

**INSTITUT ZA ISTORIJU U SARAJEVU**

**PRILOZI**  
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## EDITOR'S NOTES

In the year when the whole world was remembering the beginning of the First World War, a scientific conference on the topic of *The Great War: Regional Approaches and Global Contexts*, was organised in Sarajevo from 18 to 21 June 2014. The Conference was organised by: the Institute for History of the University of Sarajevo (Sarajevo); Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (Regensburg), Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest), Institute for Balkan Studies and Thracology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Sofia), Institute for National History (Skopje), Institute for Contemporary History (Ljubljana), Croatian Institute for History (Zagreb) and the Center for South-east European Studies at the University of Graz (Graz). Over 120 papers, which will be published in a special edition of conference proceedings, were presented at the conference. The conference itself was held in an atmosphere of great political and media pressure, prevailingly led by the media in Serbia as well as by some circles in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself. Contrary to the usual diplomatic conduct, the Embassy of the Republic of France to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its ambassador Roland Gilles, were actively involved in their campaign against the Conference during its preparation, which resulted in the fact that the Conference did not receive any financial support, while obstacles, such as allegations that the conference involving the «countries that were defeated in the First World War» was to be organised in Sarajevo, spread by some academic circles in Serbia and France, speaks more about their compliance with political influence, rather than of attitudes that could have changed the scientific character of the conference.

This issue of Contributions Prilozi includes some of the articles that elaborate the theme of the Sarajevo Assassination Centennial. Two articles (Mustafa Imamović and Vera Katz) were published earlier, and one (Horst Haselsteiner) was written especially for this review. In his article, Imamović demonstrates how, at the beginning of the 1970ies, a new interpretation of the Sarajevo Assassination started emerging, while James Lyon and Horst Haselsteiner have offered their depictions of the situation and circumstances in Sarajevo on the eve of the Assassination. Robert J. Donia, Bojan Aleksov and Guido van Hengel focus their attention on the Assassination

itself, offering new views on Gavrilo Princip and the Young Bosnia organisation, while Vera Katz and Selma Harrington have dealt with the culture of remembrance of the 1914 Sarajevo Assassination. Once again, I would emphasise that this is only a small selection from the papers presented at the Conference, the selection we wanted to share with our readers before the complete conference proceedings are published.

Husnija Kamberović  
Editor-in-Chief

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## COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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*Abstract:* This paper discusses about different events organised in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 2014 concerning the commemoration of the First World War: academic conferences, ‘mega-spectacles’ - A Century of Peace After the Century of Wars, The Rebel Angels, the concert of the Vienna Philharmonic, the role of the the Embassy of France in Sarajevo and a Foundation called “Sarajevo Heart of Europe” and different exhibits in museums in Sarajevo.

One hundred years after the beginning of the First World War, the most prominent event in popular memory of the war was the assassination of the Habsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo on June 29, 1914. Most public manifestations commemorated that single event. Amid an atmosphere of political tensions and deep divisions, the focus of war memories on the assassination enhanced tensions and deepened differences in society, defying organizers’ hopes of sending messages of peace and integration. During 2013 and in the first half of 2014, conflicts over the manner of commemoration intensified as different groups, driven by political and financial motives, sought to impose their concepts on the planning of events. In the end, several separate commemorations were held. Some were supported by the European Union; others were supported by the neighboring Republic of Serbia and the authorities of entity of Republika Srpska; and still others were organized independently of outside sponsorship or with minimum support from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The fragmented character of the commemo-

rative events attests to social divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its weak central state more than to the anniversary itself. The fragmentation of memorial events is the result of the weakening of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina in recent years as well as some processes that have taken place over a much longer period. Understanding this fragmentation requires a brief history of commemorations since the assassination of 1914.

No significant commemorations were organized in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, since the Sarajevo assassination was perceived as the trigger of that war. However, after Gavrilo Princip's mortal remains were relocated from Czechoslovakia to Sarajevo in 1920, conditions gradually developed for public events memorializing the war. No commemorations or public fanfare attended the reburial of Princip's remains in the Old Orthodox Cemetery in Sarajevo in 1920. Not until early 1930 was a bronze commemorative plaque installed at the assassination site, again without public fanfare. The inscription on the plaque, written in the Cyrillic alphabet, read, "*On this historic site Gavrilo Princip proclaimed freedom on St. Vitus Day 15/28 1914.*" Likewise, when a chapel was built in 1939 and the remains of the Martyrs of St. Vitus Day were reburied in a common grave within it, no public commemoration was held, since the Second World War was to break out shortly thereafter.

When the German Army marched into Sarajevo in 1941, its soldiers removed the plaque that had been placed there in 1930 and sent it to Hitler as a gift on his birthday. In reaction, Tito's Partisans commemorated Princip when they entered Sarajevo in 1945. The Partisans identified their own struggle against Hitler with Princip's resistance to the Habsburg Monarchy, which they considered a German entity and an occupying force. In May 1945, the 'the youth of Sarajevo' replaced the plaque that had been sent to Hitler with a new one expressing gratitude to Princip and his comrades for their struggle «against German conquerors». On the new plaque, Princip was proclaimed 'the great national hero, martyr and the fighter for the freedom and brotherhood of all the peoples of Yugoslavia'.

Thus began the construction of the myth of Princip as a Yugoslav hero. In 1954, on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of both the assassination and beginning of the First World War, surviving members of Young Bosnia expressed their intent to depict Princip and their own organisation as expressly Yugoslav in orientation. Their plans were greeted with criticism from official quarters. In the Executive Board of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cvijetin Mijatović stated that some surviving members of Young Bosnia wished to publicize the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary by 'exaggerating some of its elements and misinterpreting events'. Mijatović suggested that the commemoration be organised in a 'more modest manner'.

He noted that Borivoje Jeftić had already written a script for a film about Young Bosnia and the assassination, but Mijatović urged that it be rejected. He further urged rejection of the proposed publication of the letters of Vladimir Gaćinović, since ‘those letters were prepared only from copies and from selected segments, in contrast to the original letters, which might lead to inaccurate portrayals of Gaćinović and his role. Finally, Mijatović urged rejection of a planned bibliography of works about Young Bosnia and the assassination. Avdo Humo, another member of Executive Board, supported Mijatović and asserted, „the commemoration should be done very modestly, because the place and role of Young Bosnia have not been adequately researched nor yet presented in the correct light. We should not permit a commemoration based on citizens’ misconceptions of the role of surviving participants based on exaggerations and misinterpretations. If we attach great significance to this commemoration, it will turn into a glorification of the assassination, something undesirable for our struggle and for the outside world based on the revival of old questions and disagreements. We should publish a collection of relevant articles and mark the anniversary by an appropriate event and a lecture given at the National University’.

Indeed, the 1954 commemoration was modest, but ten years later, things were done in a much more spectacular way. In the meantime there had been a change of views in the highest political circles in ways that facilitated the beginning of Young Bosnia’s glorification. The bibliography that could not be published in 1954 was published in 1964, and more importantly Vladimir Dedijer’s book *Sarajevo, 1914* was published. Dedijer’s work presented the officially-sanctioned memory of Young Bosnia, Princip, the assassination in Sarajevo, and the beginning of the First World War.

In 1974, attendees at a round table organized by the Institute for History in Sarajevo began cautiously debunking the myths of Princip and Young Bosnia as fighters for Yugoslav unification. Mustafa Imamović argued that members of Young Bosnia acted under the influence of Greater Serbian propaganda spread by the nationalist organizations *Unification or Death* (Ujedinjenje ili smrt) and *National Defence* (Narodna odbrana). Those organizations, he noted, propagated the view that Bosnia and Herzegovina was Serb land, even though “some individuals or groups within it embraced Yugoslavism and sought to overcome ethnic and religious conflict” in their land. Although it was only the first salvo in questioning Young Bosnia’s Yugoslavism and initially remained an undeveloped thesis, Imamović’s presentation opened a new chapter in the interpretation of Young Bosnia’s role.

Things changed during the Sarajevo siege of the 1990s. Sarajevo residents readily associated the Army of Republika Srpska, which was besieging, assaulting, and destroying their city, with Princip and Young Bosnia. One shelling attack during the siege destroyed the footprints of Princip inlaid in the pavement where he had carri-

ed out the assassination. Despite rumours that soldiers of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina destroyed both the footprints and the commemorative plaque, in truth the plaque and the footprints were casualties of shrapnel from shells fired at Sarajevo by the Army of Republic Srpska. Mosaics and paintings in the Museum of Young Bosnia (at the assassination site) were also destroyed in the shelling. Undamaged exhibits were then relocated to the safety of the nearby Jewish Museum. With these events, Princip underwent “Serbianization.” Commanders of the besieging Serb forces valorized his deed to raise the morale of their troops. The Army of the Republika Srpska fashioned a new medal and named after Princip, thereby transforming Princip into an expressly Serb figure. The medal symbolically abolished Princip’s association with Yugoslavism, whether real or imagined, at the time that Yugoslavia itself was collapsing.

Even though Young Bosnia and Princip were rarely thought to be Bosnian-Herzegovinian heroes after 1992, there was no euphoria against enhancing memories of Princip. In the beginning of 2003, the debate about Princip and the memory of the assassination was renewed, with special focus on the issue of whether to re-implant ‘Gavrilo Princip’s footprints’, a work of art by Vojo Dimitrijević that had been embedded in pavement at the assassination site from 1954 to 1992. Media coverage a tense atmosphere, since the city authorities intended to reinsert the footprints where they had previously been, while veterans of the 1992-1995 war opposed such a move. At the same time, a new commemorative plaque was installed bearing the rather neutral inscription: ‘It was from this place that on 28 June 1914, Gavrilo Princip committed the assassination of the heir to Austro-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife Sophie’.

The footprints, which were again cast in concrete pavement, for which the City Administration allocated 60,000 KM (about 30,000 Euros) were not place back. Given that there was no official decision to place the commemorative plaque, it disappeared in the same way as it had been placed (rather mysteriously), while the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the assassination went without any major debate. The Institute for History organised a round table at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, yet it did not receive any financial support from authorities and without any significant media attention. What has remained of the round table are a dozen of scientific papers published in the periodical *Prilozi* issued by the Institute. It is revealing, for example, that the Embassy of Austria to Bosnia and Herzegovina gave no financial support to this academic conference; neither did the administration of the City of Sarajevo. Thus, they demonstrated their determination not to support a scholarly approach to the research of these events.

Something similar happened ten years later, when the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of First World War in Bosnia and Herzegovina gave rise to further debates about the character of Young Bosnia, the historical role of Princip, the assassination in Sarajevo, and the First World War in general. In this context, different events were organised in Sarajevo, while a particularly active role was played by the Embassy of France in Sarajevo in conceptualizing the commemoration. In 2011, the government of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy planned to mark the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the First World War. The plan envisioned convening a gathering of major European political leaders to send a message of peace to the rest of the world. They later abandoned those plans, but the Embassy of France in Sarajevo persevered in insisting that a peace message to be sent from Sarajevo to remind the world of the horrors of war. In cooperation with the City of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo (a part of a pre-war suburb of Sarajevo, which became part of Republika Srpska in 1995, after the recent war), the Embassy of France established a Foundation called *Sarajevo Heart of Europe*, which received significant funds to organize various events. From its inception, this good idea bore the seeds of failure, since it failed to take into account the specific features of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead of having the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a partner, the organisers' attention was focused on Sarajevo, which raised the possibility of several separate, contending events that might further deepen existing divisions in the fragile society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, the anniversary of the beginning of the Great War was limited to commemorating the assassination in Sarajevo, which is viewed differently by different groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other aspects of the First World War remained neglected.

Both academic and performative events took place as part of the commemoration of the First World War in 2014 in Sarajevo. Academically, the Institute for History in Sarajevo, together with institutes from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, organized a conference devoted not to the assassination, but to the origins of the First World War. Other organizers, particularly from France and Serbia, disparaged the Institutes plans and saw in them an effort to shift guilt for starting the war away from Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy. We, the Institute organizers, sought in vain to explain that we had no intention of seeking to attribute the war to any given side but rather wanted to initiate a dialogue about all aspects of the conflict. We hoped to identify unexplored or as yet insufficiently explored research areas, such as everyday life, the role of women, problems with food shortages, the role of propaganda, and other topics. Despite our protests, the critics insisted the conference threatened to shift guilt for starting the war from Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy to Serbia, France, and indirectly to Russia.



The French engaged Professor Robert Frank from the Sorbonne to organize a rival conference in Sarajevo with the support of the *Sarajevo - the Heart of Europe* Foundation. Organizers proposed a conference in Sarajevo that would bring together Serb, Croat and Bosniak historians as well as others from New Zealand, Africa, China, and Japan with a message of peace to the world. We historians from Sarajevo Institute for History agreed that messages of peace are desirable, but we felt that academic conferences served a different purpose in facilitating critical dialogue rather than political compromises. Because we insisted on an academic conference that encouraged critical dialogue, we historians from the Institute were denied financial support from official sources. However, thanks to extensive cooperation with academic institutions from seven European countries, they won support to organize a conference entitled *The Great War: Regional Approaches and Global Contexts*.

