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Safet-bega Bašagića 99

Prilog poznavanju zdravstvenih prilika u Sarajevu koncem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća: higijenski objekti, korištenje vode, hamam, šadrvan i prve apoteke

Uspostava austrougarske uprave te stupnjevi razvoja i stanje u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg perioda i u Sarajevu rezultirali su, između ostalog, spoznajama o načinu življenja lokalnog stanovništva, navikama u korištenju vode, česmi, hamama, i konačno o novom obliku liječenja, otvaranjem apoteke. U radu se govori o dvije privatne apoteke u Sarajevu, i to prvoj modernoj apoteci vlasnika Eduarda Pleyela (1877) i nešto kasnije otvorenoj apoteci Hinka Šlezingera (zgrada projektovana 1902). Prije toga, korištenje ljekaruša, voda i njeno korištenje, briga o vodi i presvođavanje bile su česte poveznice za vrijeme turske uprave. Nedostatak školovanih liječnika, do otvaranja novih zdravstvenih ustanova, učinio je da su liječenja bolesnika najčešće obavljana načinima prezentiranim u sveskama ljekaruša i uz asistenciju narodnih ljekara. U novom periodu društvenog prilagođavanja i tranzicije, dolaskom austrougarske uprave, zadržani su raniji elementi, najviše vezani za vodu, objekti kao što su hamami zadržali su svoju funkciju, ali ono što je novo u pitanju objekata i u liječenju stanovništva svakako je prvi moderni koncept apoteka u Sarajevu. Tako su dopu-

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A Contribution to the Knowledge about the Health Conditions in Sarajevo at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century: Sanitary Facilities, Water Usage, Hamams, Shadirvans, and the First Pharmacies

The establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration and the levels of development and conditions in the Ottoman-era Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in Sarajevo, resulted in, among other things, insights into the lifestyle of the local population, habits related to water usage, fountains, hammams, and, finally, a new form of medical treatment with the opening of pharmacies. This paper discusses two private pharmacies in Sarajevo: the first modern pharmacy owned by Eduard Pleyel (1877) and the pharmacy of Hinko Šlezinger, which opened a little later (the building was designed in 1902). Prior to this, the use of herbal remedies, water and its usage, water care, and water conduits were common practices during the Ottoman rule. The lack of trained doctors, until the opening of new healthcare institutions, meant that patient treatment was mostly carried out using methods presented in herbal remedy notebooks and with the assistance of folk healers. In the new period of social adjustment and transition, with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian adminis-

njena ranije primljena i prakticirana iskustva u liječenju i obogaćen korpus zdravstvene kulture Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: voda, česma, hamam, apoteka, zdravstvena kultura

Među značajne priloge za proučavanje historije Sarajeva mogu se uvrstiti oni radovi koji pripadaju oblasti zdravstvene kulture krajem turske vladavine i pred dolazak i početkom austrougarske uprave, objavljeni i u stručnoj i u popularnoj publicistici. U njima se govori o korištenju vode, higijeni i higijenskim objektima u osman-skodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg vremena, gdje, osim bolnice, prve apoteke zauzimaju važno mjesto u predstavljanju zdravstvenih prilika i navika lokalnog stanovništva.

Bilo da se radi o objektima, načinima liječenja, njegovanju određenih navika vezanih za vodu, higijenu i slično, isprepliću se narodna medicina i počeci modernog doba i načina liječenja, kao što je otvaranje apoteka s dolaskom austrougarske uprave. Ako posmatramo ranije načine liječenja, svakako da ljekaruše zauzimaju posebno mjesto, jer se mogu promatrati u svjetlu savremene fitoterapije.

Osim toga, kao naslijeđe iz orijentalne medicine, u liječenju se, prema Sokoloviću (1945), koriste i hemikalije, kamfor, sumpor, živa, ulja (riblje, ružino, karanfilovo, od metvice), maze ili mehlemi, eteri i druga sredstva, kao tubla (vruća cigla ili kamen), zavoji, flaster (jakija), sirovi pamuk, spužva (sunder) itd.

U takvom okruženju još se obilato koriste hamami, a presvođene vode teku iz česmi i šadrvana. Razvijanje i njegovanje koncepta upotrebe vode, njegovanja higijenskih navika, koje su reper ranije uprave,

earlier elements were preserved, most notably those related to water. Structures such as hammams retained their function, but what was new in terms of facilities and treatment of the population was undoubtedly the first modern concept of pharmacies in Sarajevo. Thus, earlier practices and experiences in treatment were supplemented, enriching the corpus of healthcare culture in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: water, foundation, hammam, pharmacy, healthcare culture

Significant contributions to studying the history of Sarajevo include works that belong to the field of healthcare culture at the end of the Ottoman rule, and prior or immediately after the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian rule, which were published both in the professional and popular publications. They mention the use of water, hygiene and hygiene facilities in the Ottoman-era Bosnia and Herzegovina of the later period, where apart from hospitals, the first pharmacies also play an important role in representing healthcare conditions and habits of the local population.

In terms of facilities, methods of treatment, the cultivation of certain habits related to water, hygiene, and the like, folk medicine and the beginnings of the modern era methods of treatment intertwine, as reflected in the opening of pharmacies with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration. If we look at earlier methods of treatment, herbal remedy books certainly occupy a special place, as they can be viewed in the context of modern phytotherapy.

In addition, according to Sokolović (1945), other methods of treatment which are the legacy of the oriental medicine were also used, including chemicals, camphor, sulfur, mercury, oils (fish, rose, clove, mint), ointments, ethers and other

te korištenje sveski medžmu'a – ljekaruša, kao dio orijentalnog naslijeđa u liječenju bolesti, sada se susreću s novim oficijelnim načinima liječenja, novim zdravstvenim ustanovama, što ujedno predstavlja susret civilizacijskog momenta istočne i zapadne varijante, specifične za Sarajevo. Ovaj rad je prilog dokumentarnoj građi u koju spada i tema liječenja u okvirima zdravstvene kulture i prilog materijalnoj, kulturnoj baštini Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine.

