

first publication

1 In Croatia, Ljudevit Gaj and others from the Illyrian movement pledged for the unification with Croatia, while Vuk Stefanović Karadžić did the same in Serbia. Even later, after the occupation, Croatia believed that BiH would be a part of it. There was even a letter sent by the *Croatian Assembly* on August 21, 1878 to the Kaiser, asking that BiH be annexed to Croatia. Such a proposition was immediately refused. Cf. Lovrenović, Ivan: *Bosnia: A Cultural History*. London: Saqi Books 2001, p. 106. Imamović, Mustafa: *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914* (Legal status and inner-political development of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1914). Sarajevo: Bosanski kulturni centar 1997), p. 69.

2 In 1896, *Nada* published an article entitled *Na kordunu* (At the Military Outposts) In: *Nada* 1 (May 15, 1896), p. 192. The first part gives a presentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a romantic manner as seen by a foreigner. »The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina revealed before an amazed Europe a piece of land less known in the Western World than any part of central Africa, even if these beautiful areas are surrounded by civilized states. Until that point, somewhere in the world, few peaceful citizen were reading, over a cup of coffee, about those mysterious lands on the threshold of the more mysterious East, the scary thing for a high politics, read about ... riots and burglaries – and that was all. And so the curious rich man would rather travel overseas to America visit the scary land, in which he would risk his life.«

3 Kurto, Nedžad: Sarajevo 1462-1992. Sarajevo: OKO 1997, p. 57.

4 The name *Markthalle* exists even today, in a slightly modified form: *Markale*.

5 Smith, Anthony D.: *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford UP 1999, p. 4.

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of BiH, Sarajevo quickly became not only the administrative, but also the cultural center in this region of the monarchy. The cultural development of Sarajevo and BiH was planned for several reasons. One such reason was a diminishing of nationalistic propaganda coming from Serbia and Croatia.

At that time, while the Serb and the Croat elite from BiH had already been influenced by the program of cultural and national unification, by Serbia and Croatia¹ respectively, the Bosniaks were left in a situation where, abandoned by the Ottomans, they had to struggle for their territorial and religious rights. To keep the Serbian and the Croatian territorial aspirations under control, the Austro-Hungarian administration sought to foster a feeling of national belonging to BiH, which was based not on ethnic or religious, but on territorial affiliation. They attempted to evoke a feeling of unity and patriotism amongst the various ethnic groups towards their mutual country. While such politics met with the disapproval of the Serb(ian)s and the Croat(ian)s, who saw BiH a part of their respective countries, the Bosniaks, who had no other territorial affiliation than BiH, began to appear politically conscious and show their approval for such politics. Whereas in the process of nation formation in Serbia and Croatia, the local elite had a leading role, in the case of BiH this role was assumed by the Austro-Hungarian administration that represented the cultural elite who sought to preserve the existing memory of an independent national identity in BiH through the instruments of culture, leaning on the vernacular as well as historical tradition of this country from and before the Ottoman empire, combined with elements of modernization. What they sought to achieve was to affirm their historical continuity through the expression of collective beliefs and practices, avoiding any political connotations.

Another attempt of the Viennese administration was to justify its presence in BiH through modernization. Soon after the occupation the country turned from an Oriental to a western-looking country. Modernization of the country and the implementation of cultural politics were something the new government was especially proud of. It used various cultural instruments to present this multi-ethnic country to the public at large.

To spread knowledge about the progress of the country under the Viennese administration, outside BiH as well as inside became an imperative, and one means for this was cultural politics.² For that purpose, the new administration used a western type of cultural institution to support the development of a western type of culture and education, as well as the following cultural instruments: exhibitions, *Nada* magazine, and the publication *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bosnien und Hercegovina* (Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Word and Picture hereinafter referred to as: *Kronprinzenwerk*).

The greatest change occurred in urban planning. The Oriental was replaced by Neo-Renaissance, which would be the prevailing style in the urban growth of the city.³ During the first ten years, the monarchy erected many important buildings. The 1890s saw an architectural boom, especially in the building of apartment houses for the better-off middle-class in a Neo-Renaissance style. Next to the erection of villas and apartment houses, streets were regulated, as were the banks of the River Miljacka. A number of public administrative buildings were also built in this period, as well as a national theatre building, a hospital complex, and the market hall⁴ that was erected to serve not only an economic, but also a social purpose. The second half of the 1890s saw the erection of a hotel complex and a park around the source of the River Bosna, Ilidža. Along with the standard architectural styles of the time, an architectural phenomenon represented by the so-called pseudo-Moorish style also emerged in BiH. It was introduced in order to be easily accepted by the Bosniaks. When observed from the stance of a nation building process, it could be assumed that it was used to evoke historical, religious or ideological connotations on the one hand whereas on the other, such a new style had the goal to stimulate the senses and meet the imagination of westerners about the Orient. The style was thought to reflect the genuine style of Bosnian Oriental architecture. As Anthony Smith argues in his *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, national symbols include both »styles of architecture« and »modes of planning«.⁵ This manipulation of using a pseudo-Moorish style by the Austro-Hungarian architectural elite could be explained by the aim of fostering a national identity through invented architectural styles, which had no religious, only territorial

6 Kurto 1997, p. 63.

7 He went to Cairo twice to study architecture, and the two most appealing were the Mosque and Moslem religious secondary school (*medresa*) of Hasan II. Cf. Kržović, Ibrahim: *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918* [Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918]. Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine 1987, p. 27; cf. also Kelner, Ivan in: *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*. Vol. 22: *Bosnien und Hercegovina* [Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture. Bosnia and Herzegovina]. Wien: Druck u. Verlagsanstalt der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei 1901, p. 433.

8 Kržović 1901, p. 129.

9 Since many of the institutions from this period had the prefix *Landes-*, I decided not to translate it, but to use the original form throughout the remainder of the article. One could translate the word as »country« or »national«, which would be more appropriate. The monarchy used this term to achieve neutrality, hence *Landes-*languages, *Landesmuseum*, etc.

10 Čulić, Zorislava: *Muzeološki rad etnološkog odjeljenja u razdoblju od sto godina (1888-1988)* [The Museum Work of the Ethnology Section within a Hundred Year Period (1888-1988)]. In: Dautbegović, Almaz (Ed.): *Spomenica stogodišnjice rada zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888-1988* [Commemorative Volume of the One Hundred's Anniversary of the Bosnia and Herzegovina *Landesmuseum's* Activity 1888-1988]. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej 1988, p. 265.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 267f.

13 Špicer, Mavro: *Sa milenijske izložbe* [From the Millennial Exposition]. In: *Nada* 7 (April 1, 1896), p. 138.

14 *Bez* is specially refined cotton. Križevich describes it as so perfect that it could easily compete with the European embroidery. Sokol, Josip. In: *Križevich, Bosna i Hercegovina na milenijskoj izložbi u Budimpešti godine 1896* [Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Millennial Exposition in Budapest in 1896]. Sarajevo: Izdanje Izložbenog ureda bos. herc. Zemaljske vlade [Exhibitionary Dept. of the BiH *Landes-government*] 1896, p. 30.