Professor Mark Mazower, a distinguished historian from Columbia University, was the keynote speaker at the conference, which was held from June 18 to 21. The closing paper was presented by Professor Marie Janine Calic from Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. Seeking to marginalise the conference, the French historian Frank attacked the proposed program as having a “pro-Habsburg orientation and lacking perspectives from Serbia, Russia, and elsewhere.” The same criticism was echoed in later coverage of the conference by media from Serbia and some political circles in the entity of Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

While the conference was being organized, it came under attack from Slobodan Šoja, the ‘academic coordinator’ for the French, who disparaged it as ‘a conference that invited only participants from countries that had lost the war’. Milorad Dodik, the President of Republika Srpska, offered much the same criticism, noting that the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Republika Srpska had determined that the conference would be pro-Habsburg and anti-Serb. In fact, Frank had first voiced those accusations, and he relied on information from Šoja. France’s Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with officials from the *Sarajevo Heart of Europe* Foundation, frequently spoke out in support of such criticisms. But in the end, the Foundation and Frank gave up their plans for a separate academic conference after failing to attract the participation of a single serious historian from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The *Sarajevo – Heart of Europe* Foundation shifted its support to another conference to be called *The Long Shots of Sarajevo, 1914-2014*, which was backed by the Austrian Embassy and the European Commission’s Delegation in Sarajevo. The Long Shots conference failed to offer meaningful historical insights into the war’s beginning but instead dwelt upon cultural aspects of the war. It nonetheless received prominent media coverage, primarily because it was held on June 26-28, 2014, simultaneously with other events on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the assassination.



Two events known as called ‘mega-spectacles’ received much greater media attention than the academic conferences. The first, a spectacular outdoor display of music and drama, was directed by Haris Pašović under the title, *A Century of Peace After the Century of Wars* and included 300 participants from several different European countries. Although the event itself was largely devoid of ideological content, its aesthetics and location were problematic. It was staged on the Latin Bridge, near the site of the 1914 assassination, where observers could hear songs sung by Serbian folk singer Šaban Šaulić and Bosnian-Herzegovinian pop/rock singer Dino Merlin.

A second mega-spectacle was held in Višegrad. Directed by filmmaker Emir Kusturica and entitled *The Rebel Angels*, it was arranged in three acts as a reconstruction of the Sarajevo assassination. Charged with nationalism by such ideologues as Matija Bećković, it symbolised existing divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and had little artistic merit. Strongly supported by Republika Srpska President Milorad Dodik and Republic of Serbia Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, both of whom attended the event. The mega-cle marked the official inauguration of Andrićgrad, the construction engineering enterprise undertaken by Kusturica, who also directed the drama. The very presence of two prominent Serb politicians broadcast a clear political message from the event. The two megaspectacles involved massive expenditures; insofar as I could determine, the European Commission spent 250,000 Euros on the “*Century of Peace After the Century of Wars*” event, while the amount spent on the mega-spectacle directed by Kusturica will likely remain unknown.

In addition, the Vienna Philharmonic performed in concert on June 28, 2014 in the recently reconstructed Sarajevo Vijećnica (City Hall). Austrian President Heinz Fischer served as the official host of this important concert. Guests of honor at the event included Croatian President Ivo Josipović, Montenegrin President Filip Vujačić, Macedonian President Đorđe Ivanov, and some politicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Broadcast live by the Public Broadcasting services of Germany, Austria, and France, the concert opened with the national anthem of Bosnian and Herzegovina and concluded with the European Union anthem. In between, the orchestra performed selected works of famous European composers. The President of the Vienna Philharmonic, Prof. Dr. Clemens Hellsberg, stated that this was a look back, through history.

“We have decided to offer a look back, through history, but also a look to the future, after the catastrophes that happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, starting with the First World War. We hope that we have finally achieved coexistence in Europe that holds the promise of a peaceful future. This concert sends the message that, for us, Europe is not complete wit-

hout Bosnia and Herzegovina. It also sends a strong political message that from the inception of this ideal, we have had the support of the European Union and great cooperation with the team from Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Many other activities took place in the shadow of these grand events. The French Embassy sponsored the *Sarajevo Grand Prix*, a cycling event held under the auspices of *Tour de France*. Special exhibitions were displayed in the museums and galleries of Sarajevo. The Sarajevo City Museum of 1878 – 1918 (called the Museum of Young Bosnia until 1992), featured a special exhibit about Sarajevo’s history under Austro-Hungarian rule, with special attention to the assassination. The exhibit included the footprints of Gavrilo Princip, statues of Francis Ferdinand and Sophie, and the original indictment against the assassins. A replica of the car that bore Francis Ferdinand and Sophie to their deaths was placed on the street in front of the museum. Two information boards were placed there to identify the location where Princip’s footprints had once been embedded and the site of Habsburg-era monument in honor of the assassination victims.

The Historical Museum, in partnership with London Imperial Museum, prepared a special exhibit called “*And then in Sarajevo the Shot was Fired*,” consisting of documents, archival and newspaper material, photographs and other objects related to Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Europe in the period from 1914 to 1918. The Archive of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina prepared a special exhibition that went on display on the street in front of Sarajevo’s Catholic Cathedral. Three European cities – Vienna, Sarajevo, and Brno – jointly underwrote an exhibit in the National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina called *The Dignity of Man*, a name taken Friedrich Schiller’s poem *The Artists* (1789). The National Gallery exhibit marked not only the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the First World War, but also the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War and the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Berlin Wall.

Unfortunately, all these major events were planned and held at the local level. Not a single pan-Bosnian event was organized, and the national institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina refused to become involved. Therefore, the messages sent by these events differed from the outcomes and served to deepen and widen the divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The commemorations reinforced the divisions among memories of the assassination and war; they exacerbated political differences; and they gave voice to the nationalist rhetoric most stridently expressed in the Republika Srpska. The European Union did not directly support construction of a surreally grandiose monument to Princip in the Serb suburb of Sarajevo, but it

was apparently unprepared to respond to the nationalistic rhetoric expressed at that monument's dedication and only reinforced the impression that it was unclear about its own perception and vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serb-dominated East Sarajevo was treated as equal to the city of Sarajevo in European political circles. References to Andrićgrad, Kusturica's construction enterprise, typically failed to mention Višegrad, the true name of the town in which the edifice was located, resulting in further validation of the divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina rather than messages of peace and a better future.

Paradoxically, while East Sarajevo was a cosponsor of the Vienna Philharmonic performance in Sarajevo, it separately organized a rival event labelled "*The 21<sup>st</sup> Assembly of Gusle Players of Republika Srpska.*" That municipality's dual role indicates that deep divisions remain in the society and that some Bosnians are seeking to deepen them further. Meanwhile, Europe observes and does nothing. Perhaps the most apt commentary may be found in the verses of Friedrich Schiller's poem *The Artists*: 'The dignity of Man into your hands is given,/Protector be!/It sinks with you! With you it is arisen'!



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## THE FIRST CRITICAL APPROACH TO YOUNG BOSNIA

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*Abstract: Today, when we are preparing in various ways to mark the Centennial of the First World War, it is unavoidable to include mention of Young Bosnia. We must remind ourselves that, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Sarajevo assassination, the Sarajevo-based Institute of History and the well-known review for social issues, Pregled, organized a "Roundtable on Young Bosnia" in 1974. This was the first such event at which Young Bosnia and its activities and goals were critically analyzed in the context of that time. Eighteen papers were presented by Arif Tanović, Nikola Babić, Vljeko Begović, Uroš Nedimović, Ibrahim Karabegović, Mirjana Trninić, Mitar Papić, Dubravka Škarica, Dževad Juzbašić, Avdo Humo, Joco Marjanović, Mustafa Imamović, Branislav Đurđev, Stojan T. Tomić, Ilija Hadžibegović, Dejan Đuričković and Franc Cengle.*

*The proceedings of that roundtable were published in Pregled, Vol. 7-8, in 1974. The following is the text of my paper presented at that event forty years ago.*

Today, we are discussing an issue that has been a focus of historical studies for several decades now. It has already been emphasized here that the bibliography of published papers on the issue we are discussing in the narrow sense of the term amounts to over 1,700 works or, according to some data, to as many as 3,000 titles. However, despite this enviable bibliography, we must say that this problem has not been completely resolved, particularly in view of the Marxist approach to history.

I think that there are several sets of questions in this regard. I will first focus on methodological problems, even though there are several other issues to be considered. One is the issue of terminology. One can freely say that, *inter alia*, many issues of a terminological nature still remain unresolved in our historiography. Today's dis-

cussion only confirms it. It often happens that some terms denote different phenomena and relations, so that, when they are used, their true historic meaning is neither established nor defined. It creates an unclear, or even wrong, picture of the societal and historical nature and content of these phenomena and relations. We may simply take the examples of some terms that have been used several times today: revolution, people, Yugoslavism.

As soon as we define Young Bosnia and the entire so-called progressive youth movement on the eve of the First World War as revolutionary, we need to define the social content of the term “revolutionary.” There are bourgeois and socialist revolutions. Their social and historical meanings are totally different. Was the activity of Young Bosnia a bourgeois or a socialist revolution?

The term ‘people’ was also used several times today in the context of Young Bosnia. Here, again, the term “people” must be clearly analyzed, since it can have multiple meanings: ethnic, political, sociological, etc. When one says that members of Young Bosnia fought for the people, the term “people” must be clearly defined, given all its potential meanings. Without that definition, we are practically simplifying and, consequently, distorting the historical reality and the complexity of circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina of that time.

The notion of Yugoslavism is often linked to Young Bosnia and the youth movement. Although often used, this term is, unfortunately, not clearly conceptually analyzed in a historical sense. If we define the youth movement before the First World War, and, consequently, Young Bosnia as a part of it, as Yugoslav, we should finally unambiguously determine what kind of Yugoslavism it refers to. Does the term Yugoslav used in connection with the youth movement have simply a geographic, or a specific political, perhaps even an ethnic, meaning? There is a unitarian Yugoslavism, sanctioned legally by the 6th of January Dictatorship with the “Law on the Name and Division of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into Administrative Areas,” adopted on October 3, 1929. On the other hand, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, during the socialist revolution, built Yugoslavism in a completely different historic sense - as brotherhood, full equality, internationalism and mutual solidarity of the Yugoslav peoples and ethnicities. Therefore, as scientists, we should finally determine whether there were, and, if so, to what extent there were, Yugoslav political ideas in the youth movement on the eve of the First World War, and what was the real content of that Yugoslavism.

Another methodological issue is the problem of the historic approach to the past, i.e., the problem of placing the observed phenomena and developments into an historic context. The historian as a person who studies past events tries to settle accounts for himself and his own time about his own past and in that manner to de-

fine the society in which he himself lives. When engaging in that process, historians should never observe phenomena isolated from the context of social developments of the given time, nor should they assume the role of judge or advocate of that time. If an historian takes either of these two positions, he deprives himself of a genuinely critical approach to the past, and he, therefore, abandons his scientific historic stance. By defending or attacking uncritically the phenomena he explores, the historian distorts the past, instead of explaining it. The past should neither be defended nor attacked, but explained and studied, so that we can avoid the danger of living it again and again. This is the essential element of the need to look into all events and developments of the past in their own historic framework, i.e. to reduce them to their true historical measure. Let us take an example from the study on Young Bosnia done by Masleša, that has been frequently referred to in our discussions today. As I recall, the last chapter of his study is titled "Where Would They Be Today." In this chapter, Masleša cites the statements made toward the end of the 1930s by former Young Bosnians Kosta Krajšumović and Pero Slijepčević, in which they say that Gaćinović and his comrades, were they still alive, would have been "either far away, in emigration, or in the prison of Sremska Mitrovica" or certainly "somewhere on the far left." Masleša, however, notices that those who survived ("with several exceptions") are today neither on the left nor in emigration, or in Sremska Mitrovica, but are teaching at universities (like Krajšumović and Slijepčević), or hold similar positions in bourgeois society. So, the answer to the question "where would they be now," Masleša concludes, can be found only if we clearly establish what was the trajectory of the consequent line of the Young Bosnia group. I think that the approach to Young Bosnia taken by Masleša can basically be reduced to the assessment that this movement was the ultimate offspring of Serbian bourgeois politics in BiH, but that it was at the same time a rebellion against the methods used by that politics. I am not sure that, when it comes to their ultimate political goals, there were any crucial differences. Masleša himself says that the majority of the members of Young Bosnian were stuck in 1918, considering that "now we must live a full and free nationalism and civic life." Today, nobody should attack them or defend them for that, let alone attach to them the desires, goals and meanings that they neither had nor could have had. The science of history needs to explain Young Bosnia within the circumstances of its members' time and place. Only in this way can its true historical achievement and relevance be determined.

