

Imagological models of Bosnia in pictures and words: Heinrich Renner's travelogue *Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina, Kreuz und Quer* ['Criss-cross through Bosnia and Herzegovina'] (1896)

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Summary

The period of reforms in the later years of the Ottoman Empire and the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration have left remarkable traces in the field of culture and art in Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulting in a complex encounter between two cultural and civilisational circles, *alafranga* and *alaturca*. The illustrated magazine *Nada* was launched and published in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1895 to 1903, as a medium for promoting a pro-Bosnian political concept and programme of Finance Minister Benjamin Kállay, and gathered numerous collaborators, writers, translators and visual artists with an unhidden and ambitious goal to illustrate rapid cultural development and progress. The magazine had a detailed breakdown of planned contents and thematic sections. Along with illustrations by Ewald Arndt Tscheplin, Leo Arndt, Maximilian Liebenwein, Ludwig Kuba, Ivana Kobilca, Ferdinand Velc and other painters, *Nada* magazine offered excerpts from numerous travelogues that conveyed vivid images of Bosnian daily life, with insights into the culture of housing and clothing, but also subjective views of Bosnia and its inhabitants.

Illustrated foreign travelogues are the most important source for imagological analysis of notions, prejudices, explicit and implicit views on Bosnia. They range from the perception of Bosnia as a 'dark vilayet' — part of a decadent East located on European soil — to its description as an idealised fairytale land, a jewel of the world, in a Romantic idiom. This chapter will focus on the travelogue written by Heinrich Renner *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegowina Kreuz und Quer*, Berlin, 1896 (translated as: *Bosnom i Hercegovinom uzduž i poprijeko*, Sarajevo, 2007), which was illustrated by the two most important *Nada* illustrators, brothers Ewald Arndt Tscheplin and Leo Arndt, in order to examine how representations of Bosnia were formulated in accordance with the chosen media — whether it was an artistic or textual representation — and how the imagological models of the 'Other' were formulated in pictures and words.

Keywords

ALAFRANGA AND ALATURCA, NADA MAGAZINE, HEINRICH RENNER, TRAVELOGUE, IMAGOLOGICAL MODELS

The Tanzimat period as an introduction to the *alaturca* / *alafranga* encounter in Bosnia

The period of reforms in the later years of the Ottoman Empire left traces in many fields of culture and daily life. The Tanzimat period, which included a series of governmental reforms between 1839 and 1876, was heavily influenced by European ideas and called for the establishment of new institutions that would guarantee security of life, property and honour

to all subjects of the Empire, regardless of their religions or race. It also included certain western models in the fields of economy, tax and administration, as well as the reorganisation of the army based on the Prussian conscript system and the introduction of new codes of law which were largely modelled after those of France. The reforms, which prepared the ground for the gradual modernisation of the Ottoman state, also included the development of a new secular school system.

An encounter of two cultural and civilisational circles — *alafranga* and *alaturca* — in the field of arts and everyday culture had therefore developed gradually before the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration itself. We may mention, among others, the painter of the ‘Illyrian movement’, the young and tragically deceased Vjekoslav Karas (1821–1858), and the French etcher and lithographer Théodor Valério (1819–1879), who came to Bosnia during the Tanzimat period and who, in a Historicist-Romanticist manner, for the first time presented to the wider European audience the wide variety of Bosnian towns, villages, people and folk costumes (Mladenović 1982: 9–14). The diversity of Bosnia was particularly visible in Valério’s graphics, drawings and watercolours exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris (1855) and the Paris Exhibitions in 1857 and 1859.

The number of archaeologists, explorers, cartographers, travel writers, and even academically educated painters increased in the years directly before and at the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian administration from the mid-1870s. Among them were the Evans brothers and Ferdo Quiquerez, a painter of large historical scenes and epic compositions characteristic of the students of the Munich Academy under Karl von Piloty (1826–1886). The first wave of foreign painters during the Austro-Hungarian period in Bosnia mainly consisted of officers who had been educated for military service. In this connection, one must bear in mind that the classes in free drawing, as a mandatory subject at military schools and academies in Austria-Hungary, were led by well-known artists, and this was also the case in Bosnia, even during Ottoman rule, when Mustafa Faginović taught free drawing at the military school called Idadija. The compositions painted by these foreign officer-painters were primarily motivated by efforts to precisely record the physiognomies of the inhabitants and events in a documentary and ethnographic manner and consequently they were mostly in the style of meticulous Verism and academic Realism.

