Encounters in Mostar: Historic Architecture Before and After the Bosnian War

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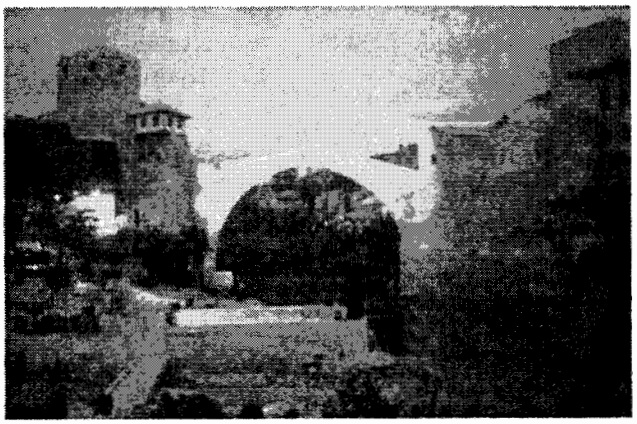
INTRODUCTION

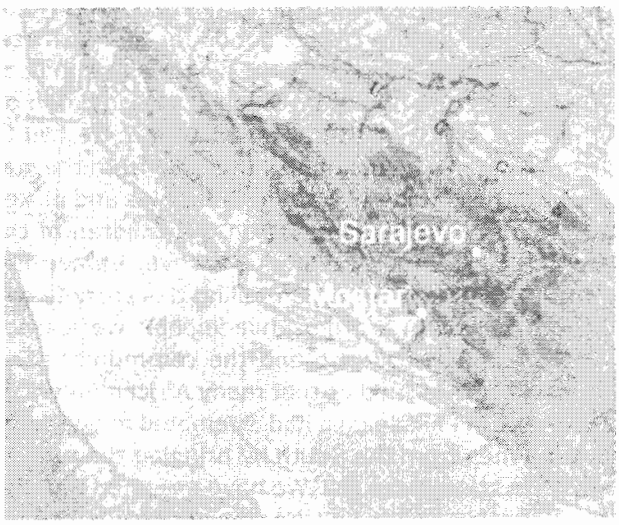
In the summer of 2004 thousands of Bosnians and foreign visitors flocked to the historic city of Mostar, the principal city of Herzegovina, in the new Balkan country of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to celebrate the reconstruction of that city's famous Ottoman bridge. Destroyed in 1993, it symbolized the cultural rift that exploded in Bosnia with the breakdown of civil society during the dissolution of former Yugoslavia. Along with the Old Bridge, most of the historic city core then lay in ruins, and the once-mixed Serb, Croat and Bosniak (Muslim) population either fled the country, or hastily relocated, Croats to the west and Bosniaks to the east. After the first wave of fighting, Mostar's Serbs departed altogether, and a divided city has persisted up to the present.



Bridge Celebration, July 2004

The history of the war in Bosnia has been told in many forms, in newscasts and journal articles, and finally books.[1] The war's aggressions were played out throughout Bosnia, but the resulting physical damage pales beside the "ethnic cleansing," the policy of genocide enacted by the Serbs and Croats (and Serbians and Croatians) who vied for control of the newly formed country. Mostar's own war story has been amply documented, especially among experts who have worked on its reconstruction, including educators involved in the annual "Mostar 2004" international summer workshops.[2] What has not been clearly revealed is the extraordinary shift in values in the reconstructed city. This paper will compare Mostar's pre-war architectural environment with the post-war conditions of 2004, and explore how the reconstruction process and results demonstrate the uncertainties of a very different political, economic and social context from that of the former Yugoslavia.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

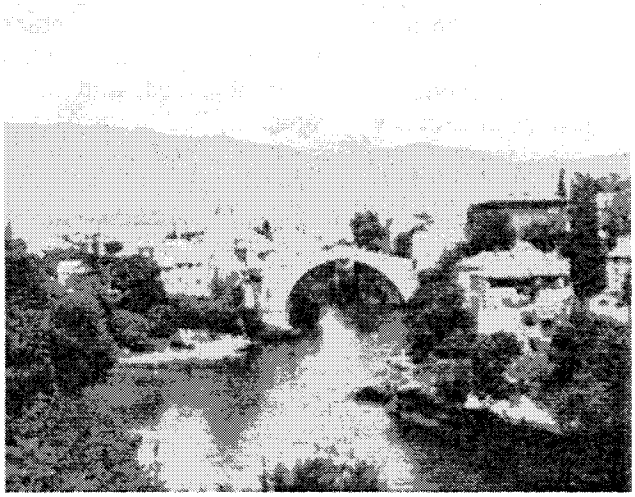


Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The name Mostar means "bridge-keeper," and the town grew up around the first bridge across the Neretva River, built in 1452, which opened a route leading west from the ancient road on the river's eastern bank that linked the Adriatic with the Danube.[3] Slung between two fortified towers, the first bridge was constructed of timber and chains. When the Ottomans conquered the territory of medieval Herzegovina in 1463, they took control of this river crossing and developed Mostar as the administrative center of the Herzegovina region of the Empire's province of Bosnia. Within a century a more durable bridge was needed, and by 1566 the high, single-arched stone bridge for which the city became famous was in place.[4] Around it Mostar expanded along the riverbanks, its commercial core surrounded by residential neighborhoods, and farmlands in the broad valley to the west. The population was mixed: Bosnian Serbs and Croats (many having converted to Islam), Sephardic Jews, and Ottoman administrators and military forces. In time, Mostar acquired prestige as a center for education and culture.