One needs to emphasize that, today, there has been a lot of talk about the historical circumstances and conditions in which Young Bosnia appeared and acted. This conference has made a good contribution to the research of those circumstances and conditions. It deals mainly with Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas perhaps a broad-

er framework needs to be considered. As has already been said, Young Bosnia was a part of the movement of “Yugoslav revolutionary progressive youth” that included, in the years preceding the First World War, mostly Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian secondary school and university youth that studied at different university centers of Central Europe.

I think that this problem needs to be viewed within these historic coordinates. The results of historic science that are already available to us give us access to such a relatively broad and critical approach. Here, I primarily have in mind the books written by Dragoslav Janković on the Corfu Conference, particularly his last work, *Serbia and the Yugoslav Question 1914–1915*, as well as the books of Momčilo Zečević, *The Slovenian People’s Party and the Unification of Yugoslavia*, and Milorad Ekmečić’s, *Serbian War Aims in 1914*.“

However, if we are discussing the Bosnian circumstances in which Young Bosnia appeared and acted, I think that the papers presented so far, which have raised several critical questions, also open the way for additional questions. Here, I will mention some of them.

The first question relates to the position and role of the workers’ movement, i.e. the Social-Democratic Party in BiH until 1914. Although we have heard here today critical polemics relating to this problem, there remains a question that requires answers from researchers: What did the term Social-Democratic Party really mean in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century? What was its true relevance, given the degree of underdevelopment and the small size of the working class in the country? I myself have mostly dealt with the history of bourgeois politics in BiH, but the issue of social democracy has been my constant interest. I think that the Social-Democratic Party of BiH must be viewed as an embryo of the socialist revolutionary workers’ movement, which would change historical relations in this part of the world. In that respect, viewing the Social-Democratic Party from a more distant historical perspective, i.e., the time we are living in now, its activities and impact gain a totally clear historical relevance.

The second problem that has been mentioned here is a whole set of different relations that is concisely called the agrarian question. I got the impression from some of today’s presentations that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy simply did not want to solve the agrarian question. This is quite a simplification. I think that both the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and all the bourgeois political parties in BiH, including the Muslim Peoples’ Organization, were in favor of finding a solution for the agrarian question. The only problem was how and in what conditions to do it. I would remind you only that the Social-Democratic Party of BiH did not envisage the solution to this question through the confiscation of land without any compensation granted to



its owners. The authorities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy feared primarily that the sudden solution of the agrarian question would lead to a major economic, ethnic and demographic shift in BiH, which could have threatened the position of the Monarchy in the country. One of the general characteristics of the Austro-Hungarian policy in BiH was its effort to maintain a certain balance between national-confessional groups. That is why, in the conditions of the unresolved constitutional and legal status of BiH (until as late as 1908), the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy focused on the measured resolution of the agrarian question through a gradual buy-off of serf hamlets. Such a policy suited the local Bosnian bourgeois class, which was not ready to cope, economically or financially, with the burden of resolving the agrarian question by way of a mandatory buy-off. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy opted for the mandatory resolution of the agrarian question only after the Balkan Wars and the collapse of European Turkey. That is one of the consequences of the Balkan Wars, which, in my view, has not been sufficiently explored.

The third issue I would like to discuss briefly is related to bourgeois political parties in BiH, which have been mentioned repeatedly here. There is an issue that precedes it: To what extent were these political parties in the classic sense of the term? I leave the consideration of this issue for another occasion, but I would mention only that, at the end of 1907, the Mostar-based newspaper "Narod" published an article which stated openly that in BiH "as a provisional land" (in the state and legal sense) without "parliamentary foundations" conditions do not exist for the activity of real political parties. The task, therefore, was first to fight for the resolution of the constitutional and legal status of BiH and the introduction of parliamentarism. That is why it was necessary to establish a "national organization" and not a "party-based organization." For now, it suffices to say that most of the bourgeois political parties in BiH, regardless of the existence of minor dissident groups, essentially had such a character (the Muslim People's Organization, Serb People's Organization, Croatian People's Union).

Another question is related to the position of bourgeois parties vis-à-vis the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Until the country's annexation in 1908, the Muslim and the Serb People's Organizations openly sought the autonomy of Bosnia outside the Monarchy; they found legal ground for their demand in the sovereignty of the Sultan over the country. In their newspapers "Musavat" and "Srpska riječ," the Austro-Hungarian Empire was almost regularly called "the neighbouring Monarchy." It is understandable that, after the annexation, this rhetorical figure was abandoned, since both parties wanted to act legally in these new circumstances, and the first condition for that was the recognition of Habsburg sovereignty over BiH. After 1908, these parties sought the autonomy of BiH within the Habsburg Monarchy. It is

very probable that for Muslim bourgeois politics, the autonomy of BiH was the ultimate demand, whereas for Serb politics, it was merely a tactical constitutional demand. But one needs to keep in mind that Bosnian bourgeois politics was dominated by the concept of “real politik“ and that in certain circumstances all ethno-political groups were ready to accept the autonomy of BiH. This is valid even for the Croatian People’s Union and the Croatian Catholic Association, which otherwise openly and consistently demanded the inclusion of BiH into a Trialist Kingdom. A provision of the Muslim-Croat Alliance Agreement, signed in 1911, stipulates that Muslims were in favor of the autonomy of BiH, irrespective of the structure of the Habsburg Monarchy. This practically meant that, even in the conditions of dualism or potential trialism, BiH was to maintain its autonomous status. Croatian bourgeois politics, which had opted for trialism and the annexation of Bosnia by Croatia, practically accepted that BiH should remain a sort of *corpus separatum* even in these conditions, if another solution was not feasible.

Finally, I would agree with my colleague Dževad Juzbašić, who said that, so far, the dominant subject of historic research was Austro-Hungarian politics in BiH, while the domestic social and political movements were researched less. Our historiography is often inclined, perhaps due to its epic roots and certain bourgeois traditions that have not been overcome, to interpret almost all economic and social processes occurring in this part of the world in the past as resistance to alien rule, as if the entire history of our peoples is nothing but a constant struggle for liberation, that follows a straight line and does not have any internal social or class contradictions and upheavals. I do not want to deny or dispute the need to study the liberation movements and struggles, but I think that we also need to study more the history of society, i.e. the history of the adaptation, life and involvement of entire social or ethnic groups in certain class and political contexts, which were at the given time historically conditioned and determined.

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## HABSBURG SARAJEVO 1914: A SOCIAL PICTURE

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*Abstract: Despite a strong Ottoman heritage, Sarajevo of 1914 was an increasingly Habsburg city, not only politically and administratively, but also socially, culturally, and economically. While the city's Muslim population fell, Christian and Jewish outsiders arrived from throughout the Empire or migrated from rural parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, permitting Vienna's court-approved hierarchy and culture to make inroads into all aspects of everyday life, affecting the city's architecture and patterns of economic and social life. New social and educational institutions, public rituals, and conventions arose to meet the needs of both newcomers and local residents, many of whom perceived political, social, and economic advantage from participating in such institutions; these new institutions filled a gap in a city that under Ottoman rule offered few opportunities for social interaction beyond the mosque and market, and they offered inclusion to all, regardless of religious confession.*

Immediately following his 1697 victory over the Turks at the Battle of Zenta in Hungary, Eugene of Savoy led Habsburg forces on a daring raid deep into Bosnia, where they sacked and burned Sarajevo. On 8 August 1879, the year after Austria-Hungary began administering Bosnia-Herzegovina, another massive fire swept through Sarajevo, devastating much of the city center west of the main market. This second great fire provided space for the new modern buildings built along the lines of prevailing European architecture that would soon arise from the ashes. It was from this fire that modern Sarajevo emerged, and it was this empty space that brought change to the centuries-old social apartheid that characterized Sarajevo, as two cultures – East and West – had slowly begun to merge at the time of Archduke Franz Ferdinand's visit in June 1914.

When the Austro-Hungarian Army fought its way into Sarajevo in 1878, it found a backward Turkish province underdeveloped by medieval standards, much less those of the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Yet thirty-six years later, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie visited, the Habsburg Empire had performed a miracle of transformation throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, while transforming Sarajevo into the crown jewel, a city that could in many respects fit flawlessly into any *bezirke* (district) of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The Empire's *Landesregierung* (Provincial Administration) had overseen the construction of highways, railroads, tunnels, bridges, civic buildings, telegraph lines, riverside promenades, schools, factories, banks, streets paved with asphalt, streetcars, electric lighting, public parks (converted Islamic graveyards), and constructed grand public structures, all while importing western culture. The city even had 378 telephone subscribers.<sup>2</sup>

By 1914, the capital city of Sarajevo had more than doubled in size from 21,377 residents to over 52,000. Of these, approximately 18,500 were Muslim, 8,420 Serbian Orthodox, 17,897 Roman Catholic, 547 Protestants, 114 Uniate, 4,985 Sephardic Jews, and 1,409 Ashkenazi Jews. They lived in a city divided into 7 *kotari* (districts/*bezirke*) and 125 *Mahala* (neighborhoods).<sup>3</sup> Yet the city was not a melting pot; rather, each religious group had its own neighborhood, and one could usually tell a person's confession on the basis of their residence.

As was the case in other Bosnian cities during Ottoman times, houses of worship sprung up along the edge of the *čaršija* (market), with members of each confession building their homes around their place of worship.<sup>4</sup> For long-time *Sarajlija* (Sarajevo residents), the Catholics lived in the *Latinluk/Frenkluk* in the area around today's Hotel Evropa and Latin Bridge, while Muslims lived in their mahala up on the hillsides on both sides of the river. The Orthodox resided largely around the old Orthodox Church and the areas to the west of it, while the Sephardic Jews (*Španjola*) lived to the west and north of the Orthodox. In addition to the religious/national differences, Habsburg Sarajevo was divided between newcomers and long-time residents.

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<sup>1</sup> Sugar, Peter F., *Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918*, University of Washington Press (Seattle, 1963), 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Bosnischer Bote/Bosanski Glasnik 1914: Univerzal-Hand-und Adreszbuch für Bosnien und die Herzegovina / opća priručna i adresna knjiga za Bosnu i Herzegovinu*, Kommissionsverlag der Kais. Kön. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, (Wein, 1914), 494-503.

<sup>3</sup> Statistics are from the 1910 census. *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 481.

<sup>4</sup> Hadžibegović, Ilija, *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. Stoljeća*, Institut za istoriju (Sarajevo, 2004), 12-13.

The newcomers needed space to live, and construction of residential and other buildings began on the lands in the burnt-out areas of the city in the valley bottom. These newcomers consisted primarily of Catholics and Orthodox from other parts of the Empire, as well as Ashkenazi Jews and Protestants. But the transition took time. In 1886, eight years after the arrival of Habsburg troops, Sarajevo was still a largely oriental city. With the exception of the Landesregierung Palace, the Hotel Evropa, and a few newly-constructed residential buildings, there were few baked brick buildings to be found in the city, most being constructed of timber or sunbaked bricks of clay and straw (*čerpiči*) covered with plaster.<sup>5</sup>

The sudden population growth, accompanied by a new ruling elite with a radically different culture and religion, affected different elements within Sarajevo's (and Bosnia-Herzegovina's) society and economy in various manners, creating in essence several separate societies occupying a common public space for mingling and business during daylight hours. However, as evening descended so too did the social apartheid that characterized Habsburg Sarajevo in 1914, as several communities gradually transitioned towards greater integration.

## Life in the Baščaršija

For Muslims, Habsburg rule came as a shock; typically less attuned to Great Power politics than those of other confessions – most felt it would be only a matter of time before the Ottoman Empire returned and life would revert to its normal patterns. As a result, many Muslims retreated psychologically to their mahalas to await the Ottoman return, and did not participate in the modernization or industrialization that came from Vienna.<sup>6</sup> It took them nearly three decades to overcome this self-imposed psychological self-isolation. So too, the Austrian authorities were wary of Muslim loyalty, given the initial armed resistance to the Austrian Army. Thus, for the first three decades of Habsburg rule, the Muslims remained relatively frozen in time, retaining their status as landholders, and in the *čaršija* as artisans, craftsmen, and merchants.

In Ottoman Sarajevo, most people lived up on the hillsides in their mahala (neighborhood), not down in the *Baščaršija* (main market). In the *čaršija*, Muslims were primarily craftsmen and artisans, the most common being metalworkers and leatherworkers. Each guild or craft (*esnaf*) had its own alley (*sokak*), and each bore the name of its trade. Some of the main ones were *Čurčiluk* (furriers), *Kazandži-*

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<sup>5</sup> Truhelka, Ćiro, *Uspomene jednog pionira*, (Zagreb 1942), 34.