***Nada* magazine: historical and cultural context**

The appearance of *Nada* magazine at the very end of the nineteenth century in Bosnia was significant for many reasons. First, the magazine reflected a cultural policy of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and to a certain extent served as a medium to convey a pro-Bosnian political concept and programme of the then Finance Minister Benjamin Kállay. At the same time, through its numerous collaborators and varied subject-matter, the magazine gave an important impetus to the development of the local art scene and promoted its path to artistic modernity.

The magazine was published by the Provincial Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and financed directly from Vienna via Benjamin Kállay, the Joint Minister of Finance and Administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the same time. The Editor-in-Chief of the magazine was Kosta Hörmann, who was, at that time, advisor to the Government and Director

of the National Museum in Sarajevo. The magazine was published in the local (Bosnian) language, in two identical editions, written in two scripts, Latin and Cyrillic, using the highest quality paper and printing techniques. *Nada* was

the only literary magazine launched and published by the Provincial Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initiated with unhidden ambitions to gather numerous collaborators, writers, translators and visual artists and to reach great heights in European relations through the quality of literary and visual arts contributions and technical equipment like an illustrated belletristic magazine and in that way to represent Sarajevo — the capital of the occupied country— as a powerful cultural centre to the world public. (Besarović 1987:12-13)

The selection of topics and collaborators of *Nada*: the role of Kosta Hörmann

In an exhaustive report about the launch of the illustrated *Nada* magazine submitted to Joint Finance Minister Benjamin Kállay, a detailed breakdown of planned contents and thematic sections was included (Besarović 1968: 74-91). The Government advisor Kosta Hörmann also itemised the planned illustration content, in which the following dominated: pictures of towns and large industrial facilities; selected landscape views; popular motifs and scenes (wedding scenes, market images, celebrations and popular games, hunting scenes and the like); images from the lives of military troops; illustrations of folk costume; historical images, and portraits of notables. The selection of themes for illustrations was obviously in harmony with the planning intention of the magazine, which would, as defined in Kállay's letter to the Provincial Government, offer to domestic reading circles, both in 'illustration and written form' and 'in a strictly objective and dignified form', appropriate reading for them in the Bosnian language from all fields of knowledge, and at the same time familiarise people with the 'rapid cultural development of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (Besarović 1968: 91). Academically educated painters and graphic artists were needed for this task, both to execute good and sound drawings, and to contribute a refined colouristic sensitivity which would complete selected landscape views and genre scenes with Historicist and Romanticist pathos.

This is confirmed by the quality illustrative contributions and picture reproductions of art editor Ewald Arndt Tschepelin, as well as of his brother Leo Arndt, and of Maximilian Liebenwein, Ludwig Kuba (Figure 1), Ivana Kobilca, Karel Liebscher and Ferdinand Velc. Their contributions were coordinated in line with the thematic concept of the magazine, between the idyllic vision of the exotic country, on the one hand, and the rapid progress of the modern age to which the new administration contributed, on the other — as illustrated in the magazine by photographs of the electric railway in Sarajevo, the operating theatres of the Provincial Hospital, visits of Czech tourists, industrialisation of the Tuzla region and so on.

The influence that Hörmann had on all aspects of the magazine's conception is confirmed by information from a letter of 1895 sent to a collaborator of *Nada*, the Croatian painter Leo Anderle, about the need to 'additionally engage' his composition with an image of people strolling around the spring of the Bosna river, in which certain 'ethnographic corrections' (in the spirit of Orientalism) should be introduced, and the need to complete the image with several Bosniak men and women and at least one Turkish man; for that purpose, Hörmann sent him a typology of suitable folk costumes in the letter (Čorić 1978: 761):



FIGURE 1. Ludwig Kuba, *A foreign painter in Sarajevo*, Nada 16: 904 (15 August 1897). ©Gazi Husrev-bey Library, Sarajevo

On pictures 'Vrelo' ['The 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.

