THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Cultural Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Creation of the Western Type of Art

by Aida Lipa (Sarajevo)

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 Croatia 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(ianj)s and the Croat(ianj)s, who saw BiH a part of their respective countries, the Bosniaks, who had no 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, learning 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. 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 Herzegovina (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. 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 hall 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». 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


8 Krozović 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.


11 Ibid., p. 266.

12 Ibid., p. 267.

13 Spicer, Mavro: Sa milenijske izložbe [from the Millennium Exhibition], In: Nada 7 (April 1, 1896), p. 138.


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 Vanač built the Gazi Isayev bath, Karel Pařík the Muslim religious law school, and Wittek and Ivecović 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 – Popićili, Pařík, Tönnes, Vanač 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 Tönnes 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 Landesmuseum9 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 Timişoara exhibitions, and in 1896 in Budapest at the Millennial Exhibition. The BiH pavilion at the exhibition in Budapest was described as «unusually large».13 It comprised four parts, the industrial and forestry pavilion being the largest, followed by a smaller Bosnian house with a textile factory producing bez14 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, dolafs16 and five rooms, the most beautiful being
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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 skillful were Bosniak women, whose embroidery was the finest. For that reason, E. Koblija 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. Bakovljev, Mersida: Development of Handicraft and Industry in Sarajevo. In: Dautbegović 1988, p. 278-279.

16 Dolaf is a carved wall-closet.
17 Križević 1896, p. 100ff.
18 Ibid., pp. 327-330.
19 Ibid., p. 270.
22 Križević 1896, p. 27f.
23 Ibid., p. 32.
25 Šamić, Jasna: Bosanski paviljon [Bosnian pavilion]. Sarajevo: Svecelost 2009, p. 79. The author also reports that Austria spent the largest amount of money on its promotion of all the countries which participated, namely 35 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 selamnluk, 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 figures 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 Kutto 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. Kállyay 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 Serbians, 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 Gradaščević,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 Ludvík 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,
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27 ibid., p. 235.

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-govern-ment 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 edu-ca- tion, 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 quod 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 appoin-ted Hörmann editor-in-chief and the Landes-government the owner. The proposal to appoint Andić the main illustrator was also accepted. Cf. ibid., pp. 97-108.

30 ibid., p. 87.


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 maga-zine should contain treaties on scient-fi-c t 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 domes-tic 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 interests».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) and the Croat(ian), 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 folla-r format that resembled 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 Tscheplin (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 con-struc-ting 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 infor-mation, 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 profes-sor 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 Buk-ovac and Klement Crnič were published in Nada, 23 by Ivana Koblač, 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 develop 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. 65. Of other artists, representatives of symbolism and secession represented in Nada were Puvis de Chavannes, Kliment 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.


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 restraining 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 Ludvík 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. 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, Ludvík 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.

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.

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.

In 1901, Čeplin, together with the rest of the group, published in Berlin the Bildersamphie 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-Herzegowina kreuz und quer (Through Bosnia and Herzegovina diagonally and vertically).

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. (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.» 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,
which radiate with the influence of the Munich and Paris realistic techniques.\textsuperscript{46} (Cf. Images 6 and 7)

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.\textsuperscript{47} In 1900, she was asked to paint two frescoes for the Jesuit church of St. Cyril and Methodius, built by Josip Vancăš. In the cupola, she copied Michelangelo’s \textit{Creation of the World}.\textsuperscript{48}

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

\textit{Nada} reports on Maximilian Liebenwein, another member of \textit{Nada} and the \textit{Sarajevo Painter’s Club}. In his works, the dominant theme is »Bosnian genre, and graphic solution of the picture, as well as in the whole visual layout of the magazine, there can be seen secessionist touches«.\textsuperscript{50} Liebenwein was one of the carriers of secessionist form in BiH. His works are easily recognizable in \textit{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.\textsuperscript{51}

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

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

Apart from \textit{Nada} and the \textit{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.

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

During its existence, \textit{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 \textit{Nada}. It is a most
54 Nada reported about another publication that might be a pre-decessor of the Kronprinzenwerk which is: Österreichisch in Wort und Bild. Vaterländisches Jubiläums-Prachtwerk. Ed. by Julius Laurenčič. [Preis: 1 Krones]. Wien: Verlag G. Szelinski i.s. «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 through chosen parts of nature and architecture, such as Sarajevo, City Hall in Sarajevo, Land hospital, Jajce, Ilijica, picturesque Pocitelj, Konjic, Butmanska stanica, Vrelo Bune, and a very nice view of abysses in Livansko 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 Haupteigenschaften des auswärtigen Warenverkers 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.

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 Pačik. 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.

