in modern central Europe. Ernst Czerny has argued that Orientalising style was as novel to Sarajevo as it would have been to Vienna.[20] In fact, it was *more* novel to Sarajevo. Orientalising architecture had appeared on European synagogues, factory buildings, hotels, and private residences since the 1830s, most notably perhaps in Ludwig Förster's Budapest Synagogue (1859), Theophil Hansen's Vienna Arsenal (1869), and the Grand Choral Synagogue of

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[16] Mehmed Bublin, *Gradovi Bosnie i Hercegovine: Milenijum razvoa i godine urbicida* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1999), p. 103.

[17] See Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial?'; Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', p. 103; Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* pp. 115–28.

[18] Johann Kellner, 'Baukunst', in *Bosnien und Hercegovina*, Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, 13 (Vienna: K. und k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901), pp. 413–34.

[19] Fran Markowitz, 'Tales of Two Buildings: National Entanglements in Sarajevo's Pasts, Presents and Futures', *Ethnologie Française*, 42.4 (2012), 797–809 (p. 803).

[20] Ernst Czerny, 'Österreichische Künstler unter der südlichen Sonne: Einige Überlegungen zur sogenannten Orientmalerei', in *Orient & Okzident: Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, ed. by Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf (Vienna: Neue Welt, 2016), pp. 519–40 (p. 521).

St. Petersburg (1888).[21] Proponents of the Orientalising style in Sarajevo took inspiration not from Ottoman architecture, but from the Arab world. In preparation for Sarajevo city hall *(viječnica)*, the grandest project in the Orientalising style in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the regional government sent the Croatian architect Alexander Wittek (1852-94) on two study trips to Egypt, whence he returned with a final design, a fanciful amalgamation of styles that took its cues from the mosques of Cairo and from Syrian architecture but also incorporated elements of Andalusian Moorish architecture.[22] The floor plans of Orientalising buildings, such as Pařík's Sharīʿah Law School, were in tune with the governing principles of Beaux-Art design such as symmetry, axiality, and strongly emphasized main façades.[23] What is more, Orientalising architecture relied on imported materials and modern construction techniques. Sarajevo city hall, for instance, featured industrial kiln-fired brick and industrial stained glass, which had to be sourced in Vienna.[24] The Orientalising style, in other words, was the product of an internationalizing architectural scene, of international standards in architectural education and of international study trips.

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[21] See Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial?', p. 162; Sanja Zadro, 'Architecture of Historicism and Art Nouveau in Mostar', in *Admired As Well As Overlooked Beauty: Contributions to Architecture of Historicism, Art Nouveau, Early Modernism and Traditionalism*, ed. by Zuzan Ragulová and Jan Galeta (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), pp. 175–94 (pp. 183–84).

[22] Zadro, 'Architecture of Historicism and Art Nouveau', p. 181; Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial?', p. 157; Kellner, 'Baukunst'.

[23] Rüdiger, 'Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularität(en)', pp. 6–9.

[24] Sparks, *Sarajevo*, p. 64.

Figure 38: The town hall *(viječnica)*, the most prominent example of the Orientalising style in Sarajevo, was built between in the early 1890s. Towering on eastern end of the Miljacka embankment, it dwarfed the surrounding area of low-rise houses, workshops, and market stalls. Credit: Bosnia History.

In Strasbourg, too, architects became increasingly eclectic. By the logic of the Beaux-Arts approach, designers could easily adapt their designs to humour their clients' fancies. One such client was German Emperor Wilhelm II. In contrast with his predecessors, Wilhelm claimed a keen interest in architecture.

He developed a greater say in the empire's public building projects. Until the mid-1890s, all imperial building projects had been checked by the Construction Commission *(Akademie des Bauwesens)*, an expert body in the Prussian Ministry of Public Works. Instead, Wilhelm demanded personally to approve any projects whose budget exceeded 100,000 mark.[25] One of the proposals that fell under this procedure was the project for an imperial post office in Strasbourg, a design ascribed to Neckelmann, which municipal planner Johann-Carl Ott had praised as 'magnificent' at the annual convention of the Association of German Architects and Engineers in 1894.[26] The emperor, however, rejected Neckelmann's Neo-Renaissance proposal. 'The young German empire had to make a powerful impression through its buildings', Wilhelm explained later, 'and imperial post office buildings must be executed respectively. They must adhere also to the general style of the respective city or at least to the oldest and most notable buildings in its townscape *(Städtebild)*'.[27] In the case of Strasbourg, this meant paying tribute to the city's Gothic heritage.

The ruling consensus of the 1870s and early 1880s, whereby public buildings were to be executed in a Neo-Renaissance style and sacred buildings in Neo-Gothic, yielded to a climate of increasing stylistic diversity. Architects were able to accommodate quickly to changing tastes. Neckelmann's design was sent back to the drawing board, and reworked by Ernst Hake (1844-1925), an architect in the service of the Imperial Postal Department. Hake's design featured pointed arches, heavily rusticated stone facing and was organised round a series of internal

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[25] Wilhelm II, *Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878-1918* (Leipzig and Berlin: Koehler, 1922), p. 145.

[26] 'Die bauliche Entwicklung Strassburgs: Schluss', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 12 September 1894, Vol. 28, Nr. 73, pp. 450–53 (p. 450).

[27] Wilhelm II, *Ereignisse und Gestalten,* p. 144.

courtyards topped by a transmission tower reminiscent of a castle keep. On the approved plans, Wilhelm commented glibly that 'it will be a very apt interruption of the Renaissance style of the other buildings' around the Kaiserplatz.[28] 'A building in the Renaissance style', an official memorandum told readers at the opening in 1899, 'would not have given off an impression worthy of the German empire'.[29] The architectural press, too, soon waxed lyrical about the identity-giving role of the Neo-Gothic design. To one critic, the new post office evoked a time when Alsace had witnessed 'the highest culture of German tongue [...] when Gottfried of Strasbourg was the first German poet and Erwin von Steinbach was the first German architect'.[30] The emperor's embrace of Neo-Gothic public architecture, chimed the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, signified Strasbourg's 'third flourishing under the new German rule'.[31] Instead of adhering to well-established norms, architecture was applied here to speak to, and of, a particular nation and a particular city.

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[28] Quoted after Hammer-Schenk, 'Die Stadterweiterung Straßburgs nach 1870. Politische Vorgaben historischer Stadtplanung', p. 134.

[29] *Denkschrift zur Einweihung des Neuen Reichs-Post und Telegraphengebäudes* (Strasbourg: Elsässische Druckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1899), pp. 63–64.

[30] Otto Sarrazin and Friedrich Schultze, 'Das neue Reichspostgebäude in Strassburg i.E.', *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 10 March 1900, Vol. 20, Nr. 19, pp. 109–13 (p. 109).

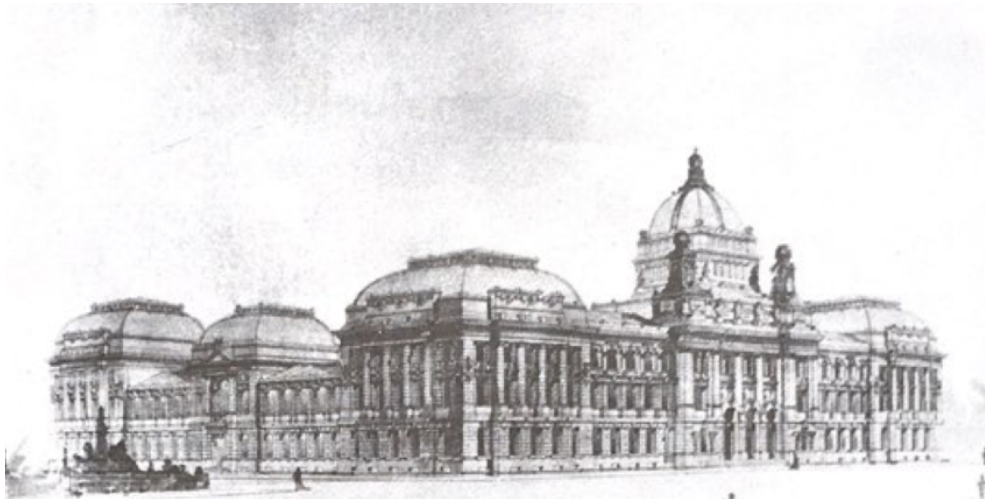[31] Sarrazin and Schultze, 'Das neue Reichspostgebäude in Strassburg', p. 109.

Figure 39: Neo-Renaissance design for an imperial post office in Strasbourg, ascribed to Skjøld Neckelmann. Credit: Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 184.
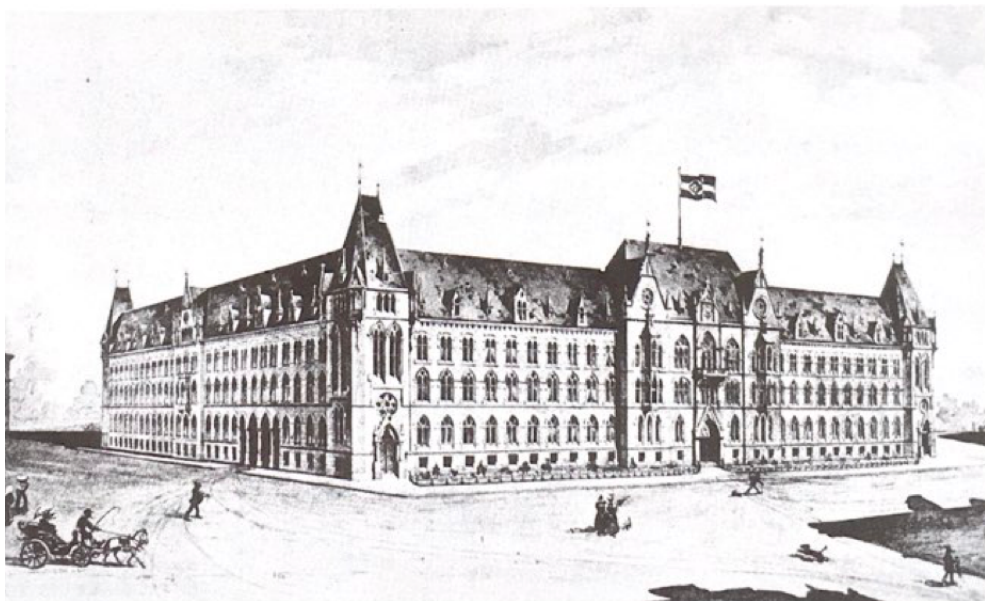

Figure 40: Neo-Gothic design for an imperial post office in Strasbourg, by Ernst Hake. Credit: Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 184.

In reality, the embrace of new styles bore testimony to the transnational networks of modern European architecture rather than to local, regional, or national cultural heritage. This was a true of the Orientalising style in Sarajevo as it was for Neo-Gothic architecture in Strasbourg. The imperial post office stood in a lineage of Neo-Gothic public buildings all over Europe, most notably perhaps the Palace of Westminster by Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin (1860), Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Town Hall (1877), George Gilbert Scott's Midland Grand Hotel (1876), Friedrich Schmidt's Vienna Town Hall (1883), Imre Steindl's Hungarian parliament building (1902), and Georg Hauberrisser's Munich Town Hall (1905). In Sarajevo, too, there emerged prominent examples of Neo-Gothic architecture, namely the new Catholic cathedral (1887) by Vancaš, and Pařík's Protestant church (1899).

There was an unresolved tension inherent in the architectural development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. At the end of the nineteenth century, both cities were becoming visibly integrated into a shared international sphere of architecture and urban planning. At the same time, architects, clients, and opinion makers showed themselves increasingly anxious to create new, original looks that emphasised their cities' particularities. This tension inspired a growing debate on modern architecture, a debate that soon engulfed the entire continent and that served, perhaps ironically, to build new bridges between cities like Strasbourg and Sarajevo. This debate forms the subject of the next section.

3.2   Reactions Against the Modern City

Around the turn of the century, the predominant aesthetic of modern cities was attracting increasing criticism. 'It is striking', summarized architectural historian William Curtis, 'how many movements professing the value of the "new" came into being in the 1890s.'[32] In art academies, universities and polytechnics, there formed a new generation of architects who regarded as bland, unimaginative, and generic what had appeared metropolitan, modern, and fashionable to their forebearers. They created a discourse on modern architecture that soon engulfed all of Europe. This section shows how Strasbourg and Sarajevo became active parts of this discourse. This process displayed the similarities and linkages between the two cities more clearly than ever before.

Architects, we have already seen, were among the most well-travelled professionals of the era. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, architectural students typically travelled to Italy to study the remnants of classical architecture. By the early twentieth century, this custom had fallen somewhat out of fashion and architects turned to more original destinations. One of the places that captivated their imagination was Bosnia-Herzegovina. This region, which was by now well-connected within central Europe, still held the promise of an 'oriental' country untouched by modernity. For this reason, the Balkans became a popular destination for a whole generation of artists, architects, and designers.[33] In the years before the First World War, many young architects travelled the Balkans in

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[32] Curtis, *Modern Architecture,* p. 21.
[33] Francesco Passanti, 'The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56.4 (1997), 438–52.

the same way that their antecedents had toured Italy.[34] Among those who went was Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (1887-1965), architectural assistant in the office of Peter Behrens in Berlin. On the Balkans, the young architect hoped to find towns and villages yet unspoilt by modernity. Jeanneret hoped, in his own words, to find communities that had so far resisted 'that dreadful virus which goes on ruining chaste countries, simple and believing souls and artistic cultures, which have so far been normal, healthy and natural'.[35]

But in reality, Bosnia-Herzegovina often disappointed such expectations. Its towns and cities reminded their visitors of the generic looks of modern Europe. Jeanneret's Balkans tour did not always live up to his high hopes. There was, he noted later, 'nothing left of *original* things'.[36] In Sarajevo, visitors often noted their disappointment to find yet another version of European modernity instead of supposedly 'original character'. Even those who had advocated Sarajevo's rapid modernisation of Sarajevo now showed signs of with disillusionment. In 1908, Joseph Maria Baernreither, the Austrian minister of commerce, wrote of Sarajevo that 'the whole thing gives the impression of Europe, garnished with picturesque details of a world gone by'.[37] In an article in *Bosnische Post,* the architect Josip Pospišil told readers that it was 'ridiculous to emulate the English, the Americans and other people at the height of modernity in their external forms'.[38] And on an official visit in 1903, the Dutch Minister for Waterways, Commerce and Industry, Johannes Christiaan de Marez Oyens (1845-1911), told local architect Josip Vancaš that 'if every city soon has the same architecture, there will be no more

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[34] Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* pp. 142–43; Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', pp. 103–4.

[35] Le Corbusier, *Le Voyage d'Orient*, Édition Forces Vives (Paris, 1966), pp. 121–22.

[36] Le Corbusier, *Le Voyage d'Orient: Carnets*, 6 vols (Milan and Paris: Electa, 1987), IV, p. 69.

[37] Quoted after Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* pp. 75–76.

[38] Pospišil, 'Teure Häuser, Billige Wohnungen'.

reason to travel the world'.[39] These reflections were typical for the period after 1900.

Critics turned with increasing embitterment against what they regarded as the bland, generic applications of modern architecture. In Sarajevo, it was the Orientalising style that attracted most vociferous criticism.[40] Contemporaries now discounted it as 'foreign' or 'dishonest' to Bosnia-Herzegovina, a judgement that has been echoed by countless historians since and that has done much to taint the reputation of the style until today.[41] 'The style that is being built here is regrettably ugly', wrote Austrian Minister of Trade Joseph Maria Baernreither in 1908. 'Ill-fated allusions to so-called Oriental forms are interspersed with the most banal façades.'[42] Sarajevan architect Josip Pospišil spoke of 'buildings, which, in their exterior form, would fit anywhere, apart from Bosnia, where they ruin the peculiar character of the respective cities and districts'.[43] Clients, too, recognized that tastes were changing. The Orientalising style, explained the jurist Ferdinand Schmid, erstwhile government official and later professor at the university of Leipzig, in 1914, 'is of course not the real vernacular style and it is therefore hardly surprising that there has recently developed some opposition to it. This style', Schmid continued, 'is now called foreign to the people *(volksfremd)* and to the time *(zeitfremd)* and it is demanded that the government honour the traditional regional (Bosnian) style'.[44]

These judgements were not specific to the Orientalising style. They were part of a wider rejection of the dominant aesthetics of nineteenth-century

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[39] Quoted after Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', p. 76.
[40] Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial?', p. 170; Lovrenović, *Bosnien und Herzegowina,* p. 147.
[41] Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam'; Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 21.
[42] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* pp. 75–76.
[43] Josip Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', *Der Städtebau*, 8.1 (1911), 6–9 (p. 9).
[44] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 748.

architecture. Critics turned against what Hugo von Hofmannsthal called 'that worn-down, favoured drapery of the sixties until the eighties'.[45] The terms that critics of Sarajevo used echoed the ideas of widely read Viennese critics such as Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) and Otto Wagner (1841-1918), whose textbook *Moderne Architektur,* a passionate plea against architectural eclecticism, sparked an international debate on the subject. Wagner's conviction that 'the *genius loci* must be taken into consideration' united him with Sitte's poignant critiques of modern architecture and urban planning.[46] Appointed to a professorship at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1894, Wagner exerted an enormous influence on a generation of architectural students, among them Josef Hofmann (1870-1956) and Josef Maria Olbrich (1867-1908). Some of Wagner's students, such as Ernst Lichtblau (1883-1963) toured Bosnia-Herzegovina, others, like Jan Kotěra (1871-1923), who co-founded of the Vienna Secession alongside Hofmann and Gustav Klimt (1862-1918), practiced in Sarajevo.[47] Yet others, such as Olbrich, went on to Germany, which was soon also engulfed in the debate on modern architecture.[48]

Another city that bore the contentious imprint of the nineteenth century particularly clearly was Strasbourg. Its New Town, the landmark planning project of the German administration of the 1870s and 1880s, had been one of the most ambitious urban extension projects in the German empire. Its wide, tree-lined avenues, its long, straight thoroughfares and its monumental public buildings had

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[45] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 92, footnote 175.

[46] Otto Wagner, *Moderne Architektur: Seinen Schülern ein Führer auf diesem Kunstgebiete* (Vienna: Schroll, 1896), p. 8; cf. Ruth Hanisch, 'Die Extreme berühren sich: Ort und Geschichte in der Wiener Architektur der Moderne' (habilitation thesis, ETH Zurich, 2014), p. 77.

[47] Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 201; Zadro, 'Architecture of Historicism and Art Nouveau', pp. 186–88.

[48] Hanisch, 'Die Extreme berühren sichh', p. 89.

once been the pride of a generation of German urban planners.[49] A younger generation were less enthusiastic. Among those who felt uneasy about the New Town was the art historian Ernst Polaczek (1870-1939), from Reichenberg/Liberec, Bohemia. A lecturer at University of Strasbourg, Polaczek was responsible, among other things, for teaching the sons of the Emperor Wilhelm II. For Polaczek, who paced the streets of the New Town on his daily commute to the university, the new district embodied little more than 'an underlying sense of cold splendour'.[50] There was more to his criticism than that. The New Town, Polaczek continued, 'lacked architectural honesty and truth'.[51]

As contemporary debates on modern architecture gained momentum, Strasbourg became the subject of much more pointed criticism. Polaczek was one of the more moderate New Town critics. A young generation of architects, born after 1870 and educated in Germany, were much less afraid to rant against the public architecture of the fin-de-siècle. Especially zealous was the young architect Theo Berst (1881-1962), who returned to his native Strasbourg, following completion of his studies at nearby Karlsruhe, in the early 1900s. In an article published in 1908, Berst called the New Town an 'architectural lie' *(Architekturlüge),* an ensemble disingenuous to itself and to its context – nothing, in Berst's words, but 'gimmicky pomp'.[52]

Such criticisms soon went beyond the circles of educated architects. While Berst's polemic clearly employed terms popularised by Sitte and Wagner, the local press abounded with similar opinions. The *Cahiers alsaciens* spoke of the 'dreary

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[49] Voigt, 'Préserver le Charactère d'une ville', p. 425.

[50] Ernst Polaczek, *Straßburg*, Berühmte Kunststätten, 76 (Leipzig: Seemann, 1926), p. 210.

[51] Polaczek, *Straßburg*, p. 210.

[52] Theo Berst, 'Vom alten und neuen Straßburg', *Die Vogesen*, February 1908, Vol. 16, pp. 224–27.

streets and squares of the New Town'.[53] And the *Revue alsacienne illustrée* asked in 1904: 'What has not been done in Strasbourg to conform to that tyrannical rule of symmetry?', echoing one of Sitte's central points of criticism.[54] The reaction against the modern city encompassed affluent citizens as well as architects.

One building annoyed the critics like no other: the Imperial Palace *(Kaiserpalast)*. Commissioned by the empire on the initiative of Viceroy General Field Marshal von Manteuffel, the Imperial Palace had been intended as the beacon of the New Town.[55] Designed in an exuberant, richly decorated Neo-Renaissance style, it commanded the western edge of the Kaiserplatz, facing the university on the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse (Avenue de la Liberté). Its heavily rusticated stone façade, topped by a steel-and-iron dome, displayed a rich iconographic programme, including allegories of good governance, of the region's crops, crafts, and industries, and of Clio, the muse of history. It included a suite of lavish state rooms on its *piano nobile*, a wing for the emperor and one for the empress. Among those who felt ill at ease with the pompous palace included its notional resident, the Emperor Wilhelm II. Wilhelm had inaugurated his palace in 1890. On the same occasion, he suggested converting the building into a museum. He pointedly refused to stay in the palace, preferring the nearby prefecture. The emperor referred to it in private as an 'elephant's cage'.[56] In 1890 already, the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* had attacked the building for its heavy-handed monumentality. A spokesman of the Austrian Association of Engineers and

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[53] A. Legrand, 'Über Kunst- und Kulturfragen', *Cahiers alsaciens/Elsässer Hefte*, 2 (1913), 147–55 (p. 154).

