

Swords into Souvenirs: Bosnian Arts and Crafts under Habsburg Administration

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Colonialism, Orientalism, and the Exhibitionary Complex in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Cultural politics was an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian civilizing mission in Bosnia as scholars, administrators, and ethnographers swarmed into the region after 1878.¹ During the following two decades, their colonialist (and, at times, Orientalist) imaginations were incorporated into the exhibitionary complex of the Viennese metropole as new information about the region's geography, artefacts, people, and resources was regularly displayed in museums and international exhibitions until 1914.

One significant aspect of the culture of exhibition in Vienna was the taming of the Bosnian warrior. This involved a slow transformation from the image of a fierce enemy in 1878 into a picturesque and steadfast defender of the dual monarchy by the beginning of the Great War. This occurred in at least three ways. First, starting in 1885, the ethnographer Friedrich Salomo Krauss traveled throughout the territories at the behest of the Vienna Anthropological Society and began to document epic songs, the *Guslarenlieder*, as part of the legacy of Bosnia since the Middle Ages.² Krauss's anthropological work

- 1 In this chapter, I use "Bosnian" and "Bosnia" in reference to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina as occupied and administered by the Habsburg monarchy from 1878–1908 and annexed in 1908. In addition, the term "Austrian" will be used to refer to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its agents in Bosnia.
- 2 Krauss traveled to the occupied territories in 1885 under the auspices of the Vienna Anthropological Society. See Christoph Daxelmüller, "Friedrich Salomo Krauss (Salomon Friedrich Kraus[s]) (1859–1938)," in *Völkische*

validated the warrior traditions of the region while making them accessible to the scholarly gazes of the European anthropologist and folklorist. Second, the Bosnian warriors were physically transformed into an exotic and elite fighting unit in the Habsburg army. The Bosniak divisions of the *kaiserliche und königliche Armee* (k.u.k. army) created a stir wherever they were stationed and fueled widespread fantasies of former enemies now turned faithful sons of the Empire.³ Finally, the traditional weaponry of Bosnia was removed from the daily garb of the local population and transformed into quaint souvenirs for consumption by tourists and occupation soldiers. These artisanal crafts, along with their creators, were regularly displayed in Vienna and at international exhibitions, and their quality was meant to serve as proof of the civilizing effects of Austrian administration in the region. It is this last transformation of Bosnian artisanal traditions—swords into souvenirs—that is the subject of this chapter. After 1878, both colonialist and Orientalist rhetoric shaped the rehabilitation of Bosnian crafts, including weaponry and metalwork, in both Vienna and the occupied territories. The rapidly growing network of museums and international exhibitions helped to spread this message across western Europe.

The British historian Tony Bennett has coined the phrase the “exhibitionary complex” to describe the new institutions and disciplines of knowledge, such as art history and anthropology, that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴ These scholarly disciplines worked hand in hand to exhibit their achievements at temporary events—such as World Fairs—and at the new public museums that proliferated in Europe after the London Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. For Bennett, the rise of the exhibitionary complex also represented a softer form of state power; its denizens organized knowledge for the purpose of “winning the hearts and minds” of citizens, educating the masses and communicating state ideologies.

Wissenschaft: Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, ed. Wolfgang Jacobeit (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 461–476; Friedrich S. Krauss, *Slavische Volksforschungen: Abhandlungen über Glauben, Gewohnheitsrechte, Sitten und Bräuche und die Guslarenlieder der Südslaven; Vorwiegend auf Grund eigener Erhebungen* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Hiems, 1908); idem, “Thomas Dragicevic ‘Guslarenlieder aus Bosnien und dem Herzogsland,’” *Am Ur-Quell* 1 (1890): 2–6.

- 3 Werner Schachinger, *Die Bosniaken kommen! Elitetruppe in der k.u.k. Armee 1879–1918* (Graz: Leopold Stocker Verlag, 1989). See also Christoph Neumayer and Erwin A. Schmidl, eds., *The Emperor’s Bosniakes: The Bosnian-Herzegovinian Troops in the k.u.k. Army* (Vienna: Verlag Militaria, 2008).
- 4 Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, eds. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 413–441.

Colonialist and Orientalist approaches to the occupied territories shaped the exhibitionary complex in Vienna. Despite its lack of overseas colonies, the Habsburg monarchy behaved like a colonial power in Bosnia. In this, Austria was no different from the other European “Great Powers” that were busily dividing the world amongst themselves. The Berlin Congress of 1878, and the resulting Berlin Treaty, authorized Austria to occupy and administer the Ottoman territories, thereby bringing forth a new era of global imperialism. The same congress awarded the island of Cyprus to the British Empire, thus setting the stage for its occupation of Egypt. Meanwhile, it was generally understood that France would eventually occupy Tunisia in compensation for this gift to the British. Within a few years, England and France had acted on these opportunities and the scramble for Africa began in earnest. From a global perspective, therefore, with the Austrian occupation of Bosnia began the era of “new imperialism.”