15 Since the interest in BiH textile and carpets increased, in 1888 in Sarajevo the *Landes-Carpeting*

connotations, but whose aim was to differentiate it from the styles of Serbia and Croatia. Such a style in fact represented a conglomerate of different styles in Islam, especially those from Africa and Spain, as these were mostly known to Europe,⁶ but did not reflect a genuine Bosnian architecture. Lush decoration was the key element of such a style, especially the colorful façade. In such a style, Josip Vancaš built the Gazi Isabey bath, Karel Pařík the Muslim religious law school, and Wittek and Iveković built the City hall.⁷

The Art Nouveau trend came with the turn of the century. Special attention was paid to the vernacular and the prominent architects of the time – Pospíšil, Pařík, Tönnies, Vancaš and others – began to study local buildings and ornaments for the sake of developing a Bosnian style in architecture. They attempted to create a local style combined with the European form. One such object is the Solom's palace, built by Rudolf Tönnies in 1911. It is modern in appearance, but contains eight life-size figurines placed between the windows, dressed in the national city and folk costumes of the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats.⁸

In 1888, the *Landesmuseum*⁹ was officially established. This was an institution that played a key role in the implementation of the cultural mission in BiH and where most cultural projects were initiated. The importance of the *Landesmuseum* as an educational institution is foremost, since it became the cultural focal point of Sarajevo and BiH. The development of this institution and its educative importance was achieved through the dedicated work of its staff: Ćiro Truhelka, Othmar Reiser, Viktor Apfelbeck, Konstantin (Kosta) Hörmann, and others. The work of the *Landesmuseum* mainly depended on the work of foreign experts who were invited to BiH, as no educated experts could be found within the country. This group of people founded a *Herald of the Landesmuseum*, a journal which was not only dedicated to the museum's activities, but also had an educative purpose and as such was unique in the country. The aim of the publication was to encourage young people to become interested in exploring their own country. For that purpose, the *Landesmuseum* extended the distribution of the *Herald* to schools, mostly to those based in Sarajevo. The museum housed the *Balkan Institute*, and a library with a vast collection of books, which was as such unique in that area.

The initial activities of the *Landesmuseum* were focused on the collection of items pertaining to archeology and natural sciences. Its collections were available to the public, free of charge, three days a week. Upon request of the citizens, a special visit for women was organized on every first Friday of the month from 2 pm to 5 pm. The *Landesmuseum* represented a collection of information that was available to everybody, regardless of their profession or age. The most frequent visitors were students from Sarajevo schools.

Due to his personal interest, Ćiro Truhelka was certainly one of the pioneers for the development of ethnography in BiH. Truhelka's interest in ethnography was strong and yet it remained marginal, as he had to cover other areas for which the *Landesmuseum* had no experts. In 1890, Truhelka started collecting folk costumes and other items of ethnographic value. This research was limited in the sense that what was collected was something not previously taken by tourists and others visiting BiH. That year, he traveled through Bosnia and the following year through Herzegovina. From this journey, he brought costumes of all nationalities, some being rarities such as a very special head cover, which by those times only three women were known to possess.¹⁰ Apart from the costumes, he also obtained richly carved wooden interiors characteristic for urban Muslim architecture of the time, as well as different kinds of weapons.¹¹ His travels resulted in the *Landesmuseum* acquiring 75 completed folk dresses and 50 costumes only four years after the museum was founded.¹²

With the rich collection of national costumes collected by Truhelka, BiH represented itself for the first time in 1891, when a few costumes were exhibited at the Viennese great exhibition of folk costumes at the *Museum for Arts and Crafts*. BiH was represented with 37 complete costumes of all BiH nationalities, 120 luxurious parts of costumes and 40 valuable accessories and jewelry representing all peoples in BiH under Viennese patronage. Thanks to Truhelka, the museum today possesses valuable notes from this exhibition, as well as a detailed description of the costumes.

The same year, BiH participated in Zagreb and Timișoara exhibitions, and in 1896 in Budapest at the *Millennial Exposition*. The BiH pavilion at the exhibition in Budapest was described as »unusually large«.¹³ It comprised four parts, the industrial and forestry pavillion being the largest, followed by a smaller Bosnian house with a textile factory producing *bez*¹⁴ and carpets,¹⁵ a Bosnian coffee house and a railroad pavilion. The Bosnian house was a copy of a Muslim urban house, with carved ceiling, *dolafs*¹⁶ and five rooms, the most beautiful being

Factory was opened, which worked for domestic but also for the foreign demanding market (Austria, Germany, France, England and the US). In 1892, a *Landes-Textile Factory of bez* and embroidery was founded, followed by three private textile factories that also operated in BiH.

Especially skilful were Bosniak women, whose embroidery was the finest. For that reason, E. Kobljo developed a house industry since he knew that it was the only way for the Bosniak women to work, within the house, due to religious reasons. Cf. Bakovljević, Mersida: *Development of Handicraft and Industry in Sarajevo*. In: Dautbegović 1988, pp. 278-279.

16 *Dolaf* is a carved wall-closet.

17 Križevich 1896, p. 100ff.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 327-330.

19 In: Nada 20 (October 15, 1898), p. 320.

20 Kurto 1997, p. 48.

21 Kállay qtd. in Reynolds, Diana: *Cavaliers, Costumes, and Crafts: How Vienna imagined Bosnia, 1878-1900*. In: *Contributions 32* [Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju Sarajeva] (2003), p. 142.

22 Križevich 1896, p. 27f.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

24 Baedeker, Karl: *Baedeker's Guide Book. Austria-Hungary including Dalmatia and Bosnia. Handbook for Travelers*. London: Dalau & Co. 1905, p. 431.

25 Šamić, Jasna: *Bosanski paviljon* [Bosnian pavilion]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost 2000, p. 73. The author also reports that Austria spent the largest amount of money on its promotion of all the countries which participated, namely 7,5 mio. francs, whereas Hungary spent 2,5 mio. which was 10 mio. in French francs.

26 He was one of the noblemen who fought for Bosnian autonomy during the Turkish reign in BiH.

a genuine copy of a *haremluk*, copied from Sarajevo's Ruždija (Muslim lower high school).¹⁷ The report from the *Landes-government* also stated that the motifs at the exhibition were chosen in accordance with the ethnographic collections of the *Landesmuseum*. There was also a *selamluk*, a male, public part of the house where guests were received, a *haremluk*, a female and intimate part of a house, a *divanhana*, which was a kind of terrace and a room for peasants. All rooms were completed by figurines dressed in appropriate costumes.¹⁸

In 1897, the ethnographic section of the *Landesmuseum* participated in the *World Exhibition* in the Brussels. A year later, BiH was presented at the *Jubilee Exhibition* held in Vienna. *Nada* reports that »the pavilion was made in a picturesque Oriental style, by a young gifted Viennese architect who merged that style with secession, which was the prevailing style at the exhibition.«¹⁹ Kurto argues that this was the first time that BiH encountered the secessionist style and describes its pavilion as stereotypical, having elements of any other Islamic country.²⁰ (Cf. Image 1)

The foremost concern of these exhibitions was the aesthetic effect. To achieve this, tradition was often denied, but patterns were sent to Vienna to be refined before they were exhibited. Diana Reynolds claims that as a part of the civilizing mission of the monarchy, the house industry had to be refined to match the taste of the monarchy. Kállay had the idea that in Vienna patterns should be made in order to purify the taste of the natives, and to adjust it to the needs of »our times.«²¹ In a book about *BiH at the Millennial Exposition in Budapest in 1896*, this was justified by saying how the monarchy could not count either on the diligence or the skill of the local population and so the task was given to the monarchy.²² When speaking about carpets, it was said that the value of Bosnian carpets lies in their oriental significance, and the aim was to restore Persia and Persian motives in carpets, in order to return this art to the mother of this art – Persia. For that purpose, a Persian painter was used whose task was not only to recover the old patterns, but also to invent new, oriental patterns for the carpets.²³ Karl Baedeker remarked that items were refined and actually produced by Austrians, in his guidebook, where he gave a description of Sarajevo with its tailors, shoemakers, green-grocers, filigree work, etc and where »[m]any of the so-called oriental goods are of Austrian make.«²⁴

The Paris exhibition in 1900 was the greatest of all exhibitions in which BiH participated. *Nada* wrote that the success of BiH lay in the architecture of its pavilion. The pavilion was located in the *Promenade of nations*, between the Austrian and Hungarian displays (cf. Image 2), and apart from the Serbian, it was the only one from the Balkans. These were also the only countries represented from under the rule of the monarchy.²⁵ The pavilion was a project by Panek, whose inspiration was the house of Husein Captain Gradašćević,²⁶ to represent the national architectural style. The inner decoration was entrusted to Alfons (Alphonse) Mucha, whose 26 decorations rendered the history of BiH from the Stone Age to present. At this exhibition BiH was awarded a number of prizes.