[54] *Revue alsacienne illustrée*, 6, 1904, 4.

[55] Edwin von Manteuffel to Otto von Bismarck, Bad Gastein, 11 September 1881, ADBR, 27 AL 812.

[56] Roger Kiehl, Henri Nonn, and Francis Rapp, 'Strasbourg, Capitale du Reichsland: Pouvoirs, Cultures, Sociétés', in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. by Francis Rapp and Georges Livet, 4 vols (Strasbourg, 1980), IV, 342–408 (p. 386).

Architects observed that the palace had only 'found limited approval' among its delegates, who visited Strasbourg in 1891.[57] After the turn of the century, such reservations extended beyond professional circles. In a 1905 monograph on Strasbourg, local historian Henri Welschinger (1846-1919) attacked the building as 'a deplorable vulgarity', and a monument to 'administrative banality'.[58] Even those who supported the empire took issue. 'I am one of thousands', wrote the architect Karl Staatsmann (1862-1930), professor at Strasbourg's academy of fine arts, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 'who do not really like the palace (which is no lese-majesty)'.[59] Others, Staatsmann told his readers, went as far as demanding its demotion. In an article in the widely read architectural journal *Bauwelt* in 1916, Strasbourg-born Alphons Schneegans (1867-1948), professor of architecture at the Technical University of Dresden, called the building 'mostly bad. The designer seems to reminisce darkly in the Italian Renaissance, while the great Italian masters would most certainly deny any stirrings of kinship.'[60] And Polaczek wrote: 'The Imperial Palace speaks a bombastic language, foreign to no one more than to the monarch under whom it was built.'[61] Citizens and visitors broadly agreed that the palace appeared oddly anachronistic.

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[57] Quoted after Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 92.

[58] Henri Welschinger, *Strasbourg*, Les villes d'art célèbres, 17 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1905), pp. 103–4.

[59] Excerpt from *Frankfurter Zeitung*, featured in *Strassburger Post*, 6 February 1906, reprinted in Nohlen, pp. 340–41.

[60] Alphons Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen auf allgemeine Stimmungen: Strassburg', *Die Bauwelt*, 7.44 (1916), 9–13 (p. 10).

[61] Polaczek, *Straßburg*, p. 10.

Figure 41: The Imperial Palace, by Hermann Eggert, an especially eclectic example of the era's dominant Neo-Renaissance style. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Debates like these brought out the links between Strasbourg and other European cities. Contemporaries framed their critiques part of a wider reaction. 'It is much to be regretted,' commented Dresden professor Alphons Schneegans in 1916, 'that art in Germany has, after 1870, fallen into such a senseless frenzy; for what crimes have been committed in Strasbourg stand by no means isolated; it was so everywhere.'[62] Schneegans saw his hometown as the symptom of a wider, European crisis of architecture. The next section explores the reactions to that crisis.

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[62] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 10.

3.3   Aestheticising the Vernacular

The end of the nineteenth century, we have seen, the way that cities and buildings were designed became subject to increasing discussion. The response to this question took shape internationally. It was negotiated between cities and states, in books, expert journals, and newspapers, in professional associations and conferences. Particularly important, this section will show, were international exhibitions. These events, which took place with increasing frequency throughout Europe, forced designers to think hard about how to present their places of origin within an internationalising world. They also served as a testing ground for aesthetic innovations, allowing architects and artists to sound out what affluent, discerning publics wanted to see.

The result was a turn to the vernacular. Artists and designers tried increasingly hard to emphasize what made their different states, regions, and cities unique. In doing so, they looked to historic city centres, vernacular architecture, and folklore. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Alsace-Lorraine played an active role in this development. Their capital cities displayed particularly striking contrasts between modern architecture and vernacular heritage. Painters, collectors, and graphic designers were increasingly drawn to the historic centres of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Their artworks attracted growing audiences locally as well as internationally. This development did not unfold at the behest of central or regional governments. Rather, it was part of an international artistic movement, in which Strasbourg and Sarajevo became integrated alongside many other European cities.

In Paris on 14 April 1900, the Universal Exposition opened its gates to the public. Intended to celebrate the accomplishments of the outgoing nineteenth century and to celebrate the coming of the next, in seven months this exposition attracted no fewer than 48 million visitors from across the world. Its attractions, covering 112 hectares along the embankment of the river Seine, included the pavilions of 41 participating states, among them all major European powers but also colonies and protectorates such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the so-called palaces of industry, decoration, and agriculture, of optics, illusions, and electricity, the aquarium, the water castle, the music halls and moving pavements, and the monumental entrance gate that became known as the Eiffel Tower. Among the most popular exhibits on display in Paris, however, was a walk-through installation called 'Old Paris' *(Vieux Paris)*.[63] In this installation on the left bank of the Seine, visitors could experience what it would have been like to pace the streets of the old Paris, before the Napoleonic modernisation.

The turn of the century saw a marked change in contemporaries' views of the pre-modern city. While modernisation was under way in the 1870s and 1880s, the old city had been associated with disease, crime, squalor, and deprivation. A generation later, affluent audiences were increasingly able to enjoy what had once been deemed backward. The 1900 Paris Exposition was not the first that featured recreations of the pre-modern city. A similar walk-through installation had appeared at the International Exposition for Music and Theatre in Vienna's Prater Park in 1892.[64] 'Old Vienna', as it was called, was based on Vienna's Hoher Markt

[63] Philipp Blom, *Der taumelnde Kontinent: Europa 1900-1914* (Munich: Hanser, 2008), pp. 23–24.

[64] Julia Danielczyk, 'Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen in Wien 1892 und ihre imagebildende Funktion', *Maske und Kothurn*, 55.2 (2009), 11–22; Kari Jormakka, 'Der Blick vom Turm', in *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, trans. by Bernhard Langer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 1–26 (p. 15); *Alt-Wien: Die*

square, which it aimed to recreate in its seventeenth-century state. One year later, 'Old Vienna' travelled to Chicago, where it was on show at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. It was also juxtaposed with the reconstruction of a 'German Village', replete with a castle, town hall, a collection of armouries and folk dress, and an 'Original Viennese Bakery', housed in a pavilion reminiscent of the official Neo-Renaissance architecture of the Austro-Hungarian empire. 'Besides other curiosities,' remarked the official catalogue, the 1893 Exposition 'possessed the power to shorten time and distances'.[65] Country pavilions, technological and artistic exhibits were popular, no doubt. But in exhibits like 'Old Paris' and 'Old Vienna', exposition visitors could experience something that many had never seen in any of the modern cities that they had travelled from.

Stadt, die niemals war, ed. by Wolfgang Kos and Christian Rapp (Vienna: Czernin, 2004); *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892*, ed. by Siegmund Schneider (Vienna: Moritz Perles, 1894).

[65] *Das Columbische Weltausstellungs-Album: Enthaltend Abbildungen des Platzes, der Haupt- und Staats-Gebäude, Statuen, architektonische Details, innere Ansichten, Scenen der Midway Plaisance und andere interessante Gegenstände dargestellt auf der Columbischen Weltausstellung, Chicago 1893* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Germania Publishing Company, 1893), p. 99.

Figure 42: The opening of 'Old Vienna', a stage-set installation in Vienna's Prater Park, on 7 May 1892. Depicted in the centre is the Emperor Franz Josef. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Strasbourg and Sarajevo became part of this development. In both cities, depictions of the old city were often used to emphasize contrasts with the advancements of the modern era. But now that Strasbourg and Sarajevo looked, sounded, and felt fully modern, now that epidemics like cholera were a thing of the past, citizens and visitors looked with some nostalgia at their old city centres. They began to treasure timber-framed houses, crooked streets, hidden courtyards, small squares, old markets, and narrow lanes. Dissatisfied with the generic looks of the New Town, Strasbourg's citizens exhorted the visual charms of medieval centre. 'In the light of the profound transformations that have altered the appearance of our city in the last two decades and that have already blurred the image of old Strasbourg in the memory of our contemporaries', wrote local historian Adolph Seyboth (1848-1907) in 1890, 'preserving the memory on the reverend age-old form of our city for ever' developed into an ambition that

scholars, officials, artists and affluent citizens shared.[66] Seyboth was not only a scholar and doctor of laws, but also an amateur caricaturist and collector. Alongside his chief passion, sketches of local types and historical figures of Strasbourg, he began collecting drawings, illustrations, and photographs of old Strasbourg, many of which depicted buildings, city gates and lanes that had since vanished. Seyboth's collection was not untypical of the new value that citizens placed in their local heritage.
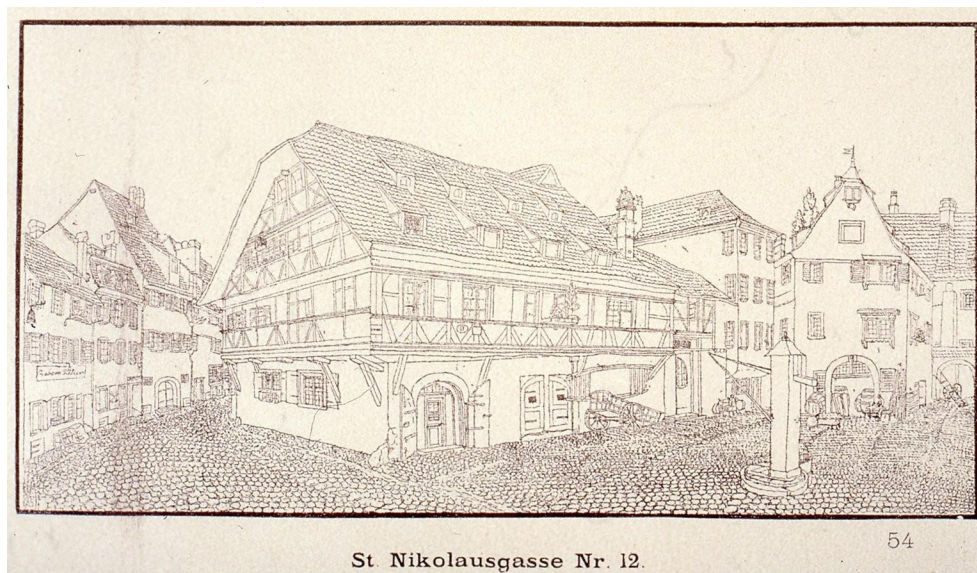

St. Nikolausgasse Nr. 12.

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Figure 43: Adolph Seyboth's drawings dissected the architecture of Strasbourg's inner city in careful detail. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Sarajevo, too, saw increasing interest in the remnants of the pre-modern city. While a previous generation of tourists had often disparaged the old 'Turkish' quarters, visitors now increasingly praised the unregulated residential

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[66] Adolph Seyboth, *Das alte Strassburg, vom 13. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahre 1870: Geschichtliche Topographie nach den Urkunden und Chroniken* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mundel, 1890), p. 10.

districts on Sarajevo's hillside and the maze of the market district. From his balcony at Hotel Europa, Joseph Maria Baernreither could still see it. 'Sarajevo's picturesque qualities have been preserved on the left bank of the Miljacka', Baernreither noted. 'The *Begova Dzamija,* the Mosque of the Beg, the most noble in all Sarajevo, with its tall minaret, the old vizier's residence *(konak)* and around it a number of old houses and mosques, but before all, the untouched Muslim districts that span the hillsides, in the midst of the timelessly grandiose scenery of the mountains, still presented the old, indestructibly beautiful image'.[67] Particular attention was given to *čaršija*, the market district, a maze of small lanes, many barely wide enough to fit a pack-mule. This, thought one travel writer in 1896, was the only city district that had 'been preserved pristine *(unverfälscht).* Its sixty or more lanes are still truly Turkish'.[68] In 1900, the Austro-Hungarian cavalry officer Ludwig Hesshaimer (1872-1956) was sent to Sarajevo. In his memoirs, he recalled receptions, fashionable dinners, grand public buildings, coffee houses, modern traffic, embankments, and electrical trams. 'That was the one face. To witness the other, one only had to turn a few street corners. Suddenly, the lanes became narrow and steep, with rickety cobblestones they led straight to the Orient. Tightly squeezed there were small Bosnian shops and open workshops, hardly bigger than the barrel of Diogenes. [...] Filigree workers, copper and silver smiths made a hellish noise, hammering, hammering all their life. In these city districts I felt as though enchanted, I did not get tired of looking, soaking up the new impressions'.[69]

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[67] Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler,* pp. 75–76.

[68] Heinrich Renner, quoted after Zink and Simmerer, *Sarajevo*, pp. 89–90.

[69] Ludwig Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie: Ein k.u.k. Offizier erzählt mit dem Zeichenstift*, ed. by Okky Offerhaus (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1992), pp. 44–45.

What had once appeared threatening was now being aestheticised. Under modern governance, vigilant policing, and modern public health infrastructure, contemporaries were now able to discover the sensory delights, the visual, acoustic, and olfactory excitement of the old city districts. One of those who returned to the market district time and again was Hesshaimer. A keen draughtsman, he took a sabbatical to devote himself to his artistic studies in Vienna in 1909. A year later, he returned to Sarajevo as to take up a new position at the military academy. His free time was spent sketching in the market district. 'Crouching on a stool, the sketching or painting captain became a well-known figure in the Turkish district of Sarajevo. On every walk I was able to capture the most beautiful motifs, they seemed to walk straight into my sketchbook.'[70] Countless photographs, postcards and illustrations of the time depicted the market district, its buildings, and its people.[71] Bosnia-Herzegovina became a popular destination for European painters.[72] Writers such as the Bernard Wieman (1872-1940) and Robert Michel (1876-1957), who travelled the region by rail and automobile, recreated the dense atmosphere of Bosnian markets and residential districts in travel reports, short stories, and plays.[73]

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[70] Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie,* p. 69.
[71] Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', p. 103.
[72] Lovrenović, *Bosnien und Herzegowina,* p. 147.
[73] Bernard Wieman, *Bosnisches Tagebuch* (Kempten and Munich: Kösel, 1908); Robert Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichslanden: Bilder und Skizzen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Vienna and Leipzig: Deutsch-Österreichischer Verlag, 1912); Robert Michel, *Auf der Südostbastion unseres Reiches* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1915); on Michel, see also Riccardo Concetti, 'Halbmond über der Narenta im medialen Wandel: Robert Michels Produktion zwischen Roman und Film', in *Wechselwirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918,* ed. by Clemens Ruthner (New York and Vienna: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 263–82.

Figure 44: The market district, čaršija, a favoured subject of visitors and artists in Sarajevo. This postcard from the turn of the century, features fez-wearing Bosnian handymen, as well as marketgoers in European dress. By this point, the district was being partly electrified. Modern buildings began to spring up around it. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Figure 45: At a time when French artists like Paul Gauguin turned to overseas destinations like Polynesia, Austro-Hungarian painters found exoticism in the empire's sole 'colony'. Ludwig Hesshaimer was one of many artists whose sketches, drawings, paintings feature the čaršija. His 1910 painting bears the imprint of German expressionism. Hesshaimer turns modern infrastructures such as the cable posts in the image centre into a stylistic feature. Credit: Dorotheum, Vienna.

The pursuit of the vernacular sent enthusiasts into the old towns and villages of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Beyond metropolitan Sarajevo, artists like Hesshaimer found a rich visual repertoire of old towns, buildings, folk dress, traditional crafts, and rural communities. 'Smaller and larger study trips led me to those places that I had only seen in passing as a lieutenant or during manoeuvres. The picturesque, old Bosnian Royal city of Jajce, in its disposition perhaps one of the most unusual settlements in the world, the Roman bridge of Mostar, the White Mosque of Banja Luka, the Muslim cemeteries, wooden coffee houses and shops, small horses and old Turks, encounters by the fountain, and market scenes – all the promises of my first four years in Bosnia now came true.'[74] Like Hesshaimer, the architects Ernst Lichtblau (1883-1963) and Josip Pospišil (1868-1918), found inspiration in the vernacular buildings of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Graduates of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, they were both products of the academic tradition. Lichtblau had studied under Otto Wagner (1841-1918), who led contemporary criticisms of nineteenth-century architecture. Pospišil had started out in the office of Fellner & Helmer, the monarchy's leading purveyor of Beaux-Art public architecture, before partnering with Viktor Beneš (1858-1922) in Prague. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, these men pursued something altogether different. They zeroed in on all that was alien to the modern European high architectural tradition: rickety timber houses, cramped townscapes, narrow lanes, to pre-industrial construction techniques and handmade building materials. Lichtblau's sketches from the town of Jajce show keen attention to the complex structures of the old town, with its interlocking roofscape nestled afoot the rock face. Pospišil, who arrived in Sarajevo in 1908, made a name for himself through

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[74] Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie,* p. 69.

his lovingly intricate drawings of vernacular timber-framed architecture in the market district.

This new interest in the vernacular was more than merely another version of a popular fascination with the 'Oriental'. Admittedly, the line has been difficult to draw.[75] The rhetoric of 'Oriental' Bosnia, especially, proved long-lived.[76] But many of those interested in the vernacular of Bosnia-Herzegovina consciously abstracted themselves from the Orientalising tendencies of a previous generation. 'It is not so much the "Oriental", as is often claimed, that gives Bosnian cities their peculiar charm,' wrote Pospišil in 1911, 'nor is it the mélange of Western and Eastern lifestyles, whose embodiment others claim to have found in the cities of Bosnia. Their magic lies in wholly different qualities and is of such ephemeral nature that it will soon belong to the past'.[77] The threat that cities like Sarajevo faced inspired an urgency that is hard to grasp in hindsight. 'The next generation already will be completely unable to imagine their present beauty even, unless, in the last moment, all relevant factors will do everything to save what can still be saved.'[78]

[75] Czerny, 'Österreichische Künstler unter der südlichen Sonne', p. 521.

[76] Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', p. 103.

[77] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', p. 6.

[78] Ibid.

Figure 46: In his studies from Jajce, published in *Der Architekt,* Ernst Lichtblau integrated the town's varied roofscape with features of the surrounding countryside, fusing architecture and landscape into a flowing, biomorphic composition. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

In Strasbourg, too, there emerged an artistic movement that celebrated the region's visual heritage.[79] This movement encapsulated painting, illustration, design, poetry, fiction, drama, and architecture. Its adherents, many of whom had been educated in the academic tradition in France or Germany, shared an interest in the Alsatian vernacular. Particularly important to Alsatian regionalism was the

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[79] Otto Flake, *Straßburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt*, *Straßburg* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1940), p. 61.

marquetry artist Charles Spindler. Originally from the Alsatian village of Bœrsch, Spindler received scholarships to study at Düsseldorf, Munich, and Berlin. In 1886, he met Anselme Laugel (1851-1928), an exile Strasbourgeois working for the French Senate in Paris, with whom he began to think seriously about an Alsatian regionalism. In 1891, Spindler and Laugel founded the so-called *Cercle de Saint-Léonard*, a collective of regional artists that included the painters Léon Hornecker (1864-1924), Émile Schneider (1873-1947), and Lothar von Seebach (1853-1930), the sculptor Alfred Marzolff (1867-1936), the illustrator Joseph Sattler (1867-1931), and the playwright Gustave Stoskopf (169-1944), most of whom taught at the Strasbourg School for Arts and Crafts *(Kunstgewerbeschule)*. Between 1893 and 1896, Spindler published *Images alsaciennes/Elsässer Bilderbogen,* a series of legends and folk tales of Alsace, which helped him develop a particular aesthetic that drew inspiration from regional culture. In 1897, the first salon of Alsatian artists opened at the town hall of Strasbourg. One year later, Spindler and Laugel founded the *Revue alsacienne illustrée,* a bilingual journal devoted to the literature, folklore, arts and crafts, and architecture of Alsace.[80] A platform for regional artists to reproduce their work, the Revue became an important conduit of a decidedly regionalist aesthetic that took shape after the turn of the century.

The flourishing regionalist art movement attracted citizens of all political, confessional, and linguistic backgrounds. This does not mean that the regionalist movement was apolitical, merely folkloristic, or exclusively nostalgic, as Freddy

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[80] Étienne Martin, 'Charles Spindler et le cercle de Saint-Léonard: Régionalisme et modernité', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), pp. 92–97 (pp. 92–93).