Nada reports on the artists who illustrated the book. These were: Zygmund Ajdukiewicz, Ewald Arndt – Čeplin, Rudolf Bernt, Hugo Charlemont, Béla Csikos, Julius von Háry (Háry Gyula-tó), Paul Joanowits (Pavle Paja Jovanović), B. Knopfmacher, Ivana Kobilca, Ludvik Kuba, Rudolf von Ottenfeld, Carl Panek, Karel Pačik, Ladislaus (Laszlo) Pataky, Géza Paur, Emerich Révész, Béla Spányi, Johann Tišov, Ćiro Truhelka and Julius Túry. As indicated, since many of them had lived in BiH for some time, they were as such recommended by the Lands 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 Čeplin 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 Čeplin were decorated on February 10, 1902. That Hörmann worked on the volume is also mentioned by Hamid Dizdar.
Roman times by the curator Karlo Patsch, tombs stones from the Middle Ages by the curator Dr. Čina 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 Keler. The part about the field economy, fruit growing and viticulture was written by Jacob knight Mikuli, while forestry and hunting was covered by Carl Petrasić. Fishing was elaborated by the curator Ottmar 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 Jozef Truhelka, and the domestic and art handicraft by Dr. Teodor Zurunić. Cf. Nada 24 (December 3, 1899), p. 382.

In this article, Dzidar 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] (1966), 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 Voltäufel 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 the 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.61 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 mohamedanischen Wöchnerin (Visit to a Muslim woman in childbirth), Courting and Berschleierm 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 bęšika ( cradle) which was a common piece of furniture at the time. The room is furnished with a sećija, which is an immovable divan that usually stretches against three walls of the room. They were covered with handmade 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.

The next motive that she depicted is known in BiH by the term ašikovanje which is the courtship between a man and a woman. Ašikovanje was something that evoked interest by many travelers, and so the volume contains a text about this.

For Mohammedan girls, who from their sixteenth year are not allowed to show themselves to unknown men, ašchiklik⁶⁴ is the only opportunity to talk to young men. On Fridays in the afternoon the girls turn up at the gates in order to chat with their chosen ones through a narrow opening. In better off houses there is a kind of wooden bench, called sofa, placed inside the gate, from where she can talk with her boyfriend through a small window with thick bars, called krivi demir.⁶⁵

Courting would last for several months or even a year. Many songs called sevdalinka⁶⁶ emerged from this period and are usually about courting.

Another painter whose work appeared in the volume is Rudolf Bernt. Information about Rudolf Bernt is scarce. It is known that he was in Sarajevo in 1887, and then in 1898, when he painted Mount Curčić in watercolor. According to Mladenović, his next journey to BiH took place when he was commissioned to make a number of illustrations for the volume. His contribution consisted of 19 illustrations, the most dominant of which were cityscapes of BiH cities, as well as scenes from everyday life. His Street scene from Sarajevo most probably depicts the Kurban Bairam, a Muslim holiday, since a man carrying a ram on his back is portrayed. The illustration is interesting as it reflects the past atmosphere of an old Sarajevo market with its shops and stands.

The Polish artist Zygmunt Ajdukiewicz studied painting in Vienna and Munich, and lived in Vienna. In the 1890s, he stayed in Sarajevo and was one of the contributors to Nada. As an illustrator, he worked for the Viennese court. Apart from the illustrations from BiH, he also painted a picture of Franz Joseph I and the Mostar Mayor Mujaga Komadina on the Old Bridge during Franz Joseph’s visit to Mostar on June 3, 1910. The picture is kept at the Bildarchiv of the Austrian National Library.⁶⁷ For the Kronprinzenwerk, he made 19 illustrations, mostly landscapes and cityscapes.

Háry Gyula Julius von Hary was a Hungarian painter and graphic artist. Mladenović describes him as a "young and cheerful student"⁶⁸ from the Budapest School for Applied Arts. When he first came to Sarajevo in 1884 he left only one watercolor which depicted an area around Ali-pasha’s mosque. He came back five years later in 1889 and then again in 1894, 1896 and 1906. Four watercolors remain from those years, depicting scenes from Sarajevo streets which he painted with "loose movement, with a feeling for space".⁶⁹ Seventeen reproductions of his paintings can be found in the volume, where he mostly illustrated cityscapes.

The name of Ciro Truhelka requires mentioning again, but this time in the field of illustration and painting. Although he was an amateur painter, he left a valuable collection of motifs connected to his fieldwork and Bosnian folklore. He wandered from portraits with luminous effects to stern, documentary academism which he preferred, painting the old architecture, types, folk costumes and interiors with ethnographic accent.⁷⁰ For the volume, he created five illustrations, the most important already having been mentioned: tattoo patterns of Catholic women in BiH. Truhelka was the first to study this custom and he left some valuable research foundations laid by Truhelka.

There was also another type of decoration typical for Muslim women, and that was decoration with henna. This was usually done on the wedding day. Nowadays, the custom is still preserved in the area in some villages and among the Romani population of Islamic faith. The ceremony is always done in the groom’s room. First the girl’s right arm (up to the wrist) and leg (up to the ankle) is dyed with henna, and then the left hand and leg.⁷¹ This process is rendered
by Čeplin. His other illustrations, eight of them in total, depicted romantic landscapes of BiH. He also depicted a prayer for the dead, which was, apart from gloomy landscapes with or without wild animals on them, one of the most recurrent motifs on his pictures. Nada magazine is full of such pictures, especially those concerning Muslim funerals or prayers for the dead.