As stated earlier, the work of the *Landesmuseum*, especially of Ćiro Truhelka had immense significance for the emergence of ethnography, although the ethnographic collections were not the Museum's primary intention. The participation of BiH in various exhibitions did not only mean a promotion of the country's development and the affirmation of the *Landesmuseum* and its work in the field of ethnography, but more importantly it meant education of the public about BiH. The collected material has been preserved to date and is one of the most important collections of the *Landesmuseum*.

The work of Ludvik Kuba ought to be added to the work of Kosta Hörmann and Ćiro Truhelka. He came to Sarajevo in 1892, where he was welcomed by Hörmann who was fascinated by Kuba's idea to collect folk songs. The two of them agreed that Kuba would work for free but that he would be given 10 forints for travel costs. They also agreed that Kuba would,



Image 1: From the Jubilee Exhibition in Vienna: His Highness exits the BiH Landes-government pavilion. Source: Nada 4/13 [Sarajevo], 19.06.1898 / 03.07.1898, p. 201.



Image 2: From the 1900 world exhibition in Paris: BiH pavilion. Source: Nada 6/18 [Sarajevo], 15.09.1900, p. 276.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

28 Palavestra, Vljako: Naučna djelatnost u oblasti etnologije 1888-1945, Hronika značajnijih etnoloških akcija i inicijativa 1888-1918 [Scientific Work in the Field of Ethnology 1888-1945. A Chronicle of the Most Important Ethnological Actions and Initiatives 1888-1918]. In: Almaz Dautbegović 1988, p. 140.

29 Hörmann sent a report to Kállay on February 4, 1894 with all the issues concerning *Nada*, its structure and contents. Kállay sent a letter from Vienna to the *Landes-government* of Bosnia and Herzegovina on February 14, 1894, explaining and specifying how the magazine should be organized and what it should contain. He emphasized that the magazine on the one hand should offer »the local people, according to the level of their education, an appropriate reading from all areas of science and education« but on the other hand to »show the foreigners in word and picture the exact situation and the growing cultural development of Bosnia and Herzegovina«. Kállay *quid.* in Besarović, Risto: Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom [From the Cultural Life in Sarajevo under the Austrian-Hungarian rule]. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša 1974, p. 97. He also appointed Hörmann editor-in-chief and the *Landes-government* the owner. The proposal to appoint Arndt the main illustrator was also accepted. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 97-108.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

31 Ćorić, Boris: *Nada* – književnohistorijska monografija 1895-1903 [*Nada* – a Literary-historical Monography 1895-1903]. Sarajevo: »Svjetlost« OOUR Izdavačka djelatnost 1978, p. 139.

32 There should be traditional stories, songs and epics about life not only from BiH, but also from other countries: Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Croatia. Hörmann also believed that the magazine should contain treatises on scientific matters that are of significance for the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, articles on ethnology, such as a description of customs, habits, superstitions, etc.

As for the illustrations, Hörmann thought that only domestic *motifs* should be represented, such as scenes from everyday life, from the market, weddings, funerals, as well as historical pictures of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Cf. Besarović 1974, p. 107.

33 Hörmann's idea was to print a magazine that would be far better

according to a fixed schedule, travel through BiH over the course of four months' time and that every month he would send the collected material to the *Landesmuseum*. 1125 melodies and texts that Kuba collected during his stay in BiH. These represent one of the first ethnographic collections of BiH.²⁷ Kuba's collection of melodies from BiH and Hörmann's collection of Muslim folk songs represent the most valuable achievements in the field of ethnology in the first years of the work of the museum.²⁸

In the 18th year of their rule over BiH, the monarchy, upon Kállay's suggestion,²⁹ launched the belletristic illustrated magazine *Nada* with an aim to »diminish or entirely eliminate the influence of the Croatian and the Serbian newspapers and magazines and making the domestic opposition newspapers«. This new magazine would »take the role of an active actor in the political and cultural life of the country, the defender of the Government's ideas and interest«. ³⁰ Another reason for the establishment of a magazine was that many foreigners and government officials came from a different milieu and for them a modern type of cultural magazine was a necessity. The following goals were to be met in the magazine:³¹

1. To publish reports that were morally correct, avoiding religious matters;
2. To avoid nationalist reporting;
3. To avoid open conflicts with the Serb(ian)s and the Croat(ian)s, but to remain persistent in mentioning the Bosnian nation and its individuality;
4. To bring articles and pictures from the cultural history and life of Bosnia, but also information from lives of other Slavic and non-Slavic peoples.³²

The estimated costs were six forints a year for 24 issues that were issued bi-weekly in a folio format that resembled³³ the English *Graphica* and the German *Über Land und Meer*,³⁴ on 16 pages and with a colored front page. The name *Nada* (*Hope*) was chosen by Hörmann and meant »hope in the progress of the people towards Austria, that is Kállay's ideas. He also chose the name that would be easy to pronounce for a foreigner«. ³⁵ The first number was issued on January 1, 1895. The main agenda of the magazine was published on the cover page of this first issue:

Our intention is to gather, to get to know each other, to become closer and to step forward together, united as a power, and to present ourselves to the world as united, powerful cultural element. [...] We want to gather our writers. In that circle we also invite our Croatian and Serbian poets and writers to work together with us under the wing of a folk fairy on the progress and the expansion of the mutual people and tribes.³⁶

It was decided that the main illustrator of the magazine would be Ewald Arndt Tschepelin (Čeplin). At the time, Čeplin was working in Sofia as a drawing teacher and Hörmann went to Sofia to speak to him in person.³⁷ Mladenović argues that he and other painters whom Hörmann chose did not have a strong artistic background in terms of painting, but were chosen for their qualities as excellent illustrators who could render realistic depictions upon demand. The visual part of the magazine, reproductions and illustrations, as well as the texts that were published, were of immense importance, since they played a significant role in spreading not only the culture of visual arts and arts in general, but were a powerful medium for constructing a national identity among members of different groups, that is a belonging to BiH. This means that Čeplin's and other artists' illustrations that were accepted required written information, so the accompanying part of the illustration was a written explanation, a story that would match or clarify the subject matter of the picture with moral lessons behind it.

Other Slavic artists from neighboring countries that were considered were Nikšić, a professor of drawing at the *First Belgrade General High School*, an academic painter from Belgrade – Pavle Jovanović, Nikola Mašić from Zagreb, Celestin Medović from Rome, Mitre Marković from Osijek, Augusta Bock from Sarajevo to paint Bosnian *motifs*.³⁸ At the time, there were many domestic writers, but there were few painters or illustrators available to work for *Nada*.

Another goal of *Nada* was to promote artists from inside and outside the monarchy. Having acquired the right of reproduction, the magazine was able to publish reproductions of some of the most famous masters of the time. For example, 28 reproductions by Vlaho Bukovac and Klement Crnčić were published in *Nada*, 23 by Ivana Kobilca, 9 by Celestin Medović, 2 from Pavle Jovanović, 6 from Manegello-Dinčić, etc. The magazine also contained reproduc-

than all Slavic publications that existed at the time, and which could stand side by side with the best French, German and English illustrated magazines of the time. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 100.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

35 Ćorić 1978, p. 144.