As the Ottoman Empire declined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, western ideas mixed with older traditions, and religious constraints relaxed for Mostar's non-Muslims. Administration of Bosnia was ceded to the Hapsburgs in 1878, and the Austrians created new districts on Mostar's west side, also adding western-style civic and commercial buildings within the urban core. Hapsburg rule ended with World War I, and in 1918 Yugoslavia emerged as a nation, the short-lived Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The German-Italian conquest of Yugoslavia in World War II was countered by Yugoslav resistance to the Axis occupiers. Internal conflicts divided resistance factions -- in Bosnia, pitting Croats against Serbs -- and the estimated one million war deaths in Yugoslavia are credited mainly to internal conflict. Memories of that period were manipulated by warmongers of the 1990's to incite the ethnic animosities that endure today.

Under the charismatic leadership of Josip Broz Tito, a communist government emerged after the war, and from 1950 to 1980, Federal Yugoslavia enjoyed peace and increasing prosperity, while ethnic conflicts were firmly suppressed. Mostar expanded under Tito's programs for modernization, expanding to the north and south along the Neretva valley with industrial development and military installations. The city gained a university campus, new sports facilities, and high-rise residential zones. Distinctions between east and west were blurred as citizens moved into new job-based apartments. Younger generations looked ahead, appreciated the new prosperity, and put aside their religion-based differences. But as the city grew and modernized, the historic center fell into disrepair.



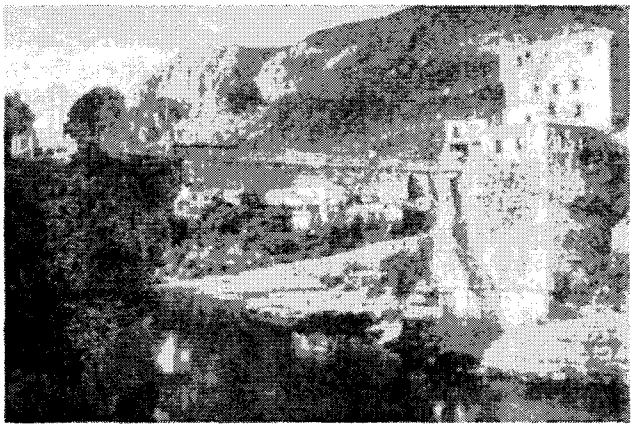
View of Old Bridge and historic city core, 1988

Concerned about Mostar's vulnerable heritage, a group of architects and urban conservationists developed a novel plan for urban conservation and economic development to protect and revitalize the historic center. Taking advantage of free-enterprise opportunities in Yugoslavia's "self-management" economy, small businesses brought life to the old market district in restored structures. In 1986, the success of this project achieved international recognition with the prestigious Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The old center reclaimed its focal role in Mostar, especially as the setting for the traditional evening promenade leading to the Old Bridge. Youths resumed their ritual claim to manhood by diving twenty meters from its apex into the icy waters. Again, new romances were initiated with an embrace on the bridge, and again, newborn infants were brought here to be inducted as "keepers of the bridge." It was as if Ivo Andric's bridge in Visegrad, another Bosnian town, were one with Mostar's: "Thus the generations renewed themselves beside the bridge and the bridge shook from itself, like dust, all the traces which transient human events had left on it and remained, when all was over, unchanged and unchangeable."[5]

With the war in Bosnia, all this changed. Hostilities broke out in Bosnia in the spring of 1992, following a referendum favoring Bosnia's secession from Yugoslavia. In Mostar, destruction of the Old Bridge and other cultural monuments was the objective for first Serb, and later Croat forces aspiring to erase the city's multi-cultured identity, at the cost of the Bosniak (Muslim) population. Ethnic hostilities fueled by media propaganda divided all of Mostar's constituencies, and in the end, the historic center was destroyed. Most Serbs departed, and those Muslims or Croats who remained fled to the east or west sides of town, separated by a no-man's-land of devastation along a boulevard just west of the historic center. Fathers and sons remained in the city to fight, while women and children who could fled to safer locations, often abroad. The homes they left behind were occupied by refugees from the other side of town or villages laid waste in the countryside.

MOSTAR AFTER THE WAR

A different Mostar emerged from the war's rubble. Beyond the physical devastation, much of the change was social, economic and political. Wartime population shifts altered Mostar's social mix. While many refugees have returned, significant numbers have not, and Mostar's overall population has dropped from 130,000 before the war, to 100,000 as of 2004, one third Muslim to two thirds Croat. An estimated third of the city's population consists of newcomers from the countryside. Even now, Mostarians who survived the war are emigrating out of discouragement about the future; a "brain drain" is one of the challenges Bosnia faces.



View of temporary bridge in 1997

Mostar's divided political situation remains closely monitored by the European Union High Command and remaining NATO peacekeeping forces, in a process that inches toward official unification on both city and national levels. To complicate matters, this fragile political context is being played out amidst the realities of free-market capitalism, Bosnia's new economic order, yet few Bosnians enjoy the anticipated prosperity of a market economy. Instead, social services have declined and poverty soars, leaving many people nostalgic for the benefits of the socialist system. These discouraging social, economic and political conditions create an unhealthy backdrop for reconstruction of the physical environment. The repair of damaged buildings and infrastructure has satisfied urgent human needs, but has also provided another medium for cultural aggression.