Raphael has suggested.[81] Quite the opposite: regionalism became a foil for activists of all guises to further their cause. The movement proved equally accessible to Francophiles, Germanophiles and political autonomists. Some, like the illustrator Jean-Jacques Waltz, known as Hansi (1873-1951), applied the Alsatian vernacular to rally for a return to France. Others, like the artists' collective Youngest Alsace *(Jüngstes Elsaß),* around the writers René Schickele (1883-1940), Ernst Stadler (1883-1914) and Otto Flake (1880-1963), the lyricist and sculptor Hans/Jean Arp (1886-1966) and the Balkanist Hermann Wendel, advocated a fully autonomous Alsace-Lorraine within the German empire, while some of its members dreamt of a sovereign state.[82] Regionalist artists' circles, cultural associations, and institutions such as the Alsatian Theatre, founded in 1898, were successful, in part, because they offered their members an opportunity to coat their explicitly political aims in an apparently aesthetic endeavour.[83] Especially important, in this regard, was the Alsatian Museum, founded in 1907 by the physician Pierre Bucher (1869-1921), following an initiative of Spindler's *Revue alsacienne illustrée.*[84] Housed in a Renaissance building refurbished by Bucher's co-founder, the architect Theo Berst, the museum organised talks, put on plays, folkloristic

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[81] Freddy Raphael, 'Revendication identitaire d'une minorité et ambiguité du culte des racines', in *Mémoire plurielle de l'Alsace: Grandeurs et servitudes d'un pays des marges*, ed. by Freddy Raphael, Geneviève Herberich-Marx, and Francis Rapp (Nancy: Société savante d'Alsace et des régions de l'est, 1991), pp. 413–29; Freddy Raphael, 'Critique de la raison identitaire', in *D'une rive à l'autre: Kleiner Grenzverkehr*, ed. by Utz Jeggle and Freddy Raphael (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1997), pp. 15–30.

[82] Rolf Parr, 'Das Jüngste Elsaß/Der Stürmerkreis: Straßburg, München', in *Handbuch literarisch-kultureller Vereine, Gruppen und Bünde 1825–1933*, ed. by Wulf Wülfing, Karin Bruns, and Rolf Parr (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), pp. 207–18.

[83] Kohser-Spohn, 'Der Traum vom gemeinsamen Europa', p. 91; Roland Oberle, *L'Alsace au temps du Reichsland 1871-1914* (Mulhouse: ADM, 1990), pp. 46–50.

[84] Malou Schneider, 'La création du Musée Alsacien'; Bernadette Schnitzler, *Histoire des musées de Strasbourg: Des collections entre France et Allemagne*, ed. by Musées de Strasbourg (Strasbourg, 2009); Wemhoff, *Städtische Geschichtskultur*, pp. 86–88.

masques and commissioned contemporary artist.[85] It aided the emergence of a regionalist pride that was inextricably linked to regional heritage.[86] Although not all agreed with Bucher's message (Polaczek, for example, argued that the museum's collections showed that Alsatian culture was inextricable with German and Swiss culture, the opposite of what its founder had attempted to prove), the regionalist movement proved too strong a development to oppose it fundamentally.[87] 'Great and powerful nations,' wrote the novelist Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) in the *Revue alsacienne illustrée,* 'did not yet exist when Alsace already promoted general civilisation',[88] turning the dominant German civilisational rhetoric upside down.

Strasbourg and Sarajevo's artistic output commanded local as well as international audiences. Private collectors, fellow artists and architects consumed the images of regional artists. Art and design from Bosnia-Herzegovina became increasingly sought-after in metropolitan centres. The starting point of this development was the 1900 Paris Exposition, which featured depictions of Bosnian folklore by the renowned illustrator Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939), a Parisian artist of Czech origins. In Vienna, too, there was increasing interest in art from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1907, Lichtblau's sketches from Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared in the professional journal *Der Architekt,* while Pospišil's photography featured in *Der Städtebau* in 1911.[89] In 1906, the artist Koloman Moser (1868-1918) was commissioned by the Austro-Hungarian State Printing

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[85] Voigt, 'Préserver le Charactère d'une ville', p. 425; Heuss-Knapp, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm,* p. 57.

[86] Polaczek, *Straßburg*, p. 216.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Maurice Barrès, 'Sur la conscience alsacienne', *Revue alsacienne illustrée*, 6 (1904), 41–44 (p. 44).

[89] Ernst Lichtblau, 'Studien aus Bosnien', *Der Architekt: Wiener Monatshefte für Bauwesen und dekorative Kunst*, 13.1 (1907), 5–7; Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte'.

Office with a set of post stamps for Bosnia-Herzegovina.[90] Moser's designs became a sensation among international philatelists.[91] Instead of the usual monarchical portraits and state insignia, they depicted landscapes, old towns, villages, and scenes of everyday life in the region. In 1911, the Vienna Künstlerhaus organised an exhibition of Hesshaimer's etchings from Bosnia.[92] Invitations to further shows at Halm & Goldmann on the Ringstrasse, and at the Munich Glass Palace, followed. 1913 saw the opening of the first exhibition of Bosnian-Herzegovinian artists in Sarajevo.[93] And in 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Governor Oskar Potiorek (1853-1933) commissioned Hesshaimer for an album of his most beautiful artwork from Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the official present for Archduke Franz Ferdinand on his visit to Sarajevo on 28 June 1914.[94] There was, in short, a new appetite for all that which made Bosnia-Herzegovina aesthetically distinctive.

Art, design, and architecture from Alsace-Lorraine attracted similarly wide interest. Seminal to this development, too, was the 1900 Paris Exposition, which displayed Charles Spindler's design for a music salon with decorations inspired by the artist's series of *Images alsaciennes*. [95]After the Exposition, the exhibit travelled to Berlin, Leipzig, Darmstadt, London, and Strasbourg. In 1902, Spindler's work was featured at the International Exposition in Turin, and in

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[90] Koloman Mose, 'Bosnien-Herzegowina', post stamp series, 1906, Belvedere, Vienna, Ex 12479, WVZ DG 331

[91] Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie,* p. 70.

[92] Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie,* p. 69.

[93] Lovrenović, *Bosnien und Herzegowina,* p. 147.

[94] Hesshaimer, who had been told to present himself at the Konak at 11.45am, arrived just in time to help lift the dead bodies of the heir to the throne and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, out of their carriage. This moment, which could have been the breakthrough of his artistic career, Hesshaimer later recalled, shattered all hopes for international recognition. Hesshaimer, *Miniaturen aus der Monarchie,* pp. 71–73.

[95] Martin, 'Charles Spindler et le cercle de Saint-Léonard', pp. 92–96.

Saint Louis in 1904.[96] In 1906, Spindler displayed a dining room in oak, featuring marquetry works with traditional Alsatian motives, at the Exhibition of Arts and Crafts in Dresden. In Dresden in 1908, Theo Berst designed an 'Alsatian Salon' for the exhibition of the Deutsche Werkbund.[97] In Nancy in 1909, the International Exposition of Eastern France featured a stage set Alsatian village, modelled on Spindler's depiction of the town of Kestenholz/Châtenois.[98] Berst, meanwhile, led the translocation of an eighteenth-century house from Zutzendorf, near Hagenau/Haguenau, to the exposition in Nancy.[99]

By the eve of the First World War, there was a new receptiveness for a regional aesthetic of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The rapid modernisation of Strasbourg and Sarajevo, we have seen, spurred artists' attempts to capture something of their region's 'original' character. Academic painters, amateur draughtsmen, architects, and illustrators travelled, measured, and reproduced what had survived of their regions' vernacular. They helped produce a new appreciation for their regions' vernacular in European capitals such as Vienna, Paris, Berlin, and Munich. In what follows, it will be argued that the new attentiveness to the vernacular brought important changes in architecture and urban planning, too.

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[96] Martin, 'Charles Spindler et le cercle de Saint-Léonard', pp. 92–96.

[97] Möllmer, *Strassburg*, p. 533.

[98] Martin, 'Charles Spindler et le cercle de Saint-Léonard', pp. 92–96.

[99] Wolfgang Voigt, 'Régionalisme und Heimatschutz im Elsass', in *Interferenzen: Deutschland - Frankreich; Architektur 1800 - 2000*, ed. by Jean-Louis Cohen and Hartmut Frank (Tübingen and Berlin: Wasmuth, 2013), pp. 40–49 (p. 46).

3.4   Regionalism

The vernacular turn led to important changes in the development of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The new artistic movements that circled in on local influences were not limited to art and design, but also encompassed architecture. Architects in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Alsace-Lorraine embarked on efforts to underline what made their cities special. They organized themselves in societies and informal artistic movements whose aim was to synthesise vernacular influences and modern building techniques into coherent styles. These institutions formed part of the flourishing of reformist architectural circles across Europe, a movement in which Strasbourg and Sarajevo came to play a distinctive role.

In Sarajevo, demand for a distinctively regional architecture had emerged already in the 1890s. The peripheral position of Bosnia-Herzegovina vis-à-vis Austria and Hungary, and the European states more generally, prompted architects early on to engage with the question of how to make sense of its marginal position aesthetically. The region's unusual political status meant that they commanded special attentions at international events. For the 1896 Budapest Millennium Exhibition, Sarajevan architect František Blažek (1862-1901), a graduate of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, designed a 'Bosnian house'.[100] Blažek's design took inspiration from a building recorded by the head of the government's planning department, Edmund Stix.[101] Featuring a rendered-white façade, wooden bay windows, and an intricately asymmetrical roofscape, the 'Bosnian house' differed from Blažek's designs in the Orientalising style, such as Mostar

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[100] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 159.
[101] Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', pp. 106–8.

Gymnasium (1898).[102] The 'Bosnian house' became a popular attraction.[103] Wilhelm Exner (1840-1931), director of the Vienna Museum of Crafts and Technology, told Joint Minister of Finance Benjámin von Kállay, that it ranked 'among the most splendid and interesting exhibits that I have ever seen'.[104] Exner, recently-appointed Austro-Hungarian commissioner for the 1900 Paris Exposition, invited the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to join that exhibition, too. At Paris, the Habsburg empire thus contributed three pavilions: one representing Austria, one for Hungary, and one for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The 1900 Paris Exposition spurred architects' embrace of the regionalist style. Wedged in between the Austrian and the Hungarian pavilions, executed in a Neo-Rococo and Neo-Gothic style respectively, the pavilion's architect, Karel Panek (1860-?), from Místek (Moravia) and a graduate of the Technical University of Vienna, was facing a considerable challenge: to create an original representation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the banks of the river Seine.[105] Orientalising styles, otherwise favoured by regional government, were already taken by the pavilions of the Ottoman empire, of Tunisia and Algeria. Nezdad Kurto has interpreted Panek's work as yet another version of Orientalising architecture.[106] But the truth is more complex. Not all buildings containing Orientalising elements, Maximilian Harthmuth has convincingly argued, should be subsumed under the Orientalising style.[107] Panek's pavilion, for instance, featured vernacular characteristics such as pitched roofs, a whitewashed façade,

[102] Zadro, 'Architecture of Historicism and Art Nouveau', p. 183; Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 159.
[103] Reynolds, 'Zentrum und Peripherie', pp. 106–8.
[104] Exner to Kállay, Vienna, July 1896, ABiH, PR 658 (1896).
[105] On Panek, see Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 157; Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* pp. 20, 201.
[106] Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine,* p. 23.
[107] Harthmuth, 'K.(u.)k. colonial?', p. 174.

wooden balconies, and asymmetric composition. It marked a transition in Panek's stylistic development, from his favoured Neo-Renaissance, a thoroughly academic, and thoroughly international style, towards an architecture that consciously embraced regional sources. In it, the wildly eclectic Orientalising style of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had drawn inspiration from Egypt and Asia Minor,[108] yielded to an architecture that favoured regional precedents.
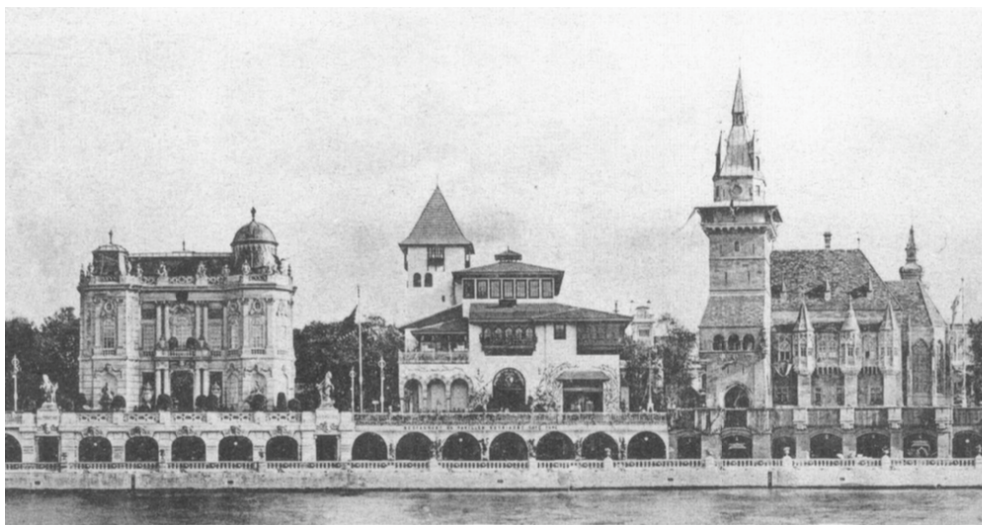

Figure 47: At the 1900 Paris Exhibition, Sarajevan architect Karel Panek designed a pavilion for Bosnia-Herzegovina, lodged between those for Austria *(left)* and Hungary *(right)*. Panek adopted vernacular motifs, such as wooden façade elements, balconies, and galleries, pitched roofs with overhanging eaves and lanterns, alongside more generic, Orientalising elements such as ogee arches. The inside was decorated with murals by Alphonse Mucha, depicting market scenes from Sarajevo. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

In the years after 1900, there emerged a network of movements that advocated a vernacular turn in architecture. In 1904, one year after the first

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[108] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', p. 9.

Exposition of German Cities was held in Dresden, that same city saw the foundation of an association called the Heimatschutz League *(Bund Heimatschutz).* Founded by the musician and nature conservation activist Ernst Rudorff (1840-1916), and modelled, in part, on the British National Trust (1894), the League had at its mission the 'protection of German *Heimat* in its natural and historical particularities'.[109] 'Heimat', that elusive term sometimes translated as 'home' in English, was understood in its broadest sense, encompassing historical monuments, vernacular construction, crafts, folk art, dress and customs, geological and botanical heritage. In 1905, the League's first major project, a campaign to protect a section of the River Rhine at the Swiss-German border, attracted signatories such as sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), economist Werner Sombart (1863-1941), historian Hans Delbrück (1848-1929), politician Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919) and Hungarian violin virtuoso Joseph Joachim (1831-1921).[110] Despite its ultimate failure, the campaign helped inspire an immense popular following. From its foundation, Andreas Knaut has shown, the League leaned towards pragmatic rather than ideological positions, which made the movement palatable not only to cultural pessimists, but also to advocates of modernity.[111] The Heimatschutz League was especially popular among Germany's middle classes and lower middle classes.[112] But it also included

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[109] Statutes of the Heimatschutz League, quoted after Carl Johannes Fuchs, *Heimatschutz und Volkswirtschaft*, Flugschriften des Bundes Heimatschutz, 1 (Halle (Saale): Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1905), p. I; cf. Andreas Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung', in *Antimodernismus und Reform: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, ed. by Edeltraud Klueting (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), pp. 20–49 (pp. 42–45); on the role of the National Trust, see Carl Johannes Fuchs, *Heimatschutz und Volkswirtschaft,* pp. 18–19.

[110] Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung', p. 47.

[111] Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung', p. 48.

[112] Friedrich Achleitner, 'Gibt es einen mitteleuropäischen Heimatstil? Entwurf einer periphären Architekturlandschaft', in *Inszenierungen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses: Eigenbilder, Fremdbilder,*

vegetarians, nudists, eugenicists, adherents of Germany's popular life reform movement, and architects like Paul Schultze-Naumburg, the League's co-founder and first president between 1904 and 1913. Heimatschutz and the present age, wrote Schultze-Naumburg, 'must imbue each other, and they must together find the right solution, which each on its own could never attain'.[113]

The Heimatschutz movement spread quickly across Europe. In 1908, the Heimatschutz League changed its states to turn itself into an umbrella organisation for a number of regional conservation movements, such as the Heimat League of Lower Saxony *(Heimatbund Niedersachsen)*, founded 1901, the Bavarian Society for Folk Art and Anthropology *(Bayerischer Verein für Volkskunst und Volkskunde)*, founded 1902, the Heimat League of Mecklenburg *(Heimatbund Mecklenburg)*, founded 1906, and the Rhenish Association for Conservation and Heimatschutz *(Rheinische Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz)*, founded 1906.[114] Heimatschutz became especially popular in Germany's peripheries, in Alsace-Lorraine, in the German-Danish border region of Schleswig-Holstein, in Bavaria, in Switzerland, and in the Netherlands, where the movement became known as *Heemschut*.[115] In Austria, 1906 saw the

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ed. by Moritz Csáky and Klaus Zeyringer, Paradigma Zentraleuropa, 4 (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2002), pp. 98–109 (p. 101).

[113] Paul Schultze-Naumburg, 'Entwicklung und Ziele des Heimatschutzes in Deutschland', *Heimatschutz*, 7 (1911), 134.

[114] Brigitta Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', in *Antimodernismus und Reform: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, ed. by Edeltraud Klueting (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), pp. 216–87; Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung'; Werner Hartung, 'Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz im wilhelminischen Deutschland 1900 bis 1913', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 43.3, 4 (1989), 173–81.

[115] Voigt, 'Régionalisme und Heimatschutz im Elsass', p. 41; Friedrich Achleitner, 'Region, ein Konstrukt? Regionalismus, eine Erfindung?', in *Bau-Kultur-Region: Regionale Identität im wachsenden Europa. Symposiumsbericht*, ed. by Hermann Fetz (Vienna: Österreichischer Kunst- und Kulturverlag, 1993), pp. 15–24 (p. 20); Rolf Peter Sieferle, *Fortschrittsfeinde: Opposition gegen Technik und Industrie* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984), pp. 167–73.

foundation of the German Heimat Society *(Verein Deutsche Heimat),* an association with close links to the Heimatschutz League. In professional journals and conferences, such as the International Congress of Architects in Vienna in 1908, whose themes included 'Heimatschutz and vernacular architecture', architects and planners responded enthusiastically to the artistic opportunities that the new styles offered.[116]

The Heimatschutz movement found an important regional centre in Strasbourg.[117] Many of the young architects and planners that practiced there after the turn of the century became members of the League. Some of them, like Gustav Oberthür (1872-1965), Edouard Schimpf (1877-1916), and Henri Salomon were Alsatian-born, others, like municipal planner Fritz Beblo were immigrants for whom Alsace-Lorraine became the starting point of their artistic development. What united Beblo, Oberthür, Salomon and Schimpf with New Town critic Theo Berst and Paul Schmitthenner (1884-1972), the head of public building in the planning office of Colmar after 1907, was that all had studied under Carl Schäfer at the Technical University of Karlsruhe.[118] Their turn

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[116] Spasojević, *Arhitektura stambenih palata,* p. 23.

[117] François Igersheim, *L'Alsace et ses historiens 1680-1914: La fabrique des monuments* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg (PUS), 2006), p. 411; Olivier Haegel, 'Die Architektur der Heimatschutz-Bewegung im Elsaß: Welche Heimat, welches Erbe? L'architecture du mouvement Heimatschutz en Alsace: Quelle patrie, quel patrimoine?', in *Grenzverschiebungen, Kulturraum, Kulturlandschaft,* ed. by Birgit Franz and Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, Veröffentlichungen des Arbeitskreises für Theorie und Lehre der Denkmalpflege, 18 (Holzminden: Arbeitskreis für Theorie und Lehre der Denkmalpflege, 2009), pp. 71, 76–81; Marie Pottecher, 'Die Neustadt in Straßburg', in *Interferenzen: Deutschland - Frankreich; Architektur 1800 - 2000,* ed. by Jean-Louis Cohen and Hartmut Frank (Tübingen and Berlin: Wasmuth, 2013), pp. 172–79 (p. 177).

[118] Véronique Umbrecht, 'Émile et Henri Salomon, deux architects Strasbourgeois au service de l'Alsace', in *Strassburg: Ort des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Architektur und Stadtplanung von 1830 bis 1940 / Strasbourg: lieu d'échanges culturels entre France et Allemagne. Architecture et urbanisme de 1830 à 1940,* ed. by Tobias Möllmer (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018), pp. 451–62 (p. 455); Voigt, 'Régionalisme und Heimatschutz im Elsass', pp. 41–46; Voigt, 'Préserver le Charactère d'une ville', pp. 426–27.

towards the principles of Heimatschutz was, in part, a departure from the controversial eclectic historicism of their teacher. The Heimatschutz League had played a prominent role in the controversy that surrounded Schäfer's restoration of Heidelberg castle.

The debate about Schäfer led the Heimatschutz League to spell out its position on historical architecture precisely. In the first of a series of publications issued by the League, the economist Carl Johannes Fuchs (1865-1934), urged architects to stop the 'artificial [...] restoration or disrespectful imitation of old buildings'.[119] Instead, as Fuchs told his readers, the Heimatschutz League pursued two main objectives: 'first, the real preservation of the beauty of nature or of earlier culture', and second, to produce 'new beauty in the old spirit, a new culture that proceeds from the wholly lost old tradition, a new, particular *(eigenartig)*, not foreign *(fremdartig), heimatlich* style that adopts the old forms to new demands – instead of the appalling, spirit- and characterless, equalising ugliness of our recent past'.[120] To architects, Heimatschutz was more than a conservation movement. It inspired important innovations in modern architecture, too.