U radu su, pored ostalih, korištene fotografije fasada zgrada u kojima su bile smještene apoteke i koje je izradila autorica, dok su ostale reprodukovane fotografije iz publikacije *Spomenica povodom 400 godina GHB* (Sarajevo, 1932). Podaci koje je dao prof. Ibrahim Krzović o dvije apoteke potječu iz njegove knjige *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, a oslanjaju se na podatke Zavoda za planiranje razvoja grada Sarajeva (ZPRGS). Bilo je neophodno dodati i nove nazive ulica, tačnije lokacija objekata predstavljenih u radu.

Hamami, šadrvani i česme

U radu o knjigama iz svoje biblioteke, opisujući kompletan krajolik življenja, Sokolović napominje da su "po gradovima bili i hamami (javna kupatila), a samo Sarajevo ih je imalo sedam". (Sokolović, 1945: 5). Isa-begov hamam, poznat i kao *Careva banja*, izgradio je Isabeg Ishaković, u blizini Careve džamije. Kreševljaković (1932a) piše da je izgrađen prije 1461. godine, a da je porušen 1889. i sazidan novi sa spomenutim imenom. Jedan dio zgrade je urađen po uzoru na stari, dok je drugi dio moderno kupatilo zapadnog tipa (Kreševljaković, 1991: 53). Kreševljaković nabraja još tri banje koje su sagradili tri sandžakbega, prije

agents such as hot bricks or stones, bandages, patches, raw cotton, sponges etc.

In this environment, hammams are still widely used, and water carried by covered canals flows from shadirvans and taps. Developing and nurturing the concept of using water, cultivating hygienic habits which were the standard under the previous administration, and the use of remedy notebooks as part of the oriental heritage in the treatment of diseases, are now combined with the new official methods of treatment, new health institutions, which at the same time represents the meeting of the civilizational moment of the eastern and western variants, specific to Sarajevo. This work is a contribution to documentary material, which also includes the topic of treatment within the framework of health culture, and a contribution to the material, cultural heritage of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The paper uses photographs of the facades of buildings which used to house the pharmacies shot by the author, as well as reproduces photographs from the publication *Spomenica povodom 400 godina GHB* (*Memorial book on the occasion of 400th anniversary of Gazi Husrev Bey Library*) (Sarajevo, 1932). The information provided by prof. Ibrahim Krzović about the two pharmacies are from his book *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (*Secession architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*), and they rely on data of the Institute for Planning of Development of the City of Sarajevo. It was also necessary to add the new street names and locations of facilities presented in the paper.

Hammams, shadirvans and taps

In his paper about the books from his library, describing the entire landscape of life, Sokolović notes that "there were hammams (public baths) in the cities, and Sarajevo alone had seven of them."

1521: Ajasbeg, na lokaciji današnjeg hotela “Central” u Sarajevu, Firuz-beg 1509, na lokaciji Čulhan, i Gazi Balibeg na Bistriku, od kojih su dvije propale početkom 19. stoljeća, a Ajasbegova banja je stradala u poznatom velikom požaru 1697. Husrevbegova banja je hamam sagrađen poslije 1537. Prednost u opisu ovog hamama Kreševljaković daje pisanju Ćiro Truhelke (1865–1942), koji pripada prvoj generaciji stručnjaka Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu. On je “naš historik i pisac monografije slavnog Gazije” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71). U jednoj od faza svog istraživačkog rada, Truhelka “usmjerava svoju pažnju i na građu turskog perioda i problematiku ovog vremena, i dao je niz studija koje su se odnosile na značajne ličnosti (npr. Husrev-beg), na tursko zakonodavstvo ili propise, na porijeklo bosanskih Muslimana, ili na pojedine tursko-slovenske spomenike Dubrovačkog arhiva uopšte” (Miletić, 1988: 43). Prema pisanju Truhelke, jedna od najzanimljivijih građevina iz turskog doba je upravo Husrevbegova banja, locirana na uglu ulica Ćemaluše i Pehlivanuše, gdje posjetilac postepeno prolazi kroz sistem odaja, u kojima temperature postepeno raste, te je, prema tome, i parna atmosfera u njima raznog stepena. Ova banja je bila zanimljiva i kao građevina sa svoje dvije velike kupole i cijelim nizom manjih, koje su sve pokrivene olovnim krovom. Imala je dva ulaza, muški i ženski, iz dvije različite ulice, a sami dijelovi banje su bili isti i za žene i za muškarce. Prvo se ulazilo u kvadratičan prostor s kubetom, zvani šadrvan, jer se u sredini bio lijep vodoskok (šadrvan). Iz šadrvana se ulazilo u *kapaluk*, s nešto većom temperaturom, a odatle u potkupolnu prostoriju “*mejdān*”. Iz mejdana se išlo u tri prostorije različite temperature

(Sokolović, 1945: 5). Isa Bey’s hamam, also known as the Emperor’s Bath, was built by Isa Bey Ishaković, near the Emperor’s Mosque. Kreševljaković (1932a) writes that it was built before 1461, that it was destroyed in 1889. And a new one built under the abovementioned name. One part of the building was modelled after the old building, while the other part houses a modern Western-style bath.c(Kreševljaković, 1991: 53). Kreševljaković mentions another three baths built by three sanjak-beys before 1521: Ajas Bey’s at the location of present-day Hotel ‘Central’ in Sarajevo, Firuz Bey’s built in 1509 at the location of Čulhan, and Gazi Bali Bey’s in the Bistrik district. Two collapsed in the early 19th century, and Ajas Bey’s bath was destroyed by the infamous great fire of 1697. Husrev Bey’s bath is a hammam built after 1537. Kreševljaković prefers the description of this hammam provided by Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), who belonged to the first generation of experts of the National Museum in Sarajevo. He is “our historian and author of the monograph about the famous Gazi (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71). At some stage of his research, Truhelka “focuses his attention to the archives of the Ottoman period and the problems of that era, and he gives us a series of papers pertaining significant persons (Husrev Bey for example), Ottoman legislation and laws, origins of Bosnian Muslims, or certain Turkish-Slavic documents of the Dubrovnik Archives in general”. (Miletić, 1988: 43). According to Truhelka, one of the most interesting Ottoman era buildings is the Husrev Bey bath, located at the corner of Ćemaluša Street and Pehlivanuša Street, where the visitor passes through a system of rooms in which the temperature gradually rises, and the level of steam varies in them accordingly. This bath was interesting as a building as well, with two large domes and a series of smaller ones,

za kupanje. Pored kapaluka se nalazio rezervoar tople vode, a prostor za grijanje vode nalazio se ispod kapaluka, mejdana i halvata. U hamamu su se nalazile sobe za kupanje s pet korita i odjeljenje za brijanje.