This seemed clear enough at the time, and many Europeans interpreted the occupation of Bosnia as a colonial move; Bosnia was the Austrian alternative to a colony in Africa. As a parliamentarian in the German Reich expressed it during a colonial debate, Austrians had the better deal: “That little slice of Herzegovina could well be worth more than the whole of East Africa.”⁵ A *habsburgtreu* Czech used another colonial metaphor: “In terms of geographical science, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been very much like the great white spaces on the maps of central Africa.”⁶ Bosnia was Austria’s Africa, an unknown space on the map of southeastern Europe, waiting to be rescued from Ottoman tyranny, explored, mined for its wealth, and brought into the light of Western scholarship. This was the colonial fantasy about the occupied territories that inspired so many immigrants from the core of the monarchy.

Both the proximity of Bosnia to the dual monarchy’s borders and its Ottoman past also fueled the Orientalist fantasies of its occupiers. Andre Gingrich has described the interaction between occupiers and the occupied as “frontier Orientalism,” a process that, unlike Edward Said’s definition of Orientalism, was shaped by relatively short distance between Austria’s borders and the occupied territories. This resulted in a feeling of familiarity mixed with fear; a master narrative that had two components with regard to the inhabitants of the region:

On one hand he [the Bosnian] appears as a dangerous Turkish soldier, an armed representative of another high culture, an equal military foe whose defeat is neces-

5 “Das bisschen Hercegovina sei noch immer mehr werth, als ganz Ostafrika,” *Bosnische Post* 6, [Sarajevo] January 30, 1889, 1. The *Bosnische Post* was the government-sponsored German-language newspaper in Sarajevo.

6 Abel Luksič, *Bosnien und die Hercegovina Lexikon* (Prague: Alois Hynek, 1878), 1.

sary for one's own imperial ascent. On the other hand, he appears as a subjugated Bosnian colonial who remains loyal to the end, fighting against the enemies of the Empire.⁷

Bosnia was administered and exhibited within a shifting perspective that was both colonialist and Orientalist.

In keeping with both perspectives, however, Austrians believed that it was incumbent upon them to introduce civilization to the former Ottoman regions. During a visit to Sarajevo in 1888, Crown Prince Rudolf declared: "Our mission [here] is to bring western culture to the Orient."⁸ For patriots, the enlightened administration of the territories was to serve as a model of colonial rule for other Great Powers. Those wishing to understand how to rule their overseas colonies wisely and well need only look at the Austrians in Bosnia.⁹ This became the central thesis of the Habsburg officials charged with administering Bosnia. To trace its course through the exhibitionary complex, we begin with a case study: The Bosnian peddler.

The Bosnian Peddler

Vienna was a multicultural and cosmopolitan city in the late nineteenth century. As the imperial capital of a multinational empire and a growing industrial center, it was home to a variety of ethnic groups ranging from Bohemian factory workers to Galician Jews. In the late 1880s, however, one more colorful figure could be seen on the streets of Vienna: the Bosnian peddler, selling his wares from door to door. An article in the *Bosnian Post* described him in the following way:

These peddlers from "new Austria" are clothed in the national costume, wearing narrowly pleated pants, colorful bordered jackets, the fez, and wide belts which hold a threatening array of small weapons. Carrying practically an entire arsenal, these peddlers are a walking warehouse of ivory-inlaid knives, match boxes, and cigar holders made of rosewood. [...] These peddlers are a type of pioneer, who seek to find a market for their admittedly modest goods in the great metropole of the Empire. They give an Oriental flair to Vienna's streets, but they are also a constant reminder of our mission in the East.¹⁰

7 Andre Gingrich, "Frontier Orientalism," 2006, <http://campcatatonia.org/article/1555/frontier-orientalism> (accessed February 17, 2010).

8 *Bosnische Post* 5, [Sarajevo] June 17, 1888, 2.

9 Henri Moser, *Bosnie-Herzegovine: Une œuvre de colonisation pacifique dans les Balkans* (Paris: V. Goupy et G. Maurin, Successors, 1896).

10 "Bosnische Hausierer in Wien," *Bosnische Post* 6, [Sarajevo] February 13, 1889, 2–3.



Figure 1. "Mohammedaner (Aga) aus Sarajevo im Waffenschmuck," as displayed in the Landesmuseum, Sarajevo, circa 1899. Source: Historical Archive of Sarajevo, Photograph Archive, Inv. No. 1276.

The Bosnian peddler might have resembled a poorer version of a mannequin in Sarajevo's Regional Museum (*Zemaljski muzej-Landesmuseum*), which was created at about the same time (Figure 1). The figure presents a Muslim aristocrat, whose smiling eyes and gentle demeanor are in sharp contrast to the weapons he carries. His right hand holds a flintlock and his fabric belt is stuffed with daggers and pistols. This benign and tamed Muslim (who was later displayed in Vienna in 1891)¹¹ was an ideological construction, but, for the moment, let us simply imagine a more shabbily clad version of this figure and we can picture our Bosnian peddler. The lively and humorous description of the peddler as bristling with weapons on the streets of Vienna is rich with the vocabulary of the Austrian colonial/Orientalist imagination; the occupied territories are christened "new Austria"; the fierce-looking Bosnian is merely a simple peddler who is a cultural pioneer; he is not a threat, but a reminder of the Austrian civilizing mission to the East.