36 In: *Nada* 1 (January 1, 1895), cover page.

37 Hörmann also traveled to Belgrade, Sofia and Zagreb to try to find contributors. He also invited many domestic writers and asked for their cooperation.

38 Ćorić 1978, p. 144.

39 Dušan Plavšić published a text in *Nada* in 1898 entitled *Novi Beč (New Vienna)*, dedicated to the Austrian secession. He emphasized »the need for unrestrained expression of individual feelings, wishes and ideas which are [...] the expression of the inner feelings of their creators. [...] The young want simple [...] forms, return to life and man.

The art is therefore in service of people by the people's [...] individual expression«. Paraphrased in Ćorić 1978, p. 652f. Other artists, representatives of symbolism and secession represented in *Nada* were Puvis de Chavannes, Klimt and Stucka. There were many texts published on development of modern art. Kurto, Nedžad: *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine, Razvoj bosanskog stila* [Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Development of Bosnian style]. Sarajevo: Sarajevo publ., Međunarodni centar za mir 1998, p. 45.

40 *Slikarski umjetnici u Sarajevu* [Painters in Sarajevo]. In: *Nada* 14 (July 15, 1895), p. 275.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 761.

42 »They are the leaders of the young Sarajevo painter's Club. Almost all of *Nada's* illustrations came from that environment: not from a magnificently created atelier, but straight under the open sky, the pretty plein-air, which stretches itself above the proud summits. [...] There W. Leo Arndt found his characteristic types that he depicted upon the first impression, there Kobilca studied nature, Ewald Arndt Čeplin studied his motives from forests, fields and by the mills, and Liebenwein painted his horses and cows. [...] Isn't it possible to, without re-straining nobody's artistic freedom, still remain faithful to one's roots – prolific but uncultivated field? [...] And if we hereby can point at [...] significant success in the

tions of the Czech artists Ludvik Kuba, Havelka, Liebscher, Mucha and Austrian, such as Adolf Kaufmann, Anna Lynker and others. The entire magazine is a valuable collection of information on art, literature and life in BiH and other adjacent countries. Not only was it educative in character, but it also followed the artistic trends and offered current information on cultural life.³⁹ It is a valuable collection of information about who came to BiH, what artists and for what purpose. One of the articles printed about painters in Sarajevo stated:

We are happy to report that our country is often visited by painters and artists, who come here to study the country. Recently there stayed for some time one of the most famous aquarellists in the world, Mr. Passini, as well as a famous master Ruben. For a while here have been working Czech painters, such as Adolf Liebscher, Ludvik Kuba and Ferdinand Velc, while from Berlin arrived Mr. Leo Arndt, the brother of our permanent artist, Mr. E. Arndt-Tscheplin. We are also happy to announce that *Nada* will soon be able to bring an artistic contribution from the rich collection of their memories from the journey through beautiful parts of our beautiful Herceg-Bosna.⁴⁰

Hörmann's duty was to check all the materials and to censor them. He often requested some additions to the illustrations or ethnographic corrections. For that purpose, he sent a letter to Leo Anderle on February 15, 1895 with the following request:

On pictures *Vrelo (Source)*, hotel Hungaria, hotel Bosnia, hotel Austria, You depicted only French-like-dressed »Germans«. However, since it is necessary for the picture to show children of this principality strolling there too, I kindly ask you to insert there a few Bosnian men and women. To make your job easier, I hereby attach a few examples of several types of costumes, male and female. On *Vrelo (Bosna)* you could, in between the Germans, insert a few men and women in national costumes, maybe a Turk (the one who is holding a child's hand) talking to a woman-rider. In the same way please insert three or four natives, men and women, talking or walking.⁴¹

There were four artists who permanently worked for *Nada* and whose works were mostly found on the pages of this magazine. The brothers Ewald and Leo Arndt from Germany, Maximilian Liebenwein from Austria and Ivana Kobilca were those artists who worked for *Nada* from its very beginnings until it ceased publication. They also formed *Sarajevo Painter's Club* in 1899 that operated alongside with *Nada*. Not much is known about *Sarajevo Painter's Club*, except the little information that was offered by *Nada*.⁴²

In 1901, Čeplin, together with the rest of the group, published in Berlin the *Bildermappe des Sarajevoer Malerclubs (Pictures of the Sarajevo Painter's Club)* (cf. Image 3) with 24 motives from BiH. He also made illustrations for Renner and his *Durch Bosnien-Hercegovina kreuz und quer (Through Bosnia and Herzegovina diagonally and vertically)*.⁴³

Little information is available about his brother Leo, except that he was the leading figure of the *Sarajevo Painter's Club*. He studied in Germany and was famous for his etchings. In 1899, he exhibited his *motifs* from BiH in Berlin. They had previously been published in *Nada* and charmed the Berlin audience. Encouraged by this success, he suggested to Hörmann together with Kobilca and Liebenwein that the *Sarajevo Painter's Club* should exhibit *motifs* from BiH in Austria and Germany. In 1905-1909 he was a professor of painting in Tuzla, and later moved to Berlin. *Nada* wrote about him in one of its issues.⁴⁴ (Cf. Images 4 and 5)

Ivana Kobilca was the only woman working for *Sarajevo Painter's Club*. She came to Sarajevo in 1897 to paint a portrait of Archbishop Josip Stadler, stayed for eight years and befriended Austrian and German painters, the brothers Arndt and Liebenwein, with whom she established the *Sarajevo Painter's Club*. Sarajevo was described as a place where she »diligently worked and discovered [...] the Orient.«⁴⁵ In the Bosnian milieu, she looked for oriental motifs, which appealed to Westerners. Pictures of the Turks and Gypsies, as well as the depiction of various customs were her most frequent motives,



Image 3: *Bildermappe der Sarajevoer Maler-Clubs (Skizzen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina von Leo Arndt, Max Liebenwein, I. Kobilca und Ewald Arndt)*. Hg. v. Ewald Arndt. Wien: Verlag von J. Löwy, Hof-Kunst-Anstalt 1901. Location: National Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo.

field of illustration. It was worked hardly and persistently on this in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thanks to the young *Sarajevo Painter's Club* and its friends-experts. By scarifying themselves to artistic tasks completely, they trotted valleys and mountains with their tools, climbed the highest peaks, and rested while working by tame banks of rivers and lakes.« In: *Nada* 3 (February 1, 1900), p. 44f.

43 Mønnesland, Svein: 1001 days Bosnia and Herzegovina in Pictures and Words through Centuries. Oslo: Syppress 2001, p.247f.

44 In: *Nada* 3 (February 1, 1900), p. 44.

45 Čopić, Špelica: Ivana Kobilca na slikarskom razpotju [Ivana Kobilca on the Crossroads of Painting]. In: Ivana Kobilca, 1861-1926. Ljubljana: Narodna galerija 1979, p. 34.

46 Ibid., p. 145.

47 Vrhunc, Polonca: Life and Work of Ivana Kobilca. In: Ivana Kobilca, 1861-1926. Ljubljana: Narodna galerija 1979, p. 23.

48 Ibid., p. 23.

49 Ibid., p. 25. This fresco was removed as the church was turned into the *Art Academy*.

50 Kurto 1997, p. 69f.

51 Mladenović, Ljubica: Građansko slikarstvo u BiH u XIX vijeku [Urban painting in the XIXth century Bosnia and Herzegovina]. Sarajevo: IRO »Veselin Masleša« 1982, p. 97.