<sup>6</sup> Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački...*, 17.

luk (coppersmiths), *Kujundžiluk* (goldsmiths/jewelers), *Bravadžiluk* (locksmiths), *Kundurđžiluk* (shoemakers), *Aščiluk* (traditional food), and *Tabaci* (leatherworkers). The Bosnian historian Iljas Hadžibegović described the Muslims during this time as falling victims to their own “guild” (*esnafski*) mentality.<sup>7</sup> Although the rhythms of daily life in the Baščaršija remained relatively unchanged, Sarajevo’s Muslims lost valuable export markets in the Ottoman Empire for such items as saddles and military equipment. In the meantime, the newcomers gradually erected industries, new buildings, schools, factories, banks, and monumental public buildings, while importing manufactured goods from other parts of the Empire.

From the Baščaršija, the main street – *Ćemaluša* (today’s Mula Mustafe Bašeskije) – was lined with large shops and storerooms. As today, Sarajevo had numerous small cafés (*kafana*), where men sat and played dominos (*tavle*). Bakery boys carried baked goods on boards on their heads – *somuni*, *simiti*, *ćahije*, *kiseljačke pogače*. Albanians carried large flasks of *boza* (a yeast-based drink), which they sold by the cup, along with an *Ibrik*, from which they sold water.

Every day at noon, a cannon was fired from the Yellow Bastion (*Žuta Tabija*), a signal for women and children to bring food down the hillsides from the mahalas to their men in the čaršija. In the evening, everyone returned from the čaršija to their mahala, although they would sometimes stop at a public house with friends for the protracted Sarajevo version of happy hour, known as *akšamluk*.

The night watchman in the čaršija, known as the *Pasvandžija*, played an important role ensuring not only the security of the shops, but also enabling illicit romantic liaisons. After dark, the čaršija’s many alleyways and dark doorways provided cover for members of the opposite sex to meet discretely. Women of all religions would don an Islamic *Zar*, which covered the entire body and veiled the eyes. They would then walk the Baščaršija in anonymity, seeking Mr. Right. These activities, however, appear to have been limited largely to the city’s long-time residents. The civilian newcomers, as well as the Habsburg soldiers stationed in Sarajevo and many of the recently-arrived officials from other parts of the empire sought their pleasures elsewhere, in the street of “red lanterns” that was located approximately between today’s Vrbanja and Skenderija bridges.

Sephardic Jews played an important role in Sarajevo. They primarily worked in the Bezistans (covered stone/brick indoor shopping malls) and stayed away from the Baščaršija; the Brusa Bezistan usually boasted the most expensive goods. Be-

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<sup>7</sup> Hadžibegović, Iljas., *Marginalije o građanstvu i građanskoj politici u BiH za vrijeme austro-ugarske uprave*, Prilozi Instituta za istoriju XI – XII/1975-1976, (Sarajevo), 332.

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cause Muslims weren't permitted to charge interest, the Jews also supplied much of the credit.

Differences in attitudes towards customers also hurt Muslim craftsmen. One traveler described this in 1888 when he wrote that the Muslim merchants sat in a reserved fashion, almost as though they didn't care, and didn't like to bargain, and only would discuss business over a cigarette and coffee. The Jews, on the other hand, would praise their merchandise, and repeatedly call the customer back to bargain.<sup>8</sup>

Ashkenazi Jews arrived only with the Habsburgs, and never got along well with the Sephardic Jews: both groups had separate synagogues, religious communities, and graveyards.<sup>9</sup> The Ashkenazi found that they could make money by purchasing inexpensive land in the towns and profit from the relatively rapid turnover driven by urbanization.

The newly industrializing economy reduced demand for the traditional trades and crafts of the Bašćaršija, and the Muslim retreat to the mahalas meant that they didn't begin to participate in the modernizing economy until after 1900. When they did, many were unfamiliar with contemporary business practices and slow to adapt. The first Muslim to open a factory was Muhammed aĝa Užićanin, who did so only after 1900, when he sold his lands to acquire the capital to establish the first cloth mill on the basis of a monopoly granted by the Landesregierung. With only his experience as a landholder to guide him, Užićanin's company quickly went bankrupt and was taken over by the state.<sup>10</sup>

While waiting for the Ottoman return, the Muslims became increasingly impoverished, often selling land to acquire cash to continue their customary way of life, as opposed to investing it in an effort to create a new source of livelihood. After the 1908 Annexation by Austria-Hungary, many left to start a new life in nearby Slavic-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire – the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, Vranje, Skopje, Kosovo, as well as Albania and other non-Slavic areas under the control of the Su-

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<sup>8</sup> Asboth, J., *Bosnien un die Herzegowina*, (Wien, 1888), 165.

<sup>9</sup> The Ashkenazi graveyard was north of the river near the Military graveyard (today's "Lav"), while the Sephardic one still stand at its present site south of the river above today's Vrbanja Bridge. *Entwicklung des Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo unter der Regierung S. M. des Kaisers und Königs Franz Josef*, Verlag u. Druck von G. Freytag und Berndt (Wien, 1897).

<sup>10</sup> *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine II, Knjiga LXXIX*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, odjeljenje društvenih nauka knjiga 18, urednik Enver Redžić (Sarajevo, 1987), 201-202.



blime Porte.<sup>11</sup> Habsburg newcomers more than compensated for this outflow, and in Sarajevo Muslims dropped to fewer than half the population, as seen in the composition of the 1914 City Council, in which only 11 of the 26 councilors were Muslim.<sup>12</sup>

The British Consul Freeman, who served in BiH for 25 years wrote that

The trade of the native merchants has been ruined by the immense influx of Austrian speculators, mostly men without capital or substance, ... who become bankrupt a few months after their arrival. But this does not seem to deter others from coming. If one fails his place is instantly taken by others... Even formerly there were almost too many merchants and shopkeepers for the trade of the place, and now the number is out of all proportion to the wants of the inhabitants.<sup>13</sup>

Traditional handicrafts could not compete, and by 1914, many of the “Turkish” wares sold in the *čaršija* to tourists were actually manufactured elsewhere in the Habsburg Empire.



*Bosnische Post*, 26 June 1914, Nr. 143, p.7.

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<sup>11</sup> Okey, Robin, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia, 1878-1914*, Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 2007), 239.

<sup>12</sup> *Bosnischer Bote*, 506.

<sup>13</sup> As quoted in Sugar, 46.

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One example of local hand-made wares being driven off the market by more entrepreneurially-minded businessmen may be seen only days prior to the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, the Duchess Sophie von Hoheberg. The royal couple was placed in a suite of rooms at the Hotel Bosna in Ilidža that had been especially furnished with luxurious Ottoman-style lamps, carpets, drapes, needlework, handicrafts and furniture by the prominent Sarajevo merchant Elias B. Kabiljo, a Sephardic Jew. Kabiljo's wife had personally supervised the redecoration, and the expenditure of time and merchandise did not go unrewarded. Sophie sent a telegram to Kabiljo expressing a desire to see his showroom, and after settling in, the couple decided to make an impromptu late afternoon shopping excursion.

Shortly after 5:00 P.M., the Archduke's three-car motorcade set out for Kabiljo's store, some twelve kilometers from Ilidža in the center of Sarajevo at the east end of the valley. Kabiljo's shop sat at 56 Franz Josef's Street<sup>14</sup> on the corner of Rudolf's Street,<sup>15</sup> across from the neo-Oriental Hotel Central, near the neo-Gothic Catholic and neo-Baroque Orthodox Cathedrals. After an hour inside the shop selecting goods, the royal couple returned to their vehicles and drove back to Ilidža.

The historian Peter Sugar observed that

Austro-Hungarian policy practically excluded native capitalists from participating in the industrialization of the province. Bešarović, the owner of two piping factories, Lövy, the founder of the Sarajevo brewery, and Mandić, the founder of the Serb bank, were all politically active people who favored the government's policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina...If we disregard these men and the unsuccessful Užičanin, we are left with only the Šalom brothers and Alkalay as examples of local entrepreneurs who were able to establish industry of any significance in Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule.<sup>16</sup>

A large number of carpetbaggers accompanied the Habsburg administration: Ashkenazi Jews, Croats, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, and Slovenes descended on Bosnia from throughout the empire. Some sought new business opportunities. Others sought to advance their careers in the Dual Monarchy's officer corps or administration by accepting posts in the new provinces. Seeking people loyal to the throne, Vienna sent large numbers of officers, policemen and civi-

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<sup>14</sup> Today's *Ulica Zelenih beretki*.

<sup>15</sup> Today's *Štrosmajerova*.

<sup>16</sup> Sugar, 214.

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Za proizvod od 6 milijuna opaka kroz jednu godinu uređenja parna okružna peč

**Augusta Brauna**  
u Sarajevu,

preporučuje uz najjeftinije cijene: opaku, sirovu ciglu, opaku sa kraljicom, opaku sa krovom, šuplju opaku, opaku od samota, pločastog crjepca, opaku sa šljemom, cijevi odvećnice.

**posebno zavojač crtepe**  
patent br. 62.269/13.93  
i žmurjake za krov, koji se na 60 do 80 °C po 1000 komada jeftinije prodaju, nego oni izvan Bosne sa nalazne konkurencije, te se na otpornost sprave vremenom jačaju.

Tvorica peći i robe od gline

**Augusta Brauna**  
u Sarajevu,

preporučuje uz izvanredno jeftine cijene: pećnjakovece i dimnjake u svakoj veličini od najjednostavnije do najnaprednije, u bojanama: zelene, smeđe, bijele, sivo-narane kosti i t. d.; štednjake pećnjake sa kavez (svojim izumom) plave, ukrasni za gradnju od terakote, vaze, tilove i t. d. Za izvanredno lakotvo pećnjakovece i dimnjake jamči se jedna godina.

Poprave, čišćenje i presagijanje peći, obavljaju se brzo i savršeno.

Cijenici na zahtjev badava i franko.

Parne i vodostrojne pilane

**Augusta Brauna**  
u Sarajevu,

preporučuje uz najjeftinije cijene: moka kao i svake vrsti evrdli, drva, osušilo iz hrastova, javorova, jasenovca, krušikova, grabova, lukova i t. d. u svakoj mjeri osazna ili u obliku stanja, te je u podizanju dostiže naloge potrošača i brzo otpremati. Također vanda veliko skafidstvo mehaničkih podova i hrastovi američanski parketi prve vrsti.

Oruđe u svakoj mjeri u daljini od 4 do 6 metara.

Vatrnice (postale), vrata i pendreze po naruci najjeftinije.

Tvorica robe od kamena

**Augusta Brauna**  
u Sarajevu,

preporučuje uz izvanredno jeftine cijene: cijevi za kanale i vodovode od 10, 12, 15, 20, 25 i 30 cm promjera.

Opravke za ceste, lopke za dimnjake, okrajno kamena, dna za protoke (kanale), ploče za kraljicu od klinkera, podnožni kvir za peći, ploče za pokrivanje zida, ploče za pokrivanje dimnjaka i t. d.

Cijenici na zahtjev badava i franko.

lian administrators from the Slav parts of the empire, especially from Serbo-Croatian speaking regions such as Vojvodina, Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, all areas with large Serb populations. From the very beginning Serbs were over-represented in the civilian administration and the military, important stepping-stones for upward social mobility.<sup>17</sup> These officials formed a new and growing middle class; their children attended the newly-founded schools and joined the newly-founded cultural and social societies where they were exposed to concepts of Pan-Slav unity, the Yugoslav idea, Bakunin-inspired anarchism, as well as Greater Serb and Greater Croat nationalist philosophies.

Whereas Ottoman Sarajevo's high society had been comprised of the landholding Begs, Habsburg Sarajevo's high society was based on employment in government, industry, the military, communications, and being an attorney, physician, or clergyman. By 1914 there were 14,000 civilian administrators in BiH.<sup>18</sup> The Habsburgs gave preference to "loyal" subjects from other parts of the empire over Bosnian Christians. In 1910 there were only 4,385 local employees in the civilian administration, with Serbs comprising the single largest group.<sup>19</sup> Muslims were almost absent from official positions, other than posts in town councils.<sup>20</sup> Almost all directors of train stations, post offices, officials in state institutions and administration, doctors, judges, attorneys, pharmacists, and public school teachers were Christians or Jews. And similar to today, in 1914, local employees received lower wages than "foreigners", even when they learned a trade or a skill.

*Sarajevski List*, 10 February 1907, Nr. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ferdo Hauptman, "Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba Austro-Ugarske vladavine (1878-1918)", in *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine II, Knjiga LXXXIX*, Redžić, Enver, ed., ANUBiH (Sarajevo, 1987), 198-200.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>20</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914* lists all government officials throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The near complete exclusion of Islamic names from official posts and managerial positions in industry is notable.