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[119] Carl Johannes Fuchs, *Heimatschutz und Volkswirtschaft*, p. 15.
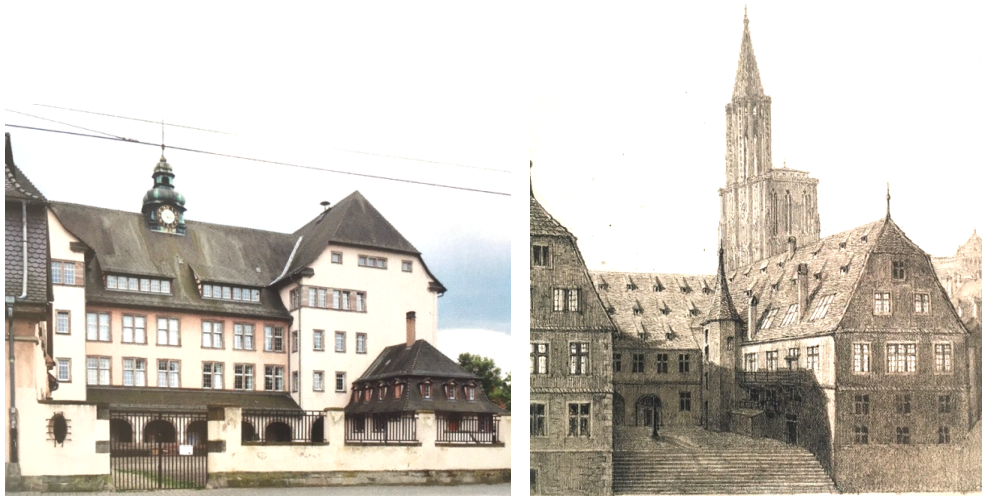[120] Carl Johannes Fuchs, *Heimatschutz und Volkswirtschaft*, pp. 6–7.

Figure 48: The designs of Heimatschutz architects, such as Fritz Beblo's Musauschule *(left)*, from 1905, echoed features of the local vernacular, such as Strasbourg's so-called Alte Metzig/Grande Boucherie *(right)*, here in a drawing by Édouard Weissand, ca. 1800. Credit: Möllmer, *Strasburg* (2018), ch. 5.

In Strasbourg, Heimatschutz architects and planners developed a new style. It quickly dominated public architecture. Many of the schools, baths, and workers' houses that the municipality of Strasbourg built after 1900 made were designed in a manner that made conscious reference to local or regional heritage. They rejected mass-manufactured design elements and popular materials such as cheap industrial bricks, glazed tiles, terracotta, and zinc roofing. Instead, their designs employed traditional materials such as timber and clay tiles. Beblo's Musauschule (Collège Louise Weiss) from 1905, for instance, employed extremely simple façade ornaments, asymmetric fenestration, protruding staircases, and a delightfully varied, expressive roof structure, reminiscent of the sixteenth-century *Alte Metzig* (Grande Boucherie), one of the listed buildings of Strasbourg. Beblo's Neufeldschule (1909) in the suburb of Neudorf, featured a

surrounding hip roof, a typical motif of the Alsatian vernacular.[121] On the Schiffleutstaden (Quai des bateliers), Beblo built two houses, which, with regional red sandstone and wooden shutters, were hard to tell apart from their eighteenth-century surroundings.[122] Edouard Schimpf's houses for Stockfeld garden suburb (1910) featured steep, pitched roofs and expressive timber framing.

The new style marked an important break from the academic architectural tradition of the nineteenth century. It responded to what the poet Ferdinand Avenarius (1856-1923), one of the fathers of the Heimatschutz movement, had called 'a culture of earth-bound expression'.[123] Architects like Beblo and Schimpf turned to regional precedents, rather than relying on the model of international modernity that they had encountered during their studies. Finally, after a first generation of German architects in Strasbourg, Beblo commented, 'the second generation found a coherent line. The architect grows into the land. He begins to understand the nature of his Heimat, and this experience forms his work.'[124] 'Honesty' *(Echtheit)* and 'truth' *(Wahrheit)* became frequently cited ambitions of Strasbourg's new architecture.[125]

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[121] Voigt, 'Préserver le Charactère d'une ville', pp. 426–27.

[122] Flake, *Straßburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt*, p. 67.

[123] Quoted after Karl Zuhorn, *50 Jahre Deutscher Heimatbund* (Neuß: Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, 1954), p. 23.

[124] Beblo, 'Die Baukunst in Elsass-Lothringen', p. 242.

[125] See Carl Johannes Fuchs, *Heimatschutz und Volkswirtschaft*, p. 15; Polaczek, *Straßburg*, p. 210.

Figure 49: Stockfeld Garden City, by Edouard Schimpf, combined features of the regional vernacular, such as steep pitched roofs, wooden shutters, and expressive timber framing, with the recent innovations of artistic planning, such as curved streets and uninterrupted façades. Credit: Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

Strasbourg was part of an increasing proliferation of regional styles in Europe after 1900. From the Pyrenees to the Carpathians, there emerged a variety of such related stylistic movements, whose products still dominate the aspect of Alpine towns such as St. Moritz, Bad Gastein, and Bad Ischl today.[126] Strasbourg's regionalist style formed part of a development that has sometimes been referred to as 'Heimat style', 'Heimatschutz style', or, more recently, 'vernacular

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[126] Achleitner, 'Gibt es einen mitteleuropäischen Heimatstil?', p. 100.

modern'.[127] Brigitta Ringbeck, however, argues that this development should be understood less as a coherent style than as a family of related styles.[128] The juxtaposition of Strasbourg and Sarajevo supports this view.

Sarajevo, too, developed into an important centre of vernacular modernism. In Sarajevo, the joint influence of international exhibitions, Heimatschutz thinking, combined with the effects of popular critiques of the modern city, led to the formation of a fully-fledged regionalist style after 1900. In 1903, when the city council debated height restrictions in the čaršija, the government commissioner to the city of Sarajevo asked the planning department for one or two 'model plans in the Bosnian manner' to show investors how to build in a way that was sympathetic to the local context.[129] Central to the development of a regionalist style in Sarajevo were two architects: Josip Pospišil and Josip Vancaš.[130] Vancaš was a veteran of the architectural scene who had practiced in Sarajevo since the early 1880s. Major public buildings, such as the Neo-Renaissance government headquarters, the Neo-Gothic Catholic cathedral, the Neo-Baroque seminary of St. Cyril and Methodus, and the Franciscan monastery in the Latin quarter, were his works. Educated by the masters of the

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[127] Christian Otto, 'Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: The Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany', *Art Journal*, 43.2 (1983), 148–57; Géza Hajós, 'Heimatstil, Heimatschutzstil', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 43.3, 4 (1989), 156–59; Andreas Lehne, 'Heimatstil: Zum Problem der Terminologie', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 43.3, 4 (1989), 159–64; Achleitner, 'Gibt es einen mitteleuropäischen Heimatstil?'; *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, ed. by Maiken Umbach and Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005); *Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung*, ed. by Anita Aigner, Architekturen, 6 (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010).

[128] Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', p. 219.

[129] Regierungs-Commissär to the regional government, Sarajevo, 4 December 1903, ABiH, ZVS 123.218/II, Nr. 13757.

[130] On the role of Vancaš, see Džemal Čelić and others, *Graditelji Sarajeva* (Sarajevo: Radio Sarajevo III, 1988), pp. 379–90; Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo,* pp. 226–27.

Ringstrasse at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, he was steeped in the nineteenth-century academic tradition. However, after 1900, increasing criticism of modern Sarajevo led him to reconsider his design approach. Around the year 1910, Vancaš designed a series of local savings bank offices in a regionalist style, in Brcko, Dervent, Banja Luka, and Bihac.[131] In 1911, he first spoke of a 'Bosnian Style' *(Bosanski slog)* in a speech to the regional assembly.[132] In Vienna, too, observers increasingly demanded that the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina step up its patronage of a Bosnian style.[133]

The regionalist style spoke equally to seasoned practitioners, such as Vancaš, and young architects, such as Pospišil. A former employee of the office of Fellner & Helmer in Vienna, Pospišil, like Vancaš, was steeped in the academic tradition. With his arrival in Sarajevo in 1908, however, Pospišil began his pursuit of a regionalist architecture. He became known as the 'father of the Bosnian style'. [134] It was through Pospišil that the regionalist style, initially developed for public buildings, was adopted by middle-class clients such as Sarajevan Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić, for whom Pospišil designed a summer house in nearby Ilidza.[135] Pospišil's commissions for the government's planning department, such as the fire station (1911), the hospital for infectious diseases (1912), and the Jewish community *La Benevolencija,* were followed by private ones, such as the blocks of

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[131] Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', p. 76; Zadro, 'Architecture of Historicism and Art Nouveau', pp. 185–86.

[132] Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', p. 76.

[133] See, for instance, Adolf Vetter (1867–1942), Director of the Austro-Hungarian Office for the Promotion of Commerce: Adolf Vetter, *Bericht über eine Studienreise nach Bosnien und der Herzegowina (September-Oktober 1910)*, 1911, Volkskundemuseum Wien; Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 748.

[134] Jamaković, 'Arhitektura i Urbanizam', p. 76.

[135] Josip Pospišil, 'Aus bosnischer Praxis [I]', *Der Bautechniker: Zentralorgan für das österreichische Bauwesen*, 31.30 (1911), 705–8; Josip Pospišil, 'Aus bosnischer Praxis [II]', *Der Bautechniker: Zentralorgan für das österreichische Bauwesen*, 32.1 (1912), 1–4.

flats at No. 47 Cekalusa (1910), No. 15 Cemaluša (1915), the Commercial Bank in Trebinje, a block of flats in Tuzla (1912), and villas for the confectioner Johann Egger in Sarajevo (1911) and for Osmanaga Mehmedić in Zenica (1912).[136] In 1913, Pospišil was appointed to a permanent position in the government's planning department. His first task was a series of railway stations in the Bosnian style, designed in collaboration with his colleague Hans Berger (1882-?), the editor of the Austrian architects' journal *Der Bautechniker*, who had supported Pospišil's stylistic development.[137] Many of Pospišil's projects were cut short by the outbreak of the First World War.

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[136] Kudela, Vacik, and Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík,* p. 160.

[137] Harthmuth, 'Sarajevo 1878-1918', p. 73; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske,* p. 65.
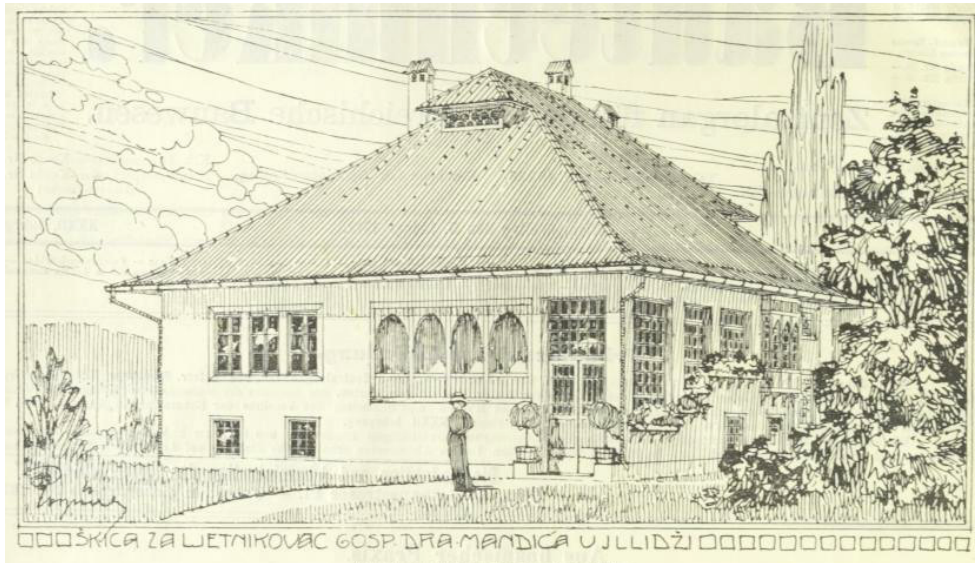
Figure 50: Josip Pospišil's 1911 design for a summer house for Nikola Mandić in Ilidza, outside Sarajevo. Wooden façade elements, inset balconies, protruding bay windows, and the pitched roof with lantern are characteristic of the Bosnian vernacular. Yet the free overall composition und use of modern materials, such as glass bricks, and the setting in an ornamental garden immediately mark this building out as modern. Credit: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Sarajevo's new architecture formed an active part of the international discourse on architectural regionalism. Pospišil, in particular, published widely on the subject. His regular contributions to middle-class newspapers such as *Bosnische Post* and *Sarajevoer Tagblatt,* and his publications in professional organs such as Sitte's planning journal *Der Städtebau,* or the architectural journal *Der Bautechniker,* acquainted local and international readers with the innovations in Bosnian regionalism.[138] He consciously linked his work to the international Heimatschutz movement, referring, for instance, to the achievements of

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[138] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte'; Pospišil, 'Aus bosnischer Praxis [I]'; Pospišil, 'Aus bosnischer Praxis [II]'; Josip Pospišil, 'Unterwegs zur Baukunst', *Monatsheft der Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, 36.3 (1916), 23–25.

Heimatschutz in Switzerland. 'Three years of my propaganda have been enough to bring some improvement', he wrote of Sarajevo in 1911. 'Heimatschutz is now recognised as an inextricable part of modern urban planning.'[139] In his monumental study of the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former head of the government's statistical department, Ferdinand Schmid, argued that the responsibilities for 'conservation and Heimatschutz' went hand in hand.[140]

The Heimatschutz movement inspired important innovations in urban planning, too. In 1904, the year the Heimatschutz League was founded, the fifth German Conservation Convention *(Tag für Denkmalpflege)* in Mainz demanded what was called 'aesthetic building police' *(ästhetische Baupolizei),* the programmatic subjection of all planning applications to aesthetic checks. Principles of the Heimatschutz League laid the foundation of planning laws such as the Prussian Law against the Disfigurement of Townscapes and Countryside *(Verunstaltungsgesetz)* from 15 July 1907, which allowed communes and municipalities to pass by-laws to give planning authorities greater power to enforce checks in the name of aesthetics and conservation. More than 530 Prussian cities acted upon it.[141] The Prussian Disfigurement Law inspired similar planning laws of the Grand Duchy of Baden (1907), in the Kingdom of Bavaria (1909), and in the Kingdom of Saxony (1909).[142] Even more important was the decree of the Prussian Ministry of Public Works from 10 January 1908, which ordered/instructed municipal, district, and state authorities to involve 'as wide a

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[139] Josip Pospišil, 'Der Heimatschutz in Bosnien [I]', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 23 August 1911), Vol. 28, Nr. 192, pp. 1–2.

[140] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 746.

[141] Estimate by Tilo von Wilmowsky (1878–1966), president of the Heimatschutz League between 1914 and 1920, in Tilo von Wilmowsky, 'Wesen und Ziel des Heimatschutzes', *Heimatschutz*, 8 (1912), 5; Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung', p. 47.

[142] Friedrich Wilhem Bredt, *Die Heimatschutzgesetzgebung der deutschen Bundesstaaten* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1912); Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', pp. 504–05.

circle as possible' in the planning task. The decree recommended, for instance, the increased use of architectural and planning competitions, and the foundation of local committees in an effort to raise aesthetic quality.[143]

In Strasbourg, too, the municipal administration began to subject the planning system to aesthetic checks. Instrumental to this development was the jurist Heinrich Emerich (1872-1933), deputy mayor from 1906. The son of a Strasbourg architect, Emerich was steeped in architectural circles. It was Emerich who first put the demands of the Heimatschutz movement into legal and administrative practice. After his appointment as deputy mayor for urban planning, he began to demand aesthetic improvements when reviewing planning applications. At 4 Brandgasse (Rue Ehrmann), in 1907, the architect Vitus Brokmann (1861-1918) had to agree to replace a brick façade and slate roof with render and beavertail tiles.[144] At 2 Am Waseneck (Rue Turenne), in 1909, Emerich objected to the design of a firewall, suggesting as an alternative a design by municipal planner Fritz Beblo, featuring a heavily structured façade, beavertail tiles, and glass bricks.[145] In May 1909, Emerich initiated a mayoral decree banning 'roof toppings with ornaments, letters, etc.', intended especially to prevent the widespread custom of adding cast zinc ornaments on roof edges.[146] This had been a key demand of the Heimatschutz League. This was not the only occasion on which Emerich put Heimatschutz principles into practice.

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[143] Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', pp. 220–21; Bert Burger, Niels Gutschow, and Karl-Jürgen Krause, *Bebauungspläne und Ortssatzungen: Instrumente zur gestalterhaltenden Erneuerung historischer Stadtgebiete* (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik, 1978), p. 279.

[144] AVES 776 W 155, 5 Rue Ehrmann; cf. Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 504.

[145] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', pp. 504–5.

[146] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 505.

In 1908, Emerich presented the regional government with a draft Law for the Protection of Town- and Cityscape *(Gesetz zum Schutze des Orts- und Stadtbildes).*[147] Modelled on the Prussian Disfigurement Law of the previous year, this law would enable communes and cities of Alsace-Lorraine to pass individual by-laws for the protection of local character, as had been practice in Sarajevo since 1903. The professional journal *Bauzeitung für Württemberg, Baden, Hessen und Elsaß-Lothringen,* supported Emerich's proposal.[148] When the regional building committee, in which the conservationist and art historian Georg Dehio was a member, approved, the government brought this motion before the legislature. 'Municipal by-laws', the regional assembly was told in April 1910, 'can enable the local [...] authority to pass building regulations not only in the interest of safety and health, but also on matters such as siting and exterior design'.[149] The regional diet supported the motion and the law was passed on 7 November 1910.[150] On 17 November, the municipality of Strasbourg passed a by-law, which allowed the mayor to prescribe set-back building lines or free-standing construction in certain parts of the city, gave him the power to interdict factories in certain parts, and set binding minimum and maximum heights for new builds.[151] It was adopted almost verbatim by other communes in Alsace-Lorraine.[152] In addition, Strasbourg passed the so-called Decree for the Protection of the Cityscape of Strasbourg *(Verordnung zum Schutze des Ortsbildes von Straßburg)*, designed by a special

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[147] City council meeing from 9 December 1908, in *Verhandlungen des Gemeinderats der Stadt Straßburg im Jahre 1908* (Strasbourg: Elsässische Druckerei, 1909), AVES, 2 BA 1908.

[148] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 502.

[149] Emerich, Heinrich, 'Entwurf zu einem Gesetz zum Schutze des Orts- und Stadtbildes', 12 April 1910, ADBR, 87 AL 1080.

[150] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 505; Wittenbrock, 'Baurecht und Stadtentwicklung', pp. 250–53.

[151] Wittenbrock, 'Baurecht und Stadtentwicklung', p. 252.

[152] Wittenbrock, 'Baurecht und Stadtentwicklung', p. 253.

commission of council members, architects, artists and property owners' representatives.[153] This decree was printed in a special edition and distributed widely beyond Strasbourg.[154] The legal text made direct reference to the Heimatschutz movement. It stipulated that all planning applications adapt to 'cityscapes *(Stadtbilder)* or historical monuments of specific artistic or art historical character' (§1.2). Any design 'that had no pleasant exterior or that could disturb the townscape' could be denied planning permission (§1.1).

Strasbourg's Decree for the Protection of the Cityscape brought important changes in the planning application system. Planning permission was now subject not only to the planning authorities, but also to an independent art commission *(Kunstkommission),* which was sometimes also called the 'façades commission', whose members were in equal parts appointed by the council and by the mayor.[155] Headed by Emerich, its members comprised the director of the Alsatian Museum, Pierre Bucher, and the cathedral conservationist Johann Knauth, who had been collaborators on the survey of historical monuments in the inner city since 1906, regionalist artists such as Alfred Marzolff, Gustav Oberthür, planners Fritz Beblo and Moritz Eisenlohr, and architects such as Paul and Karl Bonatz, Josef Müller, Albert Nadler, Karl Staatsmann, and New Town critic Theo Berst. The art commission assembled every week, or every other week. It became an important authority. In addition to reviewing planning applications, it advised the mayor, Rudolf Schwander, on matters such as general plans.[156] The

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[153] City council meeting from 19 October 1910, cf. Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 505.

[154] Heinrich Emerich, *Der Schutz des Ortsbildes. Das Elsaß-Lothringische Landesgesetz betreffend baupolizeiliche Vorschriften vom 7. November 1910 (Gesetzblat v. 21. Nov.), sowie das Ortsstatut und die Verordnung zum Schutz des Ortsbildes von Straßburg vom 23. November 1910* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911).

[155] Möllmer, 'Strassburger Baupolizei', p. 506.

[156] Schwander to Eisenlohr, Strasbourg, 29 November 1910, AVES, 152 MW 18, VA No. 5441.

local press shared the enthusiasm with which the art commission set about its task. 'The façades', wrote *Neueste Nachrichten* of the Great Breakthrough, the first major development project in which the art commission had a stake, 'display a noble style and will insert themselves harmoniously among the honourable historical monuments that so enrich our city'.[157]

By the eve of the First World War, regionalism was changing the face of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In Sarajevo, the development of a government-backed 'Bosnian style' challenged the aesthetic consensus of more than half a century, in which the designers of general plans and public buildings had looked to European metropolises such as Vienna, London and Paris for inspiration. Private clients soon took after the government's example in embracing the new regionalist style. In Strasbourg, architectural regionalism ushered in radical changes in the planning system. Judging planning applications in terms of their looks, which would have been inconceivable in the nineteenth century, now became standard practice in Strasbourg. When the First World War broke out, planners and architects in both cities quite reasonably believed that they were standing on the threshold of an exciting new era in urban development. This new era was not the result of premeditated reforms from Berlin or Vienna. It was, in large parts, shaped by transnational networks of artists, architects, and activists that took office in Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

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[157] 'Vom neuen Boulevard', newspaper clipping from *Neueste Nachrichten* (Strasbourg, 16 February 1912), AVES, 153 MW 591.