The items in his arsenal—knives, pistols, and powder boxes—were part of one of the most important initiatives of Austria's administrators in Bosnia: the revival and rehabilitation of Bosnian crafts. The outcome of this process was intended not only to improve Bosnian products, thereby creating successful local businesses, but also to create loyal Bosnians, grateful to their new masters for the gifts of education and modernization. In Vienna, on the other hand, the process involved communicating a colonial and Orientalist ideology to the citizens of the metropole while recasting the populations of Bosnia as happy subjects of Austro-Hungarian rule. A postcard from Sarajevo published two decades after the occupation depicts this fantasy projection as docile metalworkers toiling diligently in an orderly government craft atelier (Figure 2).

Yet, the population of Bosnia was not so pacific in 1878. Despite the hopes of the Foreign Minister, Count Julius Andrassy, that the Austrian forces could occupy the territories with little effort ("a squadron of Hussars and a regimental band"),¹² the Habsburg forces met with serious resistance from well-organized forces: the national militia from Sarajevo and organized bands of Muslim and Serbian fighters. This delayed the progress of Austrian troops, and the fight for Sarajevo was unexpectedly difficult. After a delayed entry into Sarajevo on 19 August 1878, the Austro-Hungarian commander Josef Freiherr Philippovich von Philippsberg requested reinforcements; eventually, over 250,000 men (roughly one-third of the total Austro-Hungarian

11 Karl Masner, *Die Costümausstellung im k.k. österr. Museum 1891* (Vienna: J. Löwy, 1894); *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien* 2 (1894): 504–508; *Katalog der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Abtheilung, Costüme-Ausstellung im k.k. österreich. Museum* (Vienna: Carl [Carl] Gerold's Sohn, 1891).

12 Engelbert Deusch, "Andrassy und die Okkupation Bosniens und der Hercegovina," *Oesterreichische Osthefte* 12 (1970): 18–36.



Figure 2. Metalworkers in the Kunstgewerbeschule in Sarajevo. Source: The Studio, special issue of *Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary*, ed. Charles Holme (London, 1911).

army) were required to put an end to the resistance. The ferocity of the fighting was legendary and made difficult by the locals' knowledge of the terrain. Like their Montenegrin neighbors, the mountain fighters in Bosnia had the ability to melt away before the Austrian forces only to reappear in guerilla operations elsewhere.¹³ Accounts of decapitation and mutilations at the hands of Bosnian insurgents circulated in Vienna.¹⁴ This legend, although it had some basis in fact, was likely exaggerated after 1878, for the "warlike" populations of south-eastern Europe were part of a standard *topos* of travel literature well before the military occupation.¹⁵ An English visitor to Sarajevo in 1875 (shortly before the uprising) described the proliferation of weapons and the restive population in the old city:

13 Ursula Reber, "Habsburgische Begegnungen mit nomadischen Kriegerstämmen Montenegro als strategischer Schauplatz," *Kakanien Revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/UReber4> (accessed February 17, 2010).

14 For a discussion of the "imperialist myth" and other misconceptions that shaped Habsburg strategy in 1878, see Robert Donia, "The Battle for Bosnia: Austrian Military Strategy in 1878," in *Posebna Izdanja* 8 (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979), 109–129. For a broader discussion of the region, see Bela K. Kiraly and Gale Stokes, eds., *Insurrections, Wars, and the Eastern Crisis in the 1870s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

15 Cf. Clemens Ruthner, "Kakanien's Little Orient," *Kakanien Revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/CRuthner5> (accessed February 17, 2010).

Another street [in Sarajevo] resounded with the hammers of coppersmiths, moulding their metal into coffee-pots or platters; [...] or we came upon a group of armourers' shops—to-day ominously thronged—bristling with knives and swords of the famed Bosnian steel.¹⁶

These ominous throngs eventually became the resistance of 1878, and Austrians contended with insurgents, who were often called brigands for political purposes, for four years after the military occupation. The Bosnian warrior was a fearsome opponent. After the military government had succeeded in establishing order, Bosnia was transferred to a civilian government in 1882. Now the mission of Austrian rulers was to subjugate, tame, and redirect this warrior spirit into patriotic channels.

In 1882, the Hungarian nobleman Benjamin von Kállay (1839–1903) was named the *Reichsfinanzminister*, thereby becoming the first civilian administrator of the region.¹⁷ Kállay firmly believed that institutions of good government would eventually create loyal subjects. In an interview with the English newspaper, *The Daily Chronicle*, he described his aims:

To make the people contented, to ensure justice, to develop agriculture, to render communication easy and cheap, to spread education, to retain the ancient traditions of the land vivified and purified by modern ideas—that is my administrative ideal. [...] Austria [...] is a great Occidental Empire, charged with the mission of carrying civilization to Oriental peoples [...].¹⁸

Here, he characterized the local population in colonial terms, yet these were not the untamed barbarians of Africa. The region retained the cultural legacy of Ottoman civilization, yet its peoples were still in need of modernization and civilization according to Western standards. In the years that followed, Kállay attempted to introduce Western standards of industry, scholarship, and education. To revive and purify Bosnia's artisanal traditions, Kállay employed the exhibitionary complex of Vienna. One of several outcomes of this effort was the Vienna-directed transformation of traditional Bosnian weaponry into exotic trinkets for the tourist trade. Another outcome was the spread of his gospel of the civilizing mission about Bosnia into the metropole.

16 Arthur J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection, August and September 1875*, reprint ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 274.