The visual art archive of *Nada* numbers several hundred drawings and paintings, works by about ten authors, the most important among them being brothers Ewald Arndt Tschepelin and Leo Arndt, as well as Maximilian Liebenwein and Ivana Kobilca. These four painters formed the Sarajevo Painters' Club in 1900. In 1901, Tschepelin (Čepelin), together with the rest of the group, published the *Bildermappe des Sarajevoer Malerclubs* ['Pictures of the Sarajevo Painters' Club'] in Berlin, with twenty-four motifs from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The subscription rates of the magazine *Nada* were six *forints* a year for twenty-four issues, which were issued bi-weekly 'in a folio format that resembled the English *Graphica* and the German *Über Land und Meer*, on 16 pages and with a coloured front page' (Besarović 1974:145). The name *Nada* (Hope) was chosen by Hörmann, to mean 'hope in the progress of the people towards Austria, which is Kállay's idea. He also chose the name that would be easy to pronounce for a foreigner' (Ćorić 1978: 144).

The visual art archive of *Nada* was initially kept in the collection of the National Museum in Sarajevo, thus becoming the nucleus of the Gallery of Paintings, founded in 1930 as one of the Museum's departments out of which the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina would emerge after the Second World War. This archive is considered an important factor in the emergence of the modern art of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For some painters of the first generation, paintings published in *Nada* would most certainly be the first contact with painting in general, since *Nada* also contained numerous reproductions of works by renowned European painters. There is no doubt that it was precisely in *Nada* that one of the most important painters of early modernism in Bosnia, Gabrijel Jurkić, first encountered Boecklin's painting, and would copy those reproductions himself a decade and a half after *Nada* had ceased publication (Begić 1978).

Nada magazine can be described as a forerunner of the later published volume *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Bosnien und Hercegovina*. Its significance for later Bosnian painters was immense, as *Nada* offered them the possibility to become familiar with art, current trends, and the most famous masters from the region and further afield. The *Kronprinzenwerk* contained a volume about Bosnia and Herzegovina, printed and published in Vienna in 1901. Most of this twenty-four-volume encyclopedia was published during the reign of Kaiser Franz Joseph I. Initiated by his son, Crown Prince Rudolf, the entire work contains more than 12,000 pages, with 4,529 illustrations by 264 artists, and 432 contributions by the most important scientists, writers and painters of the time (Lipa 2006: 7), thus illustrating the nineteenth-century spirit of the systematisation and classification of knowledge. The encyclopedia encompasses the entire area that was under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the time, with its lands and peoples, and was published in the two respective languages of the monarchy, German and Hungarian. The first volume was released on 1 December 1885, and the second on 1 June 1902. All volumes have 'a homogeneous structure: ancient history, country history and geography, ethnography, music, literature and theatre, architecture and art and political economy' (Lipa 2006: 7), and its aim was to spread knowledge about the country and to praise its progress under the new ruler.

Travelogues on Bosnia

Along with the illustrations, *Nada* magazine offered excerpts from numerous travelogues that brought vivid images from Bosnian everyday life and insight into the culture of housing and clothing, but also subjective views of Bosnia and its inhabitants. A special interest of hundreds of academic, travel, anthropological and ethnological books written about Bosnia from the mid-nineteenth century was directed toward Bosnian Muslims: from those that deal with the culture of living in general, such as Antun Hangi's *Život i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, published in 1900, to ones that were interested in particular aspects of individual segments of the written heritage of Bosnian Muslims, such as Milena Mrazović's *Bosnisches*

Skizzenbuch, Dresden, 1900 or Maximilian Braun's *Die Anfänge der Europäisierung in der Literatur der moslimischen Slaven in Bosnien und Herzegowina*, Leipzig, 1934. published as *Začeci evropeizacije u književnosti slavenskih muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini* in Sarajevo in 2010.

An extremely important segment of the European presentation of Bosnia pertains to travelogues — a borderline literary genre at the crossroads of literary and academic style. This form of writing has a particular significance since it depicts living images from Bosnian daily life; and contains reports on customs and the ways of life, and on the culture of living and dressing. One may say that no other Balkan country has been the subject of European travel writers' interest to the same extent as Bosnia, particularly because of its living Islamic heritage and because it was perceived as the closest part of the Orient to the European West.