Nadalje, Truhelka piše da je pred šadrvanom bio ćošak za odmor, pušenje i kafu, sve do velikog požara 1879. (Kreševljaković, 1991: 70–71) Moglo bi se reći da je ovo bio kutak za relaksaciju, a u današnjim wellness-spa centrima, hammami se također znaju nalaziti u ponudi sadržaja tih objekata. Posljednji veći popravak obavljen je 1898. “Ovom su zgodom napravljeni i oni dućani pred njom, a uvedena je i voda iz gradskog vodovoda. Ovaj hamam je služio svojoj osnovnoj funkciji do 1914.” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71)

Ostali objekti vezani za vodu: šadrvani i česme

Prema pisanju Seida Strika (1933–2010), predočeni opis šadrvana može dočarati i istaći važnost objekata vezanih za vodu i njeno blagotvorno djelovanje. Ovdje nije iznesen samo fizički aspekt, ili kako to traže vjerski propisi higijene, već i djelovanje na mentalni aspekt individue, ili ono što se nekada naziva razgovorom s prirodom (Krehić-Fočak, 2021). Zato šadrvani služe kao mjesta gdje se odmara, gdje ima hladovine, a od posebne važnosti je slušanje žubora vode. Kako je voda jedna od osnovnih ljudskih potreba, prvobitno se vodilo računa da kod izgradnje naselja postoji dotok vode, da bi se na Bliskom i Srednjem Istoku, usljed nedostatka voda, razvio kult vode, što se zapaža u kulturi i građevinskim stilovima Orijenta.

Cjevovodi (akvadukti) rađeni su za funkciju i potrebe dostave vode, dok

all covered with led roofs. It had two entrances, for men and women, from two different streets, and the sections in the bath were the same for women and men. The visitors first entered a square room with a dome, called šadrvan (the fountain), because there was a beautiful fountain in the middle. From šadrvan, the visitors moved on to *kapaluk*, with somewhat higher temperature, and then to the domed room called *mejdan*. From *mejdan*, one could go to three rooms with different bath temperatures. Next to the *kapaluk*, there was a warm water reservoir, and the space where the water was heated was located under the *kapaluk*, *mejdan* and *halvat*. The hammam also contained bathrooms with five tubs and a shaving section.

Furthermore, Truhelka writes that until the great fire of 1879, there was a kiosk for resting, smoking and coffee next to the šadrvan. (Kreševljaković, 1991: 70–71). One might say that this way a space for relaxation, and modern wellness and spa centers often have hammams in their offer. The last major renovation was carried out in 1898. “On this occasion, the shops in front of it were built, and water from the city water supply system was brought in. This hammam served its primary purpose until 1914.” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71)

Other water-related facilities: shadirvans and taps

According to the writings of Seid Strik (1933–2010), the provided description of the fountain can evoke and emphasize the importance of the water-related facilities and its beneficial effects. Here, not only the physical aspect is presented, or the requirements of the religious hygiene regulations, but also the effects on the mental aspect of an individual, or what is sometimes called a conversation with nature.

gradske urbane sredine imaju šadrwane, čime voda postaje dio kulture i estetike. Objašnjenje značaja šadrvana Strik formuliše na sljedeći način: “Šadrvan je danas najlakše shvatiti kao fontanu, a fontana je vodena ustava, najčešće u kamenom izdubljenom ili ozidanom prostoru. Šadrvani imaju dovod i odvod, tako da je voda uvijek svježa. Šadrvani imaju i česme koje predstavljaju odvod. Česme kod nekih šadrvana stalno teku.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Strik naglašava da je specifičnost ili uslov svakog šadrvana kretanje vode, jer ono što je okosnica svega je žubor koji se čuje kretanjem vodenog toka, bilo da pada pri dolasku, punjenju, prelijevanju, ili postoji sistem slapova, ako je šadrvan stepenast, i slično. “Nekada su šadrvani građeni, ne samo izvan već i unutar džamija, ali se vodilo računa da se treba čuti žubor vode, iako se zna da je njihova glavna funkcija bila da služe kao izvor vode. Pri gradnji se vodilo računa da voda mora žuboriti.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Prema podacima iz Strikove ostavštine, šadrvani su u Evropu došli kasno, prenese ni iz Španije, pa se u evropskim dvorcima većinom nalaze šadrvani fontane.¹ Razlika između šadrvana i fontane je u tome što fontana liči na bazen, gdje se ne čuje šum. “Šadrvan mora imati šum, žubor. Kasnije u 19. i 20. stoljeću usavršeni su vodoskoci što se danas može postići pumpama (elektropumpa).” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 90). Prema Striku, najvredniji i najbolji šadrvan koji ima umjetničku vrijednost je onaj u dvorištu Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu (sl. 1).

¹ Knjiga *Život i djelo Seida Strika* autorice Senelle Krehić Fočak nastala je 2021. godine, iz zbirke sakupljenih autorskih članaka Seida Strika, koji se nalaze u fundusu Tekije Potok u Sarajevu, Fascikla br. 7.

(Krehić-Fočak, 2021). That is why shadirvans serve as places to rest, where there is shade, and listening to the murmur of water is of particular importance. Since water is one of the basic human needs, great care was taken to ensure that there was a water supply when building settlements, and so, due to the scarcity of water, a cult of water developed in the Near and Middle East. It is noticeable in the culture and architectural styles of the Orient.

Pipelines (aqueducts) were made for the purpose of water supply, while the urban areas had shadirvans, which made water a part of culture and aesthetics. Strik provides the following explanation of the significance of fountains: “Today, the shadirvan is easiest to understand as a fountain, and a fountain is a water dam usually in a hollowed-out stone or walled space. The shadirvans have an inlet and outlet, so the water is always fresh. Shadirvans also have taps that provide drainage. The water is constantly flowing from some shadirvans.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Strik emphasizes that the specificity or requirement of every fountain is the movement of water, because the essence of everything is the murmur created by the movement of the water flow, whether it falls upon arrival, or it is filling, or overflowing, or there is a system of waterfalls, if the fountain is stepped, and similar. “Fountains were once built not only outside but also inside mosques, but care was taken to make the murmur of the water audible, although it is known that their main function was to serve as a source of water. During construction, care was taken to ensure that the water created the murmur.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90).