In 1914, officials' salaries were relatively high for outsiders, with nine out of a possible 12 pay grades available, the top three being reserved for those of higher rank. These ranged from as high as 18,000 Krone annually to as low as 1,600 Krone, with pay increases after five years in-country. Officials residing in Sarajevo received an additional supplement to their salaries, usually 33 per cent, and per diems ranged from 30 Krone to 4, depending on pay grade. Public schoolteachers' salaries ranged from 1,950 to 5,100 Krone annually, while employees of the state railway administration received from 1,700 to 8,400 Krone.<sup>21</sup>

The burgeoning industry required laborers, many of whom were women, the tobacco factory being a prime example. Most all of these women appear to have been Christian or Jewish, as Muslims would not permit their women to work outside the home. Sarajevo's booming rail repair facilities, lumberyards, and the numerous brickworks attracted unskilled male laborers from the countryside, as well as skilled business managers from other parts of the Empire. The influx of newcomers

**IMPERIAL-KINO-THEATER**  
Programm für den 24., 25., 26. und 27. Juni 1914:  
Gaumontwoche.  
Aktualitäten  
**Die Welt ohne Männer.**  
Lustspielschläger in 5 Akten von Alexander Engel und Julius Horst mit den Schauspielern aus der „Blauen Maus“, in der Hauptrolle: MADGE LESSING.  
Jeden Dienstag, Donnerstag u. Sonntag MILITÄER-KONZERT.

**APOLLO-KINO-THEATER**  
Programm für den 24., 25. und 26. Juni 1914:  
Eclair-Journal.  
Aktualitäten.  
Schwarzfuss-Indianer  
Volkerstudie.  
**Der Schuss um Mitternacht.**  
Sensationsdrama in 3 Akten.  
Anton als Modell.  
Burleske.  
Der Schein trägt.  
Lustspiel.  
Jeden Dienstag, Donnerstag und Sonntag KONZERT der beliebten Apollo-Kino-Bapelle.

*Bosnische Post*, 26 June, 1914, Nr. 143, p.5.

— especially those of the new middle class -- required the construction of modern baked-brick residential buildings, which began to spring up first in the valley bottom along both banks of the Miljacka, and then on the hillsides. At the very western edge of town the industrialist August Braun constructed the city's largest private building, the imposing *Marienhof* (Marijindvor), a mixed-use residential and business complex that took up an entire city block, as well as several other residential buildings. The very wealthiest residents commissioned villas from such well-known architects as Josip Vancaš and Karlo Pařík.

<sup>21</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 71-79.



*Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 7 August 1914, Nr. 181.

In 1914 Sarajevo boasted three theaters and three movie theaters, with the movie theaters often featuring live theatrical or musical performances before and after the main feature.<sup>22</sup> The weekend that Franz Ferdinand and Sophie arrived, the films at the two main cinemas eerily foreshadowed events to come: the Apollo was showing *Der Schuss um Mitternacht* (A Shot at Midnight), and the Imperial *Die Welt ohne Männer* (A World Without Men).<sup>23</sup> Occasionally films of dubious moral character with titillating titles were shown. In August 1914, after the outbreak of war, the Apollo Kino advertised a “Nordic Sensational Film”, *Sins of the Big City*.<sup>24</sup>

As the economy developed, Sarajevo went from having no banks to eight locally registered banks, along with many others registered in other cities in the province, as well as from throughout the Empire. Bosnia-Herzegovina’s international importance was reflected in the presence of six Great Power consulates from France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.

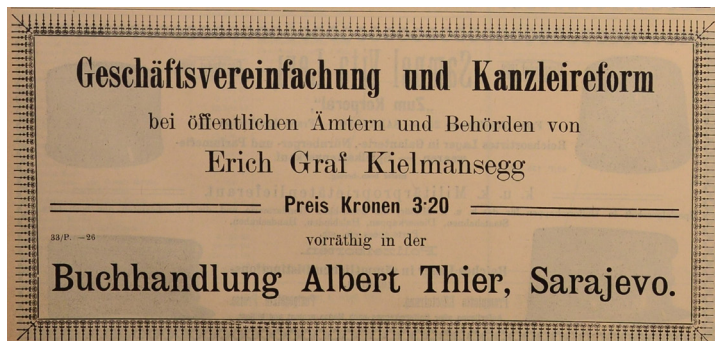
To advance the level of culture, the Landesregierung constructed a *Landesmuseum* (*Zemaljski Muzej*). Numerous schools, both religious and public, were founded. By 1914, Sarajevo had thirty-eight educational institutions, including elementary, *Real Schule*, *Gymnasium*, and *Hochschule* (college), as well as specialized training

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<sup>22</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 491. The movie houses were *Apollo*, *Imperial*, and *Korsokino*.

<sup>23</sup> *Bosnische Post*, 25 June 1914.

<sup>24</sup> *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 8 August 1914, 183.



*Sarajevski List*, 10 February 1907, Nr. 17.

in music, crafts, carpet-weaving, theology, secretarial work, teaching, along with religious schools.<sup>25</sup> These raised the level of literacy and culture, which in turn led to an increased demand for books, the opening of reading rooms, and the publication of twenty-eight different newspapers and periodicals.<sup>26</sup> Cultural life flourished; by 1914 there were thirteen bookshops in Sarajevo.<sup>27</sup> Clubs and civic societies played an increasingly important part of social life; in 1914 ninety-seven separate societies had been registered in the city, covering fields as diverse as singing, folklore, home-making, chess, bicycling, Esperanto, along with Croat and Serb *Sokols*.<sup>28</sup> Notably, a large number of these societies – especially the student groups -- were mono-ethnic and served as hotbeds for various forms of pro-Croat or pro-Serb South Slav nationalism, usually connected to a specific political party in Serbia or Croatia.<sup>29</sup> Because the Muslims were not nationally defined via a Greater national program similar to the Croats and Serbs, they were welcome to declare their allegiance to either cause, and some did so, as evidenced in photographs from the era.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 489-490.

<sup>26</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 534-535.

<sup>27</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 527.

<sup>28</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 510-522.

<sup>29</sup> Kranjčević, Ivan, *Uspomene jednog učesnika u Sarajevskom atentatu*, Svjetlost (Sarajevo, 1954), 22-24.

<sup>30</sup> An example of this may be seen in a photograph of the Serb singing societies “Gusle” and “Sloga” on pages 156-157 of the 30 May 1896 issue of the Serb bi-monthly *Bosanska Vila*, in which some of the members are clearly Muslim. See also Kranjčević, 22.



The intermingling of students of various backgrounds also led to other controversies, including a scandal that erupted in 1914, when rumors erupted of a “Club of Free Love” and “orgies” among the schools and training colleges. “The government’s investigations revealed that a loosely organized mixed group of young people did eat, drink/get drunk and go on outings together, and that among them trainee teacher Viktor Rubičić had pornographic and more serious materials on sexual themes, and had explained the free love idea to some of the girls”.<sup>31</sup>

Ivan Kranjčević, a Croat who was sentenced to prison in Theresienstadt along with Gavrilo Princip for his role in the assassination plot, recalled that during religious holidays, Habsburg troops would fire cannons from *Žuta Tabija* (Yellow Bastion).<sup>32</sup> Habsburg records show that there were many official court/administrative holidays. The Orthodox had 21 such holidays, some lasting more than one day, and several hundred cannon shots were fired from *Žuta Tabija* for the Orthodox feast of the Epiphany. The Catholics had 11 holidays, during which troops would march through town and fire salutes from their rifles, accompanied by artillery fire. The Muslims had only 9 holidays, and just as today, during Ramazan a cannon was fired from *Žuta Tabija* to signal *Iftar*, the end of the daily fast. Jews had 17 holidays and were also permitted to take off each Saturday. And of course, in a Catholic Empire, Sunday was a non-working day.<sup>33</sup> In addition, there were school holidays, which usually coincided with the court/administrative holidays. The Kaiser’s birthday was celebrated each year with parades on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August by all religions. The Austrian hymn was taught in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of primary school, and in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade pupils learned how God had saved the Kaiser when a Hungarian tried to stab him.<sup>34</sup>

The Habsburgs also changed traditional patterns of life by building large residential buildings along the valley bottom. They made this possible by channeling the Miljacka River with stone embankments, thereby eliminating flooding along both banks and permitting construction of the broad boulevard Appel Kai (today’s Obala Kulina Bana), complete with streetcar tracks.<sup>35</sup> These embankments enabled the construction of buildings right up to the river’s edge, particularly along the north bank, where large monumental structures faced the river and the partially tree-lined boulevard.

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<sup>31</sup> Okey, 221.

<sup>32</sup> Kranjčević, 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 6-7.

<sup>34</sup> Kranjčević, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Donia, Robert J. “Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg Transformation of an Ottoman Town”, *Austrian History Yearbook* 33 (2002), 59.

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**Razdioba životinjā za klanje. — Раздиоба животинѣ за кланѣ. —  
 Schlachtier-Zerlegung.**

Говече. — Goveče. — Rind.

**I. vrsta: — I. vrsta: — I. Qualität:**

1. Hajlas novozas. — Pisana pečenka. — Langenbraten.
2. Pasa prazna. — Rid prednji. — Brind.
3. Pasa prazna. — Rid stražnji. — Rind.
4. 5. Pasa s okrajak. — Repić i okrajak. — Ortschwanz und Scherel.
6. Bova prazna. — Bova repić. — Häferschwanzel.
7. Kri prazna. — Kri repić. — Geschmalttes Schwanzel.

**II. vrsta: — II. vrsta: — II. Qualität:**

8. Jaha prazna. — Legni repić. — Schulterschwanzel.
9. Jaha okrajak. — Legni okrajak. — Schulterschelzel.
10. Bova mala. — Vrelo šiljak. — Spitzgallungen.
11. Pasa praz. — Gorњи rid. — Riedeckel.
12. Debla krupno meso. — Debla krunsko meso. — Dickes Krotfleisch.
13. Debla praz. — Deblil rep. — Dicker Ochsen-schlepp.

**III. vrsta: — III. vrsta: — III. Qualität:**

14. Bova praz. — Bođil rid. — Riedhäfel.
15. Pasa. — Pasa. — Brustkern.
16. Pasa. — Pasa. — Zaufen.
17. Pasa mala. — Potbušina. — Kugelfleisch.
18. Mameca. — Mameca. — Müsselfleisch.
19. Ova meso. — Ova meso. — Zwerchried.
20. Pasa. — Rid. — Schlemried.

**IV. vrsta: — IV. vrsta: — IV. Qualität:**

21. Potbušina. — Potbušina. — Bauchfleisch.
22. Zavratak. — Zavratak. — Kamm.
23. Pasa. — Podvoljak. — Stichelgen.
24. Pasa. — Vrat. — Tristel.
25. Pasa. — Pasa. — Ohrwanf.
26. Guba. — Guba. — Biberroschen.
27. Pasa. — Pasa. — Pajzel.
28. Pasa mala. — Pasa mala. — Listna butina. — Wadschhaken.
29. Pasa mala. — Prednja podbutina. — Bogschmül.
30. Pasa praz. — Tanki rep. — Dunner Schlepp.

**Теле. — Tele. — Kalb.**

**Оваца. — Ovca. — Schaf.**

**1. Pasa. — Glava. — Kopf.**

**1a. Mosa. — Mosa. — Bragen oder Gehirn (innen).**

**1b. Jazak. — Jazak. — Zunge.**

**2. Vrat. — Vrat. — Hals.**

**2a. Kalbanić oder Brise.**

**3. Kora. — Kora. — Kamm oder Karree.**

**4. Pasa. — Pasa. — Rippenstück oder Kololetta.**

**5. Bubačak. — Bubačak. — Nierenstück mit Niere und Filet.**

**5a. Bubačak (untri). — Bubačak (untri). — Niere (innen).**

**5b. Bubačak (untri). — Bubačak (untri). — Filet (untri).**

**6. Pasa. — Pasa. — Schulter oder Brustkern.**

**6a. Pasa mala. — Pasa mala. — Brustspitze, darunter weggehend.**

**7. Pasa praz. — Pasa praz. — Dünne Brust.**

**7a, 7b, 7c. Hajla, davorina, praz. — Hajla, davorina, praz. — Pluza, davorina, praz. — Lunge, Leber, Herz, Geschlingel oder Gukras (innen).**

**8. Butina. — Butina. — Keule od. Schlegel.**

**9. Pasa. — Pasa. — Brust.**

**10. Hore. — Hore. — Beine od. Kalbstelzen.**

**11. Stopala. — Stopala. — Füße.**

**1. Pasa. — Glava. — Kopf.**

**1a. Uta, maza. — Uta, maza. — Ohren, dazwischen Gehirn.**

**1b. Uta ili maza. — Uta ili maza. — Russel oder Schnauze.**

**2. Pasa (do punktirane praz. a odgor debela alama). — Pasa (do punktirane praz. a odgor debela alama). — Kamm (bis zum punktierten Stütz, darüber fatter Speck oder Rückenfell).**

**3. Pasa. — Pasa. — Badera, kare ili kollet. — Rippenstück, Karree od. Kololetta.**

**4. Zadnja porebrica sa bokom. — Zadnja porebrica sa bokom. — Hinteres Rippenstück oder Mäbrsen mit der Leude.**

**5. Prednja butina, maza. — Prednja butina, maza. — Vorderkeule od. Bug, Schulterb. Vorderhinken.**

**6. Pasa ili maza alama. — Pasa ili maza alama. — Butch od. magere Speck.**

**7. Butina. — Butina. — Schinken oder Keule.**

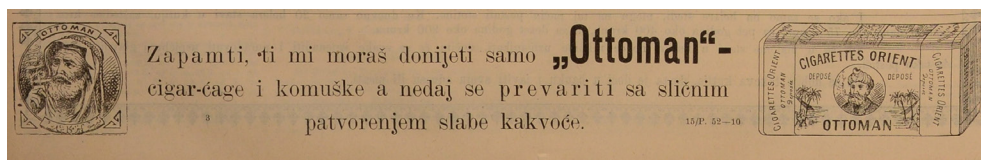
**8. Debla maza. — Debla maza. — Rücken, Eisbein oder Schweinstelzen.**

**9. Hore. — Hore. — Spitzbein oder Füle.**

Bosnischer Bote 1914, P.110.