3.5   Conservation

The transnational networks that shaped Strasbourg and Sarajevo were not limited to artistic circles. The discourse that regionalist artists and architects evoked prompted established citizens, too, to reconsider the merits of their city's particular heritage. In what follows, it will be shown that the new enthusiasm for the vernacular spurred calls to research, register and protect their regions' built heritage. In early twentieth-century Sarajevo and Strasbourg, there emerged initiatives for better building conservation, initiatives that formed part of an international conservation movement. Its members successfully lobbied for bolder state intervention in the name of conservation. As a result, it will be shown, conservation developed into a new and integral component of urban development.

The modern conservation movement did not emerge out of nowhere. Its origins lay in eighteenth-century France.[158] The expropriation of aristocratic and ecclesiastical property during the French Revolution led to the question how to deal with the physical remnants of the Old Regime. First efforts to identify buildings worthy of protection emerged in the direct aftermath of the French Revolution. In 1793, the Committee of Public Safety issued an order that enabled the listing of built, sculpted, or painted heritage. The order's creator, the Abbé Henri Grégoire (1750-1831) argued that only 'vandals and slaves disrespect the sciences and destroy monuments of art, [but] free humans love and maintain

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[158] Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage. Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

them'.[159] In 1795, the medievalist Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839) was commissioned to institute a Museum of French Monuments, in which the state would preserve architectural fragments of interest. In French- and German-speaking discourse, there emerged a consensus that it was the modern state's responsibility to ensure the protection of certain monuments in the interest of research and education. After the July Revolution of 1830, Interior Minister François Guizot (1787-1874) founded the position of a General Inspector of Historical Monuments.[160] And in 1837, Interior Minister Camille de Montalivet (1801-1880) founded a Commission for Historical Monuments, whose task was the recording and managed protection of lister buildings. Under the aegis of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, the Commission disencumbered and restored churches and cathedrals throughout France.[161] In Strasbourg, a first listing of historical monuments took place in 1837.[162] And 1855 saw the foundation of a Society for the Conservation of the Historical Monuments of Alsace *(Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace).*[163]

In Prussia, conservationist efforts date back to the time of the Congress of Vienna. Here, the question was not so much what to do with superfluous institutions of a bygone age as how to render these buildings meaningful for the present age. In 1815, Prussian Court Architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-

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[159] See Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 829; Françoise Choay, *L'Allégorie du patrimoine* (Paris: Seuil, 2007), pp. 85–87, 201; Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, '"Denkmalpflege" und "patrimoine"', in *Interferenzen: Deutschland - Frankreich; Architektur 1800 - 2000*, ed. by Jean-Louis Cohen and Hartmut Frank (Tübingen and Berlin: Wasmuth, 2013), pp. 118–28 (p. 119).

[160] Choay, *L'Allégorie du patrimoine,* p. 27; Dolff-Bonekämper, 'Denkmalpflege', p. 123.

[161] Paul Léon, *La vie des monuments français* (Paris: Picard, 1951), pp. 327–28; Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris*, pp. 181–82.

[162] Wilcken, 'Strasbourg', p. 185.

[163] Igersheim, *L'Alsace et ses historiens*, pp. 350–53; Umbrecht, 'Émile et Henri Salomon', p. 453; Wemhoff, *Städtische Geschichtskultur*, p. 84.

1841) published a memorandum in which he demanded organised state protection of historical monuments.[164] Between 1815 and 1841, the year of his death, Schinkel was made personally responsible for all restoration projects across Prussia. After Schinkel's death, Friedrich Wilhelm IV adopted the French system of state-led conservation.[165] And in Austria in 1850, Emperor Franz Josef founded a Central Commission for the Research and Protection of Built Monuments *(Central-Commission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale).*[166]

In Sarajevo, the first calls to survey, research and protect historical monuments emerged in the aftermath of the Austro-Hungarian conquest. In 1880, the physician Julije Makanec, from Agram/Zagreb, founded the Archaeological Society of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the first organised attempt to record and protect the region's archaeological heritage.[167] In 1884, he founded the newspaper *Bosnische Post,* which he used to generate support for his digs. 'A great number of historically important monuments is scattered in the land, unprotected, facing complete ruin, and unresearched!', wrote *Bosnische Post* in 1884. 'Archaeologically significant findings are not, by any account, rarities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, yet only rarely do they attain public recognition and

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[164] Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 'Die Erhaltung aller Denkmäler und Alterthümer unseres Landes betreffend (17 August 1815)', in *Denkmalpfelge: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, ed. by Norbert Huse (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984), pp. 70–73.

[165] Dolff-Bonekämper, 'Denkmalpflege', p. 124; Rita Mohr de Perez, *Die Anfänge der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Preußen: Ermittlung und Erhaltung alterthümlicher Merkwürdigkeiten*, Forschungen und Beiträge zur Denkmalpflege in Brandenburg, 4 (Worms: Werner, 2001).

[166] Camillo Sitte, *Schriften zu Städtebau und Architektur*, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, Michael Mönninger, and Christiane Crasemann Collins, Camillo Sitte Gesamtausgabe, 6 vols (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), II, p. 24; cf. Theodor Brückler, 'Vom Konzilium zum Imperium: Die Vorgeschichte der österreichischen Denkmalschutzgesetzgebung', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 45 (1991), 160–72 (pp. 160–72).

[167] Masić, '150 Years of Organized Healthcare Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina', pp. 382–83.

assessment, let along scientific appraisal'.[168] In the same year, Makanec founded a museum society.[169] This society, we have seen in chapter 1, would become instrumental to the discovery of Bosnia-Herzegovina's past. It organised digs, collected fragments, published scientific findings, and soon established its own, permanent exhibition in Sarajevo.[170] It successfully created a platform frequented by amateurs, officials, and scholars in pursuit of the region's individual history.

Until the turn of the century, however, the spectrum of historical monuments was defined in relatively narrow terms. In Sarajevo, the digs of the museum society targeted Roman remains, with limited attention given to the region's pre-Ottoman and Ottoman remains.[171] While there was great interest in the region's classical heritage, there was little enthusiasm for Ottoman architecture. Quite the opposite: the regional government was quite prepared to alter Ottoman buildings as part of its modernisation programme. In the construction of the Miljacka embankment, for instance, the authorities concreted over one of the five arches of the Latin Bridge, legacy of the city's flourishing under Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century.

Even in Strasbourg, which had a longer conservational history, the range of protected buildings was narrowly circumscribed. The 1840 inventory of the French Commission for Historical Monuments listed not a single building in Strasbourg.[172] The following inventory, published in 1862, included five entries: the cathedral, the churches of St. Stephen, St. Peter, and St. Thomas, and the

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[168] 'Sarajevo als Landeshauptstadt', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 13 July 1884), Vol. 1, Nr. 55, pp. 1–2 (p. 1).

[169] Masić, '150 Years of Organized Healthcare Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina' p. 183.

[170] Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeija (GZM) continues to be published and edited by what is today the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina, cf. Sparks, pp. 144–50.

[171] Donia, *Sarajevo,* pp. 89–91.

[172] Prosper Mérimée, *Monuments historiques: Rapport au ministre de l'Intérieur* (Commission des monuments historiques, 1840), BnF, 4-Z-268 (5).

fourteenth-century Cathedral Foundation Building. In 1877, Mayor Otto Back told the District President Karl Ledderhose that there existed only four monuments of 'special value': St. Stephen, St. Peter, St. Thomas, and the cathedral, citing a report from the architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879).[173] The existing Society for the Conservation of the Historical Monuments of Alsace concerned itself exclusively with archaeological digs, rather than with more recent architectural heritage, as Back told the city council in 1893.[174]

First attempts to expand the canon of historical monuments emerged in the aftermath of the annexation. In 1877, District President Ledderhose encouraged Back to revise the existing list of historical monuments, suggesting, as guidance, the newly published *Kunst und Alterthum im Unter-Elsaß,* by the ecclesiastical historian Franz Xaver Kraus (1840-1901) of the University of Strasbourg.[175] Back, however, had different priorities. In 1881, the government made a second attempt. 'The data on classified monuments of Alsace-Lorraine, in far as they are contained in the respective files, lack the required precision', wrote Karl von Hofmann (1827-1910), the head of the regional government of Alsace-Lorraine, to Back.[176] He asked for a complete list of historical monuments, consisting, first, of buildings listed by under French rule, second, of buildings listed since after the annexation, and third, of buildings that were not yet formally listed but were treated as such by the municipality.[177] In practice, the revision took until 1898. Prompted by Secretary of State Max von Puttkamer (1831-1906), the

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[173] Back to Ledderhose, Strasbourg, 8 June 1877, AVES 154 MW 7 III 2351.
[174] Back to city council, Strasbourg, 10 July 1893, AVES 154 MW 7 I B 4845.
[175] Ledderhose to Back, Strasbourg 11 December 1877, AVES 154 MW 7; cf. Kraus, Franz Xaver, *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen* (Strasbourg: Schmidt, 1876).
[176] Hofmann to Back, Strasbourg, 11 October 1881, AVES 154 MW 7 I B 4845.
[177] Ibid.

new District President Alexander Dominicus (1873-1945) eventually produced the desired inventory.[178]

It was not until the turn of the century that conservationists radically expanded the registers of historical monuments.[179] The art historian Georg Dehio (1850-1932) played a central role in this development. Born in Reval/Tallinn and educated at Göttingen, Dehio took up a professorship at the University of Strasbourg in 1892. In Strasbourg, he developed plans for a central compendium of historical monuments in the German empire. He voiced his idea at the second German Conservation Convention *(Tag für Denkmalpflege),* an event of the General Assembly of German Historical Associations *(Generalversammlung der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine),* in Strasbourg in 1899.[180] In the following year, Dehio's doctoral student Ernst Polaczek furthered the project in expert circles. In 1901, Dehio together with his colleagues Hugo Loersch (1840-1907) and Cornelius Gurlitt (1850-1938) applied for funding from the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin. There was some reluctance at first. Germany's federated states, argued Secretary of State of the Interior Arthur von Posadowsky-Wehner (1845-1932), had no interest in abandoning control over their individual registers of historical monuments. After some negotiation, Dehio agreed to create a central inventory that would take account of the existing registers. In 1902, the Emperor Wilhelm II granted the project 50,000 mark from his personal disposition fund.[181]

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[178] 'Verzeichnis der geschichtlichen Denkmäler in Elsaß-Lothringen, welche in Gemäßheit der französischen Circulare vom 19. Februar, 18. September und 1. Oktober 1841 klassiert worden sind', in: *Central- und Bezirksblatt für Elsaß-Lothringen*, Strasbourg, 17 December 1898, Nr. 53, AVES 153 MW 400; cf. Dominicus to Back, Strasbourg, 29 December 1898, V 7381, AVES 154 MW 7 I B 4845.

[179] Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', p. 225.

[180] Peter Betthausen, *Georg Dehio: ein deutscher Kunsthistoriker* (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004), p. 161.

[181] Betthausen, *Georg Dehio,* pp. 251–62.

In 1904, Dehio began work on the first of three volumes, which appeared in 1905.[182]

Centralisation accompanied an unprecedented expansion of heritage listings. Dehio's inventory comprised of 10,000 historical monuments. It also included buildings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which had hardly featured at all in earlier state listings. The inclusion of Baroque and Rococo architecture owed, in part, to the works of Dehio's collaborator Cornelius Gurlitt, of the art historian Albert Ilg (1847-1896) and the architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869-1949), whose writings had done much to revive popular interest in these styles. The so-called 'Baroque debate', which been salient in Austria since 1880, led to a reappraisal of what kinds of monuments were deemed worthy of protection.[183] Contemporaries became more inclined to consider even buildings that were commonly thought unremarkable. 'Who, in the end, has the right to critique older works of art, for whose value he can never attain the complete, correct judgement, simply because he is not a man of that time', asked Ilg in 1880.[184]

In Austria-Hungary, too, the modern conservation movement gained momentum. In 1903, Alois Riegl (1858-1905) published his memorandum *Der modern Denkmalkultus*, in which he advocated a more inclusive approach to conservation.[185] In doing so, Riegl referred to a speech that Dehio had given in

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[182] Georg Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Mitteldeutschland* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1905), I.

[183] Martha Fingernagel-Grüll, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege: Die Ära Helfert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2020), II, pp. 25, 27–31.

[184] Albert Ilg, *Die Zukunft des Barockstils: Eine Kunstepistel von Bernini dem Jüngeren* (Vienna: Manz, 1880), p. 6.

[185] Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1903).

Strasbourg on the occasion on Wilhelm II's birthday earlier that year.[186] A historical monument, Riegl recounted Dehio's argument, should be protected 'not because it is beautiful, but because it forms part of our national consciousness'.[187] Riegl expanded this thesis, arguing that historical monuments were not only part of any national but of *human* consciousness. In the early years of the twentieth century, art historians such as Joseph Neuwirth (1855-1934) were touring Austria to research the state of historical monuments. 1905, Hans Tietze (1880-1954) published the first volume of *Österreichische Kunsttopographie,* a project that, like Dehio's, sought to collate a centralised, expanded and easily accessible compendium of Austria's historical monuments.[188] In international conferences, specialist journals and academic publications, conservationists shared the most recent thinking on built heritage. Institutions like the Austrian Central Commission for the Research and Protection of Built Monuments were in regular correspondence with conservationists across central Europe. In 1900, the commission exchanged publications with 95 scientific institutions in 58 cities, from Stockholm to St. Petersburg, from Rome to Cairo, from the Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects to the museum society in Sarajevo.[189]

In Sarajevo, middle-class citizens lobbied for greater protection of historical monuments. Such monuments were now understood to include not

[186] Georg Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im 19. Jahrhundert: Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Maj. des Kaisers,gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser Wilhem-Universitätam 27. Januar 1905* (Strasbourg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1905).

[187] Alois Riegl, 'Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege', *Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, 3.4 (1905), 85–104 (p. 87).

[188] *Die Denkmale des politischen Bezirkes Krems,* ed. by Hans Tietze and Kunsthistorisches Institut der k.k. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege, Österreichische Kunsttopographie, 1 (Vienna: Schroll, 1907).

[189] Fingernagel-Grüll, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege,* II, p. 688.

only sacred architecture, but also more mundane infrastructures such as caravanserais, bridges, and markets. 'Bosnian cities', wrote Pospišil in 1911, 'exert their effect not only through grandly planned and sophisticated monumental architecture [...]. They are nothing more and nothing less than artefacts of medieval culture on the Balkans, transferred into our age; to this they owe their peculiar charm'.[190] Whereas in the 1880s, local newspapers had welcomed the demolition of vernacular buildings to create straight streets, embankments, and squares, they now cherished what they called 'Old-Sarajevo' in nostalgic tones.[191] As we have already seen, the market district, *čaršija,* attracted particular interest among visitors, travel writers, journalists, affluent citizens and German-speaking immigrants. After the turn of the century, these men and women called for greater state protection. 'The preservation of these regions' heritage lies not only in the conservation of old places of worship and historical monuments, but, it appears, especially in the continued existence of the old bazaar of Sarajevo', commented military officer Robert Michel (1876-1957) in 1912. 'As long as the bazaar does not fall, the region will retain its oriental spirit and all inherited custom [...] With the bazaar, Sarajevo remains a wonderful oriental city, without the bazaar, it would become a mediocre European provincial town'.[192]

Calls for a more inclusive approach to conservation came at a time when Sarajevo was on the cusp of losing much of its built heritage. By the turn of the century, modern, Western-style, buildings dominated the new parts of the city and encroached upon the fringes of the market district. In Čurčiluk and

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[190] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', pp. 6–7.
[191] For an enthusiastic approval of demolition, see 'Demolirung', *Bosnische Post,* 2.7 (Sarajevo, 22 January 1885), pp. 2–3; for a critique of demolition, see 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post,* 33.247 (Sarajevo, 29 October 1916), p. 5.
[192] Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichslanden*, pp. 173–74.

Kunduržiluk, the traditional sites of leatherworkers and goldsmiths, low-rise timber-framed workshops yielded to brick buildings that combined retail space and rental flats. On the corner of Cemaluša (Mula Mustafe Bašeskije) and Đulagina, the investor Gligorije Jeftanović built a six-storey block of flats, dwarfing the neighbouring caravanserai, *Morića han,* and the Mosque of Gazi Husref-beg. In 1916, when heavy rainfalls necessitated demolitions of mud-brick buildings in Bravadžiluk, the traditional hub of locksmiths, the newspaper *Bosnische Post* commented: 'Yet again, two buildings of Old-Sarajevo disappear, which despite their sorry structural constitution lacked nothing in originality, and which added the overall image of the čaršija. If things go on like this, and if there is nobody who will put a stop to the čaršija's decay, in a few years, Sarajevo will be bereft of its most interesting district'.[193]

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, as in Alsace-Lorraine, governments gradually accommodated citizens' efforts to centralise, formalise and expand the conservation of architectural heritage. In 1892 already, the regional government passed a law to help the museum society research and preserve artistic, archaeological, and architectural heritage. The law included a ban on exporting 'historically, artistically, and culturally valuable objects'. It also enabled the authorities – within rather narrow constraints – to expropriate the owners of such artefacts in the interest of research and preservation.[194]

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[193] 'Sarajevo', *Bosnische Post,* 33.247 (Sarajevo, 29 October 1916), p. 5.
[194] Imperial decree from 22 May 1892, cf. Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* p. 747.

Figure 51: By the turn of the century, modern, multi-story developments were encroaching on the old city centre. Hugo Piffl's map of the market district (ca. 1900) shows multi-story buildings highlighted in dark grey. Credit: Historiskji Arhiv, Sarajevo.

The emergence of the Heimatschutz movement reinforced calls for better conservation. Adherents of the movement, such as Josip Pospišil, generated local as well as international interest for conservation cause. In January 1911, Josip Pospišil used an article in the planning journal *Der Städtebau* to call for the Austro-Hungarian Joint Ministry of Finance and the Central Commission for the Research and Protection of Built Monuments to survey and list the historical monuments of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[195] In addition, he demanded that the government should include measures to protect listed buildings in the building code for Sarajevo 'so that at least the most exceptional cityscapes of Bosnia and the

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[195] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', p. 9.

Herzegovina may be saved from certain and impending destruction'.[196] Later that year, in the second session of the newly-elected regional diet, the architect Josip Vancaš, deputy for the Croatian Party, submitted a resolution for the protection of historical monuments. Vancaš reiterated Pospišil's demands for a central register of monuments with 'a characteristic exterior and historical value'.[197] He also proposed a strict ban on alterations without prior consent from an expert commission and the regional government. The resolution was accepted unanimously by the regional diet and welcomed by the regional government. The government asked Vancaš to produce a preliminary list. It allocated 5,000 crowns for the project and commissioned the architect Josip Pospišil, a leading figure in the conservation movement, to photograph the buildings.[198] 'It was through him [Vancaš] and through his intervention in the regional assembly and in the city council, that my own efforts towards an effective, coherent conservation have finally penetrated to those circles that wield the power to make improvements', commented Pospišil in 1911.[199] Crisis in the regional assembly and the outbreak of the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, which occupied the governments in Vienna and Sarajevo, prevented the project's completion by the outbreak of the First World War.

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[196] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', p. 9.

[197] Reprinted in Josip Vancaš, 'Bosansko Narodno Graditeljestvo', *Tehnicki List, Zagreb*, 10.24 (1928), 353–54 (p. 335).

[198] Vancaš, 'Bosansko Narodno Graditeljestvo'; Krzović and others, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 226.

[199] Pospišil, 'Der Heimatschutz in Bosnien [I]'.

Figure 52: Once deemed threatening, insalubrious, and dangerous, after 1900 Sarajevo's market district, čaršija, became an attraction for middle-class citizens, conservationists, and foreign visitors. Credit: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

The early twentieth century saw a change in the methods, as well as the objects, of conservation. While nineteenth-century conservationists had been quite prepared to alter, beautify or complete architectural heritage, there emerged a consensus that historical monuments should best be 'conserved, not restored', as Riegl put it.[200] Across Europe, a younger generation of conservationists turned against 'improvement' works. Seminal to this international debate was the restoration of the Heidelberg castle by the architect Carl Schäfer (1844-1908) of the Technical University of Karlsruhe. Between 1895 and 1903, Schäfer restored central parts of the castle that had been ruined in the Nine Years' War (1688–1697). His restoration sparked a vivid debate among conservationists, in which both Dehio and Riegl opposed the project.[201] In 1895, Mayor Otto Back commissioned Schäfer to restore the fourteenth-century church of Young-St. Peter *(Saint-Pierre-le-Jeune).*[202] The church had been in use as a Protestant and a Catholic parish, separated by an interior wall. With the opening of a Catholic church in the New Town, the Protestants had the entire building to themselves. Schäfer freed it of interior, restored the south porch, added a new spire, and had the choir re-painted in polychrome colours.[203] Here, too, Schäfer's restoration met with reservations. The garish colours of his interiors, the local press commented, reminded onlookers of the interiors of an abattoir or a bakery. In 1897, state conservator Charles Winkler (1834-1908) attacked Schäfer's restoration in a letter to the head of the regional government. Secretary of State von Puttkamer put all works on hold. In 1898, the church was listed as a historical monument; the regional government took partial responsibility for its upkeep. Even though

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[200] Quoted after Fingernagel-Grüll, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege,* II, p. 26.
[201] Betthausen, *Georg Dehio,* pp. 237–39.
[202] Minutes of the city council meeting, 28 October 1896, AVES, 153 MW 398.
[203] Beblo, 'Die Baukunst in Elsass-Lothringen', pp. 244–45.