52 Ibid., p. 102.

53 »Watercolours Jajce we see from a series of studies from Bosnia and Herzegovina by a young Czech artist Havelka, about whom we also speak in today's report on art from an exhibition in Rudolphin.« In: *Nada* 14 (July 15, 1903), p. 194.

which radiate with the influence of the Munich and Paris realistic techniques.⁴⁶ (Cf. Images 6 and 7)



Image 4: *The Falconer*. Source: *Nada* 5/2 [Sarajevo], 15.01.1899, p. 25.



Image 5: *The Funeral*. Source: *Nada* 5/9 [Sarajevo], 01.05.1899, p. 132

graphic solution of the picture, as well as in the whole visual layout of the magazine, there can be seen secessionist touches.«⁵⁰ Liebenwein was one of the carriers of secessionist form in BiH. His works are easily recognizable in *Nada* as he mostly depicted the animal world and because his style was not in harmony with other illustrations that were milder and depicted in a manner of academism.⁵¹

In 1899, the four members came to Hörmann with a suggestion to collect original illustrations and paintings from BiH that were published in *Nada* and exhibit them in Austria, Hungary and Germany. This proposition was approved and the four of them exhibited motives from BiH »promoting [...] picturesqueness of Bosnia and Herzegovina and [...] »benefits« that Austro-Hungarian monarchy brought to it.«⁵²

There were other painters who worked for *Nada*, many of them being of Czech origin. One was Havelka and *Nada* presented an article about him and his work in BiH.⁵³ Another one was the aforementioned Ludvik Kuba, whose paintings, mostly watercolors, were published in *Nada*. (Cf. Image 8).

Apart from *Nada* and the *Painter's Club*, Anastasije and Špiro Bocarić, two brothers from Budva, Montenegro who were iconographers by vocation, came to BiH. They specialized in portrait and history/heroic painting. Špiro was also interested in folklore. For this purpose, he established the ethnographic museum in Banja Luka, BiH.

Nada died with Kállay in 1903. Its inventory, together with pictures, reproductions and other materials were transferred to the *Landesmuseum*, where the *Gallery of Fine Arts* was initially housed. The inventory was later transferred to the *National Gallery of BiH* (1946) and works created for *Nada* represented the Gallery's first collection of paintings.

During its existence, *Nada* gathered a number of artists, who not only contributed to spreading the culture of painting, but also had an impact on painters from BiH, whose inspiration and role models were some of the contributors to *Nada*. It is a most

During her stay in Sarajevo, she painted not only scenes from folk life, but also embarked on painting portraits of prominent and well-to-do Sarajevans, as well as monumental compositions in fresco techniques.⁴⁷ In 1900, she was asked to paint two frescoes for the Jesuit church of St. Cyril and Methodius, built by Josip Vancaš. In the cupola, she copied Michelangelo's *Creation of the World*.⁴⁸

She also made illustrations from Bosnian life for *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, published in 1901. In the same year, she also published the *Bildermappe des Sarajevoer Malerclubs* in Vienna. It contained reproductions of three picture *Mohammedan Boy from Sarajevo*, *Head of a Mohammedan – Study*, and *Geese keeper*. Her last piece from Bosnia was the fresco *Christ on Olive Mountain* for a Protestant Evangelistic church in Sarajevo.⁴⁹

Nada reports on Maximilian Liebenwein, another member of *Nada* and the *Sarajevo Painter's Club*. In his works, the dominant theme is »Bosnian genre, and



Image 6: *The Servant*. Source: *Nada* 6/23 [Sarajevo], 01.12.1900, p. 364.



Image 7: *In the Church*. Source: *Nada* 9/20 [Sarajevo], 15.10.1903, pp. 268-269

54 *Nada* reported about another publication that might be a predecessor of the *Kronprinzenwerk* which is: Österreichisch in Wort und Bild. Vaterländisches Jubiläums-Prachtwerk. Ed. by Julius Laurenčić.

[Preis: 1 Krone]. Wien: Verlag G. Szelinski s.a. »Under this title we received the third issue from this series, which was started last year as a jubilee journal on four languages and accompanied by good pictures. However, the publishers want to continue with a journal in German only, and so far two issues have appeared. The third depicts Bosnia and Herzegovina through chosen parts of nature and architecture, such as Sarajevo, City Hall in Sarajevo, Land hospital, Jajce, Ilidža, picturesque Počitelj, Konjic, Butmirska stanica, Vrelo Bune, and a very nice view of abysses in Livanjsko polje, Bosnian avlija (inner courtyard) and Neretva pass (4 pictures). The text, as in the first jubilee issue, was written by the court counselor Kosta Hörmann.«

Other publications that might contribute to the creation of the volume in question, could be books on *Die Landwirtschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina (The Agriculture in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* by the Landes-printing press 1899, *Das Veterinär – Wesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina seit 1879, nebst einer Statistik der Epizootien und des Viehexportes bis incl. 1898 (The Veterinary System in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1879 and Statistics on [Epizootien] and the Export of Cattle until 1898)*, and *Hauptergebnisse des auswärtigen Warenverkehrs Bosniens und der Hercegovina im Jahre 1898 (BiH Foreign Trade Results of 1898)*, published by the local government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Landes-printing press 1899. Cf. *Nada* 3 (January 20, 1899), p. 48.

55 Fikfak, Jurij/Johler, Reinhard (Eds.): *Folk Culture between State and Nation*. Ljubljana, Wien: Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU, Inst. für Volkskunde der Univ. Wien, Gozd Martuljek Slovenia 1998, p. 11.

56 *Nada* 24 (December 3, 1899), p. 382.

57 Geography was written by the Ministry Counselor Carl knight Sax, and geological review by H. count. Fylon-Norbeck, soil, climate and water, as well as transportation lines were elaborated by the City Over-counselor F. Balif, vertebrata by the curator Otmar Reiser, invertebrate part by Victor Apfelbeck, botany by the curator František Franjo Fiala. Milena Prajndelsberger-Mrazović made a description of certain areas, prehistory part by the university professor Dr. M. Hernes, Greek and

precious source of information about the cultural life of Sarajevo at that time. *Nada* magazine can be described as a forerunner of the later published volume *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Bosnien und Hercegovina*.⁵⁴ Its significance for the later painters of BiH was immense as *Nada* offered them the possibility to become familiar with art, current trends, and most famous masters from the region and further afield.

The *Kronprinzenwerk* contained a volume about Bosnia and Herzegovina, printed and published in Vienna in 1901. Most of this 24-volume encyclopedia was published during the reign of Kaiser Franz Joseph I. Initiated by his son, the Crown Prince Rudolf, the entire work contains more than 12.000 pages with 4.529 illustration by 264 artists and 432 collaborations by the most important scientists, writers and painters of the time. The encyclopedia encompasses the entire area that was under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the time, its lands and peoples. The work was published in the two respective languages of the monarchy, German and Hungarian. The first volume was released on December 1, 1885, and the last one on June 1, 1902. All volumes have a homogeneous structure: ancient history, country history and geography, ethnography, music, literature and theater, architecture and art and political economy.⁵⁵ On December 3, 1899, *Nada* published an article about the book. In the column *Literature*, the article reported that:

Kaiser and King's university bookstore of Alfred Hölder in Vienna (1. Rothenturmstraße 15) has just released a prospect which reports that on 19 November there has been released the first part about Bosnia and Herzegovina in a series *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*. From the prospect we learn that the book will be composed of 17 parts, the last of which will be released in mid 1901.⁵⁶