According to works from Strik’s legacy, shadirvans came to Europe late, brought over from Spain, so European castles mostly feature fountain shadirvans.¹ The difference

¹ The book *Život i djelo Seida Strika* (Life and Work of Seid Strik) by author Senella Krehić

Iako ima više džamija sa šadrvanima, ovaj kameni, ugaoni šadrvan u Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji predstavlja najljepše ostvarenje dalmatinskih graditelja majstora nastalo uporedo s gradnjom džamije. Na njemu se nalaze rozete oko vodotoka česme i kaskadne posude za prelijevanje vode koja daje šum. Za ovaj šadrvan voda je dovedena s izvora Crnil (Donje Biosko). Spomenuti izvor služio je sve do 1954. godine, kada je Crnil priključen na gradski vodovod Mošćanice, kao i sam šadrvan. Kao što je već naprijed izneseno, Husrev-begova banja je također imala dio sa šadrvanom (vodoskokom). Strik naglašava još jednu razliku između šadrvana i česmi, a to je da su česme gradili dobrotvori, ili bogatiji ljudi višeg standarda, ili koji su imali veći standard od običnih dobrotvora. U opisu Gazi Husrev-begove medrese, ustanove edukativnog karaktera, stoji i sljedeće: "Na sredini dvorišta je mali šadrvan, s kojim čitava zgrada daje utisak jednostavne, ali vrlo ugodne, arhitektonski zaokružene cjeline." (Dizdar, 1932). Ovaj komentar je možda najbolji i najkraći komentar vrijednosti šadrvana (slika 2).

Kako bi se zadovoljio tradicionalni način održavanja higijene, česme su se nalazile, kako u privatnim prostorima kakve su avlije ili dvorišta kuća, tako i u mahalama – ulicama, dakle na javnim mjestima, dok se atraktivnim smatraju one koje se nalaze kod šadrvana i sebilja.

Što se tiče česmi, prema pisanju Sokolovića "vode su većinom bile razvedene čunkovima po mahalama, a svaka mahala je imala bar jednu česmu. Zanimljivo je da se kod nas nije sačuvao, niti se u našoj sredini čuje kakav drugi naziv za uhvaćenu i kroz cievi ili žlijeb (lijevak) propuštenu vodu, osim 'česma'." (Sokolović, 1945: 3)

between the shadirvan and the fountain is that the fountain resembles a pool, where no murmur is audible. "A shadirvan must create noise, murmur. Later in the 19th and 20th centuries, jumping jet fountains were perfected, and today the effect can be achieved using pumps (electric pumps)" (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 90). According to Strik, the most valuable and best shadirvan in terms of artistic value is the one located in the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev Bey mosque in Sarajevo (Image 1).

Although there are several mosques with shadirvans, the angular shadirvan made of stone outside the Gazi Husrev Bey mosque represents the most beautiful work of Dalmatian master builders that was created simultaneously with the construction of the mosque. It features rosettes around the watercourse and cascading containers for overflowing water, which creates a noise. The water for this fountain was brought from the Crnil spring (Donje Biosko). The aforementioned spring served until 1954, when Crnil was connected to the city water supply system of Mošćanica, as was the fountain itself. As mentioned above, the Husrev Bey bath also had a section with a shadirvan.

Strik emphasizes another difference between a shadirvan and public taps, and that is the fact that the taps were built by benefactors, or wealthy people of higher standard, or those who enjoyed a higher standard than ordinary benefactors. The description of the Gazi Husrev Bey madrasa, and educational institution, contains the following: "In the middle of the courtyard there is a small shadirvan, with which the entire building gives the impression of a simple, of a simple yet very pleasant, architecturally complete unit." (Dizdar,

Fočak was written in 2021, based on the collection of papers authored by Seid Strik, which can be found in the archives of the Potok dervish lodge in Sarajevo, Volume No. 7.

Prve apoteke

S pojavom prvih apoteka ranije djelovanje travara (*attara*) odlazi u drugi plan, a preferira se novi način liječenja medikamentima. Ovom prilikom će biti izneseni podaci o apotekama, odnosno zgradama, gdje su bile locirane u vrijeme njihovog osnivanja i otvaranja. To su apoteke Eduarda Pleyela i Hinka Schlezingera. Kuća i apoteka Hinka Schlesingera nalazila se na današnjoj adresi Ferhadija 27, a stambena zgrada i apoteka Eduarda Pleyela (1894) u današnjoj Štrosmajerovoj 6. Sliku zdravstvenih prilika u Sarajevu i šire u Bosni i Hercegovini krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća upotpunjuje mali broj apoteka. Ranije su se lijekovi kupovali kod *attara* “koji su imali svoju čaršiju” (Sokolović, 1945: 4), odnosno u biljnim apotekama. Prva moderno uređena apoteka krajem 19. stoljeća u Sarajevu bila je vlasništvo doseljenog farmaceuta Eduarda Playela iz 1877. godine. Kasnije će se pojaviti još nekoliko apoteka, sa školovanim apotekarima i uređenim zakonodavstvom, koje će nova uprava donijeti početkom 20. stoljeća, s obzirom na neophodnost obrazovanja kadrova. Ove dvije izabrane apoteke, kako je već rečeno, posebne su radi objekata u kojim su bile smještene, specifičnim po svojoj bogatoj arhitekturi.

Kuća i apoteka Hinka Schesingera projektovana je 1902. godine.² Prema pisanju

1932). This comment is perhaps the best and shortest commentary on the value of the *shadirvan* (Image 2).

In order to secure the traditional way of maintaining hygiene, taps were located both in private spaces such as courtyards or gardens of houses, as well as in *mahallas* - streets, i.e. in public places, whereby those located near *shadirvans* and fountains were considered more attractive.