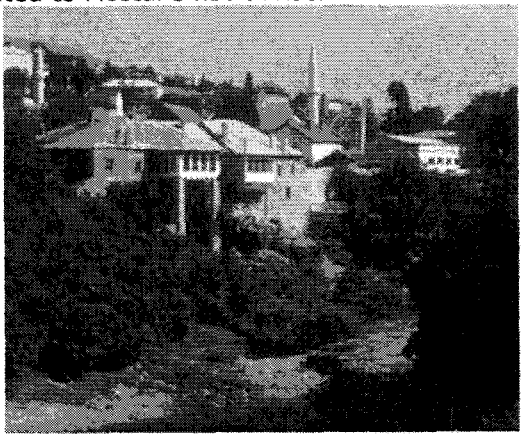
HOUSES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

As Mostar grew after World War Two, people moved into apartments provided rent-free by institutional and industrial employers, mostly in new high-rise housing districts across the river from the old city. The old cultural distinction between east and west was supplanted by contrasts of old and new neighborhoods and housing. Well-planned flats with new kitchens and bathrooms represented desirable alternatives to overcrowded extended-family compounds in the *mahala*. But when the war broke out, families returned, often by force, to their old neighborhoods.

Clustered along the east bank of the Neretva River is one of old Mostar's several historic residential neighborhoods, or *mahale*. Though altered over time, this neighborhood maintains the dense fabric of Ottoman times. Two of the oldest, most notable houses here were owned by the Lakisic and Biscevic families, and were built in the late 18th to early 19th centuries. Their east-side neighborhood was severely impacted by the war, incurring damage from shelling and social disruption when refugees squatted in vacated dwellings. This neighborhood, and particularly these two houses, present the housing problems that have plagued Mostar since the war.

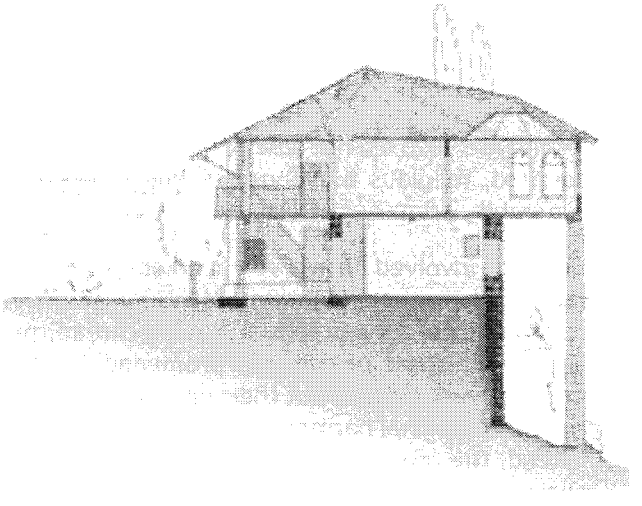
In Ottoman times most houses in Mostar were like the Biscevic and Lakisic houses -- two-story dwellings built of stone and timber with broad eaves shading private courtyards. Privacy was critical in a Moslem

household, and thick stone walls prevented views from neighborhood alleys into domestic compounds. Sturdy wooden gates provided entry, the first into quarters for males and their guests, and a second into the women's (or family) courtyard and dwelling. Gardens and porches provided outdoor settings suited to Mostar's hot climate.

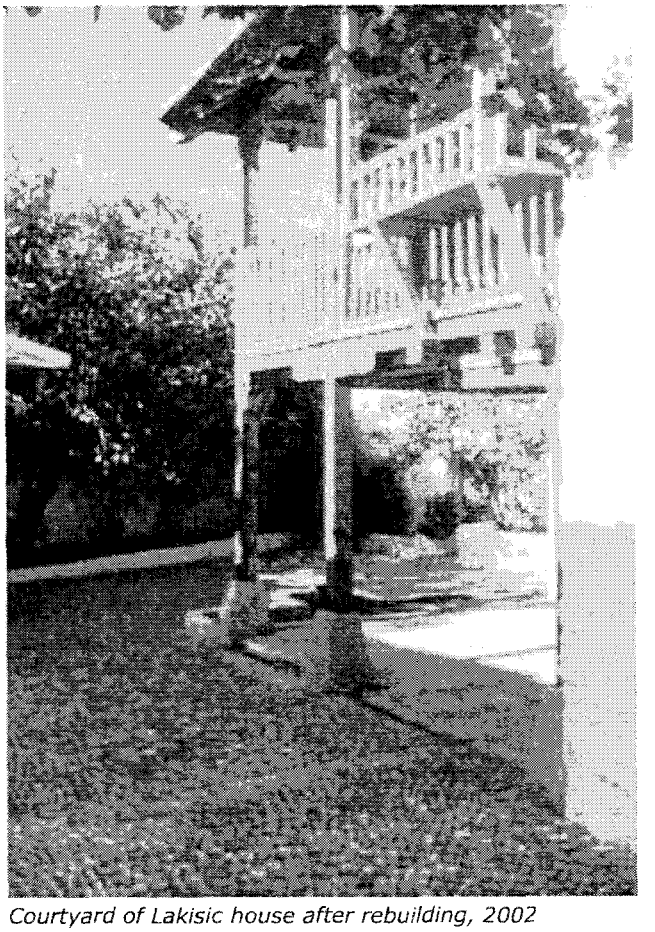


Biscevic & Lakisic house after rebuilding, 2002

Homes were shared by extended families, in neighborhoods clustered around local mosques, identified by both faith and trade.