17 Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim u Bosni I Hercegovini (1882–1903)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987).

18 "Round the Near East" [Interview with Benjamin von Kállay], *The Daily Chronicle*, October 3, 1895.

Vienna in Sarajevo

By the late 1880s, the effects of Austrian administration in Sarajevo were visible in a variety of ways. Monumental construction projects, such as the new cathedral or the government palace, had begun to recreate the urban landscape of the provincial capital.¹⁹ The influx of soldiers, entrepreneurs, and administrators contributed to a significant rise in population and the ethnic and religious diversity of the city.²⁰

Kállay's motives for reviving Bosnian crafts were more than colonial rhetoric, however. An important mandate of his government was to develop the economy along capitalist lines. When Kállay embarked on his program to rehabilitate Bosnian crafts, he had already noted the decline of local industries due to the influx of cheap industrial products from western Europe.²¹ Kállay envisioned creating viable local industries that could compete with Western products, thereby enhancing Austrian prestige as a faithful steward of the mandate of 1878. More importantly, however, Bosnian crafts were probably intended to serve as a source of revenue for the administration, as the Austrian and Hungarian delegations that approved the occupation declined to authorize funds to support civilian administration of the territories. Thus, Kállay had to find new and creative ways to finance his administration. This was one "colony" that had to pay for itself.²² No doubt he hoped that sales of Bosnian crafts would ultimately contribute to the administration's annual budget.

In addition, Kállay's efforts to revive and purify Bosnian crafts were undoubtedly one component of his larger effort to create a regional identity, Bosnianism (*Bošnjaštvo*), to promote loyalty to the territory of Bosnia. Amidst all the stylistic influences from the Byzantine, Venetian, and Ottoman Empires, whose trade routes had crisscrossed the region, in the 1880s many scholars began an intensive search for an indigenous "Bosnian" style derived from medieval Bogumil tombstones. A "national style" in ornament that predated the emergence of ethnonationalism might have been an effective weapon

19 See Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 67–82.

20 Valeria Heuberger, "Politische Institutionen und Verwaltung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878–1918," in *Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 7 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000).

21 Archiv BiH, ZMF-prz., B.H. 91/1887; Kučna Radinost, Šifra 43/14/7; Benjamin von Kállay, "Zur Frage des kunstgewerblichen Reforms im Occupations-Gebiet," Wien, 10 February 1887.

22 Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina 1871–1914* (New York: Eastern European Monographs, 1981), 11.

against the surging Serb and Croat nationalist movements. (Muslim nationalism was still decades away.) This effort eventually failed.²³

Whatever his many motives, to accomplish his aesthetic and commercial goals, Kállay relied on an extensive system of craft education that was already well-established in Cisleithanian Austria. Since 1863, the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry in Vienna had managed craft education through a well-developed network of local and regional craft schools. The focus of the Museum had begun with industrialists, but, since the 1870s, the Museum and its educators had become more deeply involved in the improvement of the folk arts in the peripheral regions of the Empire where industrial processes had not yet completely displaced local handicrafts.²⁴ In an effort to sustain the local populations and give them livelihoods beyond agricultural work, several schools for national “cottage industry” [*Hausindustrie*] were created in the 1870s. By the time Kállay began his initiative, the Museum in Vienna had already experienced some success in popularizing a variety of ethnic crafts (folk arts) through its nexus of education and display.

Kállay adopted the Viennese model for Bosnia by establishing government craft ateliers in Sarajevo, Livno, and Foča that brought local artisans into contact with craft educators from Vienna.²⁵ The artisans’ willingness to enter a government-sponsored atelier was probably an indicator of the degree to which craft production had indeed suffered through cheap foreign imports. Kállay’s plan included a diverse set of schools for various crafts including carpets, embroideries, wood, and metalworking. One branch of Kállay’s initiative involved the now-defunct weapons industry the English visitor had described in 1875. These were the ateliers dedicated to metal and mother-of-pearl inlay, ornaments from the Turkish traditions that were commonly found on pistols, sabers, and daggers; and these trades were practiced exclusively by Muslims. Kállay began his project just in time; according to government lore, in 1887 only one living practitioner of metal wire inlay could be found and brought to the atelier.²⁶ Although he died within the year, the authorities prided themselves in having saved the craft from extinction.

23 For a discussion of Bosnianism and its relationship to the Bogumil traditions, see Donia, *Sarajevo*, 88–91.

24 For a detailed history of the origins of the Austrian Museum, see the exhibition catalog *Kunst und Industrie*, ed. Peter Noever (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2000). For a discussion of the house-industry schools, see Diana Reynolds [Cordileone], “Die österreichische Synthese” in that volume, 209–218.

25 *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1906* (Vienna: k.u.k. gemeinsamen Finanzministerium, 1906).

26 Anonymous, “Bericht über eine Reise nach Bosnien,” Khartoum, 11 September 1905. Sarajevo Archiv BiH, ZVS 1905, K. 123, Šifra 115-29/05, p. 6.