As far as taps are concerned, according to Sokolović, “the water was mostly distributed by clay pipes to the *mahallas*, and each *mahalla* had at least one public tap. It is interesting that there is no other name used or preserved in our region for water that has been caught and passed through a pipe or through a funnel other than ‘*česma*’ (tap)”. (Sokolović, 1945: 3)

First pharmacies

With the emergence of the first pharmacies, the earlier role of herbalists (*attar*) was pushed into the background, and a new way of treatment with medications was preferred. Here, we will present data about pharmacies, i.e. the buildings where they were located at the time of their establishment and opening. These include the pharmacies of Eduard Pleyel and Hinko Schlezinger. The house and pharmacy of Hinko Schlezinger were located at present day address Ferhadija Street No. 27, while the residential building and pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel (1894) were located in the Štrosmajerova Street No. 6. The picture of health conditions in Sarajevo and broader Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is complemented by a small number of pharmacies. Previously, medicines were bought from *attars* “who had their own marketplace” (Sokolović, 1945: 4), meaning herbal pharmacies. The first modern

² Lit: Zinshaus mit Apotheke des Herrn Heinrich Schlesinger und ein Gasthaus zu Sarajevo, Der bautechniker, Wien, XXIV, 16, 15. IV 1904, 1; Wohnhaus mit Apotheke des Herrn Heinrich Schlesinger in Sarajevo, Beilag zum Bautechniker, Wien, 24. VII 1904. Izvor, ZPRGS. Vlasnik nekretnina na ovom mjestu 1886. godine je porodica Sumbulović. Godine 1902. nekretnine je kupio Hinko Schlesinger, pok. Adama, ljekar iz Sarajeva. Od 1918. je u vlasništvu Friedricha

Ibrahima Krzovića, Josip Vančaš 1902. projektuje “stambenu najamnu kuću za apotekara Hinka Schlesingera, koja je kao zgrada stereotipna, ali ima vrlo bogato ukrašenu fasadu. Zapravo, kompozicija dekorativnih sadržaja teče po nekoj kružnoj ili ovalnoj šemi, dok je cijela fasada pravougaona. Mekoću ovala pospješuje suptilno izvedena floralna dekoracija, koja se sastoji od cvjetova i lišća ljekovitog bilja, tankih pruća i bobica, pa zajedno s likovima Higije i Eskulapa u medaljonima, simbolično govori o sebi, a možda i više od toga, jer bi se koncepcija i nivo izvedbe ove fasade mogli mjeriti s takvim djelima Wagnerove škole.” (Krzović, 2004: 57–59) (sl. 3).

Veoma je važno istaći reljefe fasade s likovima Eskulapa i Higije, simbola liječenja i potpunog zdravlja. Iz grčke mitologije poznato je da je Apolon bio zaštitnik svih umjetnosti i nauka, a njegov sin Eskulap (Asklepije) poznat je kao zaštitnik medicine. U knjigama je Eskulap (Asklepije) obično predstavljen sa zmijom obavijenom oko štapa. Prema nekim saznanjima Eskulap je pomoću zmije i štapa primjenjivao šok-terapiju za oboljele od epilepsije, dok je prema nekim drugim izvorima zmija zapravo vrsta crva i simbolizuje uzročnika različitih bolesti uključujući u tom kontekstu i teoriju zubnog crva (Ferk, 2015: 4). Ovaj Eskulapov znak zmije sa štapom preko kulturnih uticaja prenosio se u naslijeđe drugih naroda i danas, u svjetskim razmjerama, predstavlja prihvaćen simbol medicine i stomatologije.³

Schlesingera, pokojnog Heinricha iz Sarajeva. Od 1948. društvena svojina.

³ “Pričajući legendu o Asklepiju i njegovom naukovanju kod kentaura Kirona, pjesnik opisuju medicinsku praksu: Svi oni što su dolazili k njemu s ranama od rođenja što mjed im svijetla izranila tijelo, ili kamenje iz pračke što se izdaljine baca, ili je sunčanica groznicom njihovo

pharmacy in Sarajevo at the end of the 19th century was owned by the immigrant pharmacist Eduard Playel, established in 1877. Later, several more pharmacies would appear, with trained pharmacists and regulated legislation, which the new government would pass at the beginning of the 20th century, considering the necessity of educating staff. These two selected pharmacies, as already mentioned, are special due to the buildings in which they were located, distinctive for their impressive architecture.

The house and pharmacy of Hinko Schlesinger were designed in 1902. According to Ibrahim Krzović's writings, Josip Vančaš designed “a residential rental house for pharmacist Hinko Schlesinger in 1902, which, as a building, is stereotypical, but has a very richly decorated façade. In fact, the composition of decorative elements follows a kind of circular or oval pattern, while the entire façade is rectangular. The softness of the ovals is enhanced by the subtly executed floral decoration, which consists of flowers and leaves of medicinal herbs, thin twigs, and berries. Together with the figures of Hygeia and Asclepius in medallions, it symbolically speaks for itself, and perhaps even more, as the concept and level of execution of this façade could be compared to similar works from the Wagner school.” (Krzović, 2004: 57–59) (Image 3). It is very important to highlight the reliefs on the façade featuring the figures of Asclepius and Hygeia, symbols of healing and complete health. It is known that in the Greek mythology, Apollo was the protector of all arts and sciences, and his son Asclepius was known as the protector of medicine. In books, Asclepius is usually depicted with a snake wrapped around a staff. According to some sources, Asclepius used the snake and staff to apply shock therapy to those suffering from epilepsy, while other sources suggest that the snake is actually a type

Zanimljivo je da su Eskulapovi najbliži srodnici imali ulogu zaštitnika iz pojedinih oblasti medicine (hirurgije i interne medicine). Kćerka Higija bila je zaštitnik higijene (čistoće), a Panacea terapije. Njihova imena koristimo i danas, a riječ “higijena” usko je vezanu za čistoću. Riječ “panacea” ostaje sinonim univerzalnog lijeka, koji liječi sve bolesti. Zgrada na čijoj fasadi se nalaze reljefi Eskulapa i Higije trebala bi biti posebno zapažena, i označena zbog ovih izuzetnih detalja koji svakodnevno podsjećaju na higijenu i liječenje (sl. 5).