Section through the Biscevic house

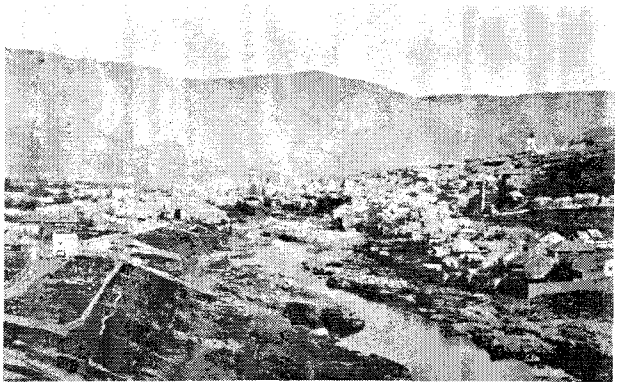


Courtyard of Lakisic house after rebuilding, 2002

The Biscevic House survived the war with limited damage, but the adjacent Lakisic House did not, its roof destroyed, wooden floors and porches burned, and thick masonry walls badly shelled. Many houses in east Mostar experienced a similar fate. The owner of the Lakisic House was an elderly woman, who relocated with her daughter to a nearby apartment. Fortunately, their house was slated for reconstruction through a joint conservation project sponsored by the World Monuments Fund and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Initially surveyed by students involved in a post-war reconstruction workshop, the house was rebuilt by 2001, and has been used as a guest house for visitors involved in post-war projects. Ownership will revert to the former owners after six years.

Few homeowners have been so fortunate. Most residents of Mostar have struggled with myriad housing problems, whether refugees returning to reclaim houses now occupied by others, or residents

of temporary quarters trying to return to homes they fled on the "wrong" side of town. The housing situation is slowly improving. International agencies are funding construction of new housing to replace the refugee camps, and complicated procedures have been established to reimburse squatters so they can move to other housing, allowing original owners to return. Bosniaks are tentatively moving back across the river, re-establishing residency on the west side. Neighbors who bore arms against each other are again sharing the same stairwell.

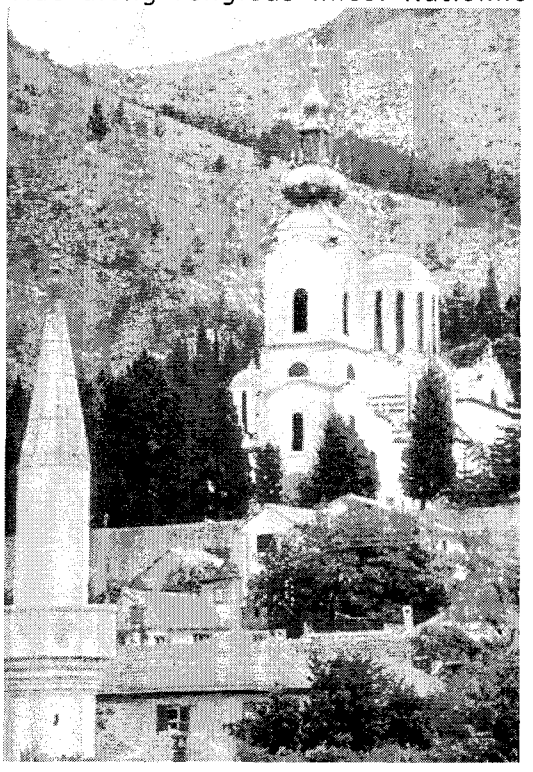


Old Mostar with Orthodox church and Mosques with minarets, 1895

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

A photograph of Mostar from about 1900 captures a profile of the Neretva valley punctuated by markers of the town's religious mix -- the spire of the Orthodox Cathedral on the east, a collection of Muslim minarets near the river, and the Franciscan monastery's bell tower to the west. This view shows Mostar at a time of religious tolerance after the departure of the Ottoman governors, under the Hapsburg administration. Tolerance of religious identity changed during the socialist period. Religious practices were discouraged, identity ignored, and structures turned into museums (or transformed altogether, Mostar's synagogue as a children's puppet theater). Yugoslavs observed religious holidays among family and friends, but rarely went to mosque or church. Only after Tito's death in 1980 did religious practice regain popularity -- a new piety with sinister undercurrents, conflating religious identity with ethnicity. As politicians jockeyed for power in Belgrade and Zagreb, religion was absorbed into propaganda campaigns designed in Serbia and Croatia to incite fear and support their shared goal of national ethnic purity.

But Bosnia's ethnic map was a heterogeneous patchwork quilt, impossible to divide along religious lines. Nationhood for



The Orthodox Church destroyed during the war

Bosnia (in 1992) did not ease tensions, and as fears mounted, religious buildings became increasingly vulnerable, primary targets once the war began.