Outside of business and school, there was little socializing between Muslims and Christians. Mixed marriages were a rarity, and individuals who lived together out of wedlock were reported to the police. The police would visit the suspected sinners, then report them to their religious leaders, who were obligated to visit and counsel with them.<sup>36</sup> Mixed marriages also caused consternation and considerable political difficulties in the first decades of Habsburg rule, as civil and religious au-

<sup>36</sup> *Knjiga Konkubinata*, Arhiv Srpske pravoslavne crkve, (Stara Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva Sv. Arhandela Mihaila i Gavrila.



*Sarajevski List*, 24 February 1907, Nr. 23.

horities attempted to find solutions that would satisfy individual desires and the strictures of religious communities.<sup>37</sup>

The Landesregierung regulated all aspects of economic life. Official diagrams were published instructing butchers on the standardized cuts of meat and poultry.<sup>38</sup> The Landesregierung held the tobacco monopoly, both for wholesale and retail, and the Sarajevo tobacco factory manufactured 14 brands of cigarettes, including the iconic Drina brand (still in production), which in 1914 cost 50 Heller for a pack of 10, and four Krone 54 Heller for a box of 100.<sup>39</sup> The most desirable cigarette was the expensive Mostar brand, a package of ten costing 70 Heller. For the poorest classes, Vrbas cigarettes were sold individually at the low price of one Heller each.<sup>40</sup>

## Leisure Time

Under the Ottoman Empire, leisure time was spent primarily in private gatherings in homes, in coffee houses, or in such establishments as the Muslim *Kiraethana* reading society, the hall of which was usually used for informal socializing and drinking coffee.<sup>41</sup> The only pre-Habsburg theater was held in the private home of the Serb merchant Mića Despić. Social mingling with members of other religious communities was essentially non-existent. The Habsburg arrival, however, brought substantial changes.

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<sup>37</sup> These included the 1891 Conversion Statute. See Donia, Robert J. *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1914*, East European Monographs (Boulder, 1981), 55-59.

<sup>38</sup> *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 110.

<sup>39</sup> The Heller was the subunit of the Austro-Hungarian Krone. One Krone was equal to 100 Heller.

<sup>40</sup> Other brands included Neretva, Mostar, Hum, Guslar, Sarajevo, Stefanija, Ljubuški, Hercegovina, Bosna, Vrbas, Stolac, Orient, and Balkan. *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, pp.106-107.

<sup>41</sup> Donia, *Islam...*, 50.



By 1914, Sarajevo had an evening *korzo* (promenade) between Baščaršija on the east, and the Orthodox Cathedral on the west, with people often circling along Ferhadija Street and Franz Josef's Street. There were outdoor public concerts – including those at the bandstand on the south bank of the Miljacka, visiting theater and vaudeville troupes, motion pictures, and performances by largely mono-religious singing societies, all of which initially began as entertainment for the newly-arrived Habsburg administration and military.<sup>42</sup> By 1914, most Sarajlija participated in these activities, which served as venues where members of different religious communities and classes could mix together in a manner heretofore unknown.

Muslims, Jews, and Christians alike would attend horse races in Ilidža, and following the 1903 introduction of football among Mostar's upper classes, the game quickly spread to Sarajevo, which held its first match against Mostar in 1909, a rivalry that continues to this day.<sup>43</sup>

During their leisure time, Sarajevo's emerging upper and middle class would take excursions to the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Kozija Čuprija* (Goat's Bridge), Mt. Trebević, Pale, the beer hall in Lukavica, drive out the newly built road to Trnovo, take the railroad from Sarajevo to Vogošća to Čevljanović, or take the train from Podlugovi up the picturesque canyon to the mining town of Vareš. As today, the nearby Skakavac waterfall was quite popular for swimming during warm summer months, and the Observatory on Mt. Bjelašnica was also a popular destination. Between the city and the Filipović Barracks (today's Sarajevo University Campus and US Embassy) lay a large meadow, the Bulgaren Äcker, also known as the Cirkusplatz, where circuses were held. This part of Sarajevo's heritage is reflected even today by architect Ivan Straus' design of the main lobby atrium in the Holiday Inn, with its circus-tent canopy.<sup>44</sup>

But the most popular leisure destination in Sarajevo was Ilidža at the foot of Mount Igman. The Landesregierung constructed a spa resort on the ruins of an old Roman bath and erected three hotels – the Austria, Hungaria, and Bosna – each boasting electric lighting at the low cost of 15 Heller per hour. By 1914, the spa covered an enormous park complex that offered sulphur baths, Turkish baths, authentic Roman ruins and mosaics, a carousel, three lawn-tennis courts, a mechanical shooting gallery, bingo, billiards, a game room, rental horses with guides, and frequent fireworks displays. The highlight was a carriage ride down a magnificent two-and-a-half kilometer tree-lined grand *Allee* to the pools of *Vrelo Bosne* where the Bosna River sprang from the base of Mt. Igman, all for the price of 20 Heller. Other modern

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<sup>42</sup> Donia, Robert J. *Sarajevo: A Biography*, Hurst (London, 2006), 80.

<sup>43</sup> Okey, 209.

<sup>44</sup> Author's conversation with Ivan Straus.

amenities included not only a post office and telegraph, but also a telephone,<sup>45</sup> with a three-minute call between Sarajevo and Budapest costing 3 Krone 60 Heller.<sup>46</sup> Iliđža

Postanska, brzojavna i željeznička stanica. Kod Sarajeva u Bosni.

Zemaljsko-erarno lječilište  
**ILIĐŽE.**

Liječenje pićem i kupanjem. Toplina vrela 57-5° C.

Djelatne sastojine: Glauberova sô, hlorigi i bikarbonati vapnika i gorčika, prosta ugljična kiselina.

Iliđžansko vrelo djeluje lahko rastapljajuć, pobuđuje tek, uništjuje kiselinu, ublažuje bol i grčeve, izlućuje sluz, pospješuje lućenje žuči, proizvagja obilno mokrenje, potpomaze pretvaranje krvi, upravlja kolanje žile vratnice i povisuje trošenje masti.

**Liječi:** dugotrajne bolesti želuca i crijeva, slezene, jetara, mjehura i bubrega. Dugotrajni katar gutnjaka, jabučice i dušnika. Dugotrajne bolesti ženske, kostoholju, šećerni proljev.

**Kupališna sezona od 15. maja do konca septembra.**  
Kupališni liječnik **dr. Kostić.**

Uspješne vruće i blatne kupke, gnjetenje tijela i električno liječenje za reumatične bolove, kostoholju i njezine posljedice, rahitis koštane i ženske bolesti.

**Vruće, blatne i opće banje, hladna plivaonica uz najjeftinije cijene.**  
Lječilište hladnom vodom (à la Winternitz).

Na Iliđži imade preko 100 elegantnih i svakim komforom uređenih soba za strance, dvorana, porodičnih odaja u tri hotela zemaljskog erara.

Dvorane za kafu, konverzaciju i biljarde sa listovima svijeh zemalja.

**Umjerene cijene:** Odaja zajedno sa poslugom od kruna 2.— do kruna 7.— dnevno. Ko boravi 14 dana, dobiva shodan popust.

**Otmajena gostiona i pension.**

Caroussel, Crocket- i Lawn-Tennis-igra, streljana, jahadi konji, hintovi, kotači, omnibus na vrela Bosne 4 km daleko, šetnje u brda i t. d.

**Promet lokalnih vozova (20 vozova dnevno) između Iliđže i Sarajeva.**  
Dnevno muzikalna koncertat uz umjerenu muzikalnu i kupališnu pristojbu.

Prospekti i svi drugi obavještaji daju se po želji badava.

**Uprava banje.**

*Sarajevski List*, 17 July 1907, Nr. 84, p.6.

was only a 30-minute train ride from Sarajevo's train station, which was located near today's Important center, a 2<sup>nd</sup> class one-way ticket costing 25 Heller.<sup>47</sup> For those who preferred a more leisurely pace, the official fare for a round-trip *fjaker* (horse-drawn taxi) ride from downtown Sarajevo to the Vrelo Bosne spring was 8 Krone.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, back page advertisement.

<sup>46</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 100-101.

<sup>47</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 421.

<sup>48</sup> *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 525.

It is perhaps appropriate that this brief overview of social life in 1914 Habsburg Sarajevo ends in Ilidža, as it was from that place that Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hohenberg set out to visit Sarajevo on a sunny Sunday morning in June 1914, ushering in the beginning of a new and tragically violent 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Conclusion

In spite of its strong Ottoman heritage, Sarajevo of 1914 was an increasingly Habsburg city, not only politically and administratively, but also socially, culturally, and economically. The city's stagnant Muslim population now represented only approximately one third of its residents, while Christian and Jewish outsiders continued to arrive from throughout the Empire, or to migrate to the city from rural parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, seeking employment. As this occurred, Vienna's court-approved hierarchy and culture made slow yet steady inroads into all aspects of everyday life. This transition affected the city's architecture and patterns of economic and social life, all of which evolved in response. New social and educational institutions, public rituals, and conventions arose to meet the needs of both newcomers and local residents, many of whom perceived political, social, and economic advantage from participating in such institutions. These new institutions filled a sorely-needed gap in a city that under Ottoman rule offered few opportunities for social interaction beyond the mosque and market. Most importantly, this new way of living offered inclusion to all, regardless of religious confessions.

Perhaps those who benefited most were the city's newly emerging non-Muslim middle class and its new economic and political elites. So too, the Muslim population began to benefit from these changes, particularly after the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 convinced them that Ottoman rule would not return; full involvement in Habsburg social, civic and economic life now seemed to offer the only way forward. As Muslims increased their participation in these ever-evolving social and cultural activities, there began a process of socialization among religious communities that was unknown during Ottoman times. Although 1914 Habsburg Sarajevo remained a city deeply divided along religious lines, seeds were sown that began the gradual erosion of this religious apartheid. Thus, it may be said that the social changes that took place under Habsburg rule in Sarajevo laid the groundwork for the multi-national, multi-confessional framework for which the city became famous during the latter half of the twentieth century, even going so far in the mid-1980s as to take on the characteristics of a true melting pot.



UDK 341.31(436:497.11)"1914"

## UNGARN UND DAS ATTENTAT AM „VIDOVDAN“ IM JUNI 1914 Die ungarische Opposition im Reichsrat und die Schüsse in Bosniens Hauptstadtaupt

Horst Haselsteiner  
(Payerbach/Wien)

*Abstract: Die Arbeit analysiert die Auswirkungen des Ersten Weltkrieges im Königreich Ungarn mit besonderer Berücksichtigung zu den oppositionellen Politiker des damaligen ungarischen Ministerpräsident Stephan Tisza. Zunächst richtet sich der Blick auf die Vorkriegszeit und die innenpolitische Situation in der Habsburgermonarchie, danach wird untersucht wie der Weltkrieg entstanden ist und durch wessen Schuld. Das Augenmerk dieses Aufsatzes wird auf die Haltung der ungarischen Opposition und des Grafen Tisza während der turbulenten Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges gerichtet.*

Im vorigen Jahrhundert, in den siebziger Jahren, habe ich in Beograd/Belgrad im Gebäude der Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste in der Knez Mihajlova einen meiner Vorträge gehalten. Im Anschluss daran hat sich damals eine äußerst lebhafte Diskussion mit zahlreichen Wortmeldungen entwickelt. Der Beitrag stand unter dem Titel: „Ungarn und das Attentat von Sarajevo. Die Stellungnahme der Abgeordneten des ungarischen Reichstages im Juli 1914“. Zwei Jahre später, im Jahre 1976, sind dann die Beiträge auch im Druck erschienen.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Horst Haselsteiner, „Ungarn und das Attentat von Sarajevo. Die Stellungnahme der Abgeordneten des ungarischen Reichstages im Juli 1914.“ In: Međunarodni naučni skup *Velike sile i Srbija pred prvi svetski rat*, održan 13.-15. septembra 1974 (Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti. Naučni skupovi. Knjiga IV. Odeljenje istorijskih nauka. Knjiga 1, Beograd 1976)

Es ging mir damals – und diese Frage hat an Aktualität bis heute einen erhöhten Stellenwert beibehalten und ist trotz des sogenannten „Deutschen Historikerstreits“ nach wie vor von einiger Relevanz geblieben – ob vielleicht die Opposition zum damaligen ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten Stephan/István Graf Tisza mit ihren Anfragen und Interpellationen doch Einiges zum radikalen und deutlichen Sinneswandel des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten beigetragen hat. Denn noch in den ersten Julitagen bis immerhin zum gemeinsamen Ministerrat am 14. Juli 1914 hatte sich der ungarische Spitzenrepräsentant, hatte sich Stephan Tisza doch eindeutig gegen ein scharfes Ultimatum und damit gegen ein allzu energisches Vorgehen gegen den südlichen Nachbarstaat ausgesprochen. Daher war die Frage, was denn Tisza bewegen haben mag, einen derartigen Sinneswandel um 180 Grad vorzunehmen, damals - wie übrigens auch heute noch - in vollem Ausmaß berechtigt. Ob im Sinne einer möglichen, ja sogar äußerst wahrscheinlichen, Meinungsvielfalt im Sinne des „Motivenpluralismus“<sup>44</sup> dann doch die mehrfachen Anfragen und Interpellationen der Oppositionsparteien dazu beigetragen haben mögen, das ist hier wohl die spannende und durchaus offene Frage. Es geht aber auch um das Problemfeld, ob die Habsburgermonarchie, und damit auch implizit das Königreich Ungarn, nicht einen Teil der Schuld am Kriegsausbruch auf sich geladen hatte.