The analysis of European discursive practices focused on Bosnia leads to the conclusion that the European view of Bosnia, and particularly of Bosnian Muslims, is complex in many ways. It is conditioned by the time of writing, by socio-historical relations, by the authors' goals, background and reasons for writing, and particularly by political connotations. It is therefore impossible to give an unambiguous assessment of the image of Bosnia created by European authors. The first travelogues, written from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, depicted Bosnia as a 'dark vilayet' and Bosnian Muslims as despots and barbarians, such as in the case of descriptions by Benedikt Kuripešić (1530) or Franz Maurer (1870). Many of them also evinced the discourse of Orientalism and Balkanism, depicting Bosnia as a rampart of typical Ottoman and Islamic traditions, highlighting images of laziness, inertia and decadency as characteristic of the Muslim population of Bosnia. Travelogues such as those written by Paulina Irby (*Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London, 1867), by Arthur J. Evans (*Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina on Foot During the Insurrection*, London, 1877) or by Jaekel Blair (*The Lands of the Tamed Turk: Or, The Balkan States of Today*, 1910), were based on an assumption of Western civilisational and moral superiority.

Any travelogues written during the years of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia, however, managed to distance themselves from the dominant Orientalist discourse and to preserve objectivity between the needs of modernisation, on the one hand, and, on the other, the values of local traditions and peoples — consequently, providing academic legitimacy to the Austro-Hungarian occupation. One of the most comprehensive travelogues written in this manner is that by Johann von Asboth, *Bosnien und die Herzegowina. Reisebilder und Studien* published in Vienna in 1888, who arrived in Bosnia in the entourage of Benjamin Kállay, and who was fascinated by the geography and people of Bosnia. As a grand connoisseur of the East, he pointed out that 'Islam in Bosnia, with its spirit and customs, has preserved a more original, cleaner and consistent form than in its center and in the countries of the Islamic world' (Asboth 1888: I).

Heinrich Renner's travelogue

The travelogue written by Heinrich Renner entitled *Durch Bosnien Und die Hercegowina Kreuz Und Quer*, published in Berlin in 1896, presented Bosnia in a Romanticist manner as an idealised fairytale land, hardly known to many people in the West (Figure 2). He highlighted the following in the foreword to his book:

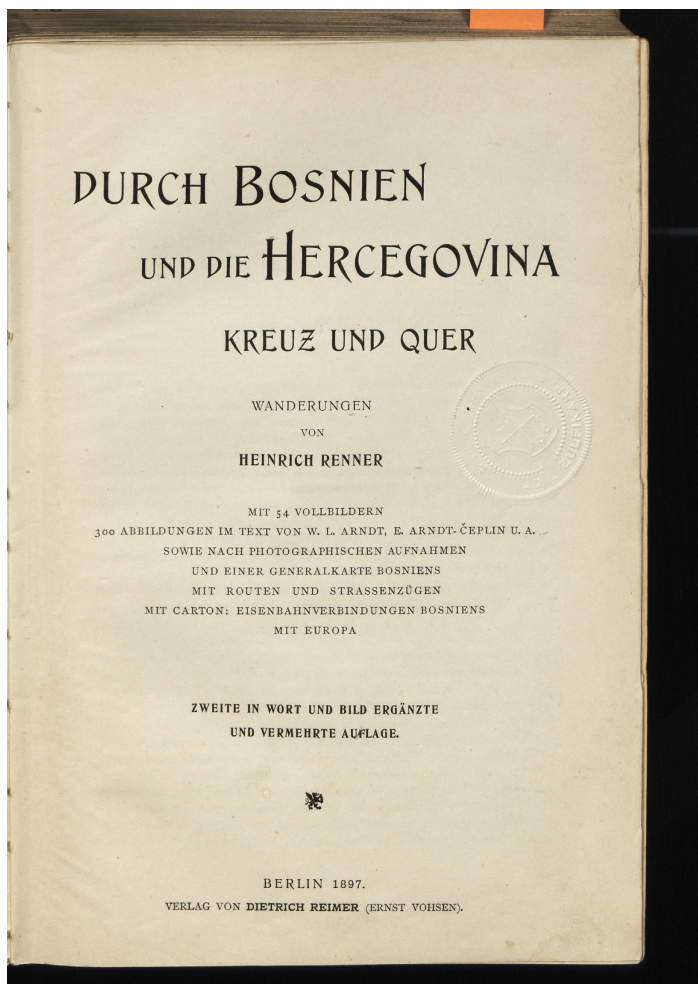


FIGURE 2. H. Renner, *Durch Bosnien Und Hercegowina Kreuz Und Quer* [*Through Bosnia and Herzegovina up and down and all over*]. Berlin, 1897.
©Bosniak Institute: Adil Zulfikarpašić's Foundation, Sarajevo