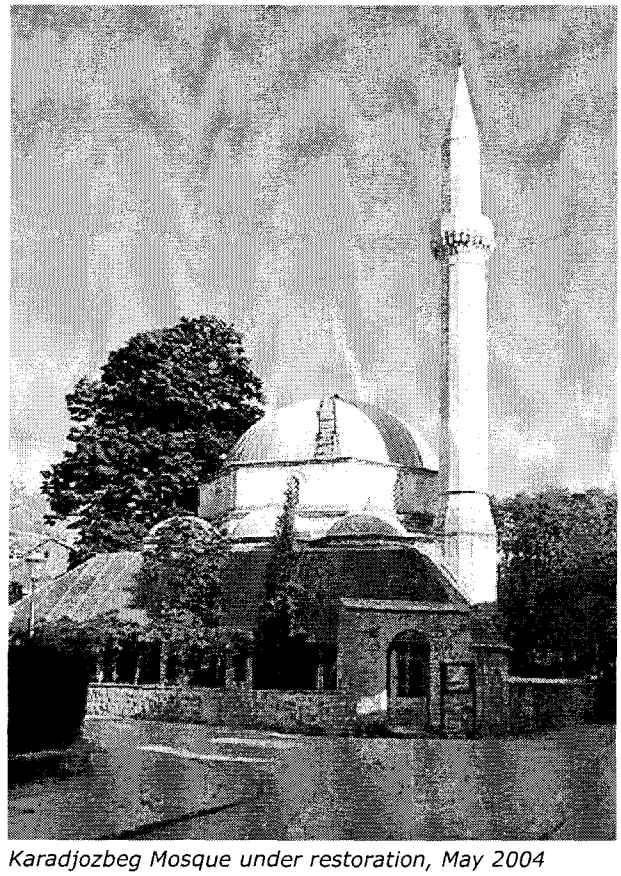
Students involved in a 1994 workshop on post-war reconstruction identified Mostar's east-west "religious axis" as a potential healing thread, perhaps as a historic or cultural "promenade" linking east and west Mostar, but their optimistic vision of multi-confessional harmony has not been achieved. Instead, the rebuilding of damaged and destroyed religious structures has proven more polarizing than restorative. Considerable funds have been dedicated to rebuilding Mostar's religious monuments, mostly donations from religious organizations abroad.

The Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity was built on Mostar's eastern slope in 1873, just five years before the Austro-Hungarian

SS. Peter & Paul Church destroyed in the war

take-over of Bosnia. Far larger than its predecessor, a small adjacent church, this dominant form conveyed the freedom of expression achieved by Mostar's non-Muslims during the 19th century. It was dynamited and completely destroyed at the beginning of the war, and has not been rebuilt. Mostar's Serbs, formerly a third of the city's population, retreated when overcome by the combined Croat and Bosniak forces and have not returned. However, outside funding has supported the rebuilding of the old Orthodox Church, a modest structure uphill from the cathedral, enclosed by a stone wall. Locked and unused, it is a memento of the Serb presence in Mostar.

The Catholic Franciscan Monastery and Church of Saints Peter and Paul was built to the west of the old city core in 1866, another indicator of the religious tolerance of that period. But this site was on the front line of the 1990s war, and both the church and monastery library were severely damaged in the early fighting. These could have been restored, but soon after the war the remaining church walls were demolished and construction of new church began. The design is imposing, including a vast basement sanctuary of solid concrete, secure from any future attack, and able to accommodate the large religious community who fill its cavernous volume for Sunday mass, fortunately, since the church above will most likely remain an unfinished shell for some time. The church's new bell tower has been completed, twice the height of its predecessor and just one meter shorter than that of the cathedral in Zagreb, Croatia's capital. This presumptuous marker rises far above any other structure in the old city, vainly asserting domination over the minarets it unwittingly mimics, too tall in proportion to its own girth.

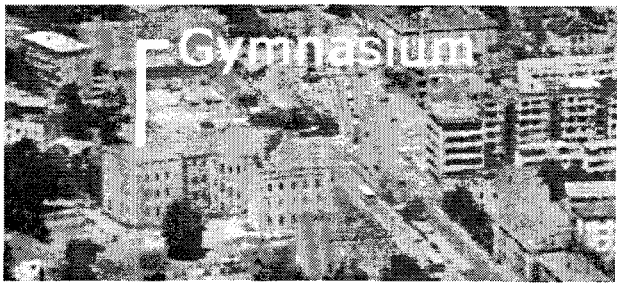


Karadjozbeg Mosque under restoration, May 2004

Mostar's most important mosque complex, named after its donor the Beg Karadjoz and credited to the Ottoman architect Sinan, constructed in 1557-8 in the old city core, just prior to the building of the Old Bridge. The *vakuf* (charitable foundation) that grew around this mosque eventually included the 19th-century Vakuf Palace. Both the mosque and Vakuf Palace were targets for shelling -- the top half of the minaret taken down and the mosque's dome damaged by shelling. The Vakuf Palace re-

mains an empty, roofless shell. Temporary repairs permitted the mosque to resume religious use after the war, its sanctity reaffirmed. Restoration began in 2002, and reached completion in time for rededication of the mosque during the July 2004 bridge celebrations. Like the Karadjozbeg, other reconstructed mosques have resumed use, but hardly in proportion to their numbers. Their minarets once again punctuate Mostar's skyline, the historic profile restored.