But rehabilitating Bosnian crafts meant refining them for urban markets. Kállay's plan would only succeed if the crafts attracted customers in the cities. The Bosnian peddler's "modest goods" and "crude wares" must be transformed into attractive consumer items.²⁷ As a result, craft educators in Bosnia had the dual mandate to retain Bosnian traditions and inculcate the aesthetic principles of the West. This meant exposing local artisans to the aesthetic standards of the metropole. To this end, the Sarajevo silversmith, Mustafa Bektić, traveled to Vienna to study principles of classical drawing at the Museum for Art and Industry's *Kunstgewerbeschule* in 1889.²⁸

In addition, the cadre of craft teachers from Austria (each an absolvent of the craft education system) arriving in Bosnia after 1887 brought their tastes and training with them. After being assigned to Sarajevo in the 1890s, the Czech born craft school teacher Alois Studnička wrote design handbooks in the local language that introduced the major historical styles for application in mosaics, inlaid wood, or drawing.²⁹ In this sense, arts and crafts education in Sarajevo was a hegemonic discourse that emanated from Vienna. The taste for historical styles, from antiquity to the Renaissance, came with the new instructors.

At the same time, however, ethnographers were rediscovering another set of motifs for artisans. The Regional Museum in Sarajevo, established in 1884, began to amass a large collection of weapons, textiles, and other objects that became the foundation of ethnographic research.³⁰ The Museum's best examples of craft items were also shared with the craft schools, permitting students to observe and imitate well-made objects. In this way, an institution of the emerging exhibitionary complex interacted with education, artisanal traditions, and commerce in Sarajevo.

A rhetoric of redemption and paternalism accompanied these projects. The goal of craft education in Bosnia was not only to rescue and refine local tradi-

27 *Bosnische Post* 5, [Sarajevo] February 13, 1889, 2–3.

28 Bektić was given a contract to teach in a government atelier in 1888. Sarajevo, Archiv BiH Allgemeine Landesregierung, 1888 god. Kutija 8/ K 58 42-370, 137.

29 Alois Studnička, *Zbirka Pregledalca za prostoruko crtajne II: Intarzije* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Vlada da Bosnu i Hercegovina, 1898). See also, Lada Hubatová-Vacková, "Vulcan's Engagement to Venus: Alois Studnička's Venture into the Applied Arts," in *Umění Art* (Journal of the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) 5, LVIII, 2009: 453–468.

30 For an excellent description of the formation of the Regional Museum, see Donia, *Sarajevo*, 88–91; Constantin Hörmann, "Zur Geschichte des Bosnisch-Hercegovinischen Landesmuseums," *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien* 1 (1893): 1–25, and Marian Wenzel, *Bosanski stil na stećcima i metalu* [Bosnian style on tombstones and metal] (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1999), 21–30, 171–180.

tions, it was also intended to create a generation of grateful subjects. As Markus Nani, the Czech-born director of the Construction Woodworking School, told his graduating students in 1900, it was their task to remain grateful to the government. “Do not forget,” he admonished, “the fatherly care that the government has dedicated to your education.”³¹ Despite the generous investment of the administration, however, craft education in Bosnia was not intended to turn the “sons into the fathers.”³² The rehabilitation of Bosnian craft was a mixture of paternalist pedagogy and colonialist rhetoric conducted by Austrian administrators. Yet, the influence of the Austrians was not unilateral. Bosnia was becoming part of the colonial/oriental imagination of western Europe.

Sarajevo in Vienna

The institutions of the exhibitionary complex introduced the mystique of Bosnia—Austria’s colonial orient—to the metropolises of western Europe. Starting with its own offices and expanding into local and international exhibitions, Kállay’s administration [*Landesregierung*] disseminated the message of cultural redemption and the benefits of Austrian rule.

The office for craft education in Bosnia was located in Vienna’s first district, not far from the Museum for Art and Industry. The “Bosnian Bureau” (as it was called) occupied three different sites between 1881 and 1905 and, with each move, the space became larger and more sumptuous. The most interesting aspect of the Bureau, however, was that it combined office and retail spaces. Administrators worked on the upper floors, but the ground floor was a shop for Bosnian crafts. Objects produced at government ateliers in Sarajevo made their way directly to the shop in Vienna.³³ Both the office letterhead and advertisements in local journals depicted the arts and crafts of Bosnia (Figure 3).

To publicize its efforts, the administration also sponsored regular exhibitions of Bosnian crafts at other locations in Vienna. Starting in 1888, the *Landesregierung* participated in the annual Christmas exhibition at the Museum for Art and Industry. Due to their exotic appeal, the Bosnian crafts attracted a great deal of public attention and sold out quickly. For the adminis-

31 *Bosnische Post* 17, [Sarajevo] January 3, 1900, 3.

32 *Bosnische Post* 6, [Sarajevo] December 10, 1889, 1.

33 Archiv BH, ZVS VI; Prž, B.H. 1892 4-41/92, Kunstgewerbe und Gewerbe-förderungsamt (1892) 44-1/KG. Carpet design no. 2, weighing 24.5 kg., measuring 4.80m × 4.80m, was delivered to Vienna “for the office of Herr Ministerialrath Schmulmayer.” Most of the other carpets in this shipment were intended for sale. The cost to produce each carpet is carefully noted in each shipment.



Figure 3. Letterhead for the Bureau für das Haus- und Kunstgewerbe in Bosnien und der Herzegovina, located in Vienna 1, Hegelgasse 6. Photograph by author.

tration, this was an unmitigated public success and Bosnian crafts were sold at every annual Christmas bazaar thereafter.