Die unterschiedlichen Gruppierungen der oppositionellen Politiker hatten einen doch differenziert anderen Standpunkt eingenommen als der damalige ungarische Ministerpräsident Stefan Tisza. Sie befanden sich in ihren unterschiedlichen Meinungsäußerungen tatsächlich zwischen Scylla und Charybdis.

Sie traten auf der einen Seite für ein doch deutlicheres Signal gegenüber der großserbischen Propaganda, gegen die gesamtserbische Idee und damit gegen die in ihren Augen auch als solche bezeichneten „Machenschaften“ des Königreiches Serbien auf. Als Fundamentalopposition kritisierten sie damit die Haltung der ungarischen Regierung. Sie wollten aber andererseits die loyale serbische Bevölkerung des Königreiches Ungarn – von der man annahm, dass sie in der Mehrheit loyal gegenüber dem multinationalen Königreich Ungarn eingestellt war - nicht von vorneherein vergrämen. Man wollte die Serben für den liberalen, verfassungskonformen, und für den multinationalen und multiethnischen Gesamtstaat Ungarn und damit für den großungarisch-eingestellten Standpunkt zu gewinnen versuchen. Wie man die-

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597-616. – In der Zwischenzeit sind im Hinblick auf das traurige und tragische Jubiläum im Jahre 2014 gerade in den letzten Jahren weltweit zahlreiche Publikationen erschienen. Sie aufzuzählen, würde den Rahmen dieses Kurzbeitrages bei weitem sprengen. Daher wird auch von der Anführung grundlegender und weiterführender Literatur zum Ersten Weltkrieg von vorneherein verzichtet. Die p.t. Leserschaft wird dem Verfasser dieses Kurzbeitrages, dieser Miscelle, dafür dankbar sein.

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sen akrobatischen „Spagat“ allerdings in die raue und nüchterne politische Wirklichkeit umsetzen sollte, bleibt, und blieb auch damals im Juli 1914, weitgehend unbeantwortet.

Aber ganz grundsätzlich gesprochen: Das ist ja das Vorrecht jeder Opposition, und dies wohl weltweit und global gesehen, gegen die jeweils im Amt befindliche aktuelle Regierung aufzutreten. Sie hat – beinahe selbstredend – das Vorrecht, dass sie Optativen und Wunschträumen nachhängen darf. Für die Umsetzung in die politische Wirklichkeit ist ja dann füglich die jeweilig verantwortliche Regierungsmehrheit zuständig. Und solche Wünsche und erhöhte und übertriebene Erwartungen wird man wohl als oppositionelle Gruppierung ja doch noch haben dürfen. Denn auch diese Spielvariante gehört offenkundig zu unserem „demokratischen System“ von Mehrheit und Minderheit, von Regierung und Opposition.

Allerdings bleibt eines präzise festzuhalten und wiederholt in Erinnerung zu rufen: Für die damit verbundene und äußerst komplexe „Kriegsschuld-Frage“ hatte dieses Phänomen aber doch einige (und daher bis zur Gegenwart nicht zu unterschätzende) Bedeutung aufzuweisen. Daher ist dieser Fragenkomplex bis zum heutigen Tag von einiger Relevanz geblieben. Die Kernfrage lautet daher: Trug die Doppelmonarchie, und damit: Trug auch das Königreich Ungarn, und wenn ja, in welchem Maße, Schuld bzw. Mit-Schuld am Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges oder war dies nicht der Fall?

Damit soll versucht werden, mit der Fragebeantwortung des angesprochenen Problems einen – wenn auch kleinen und bescheidenen – Beitrag zur der seit der Publikation von Fritz Fischer so bezeichneten „Kriegsschuldfrage am Ersten Weltkrieg“ zu leisten. Denn der Hamburger Historiker Fritz Fischer (1908-1999) hatte mit seiner Publikation „*Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/1918*“ den als solchen bezeichneten (in der chronologischen Reihenfolge wohl ersten) sogenannten „Historikerstreit“ in Deutschlands ausgelöst.<sup>2</sup>

Die sich daraus ergebenden Debatten und die lebhaften Diskussionen gingen aber weit über die unmittelbaren Landesgrenzen Deutschlands hinaus. Sie gaben da-

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<sup>2</sup> Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/1918* (Düsseldorf 1961). - Vgl. auch die anderen aus der Feder Fritz Fischers stammenden Publikationen wie u.a.: *Weltmacht oder Niedergang. Deutschland im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main 1965); *Der Erste Weltkrieg und das deutsche Geschichtsbild. Beiträge zur Bewältigung eines historischen Tabus* (Düsseldorf 1977); *Bündnis der Eliten. Zur Kontinuität der Machtstrukturen in Deutschland 1871-1945* (Düsseldorf 1979); *Wir sind nicht hineingeschlittert* (Reinbek bei Hamburg 1983); *Hitler war kein Betriebsunfall. Aufsätze* (München 1992).



durch Anlass zu einer beinahe die ganze Welt erfassenden Polemik von pro und contra der Fischerschen Thesen und damit zur angerissenen Fragestellung.

Und dieser Konflikt zwischen den deutschen Geschichtswissenschaftlern hatte auch – durchaus weltumspannend - eine lebhaft publizistische Diskussion ausgelöst. Die „etablierte“ deutsche Historikerzunft fühlte sich durch die Veröffentlichung Fritz Fischers auf den Plan gerufen und im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes zu (teils recht heftigen) Reaktionen provoziert. Aber auch die Massenmedien, Zeitungen und Zeitschriften pro und contra den Hamburger Historiker beteiligten sich äußerst rege an der Debatte über die nicht allzu ferne Vergangenheit Deutschlands und die damit im Zusammenhang stehende Frage, wer denn nun tatsächlich am Ausbruch des Ersten Weltenbrandes in erster Linie verantwortlich zeichnete.

Federführend waren der „Spiegel“ auf der einen Seite, und die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung auf der anderen. Es ging hier um die Frage, ob man eine fortlaufende Kontinuität vom wilhelminischen Deutschland bis zur Machtergreifung der Nationalsozialisten im Jahre 1933 herstellen konnte oder ob man dies nicht nachzuvollziehen bereit war.

Und es ging dabei auch um die Zusatzfrage, ob am Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges das Deutsche Reich allein und exklusiv die Schuld hatte oder ob man doch mit einiger Berechtigung zumindest von „geteilter Schuld“ sprechen kann. Das erklärt wohl einigermaßen die weiten Kreise, die dieser scheinbare „Streit unter Fachhistorikern“, auch und in erster Linie global und weltweit, gezogen hatte.

Dabei muss man wohl – wie bei allen Beurteilungen des Vergangenen, des längst im Nebel der Geschichte Versunkenen - Sichtweise, Beurteilungskriterien und den persönlichen Lebenslauf der handelnden Personen in Rechnung stellen. Aber auch der Außenwirksamkeit wird man Einiges an Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken haben. Denn die sogenannte „Wechselseitigkeitsrelation“ gilt auch hier - ganz allgemein formuliert - als mit eines der wesentlichen Beurteilungskriterien. Dass dies kein einfaches Unterfangen ist und man daher an die Adepten der Clio hohe persönliche, ethische und moralische Anforderungen zu stellen hat, versteht sich auf Grund der Sachlage von selbst. Denn das oberste (und eigentlich das einzige) Kriterium, das man den Historikern füglich zutrauen darf, ist die Suche nach den wahren Hintergründen, oder einfacher ausgedrückt: nach der WAHRHEIT, wie es wohl gewesen sein mag. Es geht um die Frage, welche Kausalzusammenhänge haben bei der Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit die handelnden Personen bewogen, so und nicht anders zu handeln. Bei den vorhandenen Alternativen und Möglichkeiten, sich auch anders zu entscheiden, sicher ein äußerst subtiles und nur mit aller Vorsicht und mit der erforderlichen Quellenkritik zu bewältigendes Unterfangen.

Um aber noch einmal auf den ersten deutschen Historikerstreit zurückzukommen: Es ging dabei um die Kernfrage, ob es ein Kontinuum, eine generelle Tendenz



in der deutschen Geschichte gegeben hat oder ob dies nicht der Fall war. Mit einem Wort: Es ging auch (und beinahe in erster Linie) um das Problem, ob eine unmittelbare und direkte Verbindung von der wilhelminischen Epoche (i.e.: Streben nach der „Weltgeltung“ als Großmacht) zur Phase der Grundhaltung des Nationalsozialismus herzustellen ist. Denn hier sah der Hamburger Historiker Fritz Fischer einigen Nachholbedarf bei seinen unmittelbaren Fachkollegen. Und damit war die Frage nach der (exklusiven und alleinigen) Schuld des Deutschen Reiches am Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges wieder aufs Tapet gebracht worden.<sup>3</sup> - Ein guter Teil der Sekundärliteratur, die in der Zwischenkriegszeit (vor allem in Frankreich, Großbritannien, den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika sowie in den „Nachfolgestaaten“ erschienen ist), hat diesen - meiner Überzeugung nach - kaum haltbaren Standpunkt eingenommen. Denn die Dinge lagen zweifelsfrei viel differenzierter und gestalteten sich weit vielschichtiger. Von einer unreflektierten wie unkritischen Zuweisung der ausschließlichen Schuld der Mittelmächte kann daher nur schwer die Rede sein. Denn dazu sind die wahren Ursachen und Sachzusammenhänge viel zu komplex und zu verschlungen gewesen.

Aber kehren wir zu unserer eigentlichen Themenstellung und der daran anschließenden Ursprungsfrage zurück. Wenden wir uns der Habsburgermonarchie zu und zur innenpolitischen Entwicklung des Königreiches Ungarn. Wie sah es beim „Juniorpartner“ des wilhelminischen Deutschen Reiches aus und vor allem wie gestaltete sich die innere Entwicklung im Reich der Heiligen Stephanskrone, im Königreich Ungarn?

Dazu wird man wohl auf die innenpolitische Situation des multinationalen und multikonfessionellen Landes etwas näher eingehen müssen. Vor allem bewegt die Frage, wie denn dieses Ungarn auf Grund der Wahlen von 1910 und im Hinblick auf die innere Situation und die damit unmittelbar verbundene politische Wirklichkeit ausgesehen hat.

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<sup>3</sup> Zum als solchen bezeichneten ersten „Historikerstreit“ in Deutschland gibt es natürlich eine Fülle an Publikationen. Vgl. aus dieser Vielzahl vor allem und in erster Linie die Veröffentlichung von Fritz Fischers Schüler: Immanuel Geiss, „Die Fischer-Kontroverse. Ein kritischer Beitrag zum Verhältnis zwischen Historiographie und Politik in der Bundesrepublik“. In: Immanuel Geiss, *Studien über Geschichte über den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Göttingen 1984); des weiteren siehe: John Anthony Moses, *The Politics of Illusion. The Fischer Controversary in German Historiography* (London und Frankfurt am Main 1972) 108-192; Wolfgang Jäger, *Historische Forschung und politische Kultur in Deutschland. Die Debatte 1914-1980 über den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Göttingen 1984); Gregor Schöllgen (ed.), *Flucht in den Krieg? Die Außenpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland* (Darmstadt 1991); Christopher Clark, *Die Schlafwandler. Wie Europa in den Ersten Weltkrieg zog* (München 2013)

Beim letzten Wahlgang zum Ungarischen Reichstag aus dem Jahre 1910 hatte Stephan Graf Tisza und seine Partei einen mehr als deutlichen Sieg davongetragen. Die von ihm geführte „Partei der Nationalen Arbeit“ erhielt beachtliche 256 Mandate und damit die klare, eindeutige und überwältigende Mehrheit.