The purpose of the BiH volume was much the same as the purpose of *Nada* and the exhibitions that is to spread knowledge about the country and to praise its progress under the new ruler. Whereas in *Nada* there could be found Bosnians and Herzegovina people as among the writers but not illustrators, the *Kronprinzenwerk* was entirely composed by the foreigners who were chosen and commissioned by the monarchy's center Vienna to create this pompous work about BiH. Still, the people commissioned for this task were already assimilated, and had an excellent knowledge about the country. As in the case with *Nada*, the collaborators were richly paid for their services. Hungarians were the leading illustrators of the volume and seven of them worked for the volume, followed by Austrians (only four, one of them being an architect). There were several Czechs, but they were mostly ethnologists, such as Kuba, or architects such as Pařík. Two came from Croatia, and one painter came from Serbia, Slovenia, Poland and Germany respectively. The book represents detailed information about the country, and description of its regions. All of the chapters were written by a person who was considered to be an expert in the field and accompanied by the appropriate illustrations. In the same article, *Nada* reports that the narrative part of the book was written by the very people who worked for the *Landesmuseum* as well.⁵⁷

Nada reports on the artists who illustrated the book. These were: Zygmund Ajdukiewicz, Ewald Arndt – Čeplín, Rudolf Bernt, Hugo Charlemont, Béla Csikos, Julius von Háry (Háry Gyulától), Paul Joanowits (Pavle Paja Jovanović), B. Knopfmacher, Ivana Kobilca, Ludvik Kuba, Rudolf von Ottenfeld, Carl Panek, Karel Pařík, Ladislaus (Laszlo) Pataky, Géza Paur, Emerich Révész, Béla Spányi, Johann Tišov, Čiro Truhelka and Julius Túry.⁵⁸ As indicated, since many of them had lived in BiH for some time, they were as such recommended by the *Landes-government* to contribute to the BiH volume.

One of the key people from BiH who worked on the organization of the volume was Kosta Hörmann. He most probably was the one who recommended the team of experts already working for the *Landesmuseum* to write textual parts, while Kobilca and Čeplín were the two artists from the *Nada* milieu who were chosen to do the visual part. For their contribution to the encyclopedia, both Kobilca and Čeplín were decorated on February 10, 1902. That Hörmann worked on the volume is also mentioned by Hamid Dizdar.⁵⁹

The BiH volume elaborated every segment of BiH and its importance is not only in its historical, but also ethnographic and artistic value. However, since insufficient information exists



Image 8: Mostar. Old Bridge over Neretva. Source: *Nada* 4/11 [Sarajevo], 01.06.1898, p. 165

Roman times by the curator Karlo Patsch, tombstones from the Middle Ages by the curator Dr. Ciro Truhelka.

The history part was elaborated by the director of the archives and the court counselor Taloci, the physical structure of the people by the prime doctor L. Glik, the folk life by Dr. Truhelka, the language by the high school principal Davorin Nemanjić, music by Ludvik Kuba, literature by the director of the museum and court counselor Kosta Hörmann, and the civil (urban) art by the city over-counselor Ivan Kelner. The part about the field economy and cattle breeding, fruit growing and viticulture was written by Jacob knight Mikuli, while forestry and hunting was covered by Carl Petrašek. Fishing was elaborated by the curator Othmar Reiser, mining industry and ore preparation by the mining over-counselor Johan Grimmer, crafts and trade by Dr. Richard Turnwald, traffic by the city over-counselor Joseph Kalmann, and the domestic and art handicraft by Dr. Teodor Zurunić. Cf. Nada 24 (December 3, 1899), p. 382.

58 Ibid.

59 In this article, Dizdar: Češki melograf i slikar Ludvik Kuba i njegov rad u Bosni [Czech Melograph and Painter Ludvik Kuba and His Work in Bosnia]. In: Glasnik arhiva i društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine [Herald of the Archives and the Archive Employees of BiH] [Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine] (1965), p. 238 speaks of the difficulties that he encountered during the research. One obstacle is the inability to find enough correspondence between Kuba and Hörmann, and he concluded that either it was destroyed or taken by someone. There was nothing in the *Landesmuseum*. A small part of it he found in the Archives of the city of Sarajevo, but the majority of the material he was able to trace to the private collections. The documents covered the time period 1894-1903 and »from the letters it can also be seen that the cooperation for the book *Bosnien und Herzegovina*, published in a series of *Volkslied in Österreich* as one of twenty extensive books of this collection, was organized in Sarajevo and that Kosta Hörmann was in charge for its content«.

60 In: Nada 24 (December 3, 1899), p. 382. The article ends by reading that a special issue dedicated to this volume was attached to this magazine's issue. However, this special issue was nowhere to be found. Svetlana Bajić, the Ethnologist and the Counselor and the Manager of the ethnographic department of the Sarajevo *Landesmuseum* (now

about this volume in BiH, the impression is gathered that its contents were not of particular importance for the country, in a sense that all the things which appeared in the volume were already published either in *Nada* or in the *Herald* of the *Landesmuseum* in the local languages and were as such more easily accessible to the people. Moreover, this volume was already preceded by a myriad of other travelogues, history reports, visual material and fragmented ethnography and ethnology research materials so it could be speculated that mostly already published material appeared in the book. It is not the volume itself, but mostly the people who worked on it that left an impact on the further development of BiH in terms of science and culture.

As mentioned above, the BiH volume came out in 1901, in the 23rd year of the monarchy's presence in BiH. By that time, much progress had been made in all fields and one of the aims of the volume was to summarize the achievements of that period. Its genre illustrations, landscapes, cityscapes and ethnographic motifs were found on almost every page, representing all segments of life in BiH, both what the monarchy found upon its arrival (customs, lifestyles, etc.) but also progress that was made after the occupation. Pictures represented in the volume are mostly genuine representations of BiH at that time. There were 175 illustrations made for the book. Only one picture, by Pavle Paja Jovanović was rendered in color, depicting BiH people in folk costumes.⁶⁰ The picture depicts three Bosnian Serbs from eastern Herzegovina in their folk costumes. Jovanović spent some time in Sarajevo at the end of the 19th century, when he painted folklore motifs and the huge Crucifixion for the Orthodox Church in Sarajevo. It was probably from that period that the illustrations *Abduction*,⁶¹ *Muslim Prayer in the City*, *Border Regulation*, etc. emerged. He started his career as a student of the Viennese *Handicraft School* and ended up as a fellow of *Matica Srpska* at the *Viennese Academy* in 1878. In 1884, he left for Munich and in 1886 to Paris.⁶²

Most of the illustrations were made by the Austrian painter Hugo Charlemont, who created 30 pictures. He contributed to the book by illustrating landscapes, graveyards, cities, various accessories such as armors, knives, etc. He also drew pottery, various insects, animals (cattle in the first place) and some scenes from the metal industry. His interest concerned people in city and folk costumes.

Artists coming to BiH were encountered with the very specific circumstances of Islamic civilization where the picture of the social life was not available to foreigners. Certain events in life were reserved for the family circle. Ivana Kobilca depicted this intimate part of the Muslim family. How she was admitted to the family is not known. One possibility is that she was admitted because she was a woman and as such could have been easily admitted into the house, especially in the female part known as the *harem*. Be that as it may, her illustrations with subject matters from the life of a Muslim family in BiH were genuine. For the book, she completed four genre illustrations: *Costumes of Mohammedan Women*, *details*, *Besuch bei einer mohamedanischer Wöchnerin* (*Visit to a Muslim woman in childbed*), *Courting* and *Berschleiern der mohamedanischen Braut* (*das Ringanstechen*) (*Decorating the Bride – Ring Giving*).⁶³

In the *Visit* (Image 9), Kobilca depicts a Muslim family in a house especially reserved for female members of the family, called *harem*. The depiction of the room is genuine. This part of the house is an intimate part and no admittance is allowed to unknown men. The illustration depicts a woman who recently gave birth to a child and other women visitors. The baby is placed in a *bešika* (cradle) which was a common piece of furniture at the time. The room is furnished with a *sečija*, which is an immovable divan that usually stretches against three walls of the room. They were covered with hand-made embroidery. It was made of wood, on which pillows were then placed. Kobilca also paid attention to the furnace, where coffee was made, and which was also used for heating the water in the hamam, the bath located next to the furnace. She actually depicted a woman making coffee for guests. Many travelers noticed and wrote about the habit of coffee drinking in BiH, describing it as a special ritual typical for this country only.