But the displays of Bosnian crafts in Vienna were not merely commercial. In 1889, the Bosnian carpet factory and school contributed Bosnian carpets to the Museum for Art and Industry's twenty-fifth anniversary exhibition. The Bosnian carpets, which had been "improved" by the Vienna *Kunstgewerbeschule* director, Josef von Storck, were hailed as the crowning decoration of the exhibition.³⁴ They also unmasked the hybrid character of craft rehabilitation in Bosnia. As one observer blithely noted: "The wool is of Bosnian origin, [...]"

34 *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* 13 (1889): 233–234. This article, entitled "New-Austria's Arts and Crafts" details the activities of the crafts schools and the Regional Museum in Sarajevo. Cf., *Bosnische Post* 6, [Sarajevo] December 11, 1889, 54–55. For Storck, the Museum's *Kunstgewerbeschule*, and Storck's involvement in Bosnian crafts, see Ulrike Scholda, "Theorie und Praxis im Wiener Kunstgewerbe des Historismus am Beispiel von Josef Ritter von Storck 1830–1902" (dissertation, Salzburg, 1991), 54–55.

[but] it is brought to Vienna to be dyed and then sent back down there to be worked. Also the designs and motifs are old, but they have been happily updated and refined by Storck's artistic hands.³⁵

No one seemed to notice the paradoxes inherent in taking wool from Bosnia, dyeing it in Vienna, and returning it to Bosnia to be woven into carpets according to improved designs.³⁶ The revival of Bosnian carpets occurred under the supervision of Viennese educators utilizing the superior industrial techniques of the metropole. Both colonizers and colonized were deepening their reciprocal dependence, supinely and largely subconsciously accepting the roles assigned to them by the Austrian imperial mission.

The exotic appeal of Bosnia in Vienna created another public sensation in 1891 at the Museum for Art and Industry's Costume Exhibition. The Museum had planned an extensive historical exhibition, but, at the last minute, its administrators accepted Kállay's offer of a collection of ethnographic costumes from the Regional Museum in Sarajevo. The costume collection in Sarajevo had grown steadily and, inspired by the mannequins of Swedish folk costumes at the Paris Exhibition of 1889, administrators in Sarajevo had recently ordered a set of lifelike mannequins for its collection. These were no ordinary mannequins, however; each figurine was designed to correspond visually (skin color, facial features, and hair color) with the ethnic or regional origins of its costume.³⁷ In addition, each figurine was furnished with the appropriate accessories to complete its look: pistols, pipes, looms, metal bowls, or carpets, as appropriate. When the two dozen figures from Sarajevo were arrayed in the Museum for Art and Industry's entrance hall, they quickly became a major attraction. Twenty more figures were stationed throughout the Museum. Insofar as the lifelike figures carried the attributes of their ethnicity, religion, and occupation they blended scholarly accuracy with the public spectacle of colonial exhibitions. For special effect, the genial Bosnian nobleman (Figure 1) was stationed in the center of the entrance hall, welcoming visitors to the display. This figure became a standard image of Austrian rule in Bosnia. His smile indicated that, despite his weapons, Austrians now had nothing to fear from this Bosnian. A wise and tolerant occupation government had won over the local population.

These mannequins became the administration's silent ambassadors, gracing every subsequent international exhibition of the Bosnian *Landesregierung*. Exhibition organizers used heraldic arrangements of weaponry, glass vitrines, and armor-clad mannequins to display both old traditions and new products from the craft schools. Most of the latter were for sale (Figure 4). The rehabili-

35 *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* 13 (1889): 235; see also Scholda, *Theorie und Praxis im Wiener Kunstgewerbe*, 55.

36 *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* 13 (1889): 233.

37 Archiv BiH ZVS, Zemaljski Museji, 1890, Šifra 41-77, p. 3-5.



Figure 4. *Bosnian arts and crafts, Brussels International Exhibition, 1897.* Source: Nada 3 (1897): 225.

tation of Bosnian craft traditions blended the scholarship and spectacle of the exhibitionary complex and a colonial/Orientalist rhetoric of a civilizing mission, with an added commercial twist.³⁸ The revival of Bosnian craft was taken as proof of Austria's benign administration of its proximate colony.

Meanwhile the aesthetic improvement of Bosnian/Turkish weaponry was accompanied by several changes in its use. Back in Sarajevo, the right of Muslims to carry weapons became severely restricted under Austrian administration. As one observer noted: Under the Ottomans, Bosnian men "armed

38 *Das Kunstgewerbe in Bosnien und der Hercegovina auf der deutschen Fächer-Ausstellung in Karlsruhe 1891* (Vienna: Reisser & Wethner, 1891).



Figure 5. Dignitaries in Sarajevo, circa 1898. Note the weapons inserted in the sash of the standing nobleman (back row, on the right). Source: Historical Archive of Sarajevo, Photograph Archive, Inv. No. 1329.

themselves with damascene swords, daggers, pistols, and muskets. Hundreds of skilled craftsmen found work and were able to support themselves.”³⁹ In 1897, however, a visitor from Berlin noted a change: “These richly ornamented weapons can now be worn only by a few, privileged men. They may not actually use them however, so it is a natural outcome that soon no one will expend the effort to make them.”⁴⁰ The weaponry had become ornamental, a decoration of the few elite (and loyal) Muslim noblemen (Figure 5). Sales of ornamental weapons diminished at the local level.