To be Muslim in Mostar today can be confusing. The return to religious practices has appealed to some, most visibly women who wear head scarves or men who go to mosque for prayers, but hardly to all Bosniaks. Most prefer more limited, mainly private religious activities, and see the new religious extremism as one more of problem of post-war life. They take pride in their reconstructed buildings, but use them rarely, and wonder why so many have been rebuilt. The funds could be used for other more socially relevant projects suited to Bosnia's modern and essentially secular culture. Some Catholics might agree.

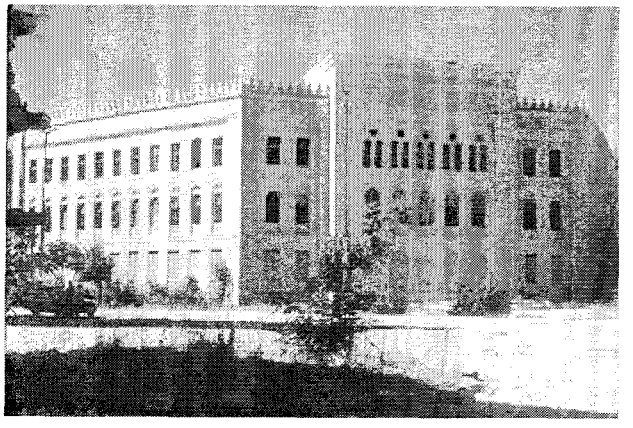


Gymnasium and Boulevard, July 2000

EDUCATION

The front line of the war in Mostar was a broad north-south avenue called "the Boulevard" an wide street once occupied by the Austro-Hungarian railroad line. Historically, the Boulevard formed a boundary between the old city and modern Mostar -- beyond it to the west were wide streets planted with trees, in western European fashion. The boulevard was a fitting location for Mostar's new institutional buildings, and one of particular note was the Gymnasium, well-known before the war as the best secondary school in all Bosnia, one of the best in Yugoslavia.[6] Since the war, however, east-west segregation has stymied Bosnia's education system.

The Gymnasium was built under the Austro-Hungarian administration in two phases, in 1898 and 1902, a fine example of the Bosnian "Orientalist" architecture, the generalized, "Islamic" expression chosen by the building's Austrian architect Franc Blazek to convey the cultural diversity of the Hapsburg Empire. Pre-war Gymnasium graduates were proud of their school, and maintained strong alumni support. The war divided Mostar along the line of the Boulevard, which became a terrifying no-man's land, ravaged by shelling, devoid of life. In the first years after the war, few would venture into this zone, and vehicles passed at high speed to avoid possible snipers, but slowly the Boulevard is changing. At first, new street lighting and traffic signals brought improved security, and now some apartment buildings have been reconstructed. Numerous projects by architecture and urban design students have focused on the re-stitching of east and west across Mostar's Boulevard, each attempting to engender human activity in the desolate interstices along this seam.



The Gymnasium partially restored, 1997

At a key intersection for east-west cross traffic, the Gymnasium is a highly visible Boulevard landmark, and suffered extensive damage during the war. While its roof was repaired in 1996, the building remains empty and unusable while Mostar's education stalemate persists. Since the war, the divided city has maintained two school systems (even at university level), Croat and Bosniak, each intent on highlighting cultural and linguistic differences. Most parents would admit that curriculum reform and

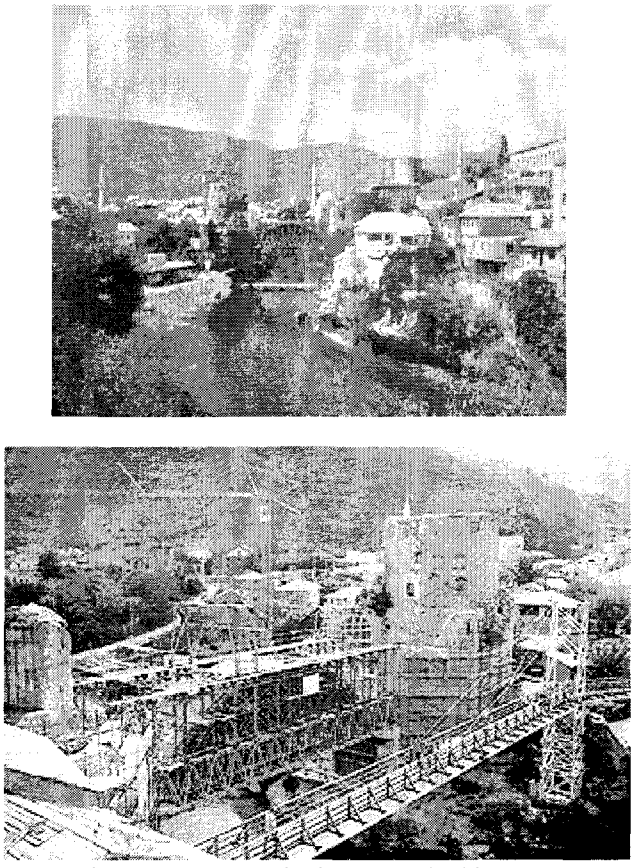
system reunification are essential for their children's futures, but few are willing to act. The local office of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), as coordinator for education reform, has identified the Old Gymnasium as the home for a new, multi-ethnic institution. They are working with local authorities to develop a shared legal entity and administration for this school, which will replace separate Croat and Bosniak high schools. During the 2003-04 school year, however, the first students occupied separate classrooms, maintaining separate curricula for such culturally-divisive subjects as language and history (new terms and historic interpretations distort once-common understandings). The process of educational unification is slow, politically sensitive, and dependent on considerable external assistance. Architecture -- the reconstruction of the Gymnasium building -- is the easiest increment.