Before the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was given permission to occupy Bosnia in 1878 according to the Berlin Treaty, a very small number of people from European countries had set foot on the territory of this country, which had been isolated for centuries. (...) The Bosnian Sleeping Beauty slept her centuries-old enchanted dream and only when the imperial troops crossed the border did a new era begin. The thicket around Sleeping Beauty's castle was removed after two decades of continuous hard work, and Bosnia became respected and known in the world (Renner 2013: 15)

Renner showed an undisguised fascination with the beauty of the Bosnian land and sympathy for its people and exhibited an 'indelible love for Bosnian hills and valleys, its green meadows and romantic cities, its strong people and their virtues' (Renner 2013: 15-16), though he

strongly emphasised and advocated the need for modernisation and colonisation of the country; in his foreword in Berlin, written during the winter of 1895–1896, he referred to his ‘immense respect for the people, the bearers of culture, who, through their service, started the changes that raised this province so high above most other countries in Southeast Europe’ (Renner 2013: 16).

Leading *Nada* illustrators collaborated with travelogue writers, such as Heinrich Renner. The travelogue was illustrated by some of the best *Nada* illustrators, mostly the Arndt brothers, who came from the environs of Leipzig. The main part of the Arndt brothers’ *oeuvre* is linked to Balkan lands and was documented for the most part on the pages of *Nada*. Leo Arndt resided in Sarajevo from 1895 to 1903 and besides his engagement in *Nada*, is on record as having taught for a short time in a grammar school in Tuzla; while Ewald Arndt, after completing studies in Germany, worked in a grammar school in Sofia and, like his brother, resided in Sarajevo from 1895 to 1903.

The character of the Arndts’ illustrations and their handwriting

Renner started his travelogue from the railway station in Bosanski Brod, passing the iron bridge on the Sava river and depicting the country from north to south and from east to west, with special emphasis on Sarajevo and on making his readers familiar with the development of the cities mentioned, with their history and local traditions. There are, for instance, long passages on the history of the Bogumils and their gravestones, on the dress code among the local population, on Bosnian women, on Muslim graveyards and their melancholic love songs, on the concepts of *ćeif* and *merak*¹ that are characteristic of the Muslim population in Bosnia, as well as on nature and animals and so on. In addition, on the other hand, Renner strongly emphasised the industrial, cultural and scientific development during the Habsburg administration, mentioning and glorifying industrial plants in the Zenica area, the foundation of the new hospital, Technical High School, the National Museum in Sarajevo, the new hotels in Ilidza and so on.

In Renner’s travelogue, Ewald Arndt and Leo Arndt used some of the illustrations they had already prepared for *Nada* magazine in the same year (No. 1–12, in 1896), such as ‘Next to the Well in Herzegovina’, ‘Cheers / Christian peasants from around Sarajevo’, ‘Ćemerno’, ‘Bosnian Shepherd’, and ‘Peasant Race’. More directly, on pages 218–219 in *Nada* magazine number 11 published on 1 June 1896, there is a presentation of the above-mentioned travelogue and of its author, Heinrich Renner, written by F.C. Šegvić. In this evaluation of this travelogue, it was pointed out that ‘Bosnia is of increasing interest to the foreign world, not only because of its natural beauty, but also because of the great cultural and economic progress in recent times.’

Renner was the first journalist to come to Dubrovnik as a correspondent for various German and American newspapers at the time of Herzegovina’s insurrection. He also visited Montenegro and Herzegovina and was captured by Ottoman authorities on the Bosnian border, near Bužim, but was released following intervention by the inhabitants of Kostajnica, who reported this incident to Berlin. During the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation, Renner again visited

¹ Both terms convey the meaning of ‘enjoyment, pleasure, revelry etc.’, but while *merak* means only that, *ćeif* (or *ćeyf*) can also mean ‘will’ or ‘want’.