By 1900, however, the metal inlay and incrustation techniques were being applied to a new range of tourist items. In 1905, an observer remarked: “The products of these schools are [...] carefully made with the western market in mind. Instead of pistols and powder boxes, nowadays only inlaid cigarette holders, hatpins, picture frames, brushes, and letter openers are created.”⁴¹

39 Sarajevo, Archiv BiH, ZVS 1905 Kut 123, Šifra 115 – 29/05. Anonymous, “Bericht über eine Reise nach Bosnien” Khartoum, 11 September 1905, p. 5.

40 M. Bartels, “Hausgewerbliche Gegenstände aus Bosnien,” *Verhandlung der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* [Sitzung vom 20 Februar] (1897): 98–99.

41 Sarajevo, Archiv BiH, ZVS 1905 Kut 123, Šifra 115 – 29/05. Anonymous, “Bericht über eine Reise nach Bosnien,” 8.



Figure 6. Ornamental weapons, Sarajevo ca. 1910 (private collection, Zagreb). Photograph by author.

Old, albeit improved, techniques had been adapted for new consumer demands. Furthermore, the weaponry craftsmen—having lost the local market due to Austrian restrictions—found a new market in souvenir shops frequented by a growing number of tourists and successive contingents of k.u.k. troops from all over the monarchy. The trade in these ornamental weapons had always been strong and the presence of a quarter of a million troops in the region over three decades increased the demand. In 1875, the English traveler noted: “In the small Turkish market there were many second-hand goods, and amongst them magnificent flint locks of antique form, with stocks richly inlaid with mother of pearl and golden arabesques.”⁴² These originals might no longer have been available after 1900, but thanks to the craft schools, copies were. These ornamental pistols, daggers, and small sabers were an obligatory purchase for the soldiers who rotated through Bosnia until 1918⁴³ (Figure 6), while other, more precious inlay items were reserved for special occasions (Figure 7).

42 Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection*, 274–275.

43 Many of these artifacts circulated among Vienna’s flea markets in the mid-twentieth century as weapons left behind from the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. My thanks to Dr. M. Christian Ortner of the *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*, Vienna, for this insight.

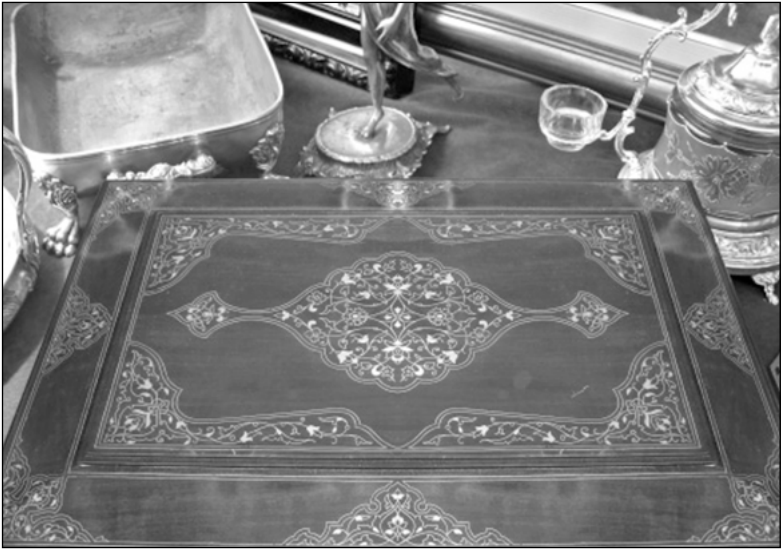


Figure 7. Silver-inlay ornamental box with inscription and dedication, Sarajevo, 1907 (private collection). Photograph by author.

The revival of Bosnian crafts testified to the success of the civilizing mission, and Austrian administrators preferred to emphasize that aesthetic education, not military might, had led to both pacification and redemption in the region. As Kállay's supporters described it, Austria had conquered Bosnia twice: once through weapons, but, finally, and more importantly, through wise administration and moral excellence.⁴⁴ The dual conquest replaced Bosnian swordsmen with a "pacified" population of artisans who produced charming and exotic trinkets for city populations.

The rehabilitation of Bosnian weaponry was an aestheticized form of frontier Orientalism. The remnants of Ottoman designs in the region were not aboriginal, but the leftovers of a great civilization, a high culture. Ottoman designs could not be ignored or completely cast aside in favor of a Western aesthetic, so Austrian craft educators called for a revival. Yet, the outcome of this process, for those who submitted to the demands of the craft schools, was the creation of yet another subjugated and aestheticized Bosnian colonial. The Bosnian craftsman working in the government workshop had replaced the Bosnian peddler. The crude weapons the peddler carried in 1889 were

44 *Bosnische Post* 1, [Sarajevo] June 22, 1884, 1. "Österreich hat Bosnien und die Hercegowina zum zweitenmal erobert, nicht mehr durch die Gewalt der Waffen, sondern durch die Erfolge einer gerechten und weisen Verwaltung."

transformed into exotic, albeit standardized, objects for Western consumers. Bosnia stood as a reminder to the Viennese of the significance of their colonial mission, not to Africa, but to the orient next door. The putative success of this mission was celebrated through exhibitions in Vienna and abroad.