As Amir Pasic, an architect and educator from Mostar, stated during the summer celebrations, "The bridge is not so important. Education is the key in this town. If you're brought up and educated to hate the other side..."[7] No one in Mostar needs to say more.

THE BRIDGE

Finally, the bridge. This former symbol of unity now embodies the world's great hopes for Bosnian reunification. Just examine the multitude of web listings generated by the July reopening ceremonies, not to overlook the live web cam that documented the reconstruction throughout its progress.[8] No one can deny the value of this reconstruction, its essential contribution to Mostar's revitalization and future well-being. Those who gathered at the pilot Mostar 2004 Workshop in Istanbul in 1994 to initiate proposals for Mostar's reconstruction (even while the war continued in Bosnia) took the position that the bridge reconstruction should occur only after the city was rebuilt, as a culminating affirmation of renewal. The workshop coordinator (and conservation expert from Mostar), Dr. Amir Pasic, concurred. He had named the workshop effort "Mostar 2004" with the prescient anticipation that a decade's work (but not more) would be necessary to rebuild his city.

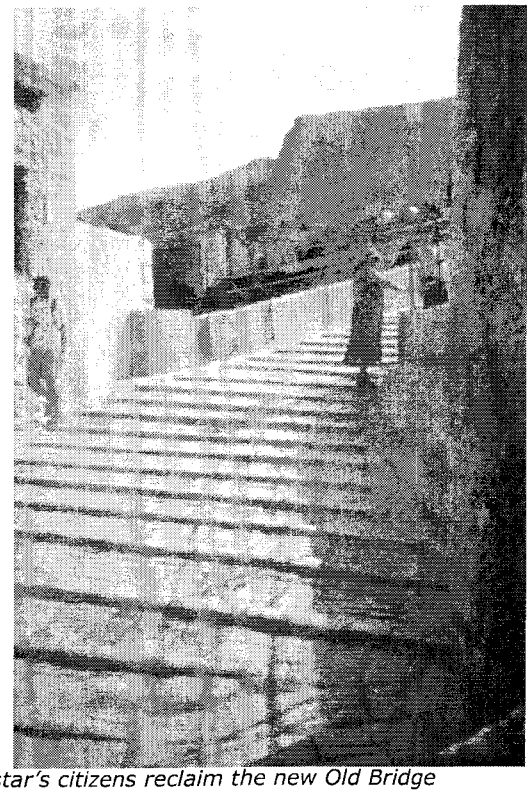
Bridge reconstruction work began in earnest in 2002, after five years of surveys and testing of



Views of the new 'Old Bridge' during rebuilding, 2003

stones removed from the river. Funding and oversight for the bridge reconstruction were coordinated through a UNESCO-directed International Committee of Experts, under advisement by the World Bank, the Aga Khan Trust and World Monuments Fund, in order to ensure historic, technical and financial credibility and professionalism. Funding for the $12.5 million project came the World Bank's International Development Association and from several European and regional sources, while the reconstruction work involved an impressive collaboration among several engineering firms and contractors from Bosnia, Croatia and Turkey. Historic construction materials and techniques were combined with modern construction methods, working under a Project Coordination Unit directed by a Croat and a Bosniak.[9]

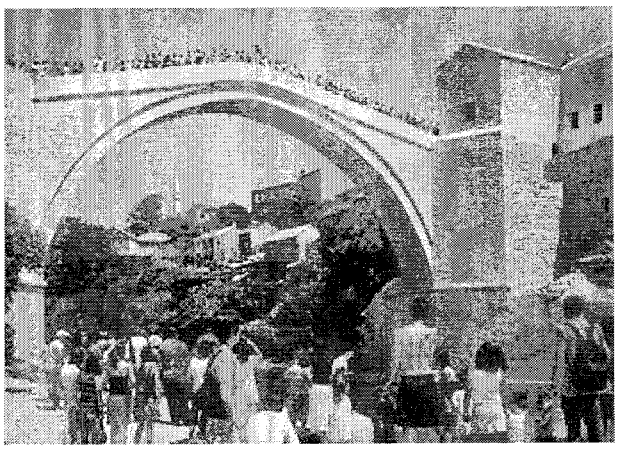
Friday, July 23rd, dawned hot and clear, a long day of final preparations and inaugural events. Everyone in Mostar had made plans for the evening. Official guests and dignitaries viewed the celebration



Mostar's citizens reclaim the new Old Bridge

from the newly finished terraces below the bridge, while townspeople and visitors filled the best viewing spots on both banks of the Neretva. The orchestra and chorus took their places beside a wooden stage, the conductor raised his baton, and the show began. Every musician, singer and dancer in the city, a huge contingent of children, and stars from all of Bosnia and beyond had roles to play in an artful interweaving of pageant and performance. Spotlights swept the pale stonework of the bridge, lighting the night sky, illuminating liberated balloons and pigeons. Marches, mock wars, celebratory speeches, folk dances, and musical fanfare conspired to overwhelm and delight the senses. Finally, after all the children converged at the riverside stage, Mostar's most famous divers revived the historic trajectory into river's swift waters, and a grand display of fireworks brought the moving celebration to its close. Afterwards, everyone converged upon the new Old Bridge, taking their first chance to cross. Eventually, in the early hours of Saturday, July 24th, Mostar's older citizens cautiously took their first steps across their new "old bridge."