Reinhold Persius (1835-1912), the spokesman of the Prussian Construction Commission, supported Schäfer's restoration, the project attracted mounting criticism in expert circles.[204] Alphons Schneegans wrote of an 'addiction to improve the existing'. Schäfer's alterations, Schneegans continued, had 'completely ruined a beautifully poetic structure, which had touched the people's sentiment *(Volksempfinden)* through its simplicity'.[205] Similarly controversial was the restoration of the Alsatian castle of Hohkönigsburg/Haut-Koenigsbourg, a personal initiative of the Emperor Wilhelm II, by the architect Bodo Ebhardt (1865-1945).[206] The project, announced around the turn of the century, sparked outrage in the Society for the Conservation of Historical Monuments of Alsace.[207] In Vienna, Riegl, too, rejected Ebhardt's interventionist approach.[208]

Eventually, advocates of a more cautious, conservationist approach had their way. This change of attitude was especially apparent in the debates surrounding the restoration of Strasbourg cathedral. The cathedral had been badly damaged during the German siege of 1870. In a bid to make up for the damages, in 1880, an initiative was launched to complete the cathedral's unfinished second spire, an idea pre-figured by Karl Friedrich Schinkel's drawings from the early nineteenth century. In 1890, cathedral conservationist Franz Schmitz (1832-1894), who had been part of the recent completion of Cologne cathedral, announced an ambitious restoration programme, which took considerable creative license to restore the building to its thirteenth-century

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[204] Monique Fuchs, 'La restauration d'édifices en Alsace autour de 1900', in *Strasbourg 1900: naissance d'une capitale*, ed. by Rodolphe Rapetti (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2000), pp. 218–24 (pp. 220–22).

[205] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', pp. 10–11.

[206] Georg Wolf, 'Der Streit um die Hohkœnigsburg', *Strassburger Zeitung* (Strasbourg, 15 January 1901).

[207] Denis; Umbrecht, 'Émile et Henri Salomon', p. 453.

[208] Riegl, 'Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege', pp. 85–86.

state.[209] A report by Friedrich von Schmidt, chief conservationist of St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, supported these plans. However, plans determination to remove the so-called Goetz galleries, an eighteenth-century addition, produced some opposition. Several signatories submitted a petition.[210] In 1893, the Ministry for Alsace-Lorraine questioned 'whether the proposed changes are to be approved, from a technical and artistic perspective, and commensurate from the standpoint of the preservation of historical monuments'.[211] In 1895, Schmitz's successor, Ludwig Arntz (1855-1941) put the transformation to a halt. Dehio, who became a leading figure in this debate, too, discerned a paradigm shift: 'Schmitz was on the way to a Cologne-style transformation of Strasbourg cathedral. The dispute has now been resolved. The fundamental principle: a historical monument must be preserved in the state in which history has dealt it to us'.[212] By the turn of the century, architects, historians, and conservationists agreed that 'the time in which most architects supported the erroneous idea of making artistic improvements in the conservation of historical monuments', as *Deutsche Bauzeitung* commented, 'belongs to the past'.[213]

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[209] Monique Fuchs, 'La restauration d'édifices en Alsace', p. 219.

[210] Monique Fuchs, 'La restauration d'édifices en Alsace', p. 222.

[211] Dossier, Ministry for Alsace-Lorraine, Strasbourg, 2 October 1893, AVES, 3 OND 40/500.539.

[212] Georg Dehio, 'Eine Frage betreffend die Zukunft des Straßburger Münsters', supplement for *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich, 5 October 1899), clipping in AVES, 3 OND 40/500.539.

[213] Cutting from Deutsche Bauzeitung, 27 March 1895, 3 OND 40.
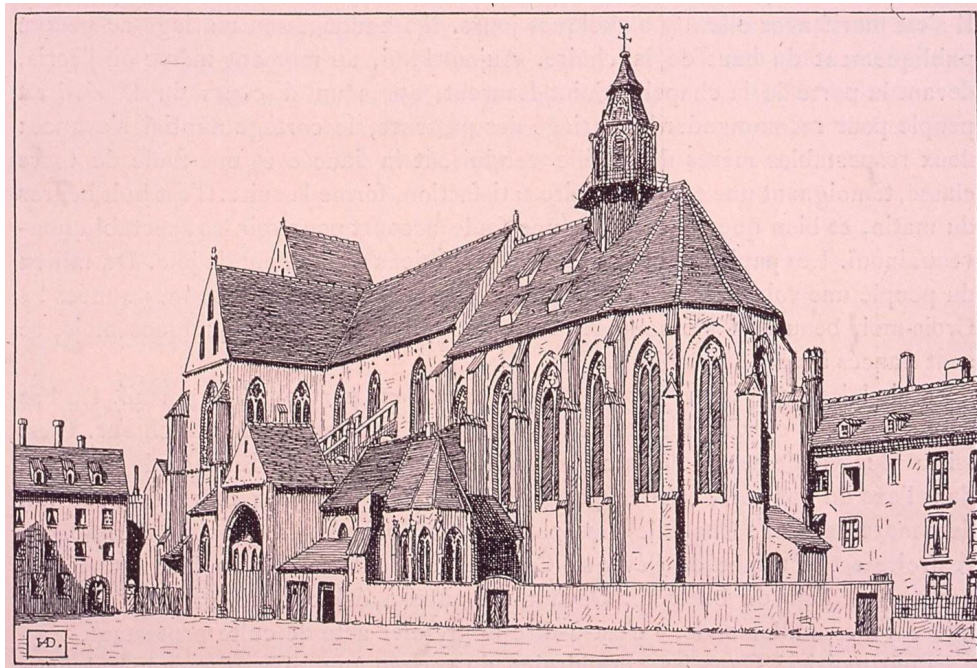
Figures 53 & 54: Around the turn of the century, the architect Carl Schäfer led a restoration to restore the Protestant church of Young-St. Peter to its supposed earlier state. In doing so, Schäfer took considerable artistic license. Illustration *(above)* from 1894, photograph *(below)* from 1920. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Specialist debates accompanied to a new public interest in conservation. In 1902, Strasbourg's citizens flocked to an exhibition of the historical monuments of Alsace, held at the Palais Rohan. The choice of this Baroque palace as the exhibition site marked a new attitude towards conservation. 'It is not built in the spirit of the German period, but in that of the French, eighteenth century', wrote novelist Otto Flake, who was a student in Strasbourg at the time, of the Palais Rohan. Under the influence of his friends in the Youngest Alsace movement, Flake formed a definitive opinion of conservation. 'No one of equitable heart will for a moment dismiss it as a foreign object that disturbs the city's harmony. Irrespective of the foreign style, there is no objection. In Stuttgart, the royal palace, analogous to the Palais Rohan, reminds us that French architecture governed the century of Schiller and Mozart even without political belonging to France. Had Strasbourg remained German, it would have probable had something like the Palais Rohan at the time'.[214] Flake wrote these lines almost four decades later, when the Third Reich occupied Alsace, and the question of architectural heritage was once again salient. Flake advocated a conservative approach: 'Anything that was once formative and that is now past, is historical. What is historical one should neither deny nor oppose. It is the most beautiful prerogative of the victor to be impassive and impartial.'[215] For Flake, the Palais Rohan warranted protection not for its beauty, but for its historical significance.

For the 1902 exhibition, state conservationist Felix Wolff (1852-1925) had contacted countless property owners to ask for architectural drawings, paintings, or models, in original or copy. Encouraged by the head of the regional government, Puttkamer, Strasbourg's mayor, Otto Back, submitted in 36 exhibits

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[214] Flake, *Straßburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt*, pp. 8–9.
[215] Flake, *Straßburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt*, p. 8.

drawings.[216] Others came from the archives of the Commission of Historical Monuments in Paris.[217] Copies of the exhibits formed the founding stock of the Strasbourg Heritage Archive *(Denkmalarchiv)*.[218] The exhibition, in short, helped create the largest central collection of documents on historical monuments that Strasbourg had hitherto seen.

Citizens eagerly shared in these efforts to record, research, and protect architectural heritage. When plans emerged for the Great Breakthrough, the ambitious inner-city transformation of the new mayor, Rudolf Schwander, conservationists rushed to protect what could be salvaged of old Strasbourg. 'A part of the character of the old city will be lost. But poetic sentiments, and the demands of life's reality, have always been enemies. Many settings of urban and regional history will vanish', lamented one journalist. 'The tragedy of Strasbourg's old town has begun. Let us hope that the streams of air and light that shall suffuse it will not only sanitise, but will also aesthetically improve the magic of our beautiful city'.[219] The Society for the Conservation of Historical Monuments of Alsace commissioned the photographer Charles Winter to record the buildings that were to give way to the new boulevard.[220] In 1906, Pierre Bucher, the founder of the Alsatian Museum, the playwright Gustave Stoskopf, the architect Karl Staatsmann, the cathedral conservationist Johann Knauth, the art historian Ernst Polaczek and the planner Fritz Beblo formed a commission to create an inventory

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[216] Wolff to Back, Strasbourg, 11 July 1901, AVES, 154 MW 7, I.N. 1256.

[217] Wolff to District President Alexander Halm (1840-1913), Strasbourg, 31 October 1901, AVES, 154 MW 7, I.N. 483; cf. copy forwarded Dominicus to Back, 10 November 1901, AVES, 154 MW 7, I.N. 6348.

[218] Wolff to Puttkamer, 17 May 1901, AVES, 154 MW 7, I.N. 1088.

[219] 'Die Tragödie des alten Straßburg', *Strassburger Bürger-Zeitung* (Strasbourg, 20 September 1911), clipping in AVES, 153 MW 591.

[220] Igersheim, *L'Alsace et ses historiens*, pp. 350–53, 432–35; Wemhoff, *Städtische Geschichtskultur*, p. 84.

of historic buildings in the transformation area. They went around in pairs, surveying, measuring, and sketching. In 1907, they published a printed register building on Adolph Seyboth's urban history of Strasbourg from 1890.[221] They distinguished between buildings that could be demolished and buildings that should be preserved, either on site or in parts. By 1908, the commission had surveyed or visited 132 buildings, of which 33 were to be preserved and 76 contained architectural elements deemed to be worthy of protection.[222] Protected architectural spoils were salvaged during the demolition works and were given to the municipal museum of arts and crafts.[223] The Municipal planners began to use these spoils for new builds, such as Beblo's St. Thomas School (1907) and Ott's Dragon School.[224]

Between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, popular attitudes towards built heritage underwent profound changes. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, historians, conservationists, and citizens became interested in artefacts with which their nineteenth-century antecedents had enthusiastically done away. Not only did they greatly expand the canon of historical monuments, from places of worship to buildings that had been traditionally discarded as mundane. They also introduced a more cautious approach to conservation, an approach that limited artistic license to alter, complete or restore historical monuments. Guiding this development, as we have seen, was a new interest in the old, pre-modern city, a fascination with the regional vernacular and a desire to stop the erasure of what

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[221] Seyboth, *Das alte Strassburg*.

[222] Benoît Jordan, 'La Grande Percée, une saignée dans le coeur historique de Strasbourg', in *Attention travaux: 1910 de la Grande Percée au Stockfeld*, ed. by Benoît Jordan and others (Strasbourg: Archives de Strasbourg, 2010), pp. 28–35.

[223] 'Beschlüsse der Aufsichtskommission für den Straßendurchbruch in der Sitzung vom 19. Oktober 1911', Strasbourg, 22 October 1911, AVES, 153 MW 591.

[224] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, p. 187; Cohen, 'L'encyclopédie et le palimpseste', pp. 36–45.

made cities like Strasbourg and Sarajevo unlike any other European city. We have already seen how municipal and regional administrations supported these movements. The next section examines how they impacted the practice of urban planning.

3.6   Artistic Planning

By the eve of the First World War, the modern city had become the subject of disillusionment. Yet few of those in Germans who criticised nineteenth-century cities or who tried to protect architectural heritage thought that it was possible to turn back the wheel.[225] Even the most ardent admirers of 'Old Strasbourg' and 'Old Sarajevo' recognised that change was necessary to respond to the growing demands of policy areas such as public health, housing, public safety, educational, cultural and transport infrastructure. Contemporaries knew that any attempt to preserve the historical city in its entirety would be unrealistic. Instead, conservationists often referred to the need to maintain the city's 'character'. This was used to denote something material or immaterial that would set their city apart from others. In Strasbourg as well as Sarajevo, the city's 'character' became the subjects of many petitions, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, council sessions, committee meeting, and laws.

Maintaining the city's 'character' became a fundamental challenge to urban planners. While their antecedents had conspicuously adhered to international precedents, early twentieth-century planners had to respond to growing demands from citizens, governments, and planning theorists to focus on what made their cities special. In this section, I examine how planners responded to this challenge. I show how Strasbourg and Sarajevo adapted innovations in planning theory to help them emphasize what made their city so special. These changes had effects not only on the layout of streets and squares, and on the style of public buildings, but also on private building activity. Intensifying demands to

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[225] Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', pp. 229–30; Knaut, 'Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung', pp. 45–49; Sitte, *Schriften zu Städtebau und Architektur*, II, p. 17.

preserve the 'character' of their city emboldened public authorities to subject even private buildings to certain aesthetic standards – an intervention that would have been unthinkable in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first time, aesthetic criteria were openly discussed and widely accepted as a criterion of urban planning.

Around the turn of the century, there developed an alternative approach to urban planning, in deliberate opposition to the prevailing German school of Baumeister and Stübben. This approach became known as 'artistic planning', after its seminal texts, 'City Planning According to Artistic Principles' *(Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen)* by the Viennese architect and critic Camillo Sitte (1843-1903). In this 1889 book, Sitte, a teacher at the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts, turned against the dominant planning doctrines of the late nineteenth century, particularly against Vienna's Ringstrasse, which he attacked as bland, unimaginative, and profoundly uninspiring.[226] Urban planning, argued Sitte, should be considered an art, not a technical discipline. In countless illustrations, Sitte contrasted the straight boulevards and symmetrical squares of modern cities with the curved, narrow streets of pre-modern towns in Germany and Italy. He departed from the criteria that Baumeister had identified as salient to planning – housing, traffic, fire safety and structural soundness – of which he made no mention.[227]

Sitte's critique derived its principles from aesthetic judgement rather than from technical criteria. Whereas Baumeister and Stübben had sought to develop

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[226] Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen: ein Beitrag zur Lösung modernster Fragen der Architektur und monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien*, 1st edn (Vienna: Graeser, 1889).

[227] Baumeister, 'Moderne Stadterweiterungen: Vortrag', p. 227.

planning into a science that rested on universally binding standards, from the way to lay out streets to the optimal distance at which monuments should be placed from the pavement edge, Sitte was skeptical of such standards. He looked to historical towns, not international models of modernity, for inspiration. It was a matter of individual context, in Sitte's opinion, to judge the aesthetic merit of one design over the other. In doing so, Sitte proved himself a child of a different time. He gave more explicit agency to the planner than the post-1848 liberal Baumeister had deemed commensurate, or indeed legitimate.

Two main points of criticism emerged. The first was Sitte's opposition to the modern square. In most nineteenth-century urban extensions, squares, such as Strasbourg's Kaiserplatz, took the form of rectangular blocks surrounded by streets on four sides, typically with a monument at its geometrical centre. To Sitte, this kind of layout was little more than a thoroughfare and the safest way to prevent a square from fulfilling its function as a gathering place and centre of the urban community. What is more, Sitte linked the modern open square to a new psychological condition that beset European urbanites.[228] Agoraphobia, the fear of vast open spaces, had first been documented in 1860s Berlin and Vienna.[229] It preoccupied physicians such as Carl Otto Westphal (1800-1879), Jean Baptiste Édouard Gélineau (1828-1906), Henri Legrand du Saulle (1830-1886), and Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).[230] While Anthony Vidler has argued that Sitte's

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[228] Sitte, *Der Städtebau*, 1st edn (Vienna: Graeser, 1889), p. 53.

[229] Anthony Vidler, 'Städteangst und Städtebau', in *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, trans. by Sonja Hnilica (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 257–74 (p. 261); on agoraphobia in Sitte's work, see Esther da Costa Meyer, 'La Donna è Mobile', *Assemblage*, 28, 1995, 6–15; Thomas McDonough, 'Die Architektur der Agoraphobie', *Der Architekt*, 7, 1999, 29–34; Sonja Hnilica, 'Stadtmetaphern: Camillo Sittes Bild der Stadt im Architekturdiskurs' (doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Wien, 2006).

[230] Carl Otto Westphal, 'Die Agoraphobie, eine neuropathische Erscheinung', *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheit*, 3 (1871), 138–61; Henri Legrand du Saulle, *Étude clinique sur la peur des espaces (agoraphobie, des allemands)* (Paris: V. Adrien Delahaye, 1878); Jean Baptiste

reference to agoraphobia was, at least in part, suffused with irony, it certainly struck a nerve.[231] Rather than open spaces, Sitte argued that squares should become more like interior spaces.[232] In order to create more pleasant public spaces, he advocated enveloping squares in what contemporaries called 'closed construction' *(geschlossene Bauweise),* surrounded by a coherent face of buildings or covered walkways. Monuments, continued Sitte, should not be placed at the centre, but slightly off-axis to make for a more varied aspect, and to give citizens room to assemble.

Equally consequential was Sitte's opposition to straight streets. While for Baumeister straight streets had been crucial to providing a sense of orientation and transparency in the city, Sitte thought them uninviting. Seemingly endless boulevards vanishing into the distance, a favoured motif of nineteenth-century photographers, did nothing to him.[233] Instead, Sitte advocated a return to the pre-modern custom of twisted and curved streets, which provided citizens and visitors with delightfully varied aspects. Variety, individuality, and surprise were important elements of Sitte's approach. They were part of his attempt to respond to the unifying tendency of modernity, as Sitte put it, to 'our mathematically circumscribed modern life, in which man himself becomes a machine'.[234]

Édouard Gélineau, *De la Kénophobie ou peur des espaces (Agoraphobie des allemands)* (Paris: O. Doin, 1880); Sigmund Freud, 'Architektur der Hysterie (und andere Notizen): Manuskript M, Beilage zum Brief 128 an Fließ vom 25. Mai 1897', in *Briefe an Wilhelm Fließ: 1897-1904*, ed. by Jeffrey Moussaieffe Masson (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1986), p. 265 (p. 265).

[231] Vidler, 'Städteangst und Städtebau', p. 260.

[232] Camillo Sitte, 'Über alte und neue Städteanlagen mit Bezug auf Plätze und Monument-Aufstellung in Wien: Vortrag des Herrn Regierungsrathes Camillo Sitte, gehalten in der Wochenversammlung am 26. Jänner 1889', *Wochenschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architektenvereines*, 14.33, 34 (1889), 261–63, 269–74.

[233] On photography of urban extension, see Ross, 'Down with the Walls! The Politics of Place in Spanish and German Urban Extension Planning'.

[234] Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau*, 3rd edn (Vienna, 1901), p. 113.

Figure 55: Kaiserplatz, the centre of Strasbourg's New Town, with its monument to German Emperor Wilhelm I, epitomised what Viennese critic Camillo Sitte identified as the vices of nineteenth-century planning: grid-based, rectangular opens spaces surrounded by wide, straight avenues vanishing into the distance. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.

Strasbourg played an important role in the formation of Sitte's theory of artistic planning. Sitte knew and admired its city centre. In *City Planning According to Artistic Principles,* Sitte used Strasbourg to make a point about the placement of sacred buildings. These, he argued, should not be positioned on vast, open squares, as was the custom of nineteenth-century planning, but should be embedded in a tight network or low-rise buildings, as was the case with Strasbourg cathedral. That way, Sitte continued, the beholder would be surprised by the unintelligible vastness of these structures when turning a street corner, rather than

bored by a lengthy approach.[235] From 1901, Sitte's book contained a full-page illustration of Strasbourg cathedral. This was not the only way in which Strasbourg impacted his work. Another source of inspiration was Strasbourg art historian Georg Dehio, whose thinking on conservation helped shaped Sitte's later works.[236]
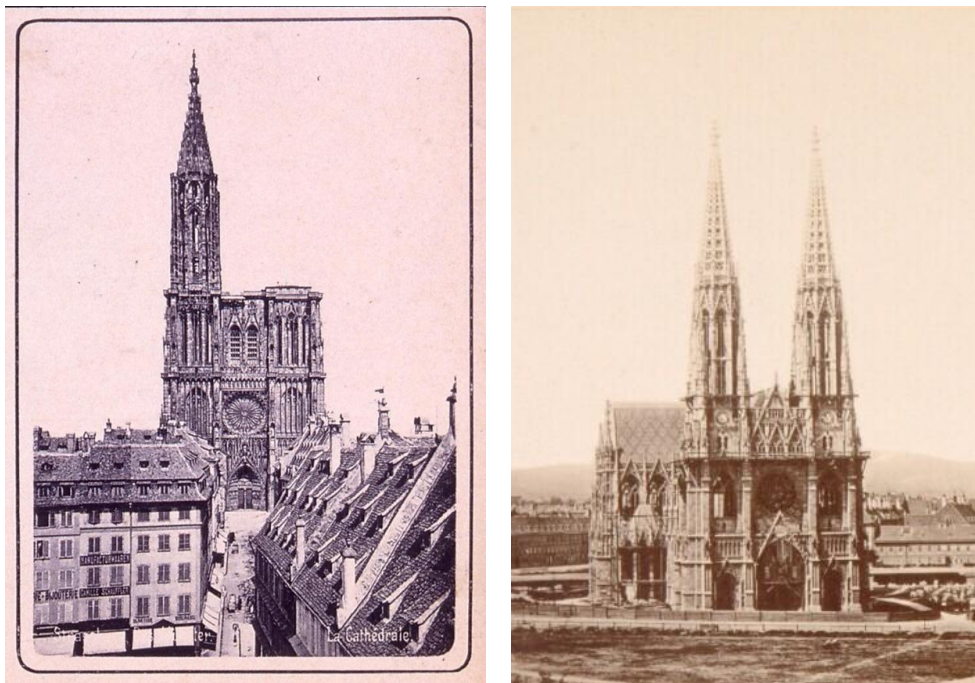

Figure 56: Towering above small lanes and squares, Strasbourg cathedral (photograph from 1899), surprised observers with its vastness. Vienna's Votive Church (photograph from 1879), on the other hand, set on the monumental Ringstrasse, has no such effect. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg; Albertina, Vienna.