Education in Deracination

The occupied territories were an important part of Viennese consciousness and the Austrian imperial imagination before 1900. Museum exhibitions, ethnographic research, and World Fairs illustrate the many ways in which scholarly disciplines and popular culture were complicit in a colonial/Orientalist discourse. The two-way exchange of designs indicates a hegemonic discourse that radiated out from Vienna, but it also illustrates several ways in which a widespread awareness of Bosnia and Bosnian designs entered Vienna and western Europe.

If, as Homi K. Bhabha has pointed out, the construction of national identities occurs through both pedagogic institutions and performative events (exhibitions and competitions), the Austrian civilizing mission in the Balkans was also part of this discursive field.⁴⁵ For Austrians, however, the identity they sought to construct in a Europe of nation-states was not purely national, for that was impossible. Instead, the rhetoric of Austrian identity emphasized an aestheticized pluralism. To be Austrian meant to respect, revive, and consume the variety of crafts available from the many ethnic groups of the monarchy. The “colorful ethnic mosaic” of primitive crafts, all of which were continually exhibited in regional and international events, were constituent elements of an Austrian identity that, by 1900, was striving to rise above nationalisms.⁴⁶ In the case of Bosnia, it was as if a multinational Austria was uniquely qualified to administer and civilize a colony, perhaps better than any of the other European nations. As Kállay remarked, “We like Europe to know what we have done [in Bosnia] [...] and to say, ‘That is Austria!’”⁴⁷ This was not only an Orientalist and colonialist rhetoric that was imposed upon Bosnia, but it was also a supranationalist strategy for a multinational Empire.

45 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 10; Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 153.

46 “Volkskunde: Vergleichende europäische Ethnographie,” in *Ur-Ethnographie: Auf der Suche nach dem Elementaren in der Kultur; die Sammlung Eugenie Goldstern*, ed. Franz Grieshofer (Vienna, Österreichs Museums für Volkskunde, 2004).

47 *The Daily Chronicle*, October 3, 1985.

Yet, the aesthetic education of the Bosnian man was a program for failure. In 1910, an observer from Vienna suggested that the handicraft educational systems had created an “education in deracination.”⁴⁸ Everything—from the imposition of standardized building styles for school buildings to the preponderance of foreign bureaucrats and teachers—communicated only one thing to the inhabitants of Bosnia: “Everything here is bad! Everything here needs improvement!”⁴⁹ This message could only produce an undesirable radicalism among the young people of the newly annexed territories. In addition, the changes imposed on Bosnian crafts by well-meaning improvers created products manufactured by a new proletariat. Worse, these products were neither appealing nor Bosnian.⁵⁰ Describing the local *kilims* [carpets] he wrote:

To my astonishment I learned that in the Sarajevo weaving center they now only work according to established patterns, which was not the case years ago [before Austrian occupation]. When one restricts the weavers from the freedom to create their own patterns, which used to be determined by the local dyes and motifs, we are allowed to ask the question: what is specially “Bosnian” about these products?⁵¹

This education in deracination was typical of colonial administrations, and its complicity with institutions of the exhibitionary complex was clear to the young generation of nationalists that coalesced after the annexation of the provinces in 1908.⁵² Upon the completion of the new Regional Museum building in 1913, these deracinated youth recognized the hegemonic power of Austria that it represented. As Cvjetko Popović, a member of *Young Bosnia*, recalls: “Our anarchistic wishes were directed to the large new buildings of the Post Office and the imposing building of the Regional Museum (*Zemaljski muzej*). In our eyes this museum was only a bluff, a false sign of [the] cultural work of Austria in Bosnia.”⁵³

48 A. Vetter, “Bericht über eine Studienreise nach Bosnien und der Herzegowina (September–October 1910)” (unpublished manuscript, Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Vienna), 34. Vetter was director of the Imperial-Royal Office for the Promotion of Trades.

49 *Ibid.*, 33–34.

50 *Ibid.*, 42–43.

51 *Ibid.*, 43. The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina recently staged an exhibition of Bosnian carpets: *Carpets in Bosnia and Hercegovina: The Collection of the National Museum of B-H*, Sarajevo: 2006.

52 Donia, *Sarajevo*, 93–120.

53 “... samo blef, lazni znak kulturnog rada Austrije u Bosne.” [author's emphasis]. Svetko Dj. Popović, *Sarajevski Vidovdan, 1914: Godina—doziviljaji i secanja* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1969), 31. Cited in Almaz Dautbegović, “Uz stogodišnjicu Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu,” in *Spomenica štogodisnjice*

These young men understood the power of the exhibitionary complex in Sarajevo and ultimately took up arms against it. Only a few months later, on 28 June 1914, one member of this group used a very real weapon to perform the most consequential assassination of the twentieth century—that of Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne. The swords of Bosnia were not beaten into plowshares, and some unintended consequences of Kállay's aesthetic orientalized vision were resistance and radicalism.

rada zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888-1988 (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 7–16. Popović goes on to remark on the irony of his 50-year career in the Regional Museum after World War I (p. 32); “... Cudnom igrom sudbine, ja sam posle podeset godina u tom istom muzeju završio svoju službeničku karijeru i otisao u penziju.”