FIGURE 3. E.A. Tschepelin, 'Harem or Courtyard of the Gazi Husrev-bey mosque', *Nada* 1: 8 (1 January 1895). ©Gazi Husrev-bey Library, Sarajevo

Bosnia, this time as a correspondent for Berlin and Vienna newspapers, and spent a year and a half there.

The character of Ewald Arndt's illustration matched the subject matter: when he was inspired by ethnographical or traditional motifs such as Muslim tombstones in the Alifakovac graveyard in Sarajevo; by an old coffee maker in Blagaj or by the beauty of nature — the village of Prača, birds in the Drina forests, or an old oak tree in Žitomislići; the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev-bey mosque, or by horse races in Butmir, his painterly handwriting became freer and more picturesque, and he showed a lyrically pleasing softness, reflecting his undisguised sympathy and vivid artistic temperament (Figure 3). On the other hand, when he wanted to document signs of progress and 'Westernisation', such as views of cities, railways, bridges, or factory plants, as in 'Well in Herzegovina' or 'View on Čajniče', his handwriting was more precise, documentary and without painterly passion (Figure 4). A similar change in painterly expression can be seen in the work of his brother Leo too.

Between tradition and progress

The concept of *Nada* magazine considerably influenced the artistic approach and character of the Arndts' illustrations in Renner's travelogue, reflecting a complex relationship between the romantic approach towards Bosnia on one hand and fascination with modernity and

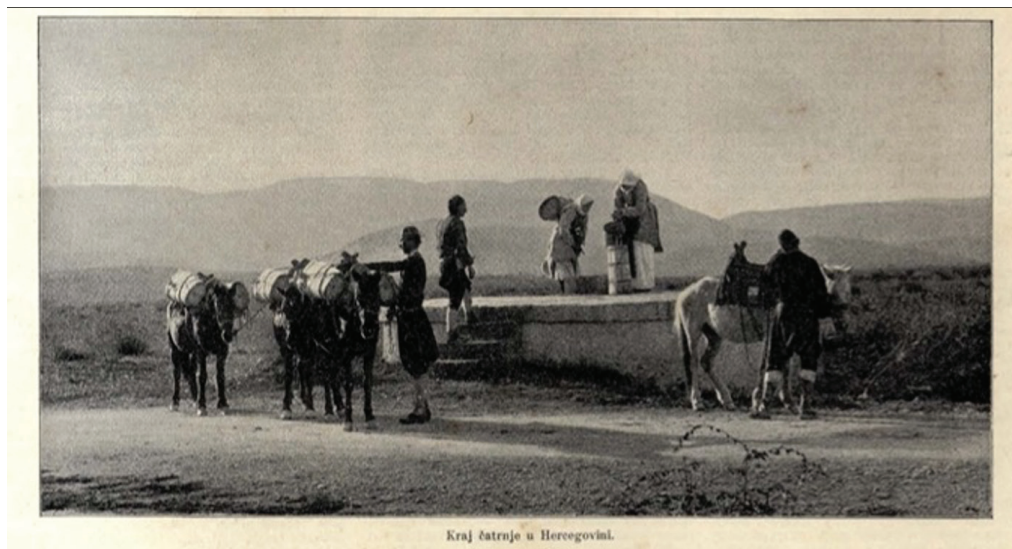


FIGURE 4. E.A. Tscheplin, 'Near the Well in Herzegovina', *Nada* 1: 16 (1 January 1896).
© Gazi Husrev-bey Library, Sarajevo

progress on the other, which was mostly the signature of the time not only among foreigners coming to Bosnia but also among the Muslim population, particularly those who were well educated, and among youths.

Indeed, we should remind ourselves that the activity of *Nada* magazine (1895–1903) and the appearance of Renner's travelogue coincided in artistic circles with the formation of Vienna Art Nouveau (1897), the founding of the Venice Biennale (from 1895), as well as heated debates about Klimt's cycle for the assembly hall of Vienna University and Rodin's sculpture of Balzac. These were the years when Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962), the greatest name in modern sculpture from South Slavic countries, studied in Vienna with Professor Edmund Hellmer (1850–1935), one of the founders of Vienna Art Nouveau. Meštrović himself was later an active participant in the *Vienna Sezession* exhibitions (Abadžić Hodžić 2014:117).