The volume also contains sketches of buildings that were erected in Sarajevo during the time. The illustration of the City Hall in pseudo-Moorish style by Wittek, was made by Bar-tolomeo Knopfmacher, an Austrian architect who lived and died in Sarajevo. He taught unobstructed and technical drawing at the State Technical High School in Sarajevo. This drawing would have most probably been drawn by his architect, Alexandar Wittek, had he not fallen mentally ill shortly after construction began, so that the building was finished under the auspices of Ćiril M. Ivecović. Carl Panek created an illustration of the Shariat religious law planned by Karel Pažik, whereas Pažik drew an illustration of the National Theatre (Vereinshaus and Herrenklub) planned by himself.

Scenes from the economy and production were depicted and rendered by the Hungarian genre painter and illustrator Imre Révész. He drew five illustrations for the volume, depicting either plowing or sewing and the weaving of Bosnian carpets. The reason why his illustrations are concerned with this subject matter is revealed in his picture entitled Panem, where he depicted harvesters on strike.

Johann (Ivan) Tišov contributed six illustrations to the volume, mostly cityscapes, although the collected data speaks of him as being a painter of scenes from peasant life, decorative screens, compositions with mythological and allegorical themes, church decorations and portrait painting. This Croatian painter studied in Zagreb, Vienna, Munich and Paris. He was a teacher at the School for Applied Arts in Zagreb. He remained dedicated to academic painting. He visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1890 and it was most probably then when the sketches for the volume were made.73

Rudolf Von Ottenfeld contributed to the Kronprinzenwerk with 12 illustrations. They vary from landscapes and cityscapes to the peasant genre. He stayed in Bosnia at the end of the 19th century. Béla Spanyi made four illustrations. He was a landscape artist by vocation but his illustrations in the volume are mostly city views. He painted moods and delicate landscapes, and was considered by many as a milder version of Mednyanszki.

Ladislaus (Laszlo) Pataky was a Hungarian painter mostly known for his military scenes. Apart from painting, he also made illustrations for various magazines. He became famous for his folklore motifs. He made six illustrations for the Kronprinzenwerk, mostly depicting folk costumes. In one of his illustrations, entitled Orthodoxe aus dem Sarajevsko polje (Orthodox people from Sarajevo polje), there is depicted a couple in folk costumes, a man with a čibuk (a pipe) and a woman carrying a bowl on her head, and a milk container in her hand (cf. Image 10). The appearance may seem ordinary, and yet it is peculiar as they are wearing their best costumes. According to Bajić, nowhere in BiH could a woman be seen doing something like that in her best clothes, even wearing jewelry. The same can be said for the illustration on page 347 of the Kronprinzenwerk by Julius Türy, entitled Costüme aus Ober-und Mittelbosnien (Costumes from Upper and Central Bosnia), where a woman is again richly dressed, but carrying a yarn (Image 11).74

Despite these discrepancies, the Kronprinzenwerk was unique in its appearance, both in its content and outlook. It appeared as an umbrella publication, at the peak of the monarchy’s rule in BiH. It had to be rich, both in picture and image, to reflect the success that the monarchy achieved in BiH. Its significance, both artistic and ethnographic, is of immense importance, as on it there worked people who set the parameters for the establishment and further development of modern culture, based on old traditions. This milieu produced a number of experts in all fields and accelerated the development of a modern type of painting.

19th century painting in BiH was mainly connected with foreign production, that is production by foreign artists who worked in BiH but there was hardly any mention of native painters. The turning point for BiH painting came in 1907, when Gabrijel Jurkić, one of the greatest painters-pioneers from the first generation of BiH painters, while still a student, mounted his first
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by Aida Lipa (Sarajevo)

Hence they denied also BiH origins, and regarded it to be a legitimate part of their respective countries. Thus the Serbs, Radulović and Švrakić, chose the Belgrade school (Kutlikov’s and Vukanović’s schools), whereas the Croats chose Zagreb masters (Frangeš, Čikoš and Čikoš) and schools.78 The BiH style was hence neglected, and every mentioning of BiH meant for them 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, Čikoš 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 Vlaha 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.
The Austro-Hungarian Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina
by Aida Lipa (Sarajevo)

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. 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«. 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 Tijesnić, Mihajlo Timčić (Tymczyzyn) 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. He was also interested in everyday life scenes sometimes combined with social criticism from 1919 onwards.

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 Doko 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 Velč, who was his high school professor and who conveyed to Mazalić that drawing is the »philosophy of painting«. 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«. He was known for his genre paintings usually depicting peasants, usually in monumental compositions. In the later works of Doko 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 exoticism 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
before now under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. What was considered interesting was everything that was »bizarre, characteristic, especially Oriental«. The fashion style of that time, the fez (or fes), was at the time a fashionable head cover, regardless of religion. 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 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 the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the newcomers were carriers of modern culture and educational reform, the Institute for Folklore Studies were one of the most developed cities in the region in terms of schooling and education. Many 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 the Austro-Hungarian occupation, 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 Sara-jevans could be seen walking in their national costumes with a fes on his head. 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 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«. 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.