Stambena zgrada i apoteka Eduarda Pleyela danas se nalazi na adresi Štrosmajerova 6. Vlasnik nekretnina na ovom mjestu 1894. godine postao je Eduard Pleyel, a 1911. kuću je darovao kćerima: Kamili, udatoj Šimet, Mathildi, udatoj Studnička, Mery i Heleni. Do 1962. bila je u vlasništvu porodice Pleyel, potom postaje društvena svojina. (Krzović, 2004: 67–69) Fasada apoteke Eduarda Pleyela starija je i predstavlja primjer stila neobaroka, pripada ranijoj fazi graditeljstva koji se skupno naziva historicizam. Zgrada je projektovana i izvedena 1894. godine, a bečka secesija osnovana je 1897. godine. Ovu zgradu (sl. 6) s više detalja posebno ukrašava medaljon, smješten unutar floralne dekoracije, na spoju iznad dva prozora. Postavljanjem dekoracije – medaljona u kojem su ispisani inicijali vlasnika apoteke Eduarda Pleyela (EP) upotpunjeno je pročelje zgrade, a ujedno može označiti reklamu za tu apoteku (sl. 7).⁴

tijelo tresla, ili ga je studen oslabila, svima je njima pronašao lijek za njihove patnje. Jedne je bajanjem liječio blagim, a druge napicima, dok trećima je obavijao uda travama, koje je posvuda skupio, dok nekima zahvatom noža zdravlje je vratio.” (Grmek, 1989: 56)

⁴ Apoteka Eduarda Pleyela prvo se nalazila u Ulici Franje Josipa, a kasnije (1896) u ulici Rudolfova 8. Svoju apoteku je reklamirao

of worm and symbolizes the cause of various diseases, including the theory of the tooth worm (Ferk, 2015: 4). This symbol of Asclepius, the snake and staff, spread through cultural influences into the heritage of other peoples and today, on a global scale, it represents an accepted symbol of medicine and dentistry.² It is interesting that Asclepius’ closest relatives played the role of protectors in specific areas of medicine (surgery and internal medicine). His daughter Hygeia was the protector of hygiene (cleanliness), and Panacea was the protector of therapy. Their names are still used today, and the word “hygiene” is closely associated with cleanliness. The word “panacea” remains a synonym for a universal remedy that cures all diseases. The building with the reliefs of Asclepius and Hygeia on its façade should be particularly noted and marked due to these exceptional details, which remind us daily of hygiene and healing (Image 5).

The residential building and pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel is located at Štrosmajerova Street No. 6. In 1894, Eduard Pleyel became the owner of the property at this location, and in 1911, he gifted the house to his daughters: Kamila, with the married name Šimet, Mathilda, with the married name Studnička, Mery, and Helena. Until 1962, it was owned by the Pleyel family, after which it became public property. (Krzović, 2004: 67–69) The façade

² “Telling the legend of Asclepius and his apprenticeship with the centaur Chiron, the poet describes medical practice: All who came to him with wounds since birth, whose bodies were wounded by the bright brass, or by stones from a slingshot thrown from a distance, or those struck by sunstroke with fever shaking their bodies, or those weakened by cold, he found a remedy for all their suffering. Some he healed with gentle incantations, others with potions, while he wrapped the limbs of some with herbs he had gathered everywhere, and for some, with the use of a knife, he restored their health.” (Grmek, 1989: 56)

Atraktivne dekoracije, iznad i između nadsvodenih prozora, mnoštvo detalja, kao da su simbolički povezane s odlikom preciznosti i istančanosti, kakav je praktični rad spravljanja lijekova, pa izgleda kao da se te dvije činjenice ovako međusobno reflektiraju. Ovo je bila prva moderna apoteka otvorena u Sarajevu 1877. Na oba zdanja u kojim su bile apoteke može se primijetiti da je razvijen poseban arhitektonski izraz baziran na preplitanju historijskih i elemenata vezanih za praktični rad apoteke. Ovi originalni primjeri arhitekture u Sarajevu još se vide prisutni u svom izvornom izgledu. Zanimljivo je da su danas preostale zgrade ili dijelovi građevina, sada sa drugom namjenom, ali još prisutne, smještene na maloj razdaljini. Promatrano iz današnje perspektive, ako je u Sarajevu poznati orijentir Katedrala, prešavši ulicu s gornje strane, naći ćemo se pred nekadašnjom Husrev-begovom banjom. Krenemo li niz ulicu, ispred Katedrale, vrlo brzo ćemo se naći pred nekadašnjom apotekom Eduarda Pleyela, a lijevo od Katedrale, ulicom Ferhadija, pred zgradom nekadašnje Šlezingerove apoteke. S obzirom na sadržaj rada, ovaj rezultat promatranja čini se važnim radi prostornog sagledavanja blizine građevina iz različitih epoha, ali i zbog arhitektonskih odlika, koje kulturno oblikuju javni prostor i mapu grada. Ove zgrade predstavljaju reprezentativne primjerke javne arhitekture. Arhitektonski elementi na zgradama imaju i simboličko i funkcionalno značenje – to su ukrasi usklađeni sa stilom građevine (floralni elementi, medaljoni s likovima Eskulapa i Higije, medaljoni s inicijalima vlasnika prvog apotekara “EP”). Iako bi hronološki bilo logičnije predstaviti prvo apoteku Eduarda Pleyela,

of Eduard Pleyel’s pharmacy is older and represents an example of the Neo-Baroque style, belonging to an earlier phase of architecture known as historicism. The building was designed and completed in 1894, while the Vienna Secession was founded in 1897. This building (Image 6) is particularly adorned with a medallion, placed within floral decoration, above the two windows. The decoration—the medallion, which bears the initials of the pharmacy owner Eduard Pleyel (EP)—completes the building’s façade and can also serve as an advertisement for the pharmacy (Image 7).³

The appealing decorations above and between the vaulted windows, with the abundance of details, seem symbolically connected to the qualities of precision and refinement, much like the practical work of preparing medicines, so it appears as though these two aspects reflect each other in this way. This was the first modern pharmacy opened in Sarajevo in 1877. It is noticeable on both buildings which housed the pharmacies that a special architectural expression was developed, based on the intertwining of historical elements and those related to the practical work of pharmacies. These original examples of architecture in Sarajevo are still visible in their original appearance. Interestingly, the remaining buildings or sections of buildings, now with different purposes but still present, are located at a short distance from each other. Viewed from today’s perspective, if we take the Cathedral as a famous landmark in Sarajevo, if we cross the street from the upper side, we will find ourselves in front of the former Husrev Bey bathhouse. If we head down the street along the Cathedral, we will quickly find ourselves in front of the former pharmacy of Eduard

kao najstariju u gradu. (*Bosanski glasnik – Bosnischer Bote* za 1908. Sarajevo, 1908, 401)

³ The pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel was first located in the Franjo Josip Street, and later (1896) in the Rudolfova Street No. 8. He advertised his pharmacy as the oldest in the city. (*Bosanski glasnik – Bosnischer Bote* 1908. Sarajevo, 1908, 401)

fasada Schlezingerove apoteke ima više ukrasa koji plijene svojom simbolikom, te je korisna za lakše prepoznavanje simbola vezanih za liječenje i zdravlje. Ova fasada predstavlja primjer stila bečke secesije koji se ističe bogatim floralno-figurativnim sadržajem.