Sitte's reception was ambivalent. While professional journals took little notice, such was popular demand that his 1889 book had to be reissued only weeks

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[235] Sitte, *Der Städtebau*, 1st edn (Vienna: Graeser, 1889), p. 72.
[236] Sitte, *Schriften zu Städtebau und Architektur*, II, p. 141.

after its first release.[237] Further editions followed in 1900, 1901 and 1909. In 1902, it appeared in a French translation, entitled *L'Art de bâtir les villes.* A first English translation was envisaged for 1903, but the project was put on hold until 1945. Further translations appeared in   Russian (1925), Spanish (1926), and Italian (1953).[238] In 1903, Sitte founded *Der Städtebau,* the world's first journal for urban planning, together with the architect Theodor Goecke (1850-1919). Its first edition appeared in 1904, shortly after Sitte's early death. While Sitte's theories found receptive readership, his practical impact has been more difficult to assess. In Vienna, the planning authorities paid him no particular attention.[239] By the mid-twentieth century, architects like Le Corbusier, an erstwhile admirer of Sitte, dismissed artistic planning as capricious and backward, while others relativised its innovations as the 'romantic period' of urban planning.[240]

An important conduit of artistic planning was the Heimatschutz movement.[241] Ernst Rudorff, the League's founder, shared Sitte's dislike for straight streets.[242] Leading advocates of Sitte, such as the planners Cornelius Gurlitt and Karl Henrici (1842-1927), professor at the Technical University of

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[237] Schollmeier, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland,* p. 20; George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Dover Publications, 2006), p. 19.

[238] Collins and Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* pp. 71–90.

[239] Collins and Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* pp. 59–60.

[240] H. Allen Brooks, 'Jeanneret and Sitte: Le Corbusier's Earliest Ideas on Urban Design', in *In Search of Modern Architecture: A Tribute to Henry-Russell Hitchcock*, The Architectural History Foundation MIT Press Series, 6 (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1982), pp. 278–97; Stanislaus von Moos, 'Le Corbusier, the Monument and the Metropolis', *Columbia Documents of Architecture and Theory*, 3 (1993), 115–37; Anthony Vidler, 'Städteangst und Städtebau', in *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*, ed. by Klaus Semsroth, trans. by Sonja Hnilica (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 257–74 (pp. 258–59); Sonja Hnilica, 'Stadtmetaphern: Camillo Sittes Bild der Stadt im Architekturdiskurs' (doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Wien, 2006), p. 25; Collins and Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, p. 93.

[241] Hnilica, 'Stadtmetaphern', p. 25.

[242] Ernst Rudorff, *Heimatschutz: Im Auftrag des Deutschen Bundes Heimatschutz neu bearbeitet*, ed. by W. Schoenichen and Paul Schultze-Naumburg (Berlin: Naturschutz-Bücherei), p. 36.

Aachen, whose picturesque designs took inspiration from Germany's small towns, were first-generation Heimatschutz members.[243] Heimatschutz president Paul Schultze-Naumburg's vastly popular book series, *Kulturarbeiten*, published between 1901 and 1917, adopted Sitte's practice of contrasting good and bad examples of urban ensembles. Yet while Sitte had always been specific in his references – many of his criticisms hinged on Ringstrasse Vienna – Schultze-Naumburg used anonymised examples, with no specific mention of city or region. The principles of Heimatschutz, so his message, were applicable in any geographical context.[244]

While Vienna may not have been ready to implement artistic planning, Sarajevo and Strasbourg certainly were. Artistic planning provided planners in both cities with a means to wed modernisation with their newly discovered reverence for the vernacular, the regional and the traditional. In both cities, we have seen, there developed passionate responses to the dominant paradigms of 1870s and 1880s urban planning. Sitte's critique of mainstream planning endowed planners and local politicians with the concepts, methods, and models they needed to implement changes.

In Sarajevo, Sitte's critique of the modern city helped planners translate their dissatisfaction with recent planning into concrete action. By providing them with new analytical methods, concepts, and design techniques, Sitte's artistic approach struck a nerve. It shaped the way in which citizens, officials, and elected

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[243] On Gurlitt, see Ringbeck, 'Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung', p. 217; Collins and Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* p. 94; on Henrici, see K.D. Lilley, 'Modern Visions of the Medieval Cty: Competing Conceptiosn of Urbanism in European Civic Design', *Environment and Planning B, Planning & Design*, 26.3 (1999), 427–46; Wolfgang Sonne, 'Politische Konnotationen des malerischen Städtebaus', in *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*, ed. by Klaus Semsroth (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 63–89.

[244] Voigt, 'Régionalisme und Heimatschutz im Elsass', p. 41.

politicians debated urban planning. While until the late nineteenth century, terms such as traffic, hygiene, regulation had dominated planning discourse, they spoke now and wrote of local character, context, scale, and cityscape *(Ortsbild).* Thanks to Sitte's works, their critiques of mainstream planning became more articulate, more poignant, and more widely read. 'Urban planning', argued the architect Josip Pospišil, had to consider 'not only every individual building and the constitution of the ground, but also every clump of trees, every stream with its mirroring of the adjacent banks, aerial views, the position of the sun, etc.' Planning, Pospišil explained, had to emerge not from blueprints and drawing boards, but 'must occur in context, under the immediate impression of the spatial effect *(Raumwirkung).*'[245] Pospišil was an avid reader not only of Sitte, but also of the German planner Karl Henrici, one of the most influential acolytes of Sittean artistic planning.[246] Sittean terms framed Posipišil's critique of modern architecture such as Sarajevo's town hall, whose Orientalising style and exaggerated scale, Pospišil argued, counteracted the visual effect of the nearby market district.[247]

In Strasbourg, too, Sitte's terms and methods helped citizens to develop their critiques of the existing paradigms of urban planning. Critics of the New Town now bolstered their arguments with Sitte's theories. In local newspaper articles and regionalist journals, commentators resorted to Sittean arguments and concepts.[248] 'What has not been done in Strasbourg to conform to the tyrannical rule of symmetry?', asked the *Revue alsacienne illustrée* in 1904. 'Behold the

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[245] Josip Pospišil, 'Die arme Schönheit', *Bosnische Post* (Sarajevo, 16 July 1915), Vol. 32, p. 3.

[246] Pospišil, 'Bosnische Städte', p. 7.

[247] Josip Pospišil, 'Die Sarajevoer Stadtregulirung [I]', *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* (Sarajevo, 19 November 1909), Vol. 6, p. 2.

[248] Voigt, 'Régionalisme und Heimatschutz im Elsass', p. 42.

Kaiserplatz. Is it possible to imagine anything less artistic, more banal and conforming more to the taste of the uncultivated, as Monsieur Sitte would have it?'[249] Every citizen, the *Revue* urged its readers, should acquaint themselves with Sitte's book. In an article in the professional journal *Bauwelt,* the architect Alphons Schneegans, professor at the Technical University of Dresden, contrasted the 'harmonious spatial creation' of Strasbourg's inner-city streets and squares with the New Town. Of the Kaiserplatz, Schneegans wrote that it had 'turned out entirely confusing [...] The perspective Kaiserplatz-University exists only for the geometer'.[250] Schneegans used Sittean terms to criticise the placement of the monument to Emperor Wilhelm I, on which he commented that 'a piece of sculpture also needs a background. The appearance is surprisingly bad. Monument, square, and Imperial Palace enter no aesthetic relationship.'[251] He also used Sitte-style sketches to illustrate the contrast between the intimately enclosed squares of the old city and the vast public spaces of the New Town. Confidence in the aesthetic merits of the New Town, one of the most ambitious urban extension projects of the German empire, had been lost.

By the early twentieth century, politicians, and professional planners, too, questioned the adequacy of recent planning projects. At the first Exposition of German Cities *(Städteausstellung)* in Dresden in 1903, to general surprise, the plan for the New Town made no appearance, even though it had featured it in Stübben's well-known treatise on urban planning barely more than a decade earlier. Instead, Strasbourg submitted plans of the university campus by Hermann Eggert (1844-1920) with its meandering paths and multiple axes.[252] Commenting

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[249] 'Les embellissements de Strasbourg (IV)', *Chronique d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 6.1 (1904), 4–5 (p. 4).
[250] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 9.
[251] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 9.
[252] Frank, 'La Naissance d'une nouvelle discipline'.

at the Dresden exposition, the conservationist and planning theorist Cornelius Gurlitt wrote of Strasbourg's New Town: 'The whole district is designed to impress with its grandeur, and it achieves this in several places, like the buildings of Second Empire Paris. There is no place', Gurlitt continued, 'for an atmosphere closer to German sensibility, which tends towards conviviality and community of spirits.'[253] In doing so, he referred to terms such as 'conviviality' and 'community' that had been central to Sitte's writings, too. Sitte's critique of urban planning, though it contained no explicitly national argument, helped nationalists and regionalists alike to challenge the paradigms of international modernity.

New aesthetic demands led to the integration of artistic experts into the planning process. While in the 1870s and 1880s, planning departments had consisted predominantly of engineers, after the turn of the century, they increasingly had to employ architects to respond to the intensifying demands of artistic planning. 'In the light of the unsatisfactory qualities of the majority of the Bosnian planning officials, and of the impending public building works', Governor Oskar Potiorek told Joint Minister of Finance Leon von Biliński (1846-1923) in 1913, the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina 'very urgently' needed more architects.[254] Until the turn of the century, the government had relied on occasional collaborations with private architects such as Josip Vancaš. In 1889, the government created a legal framework for part-time contracts with private practitioners.[255] By the eve of the First World War, however, the tasks facing

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[253] Cornelius Gurlitt, 'Der deutsche Städtebau', in *Die deutschen Städte: Geschildert nach den Ergebnissen der ersten deutschen Städteausstellung zu Dresden 1903*, ed. by Robert Wuttke (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1904), I, 23–45 (p. 34).

[254] Potiorek to Biliński, Sarajevo, 18 January 1913, OeStA, KA NL 1503:2.

[255] Ministerial decree No. 3104/BH I, 4 May 1889, ABiH ZVS 98 (1889); Abschrift der Direction über die Rechte und Pflichten des behördlich-autorisierten Civil-Architecten Josef von Vancaš, 27 May 1889, ABiH, ZVS 98, No. 17/39 (1889).

planning departments had increased to such a degree that the government needed in-house architects steeped in artistic planning. In 1913, Potiorek appointed the architect Josip Pospišil to a permanent position in the civil service. This way, one of Sarajevo's fiercest critics of modern planning had himself become a planner.[256] Pospišil was one of a new generation of artistically minded architects such as Josef Pokorny, Hans Berger, Ciril Iveković, Josef Čerńy, and František Blažek, who worked for the planning department of Bosnia-Herzegovina after 1900.

In Strasbourg, too, the city's planning department began to complement its staff of engineers with young architects. In 1903, Mayor Otto Back appointed the young architect Fritz Beblo (1872-1947) from Breslau/Wrocław, a graduate of the Technical University of Karlsruhe, to the municipal planning department. In 1910, Beblo became head of the department's public building section. Under his influence, the municipal planning department began to collaborate with a string of young avant-garde architects, such as Edouard Schmipf (1877-1916), Gustav Oberthür (1872-1965), the brothers Paul (1877-1956) and Karl Bonatz (1882-1853), and Paul Dopff (1885-1968), who became Beblo's assistant and successor.

In both cities, this new generation of planners put the principles of artistic planning into practice. Artistic planning helped them to reconcile their interest in regional vernacular and local heritage with the continuing demands of ambitious modernisation programmes. In Strasbourg, already before the turn of the century, planners began to subject existing general plans to alterations. In 1897, municipal planner Johann Carl Ott revised the general plan for the eastern part of the New Town, the Île Sainte-Hélène, abandoning the agreed pattern of rectangular streets in favour of a network of curved streets that took cues from existing paths, in line

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[256] Potiorek to Biliński, Sarajevo, 18 January 1913, OeStA, KA NL 1503:2.

with Sitte's theory of artistic planning.[257] When asked to justify his changes, Ott referred to Sitte.[258] In 1905, the mayor, Otto Back, asked the city council to alter the general plan for the suburb of Neudorf in line with the principles of artistic planning, even though the existing plan was less than ten years old. 'The comparison of the old, picturesque, and habitable cities with the bland, boring looks of modern urban extensions has led to the general conviction that [...] the exaggerated regularity of straight streets and squares bears the blame. For this reason, in more recent general plans, straight streets have yielded to gently curved ones', Back told the council.[259] The turn towards artistic planning intensified after the election of Strasbourg's new mayor, Rudolf Schwander, in 1906. Schwander's planning projects, in areas such school building, social housing and municipal infrastructure, were accompanied by a strong aesthetic mission. In a 1913 article in *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Germany's leading left-liberal newspaper, Schwander advocated a greater role for aesthetics amid the technical and social elements of urban planning. In particular, he noted the importance of creating coherent, memorable streets, squares, and cityscapes – key concepts of Sittean artistic planning.[260]

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[257] Pottecher, 'Die Neustadt in Straßburg', p. 177.

[258] Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 24, footnote 25; Pottecher, 'Die Neustadt in Straßburg', p. 177.

[259] Otto Back in the city council, 14 June 1905, *Verhandlungen des Gemeinderats der Stadt Straßburg im Jahre 1905* (Strasbourg: Elsässische Druckerei, 1906), p. 264, AVES, 2 BA 1905.

[260] For a summary of the article see Legrand, 'Über Kunst- und Kulturfragen', p. 154.

Figure 57: In the eastern parts of the New Town, planners applied the principles of artistic planning. They departed from the grid-based structure of the 1880 general plan, which had been favoured by liberals and property owners. General plan from 1880 *(left),* aerial photograph from 2020 *(right).* Credit: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg; Google Maps.

Schwander's first major planning project, the Great Breakthrough, gave municipal planners an opportunity to implement the principles of artistic planning on a grand scale. Designed by Beblo, this new boulevard, which cut across the city centre at more than eighteen meters wide and two kilometres long, combined infrastructural modernisation with a new attentiveness to the local and historical context. Instead of a straight avenue, he designed a gently undulating street, moulded onto the existing street pattern, which offered the pedestrian constantly changing aspects and surprising glances into the adjoining streets. Polaczek called it 'a piece of consummate building culture, coherent both in the curvature of its lines as well as in the design of both rows of façades.'[261] Another important manifestation of artistic planning was the 1910 planning competition for Stockfeld garden suburb. All the eight prize-winning entries bore the imprint

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[261] Polaczek, *Straßburg*, p. 213.

of artistic planning. Seven featured curved streets. The victorious design by the architect Édouard Schimpf, built between 1910 and 1912, combined gently curved streets with an enclosed main square. Its streets were much narrowed than had been customary in the New Town, a move which helped to cut cost as well as create streetscapes reminiscent of the pre-modern city.[262] All winning entries were featured in the artistic planning journal *Der Städtebau*.[263]

Figure 58: The so-called Great Breakthrough, a boulevard designed by the architect and planner Fritz Beblo, combined radical infrastructural modernisation with a new attention to the urban context. Beblo's design weaves through the inner city, featuring gentle curves, carefully-framed views of historical monuments, and unexpected connections to the adjoining lanes. Model by Emile Maechling (1878-1964). Credit: Musées de Strasbourg.

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[262] Goecke, 'Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld', p. 37.
[263] 'Wettbewerbsentwürfe zum Bebauungsplan für die Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld bei Straßburg-Neuhof', *Der Städtebau*, 8 (1911), Appendix, figs 19–22.

In Sarajevo, too, artistic planning found enthusiastic uptake. After 1900, planners applied the principles of artistic planning in extension areas and inner-city transformation projects. The exclusive reliance on rectangular blocks and straight streets, which had characterised urban planning until the turn of the century, gave way to an embrace of curved streets. In the suburban districts of Gorica, Kovačići, and Skenderija, planners laid out new, curved streets. Particularly important to the proliferation of artistic planning was the architect Josip Pospišil, who had made a name for his sketches of old-town Sarajevo, his involvement in the conservation movement and his attacks on nineteenth-century planning in Sarajevo. In 1908, after a fire that destroyed parts of the market district *čaršija,* Pospišil designed a reconstruction plan that followed Sittean principles.[264] Here, as in Strasbourg, artistic planning combined modernisation and inner-city clearance with a new attentiveness to local context. Pospišil took the fire as an opportunity to enlarge the main market square. But instead of imposing a rectangular form, he followed the existing outlines of the market stalls, which helped him to create an irregular shape and a coherent frontage vis-à-vis the square. This way, the ornamental fountain *(sebilj),* designed by Alexander Wittek (1852-1894) no longer occupied the middle of the square, as Baumeister and Stübben would have had it, but stood slightly off-centre, to create a generous space for assembly in the centre.

Artistic planning, we have seen, rested on two innovations. First was a willingness to discuss and conduct urban planning in aesthetic terms. By the eve of the First World War, there was wide-spread agreement that planners should not only consider the demands of hygiene, safety, structural soundness, traffic, and housing, but to 'provide also for the *aesthetic* development of the city and for the

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[264] Makas, 'Sarajevo', p. 246; Gül and Dee, 'Sarajevo: A City Profile', p. 153.

preservation of the cityscape', as Strasbourg's mayor Rudolf Schwander told the city council in 1910.[265] This consensus, we have seen, was fed by general dissatisfaction with what contemporaries regarded as the generic, exchangeable and whimsical looks of the modern city. In Strasbourg and Sarajevo, many politicians, architects, planners, and middle-class citizens shared the conviction that urban planning had to change radically.

The second innovation of artistic planning was a new attention towards the pre-modern city. Artistic planning transported, and fed on, a new appreciation of vernacular architecture, historical monuments, local folklore, cultural heritage, in short, all that had traditionally distinguished cities like Strasbourg or Sarajevo from cities in other parts of Europe. Contemporaries subsumed all these factors as 'local character' *(Ortscharacter)*.[266] Sitte, too, frequently referred to a city's 'character'. In their joint preface to the first volume of *Der Städtebau,* Sitte and Goecke wrote that 'nature and art, historical experience and freshly pulsating life shall go hand in hand and break the dry, boring stencil, so that every city shall again develop its particular character, depending on its situation and national custom, and not all new towns across the whole world attain the same sober look, as if made from the same prototype'.[267] Protecting and vivifying a city's particular character became an ambition that united many local politicians, officials, architects and planners.

In Strasbourg and Sarajevo after 1900, we have seen, the plans that municipal and governmental planning departments produced became important instruments to emphasize local particularities. Plans, however, were not the only,

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[265] *Verhandlungen des Gemeinderats der Stadt Straßburg im Jahre 1910* (Strasbourg: Elsässische Druckerei, 1911), p. 837, AVES, 2 BA 1910.
[266] Hnilica, 'Stadtmetaphern', pp. 81–83.
[267] Camillo Sitte and Theodor Goecke, 'An unsere Leser', *Der Städtebau*, 1.1 (1904), 1–4.

nor sufficient, instruments to this end. General plans alone could not achieve the complete aesthetic control that adherents of artistic planning aspired to. 'Any building, and be it ever so small, [must be] subject to the principles of artistic planning', commented one Strasbourg architect. 'It should be self-evident that any building must enter a natural relationship with its context.'[268] But how, for instance, were planners to ensure that private construction would fit into an overarching aesthetic vision of the city? How were they to ensure that private developers respected local character? And how were they to prevent aesthetic whims from ruining the carefully-balanced urban aspects that their curved streets and gently-enveloped squares aimed to produce?