This emotional celebration was reported worldwide, and however briefly most Mostarians shared the



The Divers reclaim the bridge, July 2004

hope for unity this event invoked. But one visitor was more cautionary, speaking to the final gathering of workshop students in a summary symposium just two days before the bridge celebration. Yale University History Professor Ivo Banac, speaking on "Lessons Learned in Mostar," made clear his doubts that lasting peace would soon come to Mostar, or to Bosnia.[10] He reminded us that Mostar's Old Bridge merely linked "east with east," its span entirely within the confines of the old Ottoman core, not connecting the still-divided realities of the larger city or the true east-west divide. Professor Banac doubted the bridge's symbolic power to overcome the severe political, social and economic problems that Mostar needed to solve as groundwork to a healthy civil society. His candor cut through the emotional hype of the city's festivities, and put the bridge reconstruction into context -- one more step, however special, in a long and complicated process. Indeed, on the streets of Mostar one could easily find people who claimed they rarely crossed to the other side, and traveled by car if they must.[11] The new *Stari Most* couldn't fix that.

MOSTAR'S RENEWAL

Amidst the celebrations of July 2004, Mostar hosted an international conference of Cultural Affairs ministers from the countries of South-East Europe, from Albania to Romania. Promoting preservation of regional cultural heritage, the ministers signed a "Mostar Declaration" to support cultural tourism in South-East Europe as a socio-economic and political imperative. With its famous bridge reconstructed, Mostar is reaffirming its place as a model for preser-

vation of cultural heritage. Also in July, a new *Stari grad* (Old City) agency was established in Mostar, to ensure continuing historic reconstruction and preservation in the historic center.[12] Mostar's future does rely in large part on its historic architecture, and on the positive meanings, both old and new, that will identify this place for the next generations. The people of Mostar must look forward, even while prospects for unity in their city and country remain uncertain.

ENDNOTES

[1] Two good books describing this period are, *Yugoslavia, Death of a Nation*, by Laura Silber and Allan Little (TV Books, 1996); and *The Fall of Yugoslavia, The Third Balkan War*, by Misha Glenny (third edition, Penguin Books, 1996). For a general history of Bosnia, see *Bosnia, A Short History*, by Noel Malcolm (NYU Press, 1994).

[2] The authors contributed to the Mostar 2004 program as workshop faculty and lecturers from 1994 to 2004. The workshops are documented at www.mostar2004-ircica.org.

[3] The content of this section draws upon this author's account of Mostar's history in her history of the Mostar 2004 Workshops from 1994 to 1998, "Ideas and Realities: Rebuilding in Postwar Mostar," *Journal of Architectural Education (JAE)*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (May 2001), pp. 238-249.

[4] For a detailed history of the bridge see *The Old Bridge (Stari Most) in Mostar*, by Amir Pasic´, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, Istanbul 1415/1995. For a study of Mostar's Ottoman heritage in architecture see *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina*, by Amir Pasic´ (OIC, IRCICA, 1994).

[5] Ivo Andric, *The Bridge on the Drina*, Lovett F. Edwards, trans., Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1977, page 93. Originally published in 1945 as *Na Drini Cuprija* by Prosveta Publishing Company, Belgrade. Ivo Andric, a native of Bosnia, was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1961, largely on the basis of this book.

[6] Historic data and project information on Mostar's Gymnasium are drawn from two sources: "Reclaiming Historic Mostar, Opportunities for Revitalization," A Joint Conservation Project of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's Historic Cities Support Programme & The World Monuments Fund (August 1999); and "Gymnasium Mostar, Mostar's 'Other Landmark,'" Reconstruction and Revitalization Efforts, Overview prepared by the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovia (July 2004).

[7] From "Bridge Opens But Mostar Remains a Divided City," Guardian Newspapers, 7/22/2004, www.buzzle.com/editorials/7-22-04-56971.

[8] The web sites that provided live webcam images of the bridge reconstruction are: www.starimost.ba and www.starimost.telecom.ba. The official project web site of the Project Coordination Unit is: www.pcu.starimost.ba. UNESCO and the World Bank provide additional project information through their sites.

[9] The most comprehensive publication detailing the bridge reconstruction is *Mostart, A Bridge Story*, World Bank, UNESCO, PCU, Project Coordination Unit City of Mostar, Mostar, 17 July, 2004.

[10] "Lessons Learned in Mostar" was the topic of the Mostar 2004 Symposium that took place on July 20-22, 2004, hosted by Hilary Dunne of The Mostar Fund and Jon Calame of Minerva Partners. Ivo Banac has consistently participated in the Mostar 2004 workshops and symposia.

[11] Paraphrasing of a quote in "Bridge Opens But Mostar Remains a Divided City," Guardian Newspapers, 7/22/2004, www.buzzle.com/editorials/7-22-04-56971.

[12] The new *Stari grad* (Old city) agency is a collaboration of the City of Mostar, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and the World Monuments Fund, to guide ongoing conservation and development efforts in the city. The agency is an outgrowth of a five-year project by AKTC and WMF that has already restored five of fifteen priority projects identified in 1999.