Ako se tom okruženju preteča modernih apoteka doda otvaranje Zemaljske bolnice na Koševu 1. jula 1894. i nastanak prvih medicinskih časopisa, kao što je *Godišnjak – Jahrbuch des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesspittales* (1897, izlazio do 1900), može se donijeti zaključak i o počecima razvoja medicinske znanosti u ovom periodu. (Praštalo i Ćukac, 1993) Iako s nesigurnom godinom početka izlaženja, ovaj godišnjak je prvi medicinski časopis u BiH, publiciran na njemačkom jeziku, čiji su autori bili ljekari iz Austrije na službi u Sarajevu.⁵ Tako se potvrđuje sinteza ranijih i novih elemenata u zdravstvenoj kulturi i liječenju stanovništva Sarajeva, te ukazuje na važnost isticanja podataka u vezi zdravstvenih prilika kod nas, u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg perioda, kada su se desile osebujne promjene na društvenopolitičkom i kulturnom planu, koje su posljedično donijele promjene u gotovo svim vidovima djelovanja pojedinca i društva.

Zaključak

Zdravstvene prilike i zdravstvene navike u Sarajevu krajem osmanske i početkom austrougarske uprave, odnosno krajem 19. i

Pleyel, and to the left of the Cathedral, on Ferhadija Street, in front of the building that once housed Schlesinger's pharmacy. Given the content of this paper, this result of observation seems important in order to spatially understanding the proximity of buildings from different eras, but also for the sake of architectural features that culturally shape the public space and the city map. These buildings are representative examples of public architecture. The architectural elements on the buildings have both symbolic and functional significance – they are decorations that align with the style of the building (floral elements, medallions with the figures of Asclepius and Hygeia, medallions with the initials of the first pharmacist's owner "EP"). Although it would be chronologically logical to present Eduard Pleyel's pharmacy first, the façade of Schlesinger's pharmacy has more decorations that captivate with their symbolism, making it useful for easier recognition of symbols related to healing and health. This façade represents an example of the Vienna Secession style, distinguished by its rich floral-figurative content.

If we add to this environment the opening of the State Hospital in Koševo on July 1, 1894, and the publishing of the first medical journals, such as the *Godišnjak – Jahrbuch des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesspittales* (1897, published until 1900), we can make conclusions about the beginnings of the development of medical science in this period. (Praštalo and Ćukac, 1993). Although with an uncertain year of first publication, this yearbook is the first medical journal in Bosnia and Herzegovina, published in German, with authors who were doctors from Austria serving in Sarajevo.⁴ This confirms the

⁵ Ovaj Godišnjak je imao i opšti i specijalni dio; opšti dio se odnosio na administrativne članke (npr. Izvještaj o gradnji i adaptaciji Zemaljske bolnice, 1897–1900), a specijalni dio na stručne radove sa različitih bolničkih odjela. (Praštalo i Ćukac, 1993: 9–13)

⁴ This Yearbook had a general and a specialist section; the general section contained administrative papers (such as the Report on Construction and Renovation of the Provincial Hospital, 1897–1900), and the specialist section

početkom 20. stoljeća, prožimaju se u vremenu historijske promjene vlasti. To je i period prilagođavanja tranziciji i uklapanja u nove društvene tokove. Turska uprava je za sobom ostavila dosta praktičnih izmjena na planu korištenja voda. Voda je presvuđena kroz česme i šadrwane, a Sarajevo ima vodovod od 1532. godine. Upotreba hamama je bila veoma poznata u Sarajevu. Bilo ih je nekoliko, a posljednji, Husrev-begova banja, prestaje s radom 1914. godine. Osim za kupanje, funkcija hamama – banje značila je i određeni vid relaksacije. Česme i šadrvani imaju svoje mjesto ne samo u pogledu korištenja vode, kako zahtijevaju vjerski propisi o čistoći, već i u pogledu relaksacije koju donosi žubor vode, a pravi primjer je šadrvan u dvorištu Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu. S novom, austrougarskom upravom, apoteke dolaze kao oficijelni objekti kupovine lijekova, tada u privatnom vlasništvu. Nova, austrougarska uprava, donosi promjene na planu liječenja, otvara nove zdravstvene ustanove, pored apoteke, i pokreće prve medicinske časopise, te bi se moglo zaključiti da je cijeli sektor zdravstva u tranziciji. Prve apoteke zauzimaju važno mjesto u predstavljanju zdravstvenih prilika i navika lokalnog stanovništva. Zgrade tadašnjeg Sarajeva u kojima su bile smještene dvije privatne apoteke imaju bogatu arhitekturu, o čemu svjedoči primjer stila bečke secesije floralno-figurativnih sadržaja na apoteci Hinka Schlesingera. Užim odabirom objekata u ovom radu sačinjen je prilog dokumentarne građe koja ulazi u temu zdravstvene kulture u Sarajevu, a i šire na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine. Za ovakva istraživanja važno je kompleksno prezentiranje činjenica, o čemu svjedoče arhitektonski objekti, koji se odlikuju različitim stilskim i historijskim podacima, te se tako pruža mogućnost realne rekonstrukcije

synthesis of earlier and new elements in the health culture and medical treatment of the population of Sarajevo, and highlights the importance of emphasizing data related to health conditions in our region, in late Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, a period when distinctive changes occurred in the socio-political and cultural spheres, which consequently brought changes in almost all aspects of individual and societal activities.