Image 9: Source: Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bosnien und Herzegovina [Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Image. Bosnia and Herzegovina]. Vol. 22. Wien: Druck u. Verlag der k.k. Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei 1901, p. 337.

75 Besarović Risto: Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom [From the Cultural Life of Sarajevo under Austro-Hungarian Rule]. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša 1974, p. 188.

76 Kurto 1998, p. 45.

77 Begić, Azra: Slikarstvo (Painting). In: Azra Begić, Ibrahim Krzović/Radić Miloš (Eds.): Catalogue: Umjetnost Bosne i Hercegovine 1894-1923 [Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1894-1923]. Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine 1978, p. 39. Throughout the remainder of the chapter, I refer to this work as the *Catalogue*.

78 Ibid., p. 27.

79 Both Serbia and Croatia denied Bosnia and Herzegovina its existence referring to it as a hybrid of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and regarded it to be a legitimate part of their respective countries. Hence they denied also BiH origins, inhabitants, culture, etc.

80 Begić 1978, p. 6.

81 Ibid., p. 32.

82 Ibid., p. 33.

83 Jugoslovenska grafika 1900-1950 [Yugoslavian Graphics 1900-1950]. Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti December 1977 - February 1978, p.40.

84 Ibid., p. 27.

85 Begić 1978, p. 35.

86 Ibid., p. 36.

87 Ibid., p. 40.

exhibition in Sarajevo. He studied painting in Zagreb in the class of professors Čikoš and Crnčić. His first exhibition was shortly followed by an exhibition of three students from the Academy in Prague, led by Vlaho Bukovac: Pero Popović, Branko Radulović and Todor Švrakić. They exhibited studies of female and male heads, as well as portraits and landscapes. A magazine from Mostar, *Narod (the Folk)*, wrote on September 5, 1907 that Vlaho Bukovac, the director of the *Prague School of Painting*, gave positive remarks about this exhibition.⁷⁵

The next, large exhibition by Jurkić was held in October 1911. He represented himself as an artist to his people and his country and was very successful. The exhibition was important as it also gave publicity to Sarajevo and BiH. Texts by Dušan Plavšić on the Viennese secession, published in *Nada*, inspired and encouraged Jurkić to show Plavšić his works and upon his recommendation Jurkić enrolled in the school of Čikoš and Crnčić.⁷⁶ His most impressive works were landscapes.

Jurkić's exhibition of 1911 was not only a major artistic event, but also marked the beginning of art criticism in BiH. Art criticism did not stem from the pure artistic urges to interpret the works of art, but clearly from nationalistic circles who looked upon their opponents in a condescending way. Jurkić was seen as a genuine Croatian painter and was regarded as such. According to the Croatian press and Croatian artistic circles, Jurkić's task should be to act as a painter-patriot who paints artistic motives and scenes and »leaves international motives to the peoples that have overcome their patriotic phase«.⁷⁷

Political influences coming from Serbia and Croatia about territorial unification of the two countries with ›their people‹ from BiH, had a large impact in cultural circles and the arts took on an extremely nationalistic character. The idea of ›Bosnianhood‹ was not appealing to the Bosnian Serbs or Croats who, as a rule, chose Serb(ian) or Croat(ian) schools and masters respectively. Thus the Serbs, Radulović and Švrakić, chose the Belgrade school (Kutlikov's and Vukanović's schools), whereas the Croats chose Zagreb masters (Frangeš, Crnčić and Čikoš) and schools.⁷⁸ The BiH style was hence neglected, and every mentioning of BiH meant for them the Austro-Hungarian.⁷⁹ When speaking about the two opposing poles, the Croat(ian) and Serb(ian), the reactions that occurred after the exhibition that Jurkić had in October 1911 in the Croatian and Serbian newspapers were numerous, and although the exhibition was immensely successful, the only negative critics were published in Serbian magazines.⁸⁰

For BiH artists, Vienna was the first destination in their education. Being the capital of the monarchy, and in a way linked to BiH, it was more natural for the artists to seek their education there. From there, they would go to Prague, Krakow, Munich, Budapest and Paris. Artists who studied in Vienna were deeply influenced by pleinairism, symbolism and secession. Segantini's influence was of immense importance.⁸¹

Lazar Drljača was one of the painters studying in Vienna from 1906-1911 under Christian Griepenkerl and so Viennese academism was the legacy that Drljača took with him.⁸² Two famous women artists from BiH who also studied in Vienna were Lujza Kuzmić (Sarajevo 1889 – Zagreb 1959) and Adela Ber (Bähr). Maximilian Liebenwein, who at the time worked for *Nada* magazine had the greatest influence on Bähr and other graphic artists. In 1914, she opened a school of arts where she intended to teach woodcut techniques.⁸³ Another important painter from this period was Anastasije Popović. He studied in Vienna from 1911-1914 in the classes of professor Jungwirth. His specialties were portraits as well as social themes, such as scenes from the iron works in Vareš, which were evidently influenced by Menzel and his *The Iron-rolling Mill*.⁸⁴

The Prague school revolved around Vlaho Bukovac and pointillism which he introduced to this school.⁸⁵ Pero Popović, Todor Švrakić, Karlo Mijić and Branko Radulović followed this path. Despite the prevailing styles of the time, impressionism and post-impressionism, they remained more conservative and inclined towards naturalism and ethnographic moments, impressionism and to some extent symbolism.⁸⁶

Painters educated at the Munich school were Đorđe Mihajlović, whose works can be regarded as the first examples of BiH modern painting⁸⁷ and Savo Popović Ivanov who remained true to genre painting.



Image 11: Source: Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bosnien und Herzegovina. Vol. 22. Wien: Druck u. Verlag der k.k. Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei 1901, p. 347.



88 Ibid., p. 42.

89 Ibid., p. 42.

90 Ibid., p. 49.

91 Ibid., p. 57.

92 Izložba Đoke Mazalića [Exhibition of Đoko Mazalić]. Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine 1970, p. 2.

93 Ibid., p. 7.

94 Mladenović 1982, p. 11.

Petar Šain was a painter who, after studying in Vienna and Paris (where he stayed two years in an atelier of Alfonso Mucha) finally settled at the *Munich Academy* from 1909 to 1913. Besides his paintings, he was also known to be a great photographer, caricaturists for the Munich newspapers and a landscape painter.⁸⁸ During the First World War, he was one of the main illustrators of the battlefields. He exhibited these works at the *Exhibition of Artists* in 1917, when »the critics praised his strong realism«.⁸⁹

Karlo Mijić, another follower of the Munich school of painting, was famous for his watercolors. Not only was he an excellent portrait painter, and a great conveyer of life in BiH but also a supreme landscape painter.

Krakow was an educational centre for Jovan Bijelić, Petar Tiješić, Mihajlo Timčišin (Tymczy-szyn) and Roman Petrović from 1911-1913.