At the same time, a renowned Bosnian Oriental philologist, Safvet bey Bašagić (1870–1934), a frequent collaborator of *Nada* and future curator in the National Museum in Sarajevo, was working on his doctoral thesis at Vienna University, paradigmatically incarnating a fruitful meeting of the two cultural and civilisational circles through a comprehensive knowledge of Oriental languages and German sources. His poem 'Iz Velegrada' ['From the big city'], was published for the first time in *Vienac* in 1896 and, like the largest part of his early poetry, is filled with a patriotic and Romanticist charge that testified to a still unresolved and contradictory relationship between inherited values and the spirit of modernity. This is seen in 'Vila moja u toj buci driema...' ['My fairy is sleeping in that noise...'], where the motifs of the 'maple guzla' and the 'light people's spirit' were coordinated with the vignette design in the first issue of *Nada* by Hörmann's art editor Ewald Arndt (Abadžić Hodžić 2014: 118).



FIGURE 5. A. Mucha, 'Bosnia offers its products to the World Exhibition, Paris, 1900.' Photographer: F. Topič. ©National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

That divisiveness between new and old, primarily as a need to reflect critically upon both of them, is thematised by Bašagić in a condemnation of the colonial discourse of Austrian anthropologists, travel writers and painters, about whom he says 'they painted us as if we are American Indians' (Vervaeet 2013: 273). At the same time, this Viennese student and collaborator of *Nada* also condemns the exaggerated conservatism of his people, and states that at the beginning of the twentieth century: 'The whole world has changed and we have remained the same as we used to be several centuries ago: conservatives from top to toe' (Vervaeet 2013: 274).

More or less all issues of *Nada* magazine that were published during 1896 were dedicated to the Budapest Millennium exhibition and Bosnian pavilions. Many photographs and articles pointed out the meeting of the two worlds — East and West — illustrated, among other topics, in the way of dressing of the members of the Bosnian high delegation in Budapest. In the same way, and in the same year, in the chapter of his travelogue entitled 'Life and activities in the

Bosnian Capital', Renner described the then Sarajevo Mayor, Mehmed-bey Kapetanovic, as 'one of the richest landowners in the country, as dressing himself already *a la franca*' (Renner 2013: 63).

Renner's travelogue as part of the Habsburg Bosnian imagological project

As Hajdarpašić pointed out in his book *Whose Bosnia: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (2015:188), the Austro-Hungarian administration and officials made sustained efforts to present a positive international image of Bosnia and to combat proliferating nationalist writings, as these tended to characterise Bosnia as 'the saddest of all Slavic lands', as it was described by Kačanski in the 1880s, thus denouncing every positive aspect of Habsburg rule in Bosnia.

Heinrich Renner's luxuriously produced travel account on Bosnia set the tone for many of the future projects of the Habsburg administration. 'After writing his impressions, Renner showed his manuscript to several acquaintances in the Habsburg provincial administration, who were impressed and intrigued by the work' (Hajdarpašić 2015: 189). These officials even furnished the author with corrected statistics, historical dates and expressions, so that after its appearance, the book received very favorable reviews and quickly sold out.

Renner's travelogue was a continuation of Habsburg sponsorship of selected projects, as were *Nada* magazine and the foundation of the National Museum in Sarajevo. Renner consulted many museum officials and included more than three hundred photographs and illustrations by the best *Nada* artists, mostly the Arndt brothers, depicting mountains, rivers, forests, local costumes, towns, sacral buildings and industries. The character of Renner's text, as well as the accompanying illustrations, were presented as thoroughly researched yet accessible to a broad audience. Renner's travelogue and the Arndts' illustrations perfectly coincided with the Habsburg objective to encourage not only 'tourists, economists and scholars', as Renner pointed out in his conclusion, but also 'numerous colonial policymakers in Europe' to appreciate the development of the once backward 'Bosnian sister'.

Renner's descriptions and the Arndts' illustrations of Bosnian beauty and cultural uniqueness were reflected in Alphonse Mucha's 'Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina' at the Paris World Exhibition (Figure 5): 'a young, dark-haired, lavishly costumed woman enthroned above the exhibit grounds, her head bowed down as if in modesty or submission, her arms extended in offering her products, as an art-nouveau rendering of the Habsburg imperial fairy tale' (Hajdarpašić 2015: 194).

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