Conclusion

Healthcare conditions and healthcare habits in Sarajevo at the end of the Ottoman and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule, that is, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, are intertwined with a period of historical political change. This is also the period of adaptation to transition and integration into new social currents. The Ottoman administration left behind many practical changes regarding the use of water. Water was channeled through public taps and shadirvans, and Sarajevo has had a water supply system since 1532. The use of hammams was very common in Sarajevo. There were several of them, and the last one, the Husrev Bey's bathhouse, ceased operations in 1914. Fountains and shadirvans played a role not only in terms of water usage, as required by religious cleanliness regulations, but also in terms of the relaxation brought by the sound of flowing water, with the best example being the shadirvan in the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque in Sarajevo. With the new Austro-Hungarian administration, pharmacies became official establishments for purchasing medicines, at that time privately owned. The new Austro-Hungarian government brought changes in treatment methods, opened new healthcare

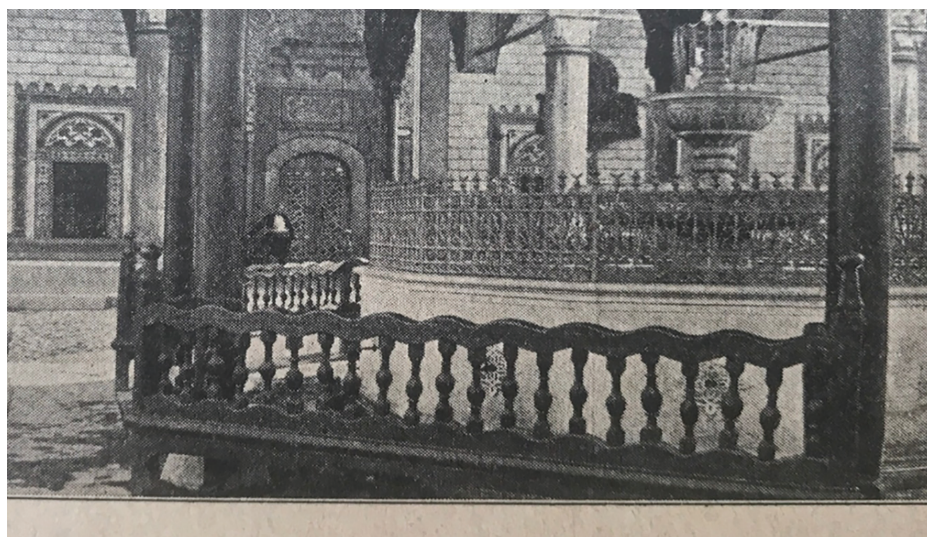
contained scientific papers of different hospital departments, (Praštalo and Ćukac, 1993: 9–13)

prošlosti Sarajeva. Kroz analizu zdravstvenih prilika i navika moguće je profilirati vezu između narodne medicine i oficijelnog liječenja, koncept kojim se ostvaruje potpuniji pogled na praktične komponente liječenja u Sarajevu, u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg vremena. Generalno uzevši, spajanje Istoka i Zapada otvara prostor za napredovanje u pravcu multidisciplinarnog pristupa u temama koji povezuje naslijeđeni orijentalni utjecaj s novim, zapadno orijentiranim, što ostvaruje integrativnu ulogu u pogledu kulture, tradicije i znanja. Ujedno, ovo je pokušaj da se predstavi jedan segment života u Bosni i Hercegovini s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća i napravi pristup kulturološkom segmentu, higijeni i liječenju uopće, te poveže sa širom kulturnom javnosti u pogledu zdravstvene kulture.

institutions, alongside pharmacies, and launched the first medical journals, leading to the conclusion that the entire healthcare sector was in transition. The first pharmacies occupied an important place in representing the healthcare conditions and habits of the local population. The buildings of Sarajevo at the time, which housed two private pharmacies, feature rich architecture, as evidenced by the example of the Vienna Secession style with floral-figurative content on Hinko Schlesinger's pharmacy. Through a more focused selection of objects in this work, a contribution has been made to the documentary material that addresses the theme of health culture in Sarajevo, and more broadly in the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In such research, it is important to present facts in a comprehensive manner, as evidenced by architectural objects that feature various stylistic and historical details, thus providing the opportunity for a realistic reconstruction of Sarajevo's past. Through the analysis of healthcare conditions and habits, it is possible to profile the connection between folk medicine and formal medical treatment, a concept that enables a more complete view of the practical components of medical treatment in Sarajevo, in late Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina. Generally speaking, the merging of East and West opens the space for progress towards a multidisciplinary approach in fields that connect the inherited oriental influence with the new, Western-oriented one, thereby fulfilling an integrative role in terms of culture, tradition, and knowledge. At the same time, this is an attempt to present a segment of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and create an approach to the cultural segment, hygiene, and medical treatment in general, linking it with the broader cultural public in terms of healthcare culture.

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Prilozi⁶Addendum⁵

Slika 1. Šadirvan u dvorištu Begove Džamije (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 42)

Image 1. Shadirvan in the courtyard of the Bey Mosque (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 42)



Dvorište u Kuršumlji medresi

Slika 2. Dvorište Kuršumli Medrese u Sarajevu s malim šadirvanom i česmama (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 51)

Image 2. Courtyard of the Kuršumli madrasa in Sarajevo with the small shadirvan and taps (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 51)

⁶ Fotografije 2–7 su rad autorice urađene posebno za prezentirani rad.

⁵ Photographs 2–7 were taken by the author especially for the this paper.



Slika 3. Današnji izgled pročelja zgrade nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Schlesingera
Image 3. Present-day appearance of the façade of the former pharmacy of Hinko Schlesinger



Slika 4. Pročelje većeg dijela zgrade nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Schlesingera
Image 4. Façade of the larger portion of the former Hinko Schlesinger pharmacy building



Slika 5. Medaljoni na pročelju zgrade: Higija i Eskulap na zgradi nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Šlezingera, Ferhadija 27, Sarajevo

Image 5. Medallions on the building's façade: Hygeia and Asclepius on the building of the former Hinko Schlesinger pharmacy, Ferhadija Street 27, Sarajevo



Slika 6. Pročelje zgrade porodice Pleyel
Image 6. Façade of the Pleyel family's building



Slika 7. Medaljon s inicijalima apotekara Eduarda Pleyela
Image 7. Medallion with the initials of pharmacist Eduard Pleyel