Roman Petrović was the last from this generation to study in Krakow and represents one of the most popular and well-known artists of recent BiH art. He was most affected by the new ideas and directions (cubism, expressionism and futurism) and his works would differ from the works of the others who exhibited at the *Artists from Bosnia and Herzegovina Exhibition*, because of the more liberal use of colors.⁹⁰ He was also interested in everyday life scenes sometimes combined with social criticism from 1919 onwards.⁹¹

Budapest was the fourth most popular artistic place for artists from BiH, although the young artists showed an interest in this artistic center only somewhat later. The first artist from BiH who came to Budapest was Đoko Mazalić (1888-?). His first encounter with art and modern painting began in Sarajevo where he moved in 1901. It was because of *Nada* magazine, a magazine for culture and education, that Sarajevo at the turn of the century hosted many known and unknown painters who revolved around the magazine and its collaborators that he first encountered a large number of reproductions of paintings of contemporary and classic masters. Another large influence and stimulation for Mazalić was his teacher Ferdinand Velc, who was his high school professor and who conveyed to Mazalić that drawing is the »philosophy of painting«.⁹² He was the first Bosnian who enrolled at the *Art Academy* in Budapest in the class of professor Zemplényi and studied there from 1910-1914. The Austro-Hungarian legacy, that is painters who painted BiH *motifs*, left Mazalić with an interest to also depict and render on canvas something that was genuine Bosnian, »be it the land configuration, the vibration of air, light, clouds and mists, trees, grass and water, the behavior and movements of our peasants and their facial expressions and movements or their costumes woven by skilful hands«.⁹³ He was known for his genre paintings usually depicting peasants, usually in monumental compositions. In the later works of Đoko Mazalić, one can see the influence of Leo Arndt and the inspiration that Mazalić found in Arndt's works, especially when looking for typical domestic types.

The foreign art production in the early 19th century gave a thrust to domestic production and made way for the further development of this branch of art in BiH. The first generation of BiH painters brought to this country touches of trends and movements that were at the time going on in Europe. Despite all the influences and artistic trends, and although making a major breakthrough in the history of modern painting in BiH, the majority of the first generation painter members remained on the level of natural and realistic painting. Although the first generation did not do much experimenting and remained in a way closed for more radical trends in painting, their accomplishment must be praised and their work should by no means be neglected.

The presence of the monarchy had multiple consequences on BiH. The country was thrust into a capitalistic system, from a feudal one which was rooted in BiH for 400 years. Changes were reflected in all spheres: architecture, everyday life, clothing, handicrafts, etc. Old habits slowly gave way to new ones, and soon the country, Sarajevo in particular, became a melting pot of different cultures, creating something new and refreshing.

With the occupation of BiH, the interest of foreign artists and travelers focused on exotism and the local color of the new, recently discovered exotic places. At the time of the occupation, BiH represented the last oriental strategic spot in the midst of Catholic Europe. After BiH was »discovered«, as a European orient, western artists and travelers no longer had to travel to faraway lands in search of inspiration or adventure when they could find a completely new world within reach. BiH became a new source of inspiration for foreign artists, quasi-artists, travelers and all those who became interested in this old but for them new country which was



95 The *fez* (or *fes*) was at the time a fashionable head cover, regardless of religion.

96 Mladenović 1982, p. 130.

before now under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. What was considered interesting was everything that was »bizarre, characteristic, especially Oriental«.⁹⁴

This does not suggest that before the arrival of Austro-Hungarian forces BiH was a black spot, completely unknown to the European public, even though Ottoman rule in BiH was in general considered to be a »Dark Age« in the history of this country by many Western scholars. Nevertheless, the general notion prevailed that until the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, BiH represented a backward, romantic country and was even more appealing as few people had the courage to travel to Turkish Europe, which, in their wildest imagination represented something every person should fear. In the period before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, to BiH came mostly travelers who wrote reports later, some of them adding their own illustrations and sketches to it. Few artists, amateurs or professionals, visited this country during the Ottoman occupation and their legacy contains valuable information about the outlook of the country and its people at the time. Attitudes and opinions were divided. Some detested it, whereas others utterly liked it, but most were driven by a desire to discover a land full of mysticism and Oriental flavor.

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the newcomers were carriers of modern culture and cultural activities, but respected the old ones. Architecturally, Sarajevo became one of the most interesting cities in the region. The old, Turkish part of the city nicely complemented with the new modern, Viennese-type of architecture, making Sarajevo not only historically, but also visually a true city on the margin between the East and the West, between the Romantic Orient and the modern West. Streets were paved and lit, the first electric tram wound through the streets of Sarajevo, and Sarajevans could be seen walking in their national costumes with touches of European fashion, while the Czech painter Ludvík Kuba walked around with a *fez* on his head.⁹⁵ In those early years, Sarajevo became not only one of the most interesting, but also one of the most developed cities in the region in terms of schooling and education. Many argue that it had the best educational system in the monarchy. As a part of the educational reform, the *Landesmuseum* emerged in 1888 and soon became one of the most important carriers of cultural development in Sarajevo and BiH.

The *Landesmuseum* was a meeting point for scientists coming from all parts of the monarchy, some of them choosing to settle permanently. They were the carriers of BiH scientific and cultural life. They introduced BiH to the world at various exhibitions, and produced *Nada* and the *Kronprinzenwerk*. Its staff aroused the interest of the local population for ethnography and assembled the first collection of ethnographical items. The *Kronprinzenwerk* proved to be a major impulse and a useful financial framework to promote the many different branches of anthropological research culminating not only in its publication, but also in the founding of the first local official and civil institutes, thus establishing the cultural institution system both of Sarajevo and BiH.

A number of other institutions, today operating separately, developed from the activities of the *Landesmuseum*: the *Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage and Natural Rarities in BiH*, the *Oriental Institute*, the *Institute for Balkan Studies*, the *National Art Gallery of BiH*, the *Institute for Folklore Studies*, the *Biology Institute*, and the *Fitopathological Institute*.

Such a socio-cultural environment produced a number of experts in many fields, from the sciences through literature to the visual arts. Some of the subsequently most famous people of BiH were a product of this age. It was an especially fruitful period for the Bosniak intelligentsia, as the development of Bosniak literature occurred in this period, encouraged by modernization and the overall cultural setting.

Modern painting emerged as a consequence of foreign art production that continued through the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries. What was considered to be modern for BiH at that time, however, was not in harmony with the ongoing trends in Europe. In terms of painting, the 19th century ended with the »intertwining of the surviving trends of European art«.⁹⁶ Still, it cannot be denied that such a milieu paved the way for BiH painting to stand side-by-side with European contemporary art, even if it occurred somewhat later, that is the period between the two world wars.

Only in terms of the nation building process, it seems that the attempts of the monarchy to suppress nationalist tendencies coming from Serbia and Croatia were not fruitful. Despite the immense amount of money that was spent on its promotional campaign to advertise BiH as an integral state, the nationalistic ideas of creating Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia prevailed, and came to the surface with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in



Sarajevo. From then on, the struggle for this country's independence continued, and manifested itself again when the aggression against BiH started in 1992. I bring this parallel up, as the situation did not change much from the period when BiH was under Austro-Hungarian rule in terms of feelings of patriotism towards BiH among its ethnic groups. Although it declared sovereignty in October 1991, which was followed by a declaration of independence from the former Yugoslavia on March 3, 1992, it did not prevent the bloodshed that occurred shortly after recognition. The final outcome was a 'civilized' peace treaty through the *Dayton Peace Accord* which left the country divided into two entities based on ethnic groups and created a similar situation as found in the mid 19th century. This leads to the conclusion that the civilizing mission of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to BiH was after all too civilized towards certain nationalist groups; the results of this policy are reflected in the present. This would be an appropriate subject for yet another study. For the purpose of this research, I conclude that despite the negative descriptions of Austro-Hungarian rule that has been supplied by a number of scholars, it has to be recognized that its presence in culture undoubtedly ushered BiH into the modern era.



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