In Sarajevo, policy makers adopted planning law to ensure greater aesthetic control over private construction. They applied the instrument of zoning, developed in the 1890s to help steer the development of housing, to complement the revised plans. After the turn of the century, the municipality made alterations to the existing building code of 1893 in the name of preserving local character. The building code (§48) allowed the municipality to pass by-laws with additional regulations for specific parts of the city, which then had to be ratified by the regional government to become legally binding. On 11 May 1903, for instance, the council decided on an alteration of the existing building code for the market district, *čaršija*. Čaršija, as we have seen, was being encroached by several modern developments. In a bid to preserve the čaršija's 'character', the council agreed to impose a new height limit – two storeys – on all new construction. This, it was hoped, would ensure that new buildings would blend into the existing network of low-rise market stalls, workshops, and caravanserais. In doing so, the council made use of zoning, a planning policy instrument

[268] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 12.

originally developed to limit contamination from polluting industries and first applied in Sarajevo to steer residential development, as we have seen in chapter 3. German planning theorist Cornelius Gurlitt, who visited Sarajevo with a delegation of the Technical University of Dresden in 1912, went even further. In an article in the *Neue Freie Presse,* Vienna's leading liberal newspaper, Gurlitt encouraged the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to make the čaršija subject to an entirely different set of building regulations.[269]

There may have been widely-shared support for boldly interventionist artistic planning. In practice, however, few of the new interventions were uncontroversial. Property owners, especially, reacted with frustration. Some, such as Gligorije Jeftanović, who owned land in the čaršija, resorted to the principles upheld by nineteenth-century liberals when confronted with greater restrictions in the name of aesthetics. The council's height restrictions, Jeftanović argued, interfered 'profoundly with the interest of property owners and constrains the freedom of property *(Besitzfreiheit),* which is supposed to be sacrosanct.'[270] When it came to the preservation of local character, Jeftanović feigned ignorance: 'We hardly understand what is meant by the '"preservation of the čaršija's character"', Jeftanović quoted the municipal proposal, adding that 'the character of the čaršija consists of wooden stalls, which are opened far into the lanes, and in which the saddlers, tailors, etc. display their goods; we leave it to the government to judge if that is a beauty worth preserving, but we do believe that it will be impossible, in the end, to preserve these beauties'.[271] Jeftanović did all he could to stop the

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[269] Cornelius Gurlitt, 'Städtebauliche Studien aus Dalmatien und Bosnien', *Neue Freie Presse,* 17193-17227 (Vienna, 6 July - 6 August 1912); cf. Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina,* pp. 747–48.

[270] Jeftanović to Regierungs-Commissär, Sarajevo, 4 December 1903, ABiH, ZVS 123.218/II, Nr. 13757.

[271] Ibid.

envisioned restrictions. In June 1903, shortly after the decision in the city council, he urged the representative of the government's commissioner to the municipality to reject the council's proposal.[272] In December, he wrote again. His protest was to no avail. The government commissioner commented drily that 'any building code constrains the freedom of property owners'.[273] The restrictions were intended, before all, to protect the eminent aspect of Gazi Husref-beg Mosque, 'which should remain as free as possible and not be surrounded by tall profane buildings'. The building commission *(Bauausschuss),* a sub-committee of the city council, commented that the existence of some high-rise buildings in the čaršija was no strong enough reason to allow further high-rises there.[274] The proposed restrictions came into force shortly after, forcing Jeftanović to abandon a major residential development project just north of Gazi Husref-beg Mosque.

Artistic planning did, in many cases, impose tighter restrictions on property owners. It would be wrong, however, to assume that planning authorities after 1900 became more hawkish as a rule. Further west, in the newer parts of Sarajevo, the government's planning department allowed developers to go beyond restrictions set in the 1893 building code.[275] Most newer buildings in Cemaluša (Maršala Tita), for instance, now exceeded the permissible three storeys. On the Appel-Quay (Obala kulina bana), the new-built Miljacka embankment, the city council asked the government to relax the prescribed three-meter distance between neighbouring buildings.[276] The rapidly-changing

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[272] Jeftanović to Regierungs-Commissär, Sarajevo, 22 June 1903, ABiH, ZVS 123.218.

[273] Regierungs-Commissär to the regional government, Sarajevo, 4 December 1903, ABiH, ZVS 123.218/II, Nr. 13757.

[274] Ibid.

[275] Harthmuth, 'Sarajevo 1878-1918'.

[276] Regierungs-Commissär to the regional government, Sarajevo, 28 March 1903, ABiH, ZVS 123.218, Nr. 6477.

economic and demographic realities frequently required planners to adjust existing regulations. What can be safely said of post-1900 urban planning is that planners took greater license than ever before to adopt to the specific urban context.

The rise of artistic planning saw Strasbourg and Sarajevo engulfed in an international movement for planning reform. Urban planning in both cities, we have seen, was no longer prescribed by imperial politics, not dictated by economic necessities. It took shape within a wider transnational discourse on modern art, architecture, and urban development. This discourse unfolded in expert journals and mass publications, between centres like Vienna and Berlin, and peripheral cities like Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The younger generation of architects who partook in this discourse travelled with greater ease than any generation before them, attending international conferences that took place with increasing frequency all over Europe. They were able to impress their ideas on receptive local publics and on officials in the municipal and regional administrations. As a result, urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo became subject to trends that exceeded the boundaries of their respective regions and empires.

3.7   Emancipation

The developments that this chapter has described accompanied a new optimism about the political future of Strasbourg and Sarajevo, too. Contemporaries thought that the new aesthetic regionalism would help stabilise the position of Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina within their respective empires. In the final years before the First World War, both regions experienced political reforms that improved citizens' rights and gave both regions greater independence from Berlin and Vienna.

These developments were especially pronounced in Alsace-Lorraine. Contemporaries turned their hopes to the early twentieth-century reforms in conservation, architecture, and urban planning as a step towards a peaceful and harmonious future. 'The future development of Strasbourg promises better success', wrote critic of nineteenth-century planning, Alphons Schneegans, in 1916. 'Architecturally, one encounters an endearing adaption to the old, and in the hearts of the Germans with whom I spoke, I noticed a connection and love for the old Strasbourg that has grown through time.'[277] Strasbourg, Schneegans told his readers, could serve as a lesson for the future Germany. Urban planning would be integral to the success of imperial expansion. 'This is especially true of newly-acquired territories: that we must avoid at all cost to disrupt the band between the popular spirit, the land, and its traditions, and we must avoid the insertion of foreign looks, artistically inferior to the old, which only risk lessening the effect of old works of art.'[278] Instead, Schneegans continued, 'it will be necessary to connect urban planning to the existing, to avoid all empty phrases, and herein to

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[277] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 11.
[278] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 12.

conduct real, lived Heimatschutz'.[279] For external observers as well as citizens and local politicians, urban planning had become an indispensable instrument of statecraft.

Local newspapers such as the *Revue alsacienne illustrée* and the *Grande Revue* commended the municipality for its embrace of an artistic planning centred on the principles of Heimatschutz. 'German urban planning', commented *Cahiers alsaciens* in 1913, 'has after its prolonged, chaotic, and cultureless state returned to the foreground of artistic interest. It is especially pleasant for us here to see that recent planning literature has increasingly turned to the beautiful precedents of old Strasbourg.' Strasbourg's new planning approach, the *Cahiers* continued, would keep alive 'the spirit of our fathers; by continuing it into our own time and our own creation, there emerges an inner, spiritual band between today and yesterday, a band which gives us a sense of togetherness, of family, of home, which lends our creation that organic unity without which a developed culture is unthinkable. This is what we suffer in Alsace and Lorraine [...]: this detachment from all tradition in artistic and cultural matters, this general dissolution into small, individual opinions'.[280]

A new urban aesthetics, some thought, could unite otherwise disparate communities. Politicians like Schwander hoped that an overarching aesthetic vision for Strasbourg would counteract the centrifugal forces in urban society. 'Not in the individual will to create something special, exceptional, does culture signify itself, but rather in the overcoming of individual whim, in self-restraint, in the voluntary subjection of individual will under a higher, coherent principle', wrote Schwander in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. 'Manners, moderation and

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[279] Schneegans, 'Der Einfluss baulicher Anlagen', p. 12.
[280] Legrand, 'Über Kunst- und Kulturfragen', pp. 153–54.

elegance, rather than individual heroism, characterise a developed culture'.[281] There was, in other words, hope that the new aesthetic regime would, after decades of erring, transport the city to its proper place within the international concert of cultures.

Aesthetic emancipation from imperial centres such as Berlin and Vienna accompanied the political emancipation of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. Aesthetic regionalism accompanied political reforms that gave Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina greater independence within their respective empires. After decades of direct subjection to the imperial executive, in the years before the First World War, both regions enjoyed increasing political autonomy. On 17 February 1910, less than two years after Austria-Hungary had announced the formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the region received a constitution or provincial statute *(Landesstatut),* which included a bill of rights and citizenship laws, and which finally established a regional assembly.[282] In 1912, Valerie Heuberger has argued, the constitution was reformed to devolve greater powers to the municipalities.[283] In Sarajevo, the constitution was seen as a response to citizens' demands for increasing political autonomy. Elsewhere, some, such as the jurist Karl Lamp (1866-1962), saw it as the starting point of a rigorous modernisation of the empire. Lamp argued that the provincial statute was more than a further step towards centralisation. Instead, he thought that the formalisation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian affairs would create a common interest that would tie Austria and Hungary closer together, that would weaken their independent existences and

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[281] Quoted after Legrand, 'Über Kunst- und Kulturfragen', pp. 154–55.

[282] Judson, *The Habsburg Empire,* pp. 378–82.

[283] Valerie Heuberger, 'Politische Institutionen und Verwaltung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878-1918', in *Die Habsburgermonarchie: 1848-1918*, ed. by Heinrich Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), VII, 2383–2425 (pp. 2420–23).

that would ultimately strengthen the common institutions of the empire.[284] To those who were more skeptical than Lamp, the Bosnian Constitution still marked an important step towards reforms on which the continuation of the empire would ultimately depend.[285] Pre-World War Sarajevo, in other words, played a constructive, as well as disruptive, role in imperial politics.

Aesthetic regionalism accompanied political regionalism in Strasbourg, too. On 26 May 1911, fourteen months after the Bosnian Constitution, the German Reichstag passed a constitutional law for Alsace-Lorraine.[286] It turned the region into the twenty-sixth member state of the German empire, granted it three seats in the Council of States, and devolved all state-level law-making to the regional committee *(Landesausschuss),* which was rebranded regional assembly *(Landtag),* in line with the empire's other federated states.[287] The constitution was an important step in the political development of Alsace-Lorraine.[288] Even historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler, who has questioned whether the law of 1911 can be truly called a constitution, agreed that its reforms carried great promise.[289] Many citizens thought that it marked the beginning of an era in which they had finally become first-class citizens of the empire.[290] Greater political autonomy had

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[284] Lamp, 'Die Verfassung von Bosnien und der Herzegowina'.

[285] Judson, *The Habsburg Empire,* pp. 381–82.

[286] 'Gesetz über die Verfassung Elsaß-Lothringens vom 31. Mai 1911', *Reichsgesetzblatt,* 1911, p. 225.

[287] Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs,* pp. 40–46; Nohlen, *Baupolitik im Reichsland*, pp. 149–50; Vogler, *Histoire politique de l'Alsace*, p. 178.

[288] Paul Heitz, 'La loi constitutionnelle de l'Alsace-Lorraine du 31 mai 1911', *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, 18.28 (1911), 429–75; *Centenaire de la Constitution de 1911 pour l'Alsace-Lorraine: Acte du colloque organisé par l'Institut du droit local alsacien-mosellan, avec la participation de l'Université de Strasbourg et le soutien de la Région Alsace, et tenu à Strasbourg les 19 et 20 mai 2011*, ed. by Jean-Marie Woehrling (Strasbourg: Institut du droit local alsacien-mosellan, 2012).

[289] Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs*, pp. 45–46.

[290] Jean-Marie Mayeur, *Autonomie et politique en Alsace: La Constitution de 1911* (Paris, 1970); see also Brentano, *Elsässer Erinnerungen*, p. 140.

for some years been a demand of local and regional politicians.[291] Regionalist artists, such as the Youngest Alsace circle, who objected to the imperial regime yet firmly opposed a return to France, had enthusiastically shared in these demands.[292]

The aesthetic reforms of the early twentieth century, we have seen, did not unfold in isolation. They accompanied important political reforms that were intended to make Alsace-Lorraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina fit for the future. While it cannot be denied that there were, sometimes substantial, political problems in both regions, these reforms evoked a general optimism about the political future of both regions and their rapidly-growing capitals. By the summer of 1914, Strasbourg and Sarajevo were thriving centres of art, architecture, and urban planning within the central European empires.

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[291] Wehler, *Krisenherde des Kaiserreichs*, p. 41.

[292] Flake, *Straßburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt*, p. 21; for a first-hand account of the autonomist demands of the Youngest Alsace circle, see Otto Flake, *Es wird Abend: Bericht aus einem langen Leben* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1960).

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In the early twentieth century, this chapter has shown, a new era began for Strasbourg and Sarajevo. The pre-war years greatly expanded the repertoire of policy tools employed by planners in both cities. By the outbreak of the First World War, planning authorities intervened more rigorously and more routinely in urban development than ever before. From the surveying, listing, and protection of historical buildings to new restrictions to protect the city's 'local character', to subjecting planning applications to aesthetic examination, planners imposed more detailed, and more far-reaching restrictions on private property rights than ever before. By the eve of the Frist World War, Strasbourg and Sarajevo were part of an international avantgarde in urban planning.

Underlying these changes in planning were radical changes in contemporaries' attitudes towards their cities. After half a century of modernisation, citizens, visitors, local artists, and architects began to look anew, and more critically, at the modern city. While there could be no doubt that Strasbourg and Sarajevo had, by the turn of the century, become thoroughly modern, there simultaneously emerged a certain disillusionment with their avowed modernity. This disillusionment, this chapter has shown, led to a new interest in local heritage and the regional vernacular, an interest that was furthered by artists, art historians and conservation activists, and which was taken up enthusiastically among middle-class citizens. Planners and architects now sought to recreate the specific 'character' of their city. Instead of looking towards European models of modernity, such as Vienna, Paris, or Berlin, they pursued a new urban aesthetic that was, above all, faithful to its particular, local, and historical, context.

These developments did not unfold in isolation, but rather embedded Strasbourg and Sarajevo in an increasingly dynamic international discourse on urban planning. Across the continent, there was growing interest in local heritage and regional vernacular among artists, architects, collectors, travellers, policy makers and exhibition-goers. The movements for conservation, artistic planning, and architectural regionalism, which have formed the subject of this chapter, relied themselves on ever-increasing exchange between modern European cities. Strasbourg and Sarajevo developed into important hubs of this network. Modern urban planning was not 'made' in the capitals of the European powers alone but was crucially shaped by formerly peripheral cities such as Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

In all this, the imperial predicament played hardly any role anymore. The turn towards the vernacular was not the manifestation of a willed policy on the part of imperial governments. Like earlier innovations in urban planning, this development was not premeditated by high politics, but emerged bottom-up. The vernacular turn engaged new, hitherto marginalised, groups in urban planning. In the post-1848 decades, planning discourse had been dominated by engineers, technical experts, and police officials. From the late 1880s, it had come to include journalists, religious leaders, bourgeois social reformers, and party politicians. After 1900, it was artists, historians, conservationists, and architects – in short, aesthetes – who involved themselves increasingly actively in urban planning. It was by aestheticizing the vernacular that contemporaries were able to critique the accomplishments of an earlier generation of planners, policy makers and middle-class investors, accomplishments, which, after all, were hard to dispute on economic, demographic, or infrastructural grounds. Travelling with great ease and publishing widely, these men and women contributed to the emergence of a pan-European discourse on urban planning, a discourse that soon engulfed

established citizens, too, and in which national or imperial boundaries became almost irrelevant. As a result, the early twentieth century saw a great boost in the number of conferences, exhibitions, and publications on urban planning. These institutions, in turn, created vivid interest, and eager reception, in Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In urban planning, the two cities no longer responded to imperial prerogatives. They had become part of a shared international condition.

Conclusion

Modern urban planning is a young subject. By the mid-nineteenth century, the starting point of this thesis, it had not yet come into being. At the time of the European Revolution of 1848, the instruments that public authorities could command to direct urban development were very limited. In most of Europe, there were no public planning departments, no rigorous construction standards, no laws against insalubrious dwellings, no procedures for expropriation, and no planning application systems. Population growth in central Europe did not accelerate until the 1840s. As a consequence, few cities had developed general plans or extension plans. There were no people who called themselves planners. In fact, no widely agreed term existed for what we today refer to as 'urban planning'.

Between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the practice underwent momentous changes. By the outbreak of the First World War, urban planning was a consolidated policy field and a well-established area of knowledge. Most of the policy instruments that planners still use today, from general plans to zoning, public-private partnership, conservation laws, green belts, by-laws for the protection of cityscapes and housing market regulations, were by then widely used. There were large planning departments in local and central government. The concept of urban planning, or its equivalent, was firmly anchored in common parlance. The practice attracted the attention of charities, churches, political parties and lobby groups. There were university seminars, lecture courses, professorships, and lengthy treatises on urban planning; professional associations, international conferences, and expert journals for planners.

The development of modern urban planning coincided with a phase of accelerated urban growth. This was especially true in central Europe, which had been late, but rapid, to industrialise, and, as a consequence, to urbanise. Strasbourg and Sarajevo are cases in point. After centuries of stagnation, the conquest of the two cities by the German and Austro-Hungarian empires in the 1870s marked the beginning of a period of intensive

managed expansion. Strasbourg and Sarajevo modernised quickly under their new imperial regimes. They extended their physical limits, acquired new infrastructure in the form of sewerage, water supply, electricity, railways, trams, schools, hospitals, theatres, and museums. These processes were managed by an ever-increasing staff of planning officials.

Most scholars of the histories of Strasbourg and Sarajevo have foregrounded the role of empire in the planning process. Constitutionally, unlike any other central European regional capital, the two cities were directly subject to their respective imperial governments. It would therefore seem plausible to ascribe the evolution of planning to the influence that the imperial leadership, both military and civilian, wielded over Strasbourg and Sarajevo.

In truth, however, as this thesis has shown, planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo owed less to imperial hierarchies than to emergent lateral networks that spanned across national and imperial boundaries. The imperial predicament in which both cities found themselves in the 1870s played a decreasing role in their physical development. At the end of the 1870s, the military authorities that had, at least for a brief period, set the parameters of urban development, ceded some of their responsibilities to the municipality. The municipality, in turn, involved bourgeois citizens and liberal technical experts in the planning process. These men, the first generation of specialist planners, derived their prestige not from public office but from their involvement in professional associations, conferences, expert journals, and academic teaching. Their involvement in projects like Strasbourg helped them to build their networks and increase their international standing. Their policy guidance was internalised in turn by policy makers in Sarajevo, whose new plans and building codes bore close resemblance to those of Strasbourg. In this way, the two cities became part of a shared environment where urban planning was governed by the same laws, norms, and design principles.

Towards the turn of the century, the networks that governed planning expanded dramatically. The advent of mass media created an increasingly active and emotional discourse on urban planning, a discourse that borrowed terms and lines of argument from

other central European cities that were grappling with similar challenges. Emergent mass institutions (unions, cultural associations, political parties, religious and charitable organisations) capitalised on this discourse. Many of these institutions, such as regional social democratic parties, were in turn part of wider transnational networks. These networks transported planning innovations to Strasbourg and Sarajevo, integrating the two more closely into a shared European sphere of urban planning. By the eve of the First World War, innovations such as zoning, cooperative housing, and the garden city resonated in both cities, creating an unprecedented wealth of policy instruments at planners' disposal. In both cities, planning discourse became quite independent of imperial hierarchies. The two cities' imperial predicament played a role only insofar as it determined which kinds of public authorities took charge of planning policy. In Strasbourg, whose social democrats became reliable partners to political executives, local democracy took an increasingly active role. In Sarajevo, by contrast, it was the government that internalised many of the salient themes of international planning discourse while retaining, at least formally, control of most areas of planning policy.

After 1900, planning emancipated itself almost entirely from the constraints of the imperial predicament. The networks that governed urban planning expanded further to include artists, critics, architects, and conservation activists. These men were educated all across Europe, travelled with great ease, attended conferences, and published widely. They linked Strasbourg and Sarajevo to avant-garde thinking on art, architecture, and cities – and to movements that challenged the predominant aesthetics of the modern European city. The new generation of aesthetes became less interested in what made the two cities German or Austro-Hungarian, and instead explored what made Strasbourg and Sarajevo unique. They inspired conservation movements, regionalist artistic schools, and avant-garde architectural styles that drew on the local vernacular. Public authorities responded with conservation regulations, local by-laws for the protection of cityscapes, and with commissions to architects that sought to promote the vernacular. In emphasizing their

unique characteristics, Strasbourg and Sarajevo became nodes in an emergent international network of avant-garde planning.

The history of urban planning in Strasbourg and Sarajevo is, by no means, a history of high politics. The critical stimuli in the history of urban planning were not premeditated in central government departments. Almost all innovations that made up modern urban planning were driven by citizens. Planning responded increasingly to innovations transported through lateral networks of bourgeois citizens, technical experts, journalists, religious social reformers, political activists, artists, architects, and conservationists, networks that spanned across central Europe regardless of national or imperial boundaries. Even in cities that remained, at least constitutionally, under the direct control of imperial government, planning responded increasingly to the influence of such networks, rather than to imperial hierarchies. These findings reinforce recent trends in the historiography of urban planning, which has questioned the predominant focus on high politics and instead seeks to recover the role of citizens.

This history of urban planning also provides an alternative perspective on the history of modern Strasbourg and Sarajevo. It challenges the predominant narratives of the two cities, narratives in which their imperial predicament has played a central and unrelenting role. As this thesis has sought to demonstrate, the two cities were more than laboratories of imperial power or victims of imperial expansion. They were also active participants in their own modernisation. Citizens engaged in urban planning as a vehicle to wrest an informal power from the imperial hierarchy, and to voice and enforce their demands vis-à-vis public administrations. More than a century after this predicament has ended, the time is ripe to challenge the privileged position that empire has played in the historiography of Strasbourg and Sarajevo. In more ways than one, this thesis has tried to shift the focus from what separates the two, to what unites them.

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