Die von Ludwig/Lajos Kossuth Junior angeführte sogenannte „Unabhängigkeitspartei“ (auch 48-er Partei genannt) konnte auf 51 Abgeordnete verweisen. Die „Justh-Partei“, an deren Spitze der frühere ungarische Minister stand und die - ähnlich der Regierungspartei - gleichfalls eher liberal eingestellt war, erhielt immerhin 44 Mandate und wurde damit die drittstärkste im Abgeordnetenhaus vertretene Kraft. Die Volkspartei konnte auf bloß 13 Mandate verweisen. Auf alle anderen wahlwerbenden Gruppen entfielen nur wenige Abgeordnete. Sie spielten daher in der parlamentarischen Wirklichkeit kaum eine Rolle.<sup>4</sup>

Vor allem waren auf Grund der letzten Wahlen vor dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges kaum (bis nur in marginaler Weise) nichtmagyarische Nationalitätenvertreter im Abgeordnetenhaus mit einem Mandat ausgestattet worden. Was bei einem Nationalitätenvergleich für das gesamte Königreich Ungarn und seine Nebenländer (demnach auch auf Kroatien-Slawonien bezogen) doch einigermaßen und daher mehr als bezeichnend ins Auge sprang. Denn immerhin machten die „Nicht-Magyaren“ beinahe die Hälfte der Gesamtbevölkerung des multinationalen Gesamtkönigreiches aus!

Wenn man die Nationalitätenzusammensetzung des gesamten Königreiches (daher unter Einschluss Kroatien-Slawoniens) in Rechnung stellt, machten die „Nicht-magyaren“ annähernd die Hälfte aller Landeseinwohner (präzise 49,6%) aus. Wenn man hingegen berücksichtigt, in wie geringer Zahl die Nationalitätenabgeordnete Mandatare stellten, spricht dies Bände. So gering auch die Zahl der ungarländischen Nationalitäten im ungarischen Parlament gewesen war, so spricht dies für die Wirksamkeit der in mehreren Wellen anlaufenden „Magyarisierungspolitik“ der unterschiedlichen ungarischen Regierungen in der Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Wenn man im Königreich Ungarn etwas im öffentlichen Leben erreichen wollte, musste man daher ein „magyar ember“ (ein „Ungar“ bzw. ein waschechter „Magyare“) bzw. ein „úri ember“ (ein „Herr“) sein. Sonst lief in dieser Beziehung wenig bis gar nichts. Erst durch das Eingliedern in die loyale Schar der „Magyaren“ konnte man die Tür zu Prestige, Aufstieg und Karriere aufstoßen. Und davon machten vor allem der jüdische Teil der Bevölkerung und die nicht unerhebliche Zahl von „Deutsch-Ungarn“

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<sup>4</sup> Zum Wahlergebnis siehe vor allem das reich bebilderte und vorzüglich und detailreich gemachte Buch: Ferenc Glatz (ed.), *A Magyarok krónikája* (= *Chronik der Magyaren/Ungarn*) (Budapest 1995) 524.

Gebrauch. Am wenigsten dieser massenhaften Magyarisierungswelle ausgesetzt sah sich der (rumänische und serbische) orthodoxe Bevölkerungsteil des Königreiches. Dies geht recht eindrucksvoll aus den seit dem Ausgleich auf hohem Niveau und detailreich erschienenen „Volkszählungsoparata“ hervor. Denn die statistische Wissenschaft war in der Habsburgermonarchie auf beachtlich hohem internationalen Standard. Sie brauchte den internationalen Vergleich in keiner Weise zu scheuen.

Begünstigt durch das Wahlsystem, das große, klare und eindeutige Mehrheiten ermöglichte, hatte die Gruppierung mit Stephan Tisza an der Spitze jedenfalls das alles entscheidende Übergewicht aufzuweisen. Und der selbst- und standesbewusste, aus Ostungarn stammende Calviner und Aristokrat Graf Tisza wusste mit dieser Machtfülle auch umzugehen und regierte mit im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes „Eiserner Hand“ das ungarische Königreich.

Das erhöhte Stellenwert, Prestige und Wertigkeit des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten beim Bündnispartner, beim Deutschen Kaiser Wilhelm dem Zweiten. Der Hohenzollernherrscher hielt sehr viel vom ungarischen Premier und brachte dies auch dem Erzherzog-Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand in aller Schonungslosigkeit zu kund und zu wissen. Bei der allseits bekannten Antipathie, die der Thronfolger der Doppelmonarchie gegen den calvinischen ungarischen Grafen an den Tag gelegt hatte, war dies mit Gewissheit dem Vertrauensverhältnis, das den österreichischen Erzherzog und Thronfolger mit dem Deutschen Kaiser ansonsten verbunden hatte, eher abträglich. Daran konnte wahrscheinlich auch die beiden Persönlichkeiten gemeinsame Lust und Freude am Weidwerk nur marginal etwas ändern.

Graf Tisza selbst schöpfte mit seiner doch überdeutlichen Mehrheit sämtliche Möglichkeiten aus, die ihm die Geschäftsordnung des Hauses gerade noch einräumte. Er schreckte auch nicht davor zurück, von diesen sich bietenden Gelegenheiten des Öfteren Gebrauch zu machen. Es kam gar nicht so selten vor, dass Tisza nach Pultdeckelkonzerten, Zwischenrufen und Schreiduellen angeordnet hatte, den Sitzungssaal des Ungarischen Parlamentes mit Brachialgewalt zu räumen. Aus all diesen angeführten Gründen war er bei der Opposition alles andere als beliebt, ja man kann sogar behaupten: Er wurde zum bestgehassten Mann der parlamentarischen Minderheit und damit aller oppositionellen Gruppierungen.

Aber der ungarische Graf wusste diese „Unbeliebtheit“ mit Würde und einiger Dignität zu tragen. Jedenfalls zeigte er sich durch die Tumulte, die die oppositionellen Gruppierungen zu veranstalten versucht hatten, abgestützt durch die Mehrheit des Hauses recht wenig beeindruckt. Zumindest erweckte dies - dem äußeren Anschein nach - den bleibenden Eindruck für den Betrachter der innenpolitischen Landschaft Ungarns in diesen mehr als turbulenten Julitagen des Jahres 1914.

Aber wenden wir uns nun der alles entscheidenden Frage zu: Was waren denn die tieferen Beweggründe des ganz offenkundigen Sinneswandels des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten in diesen wirren Tagen nach dem Attentat von Sarajevo? Bei der versuchten Fragebeantwortung wird man doch wohl von einem vielfältigen und mehrschichtigen Motivationsbündel ausgehen müssen. Eine simple und bloß monokausale Erklärung wird hier wohl nicht ausreichend sein.

Was hat in der Tat den ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten Stephan Graf Tisza bewogen, seine ursprünglich auf Pazifikation, Entspannung und Beruhigung der Lage abzielende Haltung zugunsten eines doch sehr weitgehenden Ultimatums an das Königreich Serbien so radikal zu ändern? In der Sommergewitterschwüle dieser Julitage blickte die Welt doch einigermaßen gespannt auf die ungarische Hauptstadt Budapest und auf die heftigen Debatten, die im Abgeordnetenhaus am Donauufer geführt wurden.

Wie wohl würde sich der ungarische Ministerpräsident Stephan Graf Tisza und mit ihm die ungarische Regierung entscheiden? Würden sie tatsächlich der Versuchung erliegen und für das scharfe Ultimatum an das im Süden benachbarte Königreich Serbien und damit für den befürchteten Waffengang stimmen? Die Spannung war greifbar und mehr als offenkundig.

Denn die Uhr tickte fatalerweise unaufhaltsam. Sie sollte dann schließlich zur ersten großen und blutigen Katastrophe des 20. Jahrhunderts, zum folgenschweren Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges führen, mit Millionen von Opfern, auch unter der unbeteiligten Zivilbevölkerung.

Um aber bei den Sitzungen des Ungarischen Reichstages und bei Stephan Graf Tisza und seiner Regierung fortzufahren: Der entscheidende Meinungsschwenk beim ungarischen Regierungschef ist ohne jeden Zweifel am 14. Juli im Rahmen des gemeinsamen Ministerrates Österreich-Ungarns eingetreten. Denn bei dieser Sitzung hat sich der ungarische Ministerpräsident endgültig entschieden, der von ihm ursprünglich abgelehnten deutlich schärferen Tonart des an das Königreich Serbien zu richtenden Ultimatums seine (und damit die Zustimmung der ungarischen Regierung) zu erteilen.

Denn bisher hatte er ja als ungarischer Ministerpräsident ein energisches Vorgehen gegen Serbien nachhaltig und dezidiert abgelehnt. Unter den Motiven für diese strikte Weigerung wurden in der aktuellen Tagespresse der Monarchie und der im Nachhang erschienenen recht umfangreichen Sekundärliteratur zum Ersten Weltkrieg mehrere Beweggründe angeführt.

Die Palette reichte von der alten Sorge im Reich der Heiligen Stephanskronen vor der Involvierung des „russischen Bären“ im Nordosten und der militärischen Bedrohung durch die Zarenarmee mit ihren zur Verfügung stehenden Menschenmassen.

Ein Anklang an das endgültige Scheitern der ungarischen Revolution von 1848/49 und die Kapitulation der ungarischen Honvéd-Armee nach der militärischen Niederlage bei Világos (wo die ungarischen Truppen vor dem russischen Kavallerie-General Rüdiger die Waffen strecken mussten und zur Kapitulation gezwungen wurden) war unverkennbar.

Sodann wurde die Befürchtung ins Treffen geführt, mit zusätzlichen Territorialerwerben würde das ungarische Königreich das slawische Element innerhalb der Doppelmonarchie stärken und quasi im Gegenzug die dominante Stellung des Magyarentums bis zur Marginalisierung vermindern. Und von der beherrschenden Stellung der Magyaren im östlichen Teil der Doppelmonarchie und einer damit verbundenen allfälligen echten „Modernisierung“ im Sinne des Liberalismus und des Fortschrittes könne dann selbstverständlich nicht mehr die Rede sein.

Als zusätzliche Sorge des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten Tisza wurde angeführt, dass er persönlich, und die gesamte ungarische Regierung mit ihm gemeinsam, die Überzeugung vertreten hätte, die Doppelmonarchie wäre im militärischen Bereich auf den alles entscheidenden Waffengang nur unzureichend vorbereitet gewesen.

Das benachbarte Königreich Rumänien galt trotz des Geheimabkommens mit Österreich-Ungarn in magyarenischen Augen als äußerst „unsicherer Kantonist“. Das Verhältnis zum Ungarn benachbarten Königreich war durch die „Siebenbürgen-Frage“ und die dort beheimateten rumänischen Bevölkerungselemente zusätzlich schwer und nachhaltig belastet. Vor allem hatte man auf magyarischer Seite nicht unberechtigte Sorge vor dem expansiven Ausgreifen der rumänischen Irredenta.

Und als mögliche (aber noch nicht verwirklichte) Option stand in Südosteuropa bloß das Bulgarische Zarenreich zur eventuellen und allfälligen Disposition zur Verfügung. Aber in dieser Beziehung bremste der „Seniorpartner“. Denn das Deutsche Reich war gegen die Ausweitung des Bündnisses und zunächst gegen den Abschluss eines Vertrages mit den Bulgaren. Man hatte offenkundig auf deutscher Seite einiges gegen die problematischen Seiten des bulgarischen Herrschers, gegen den persönlichen Lebenswandel von Zar Ferdinand etwas einzuwenden. Diese Sachlage sollte sich dann allerdings nach dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges radikal ändern. Man buhlte - im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes auch auf Seiten der Entente Cordiale -, um den bulgarischen Herrscher. Man machte ihm Avancen und territoriale Zugeständnisse, um ihn und damit die Bulgaren auf die jeweilig eigene Seite zu ziehen ...

Von der dann tatsächlich eingetretenen ungünstigen Lage der Mittelmächte, einen Zweifrontenkrieg führen zu müssen und dadurch auch militärisch in die Hinterhand zu geraten, war zumindest in den aktuellen Presseberichten der Doppelmonarchie noch keine Rede. Man vertraute offenkundig auf die verfehlte Annahme, im

Herbst des Jahres 1914 würde man nach einem bloß regional begrenzten Waffengang wieder als „Sieger“ in die Heimat zurückzukehren. Und zusätzlich hätte man es dadurch zu Stande gebracht, das benachbarte und feindliche serbische Königreich mit seinen großserbischen und damit gegen den Bestand der Doppelmonarchie gerichteten Ambitionen entsprechend entscheidend gedemütigt zu haben. Der Prestigegewinn der Österreich-Ungarischen Doppelmonarchie wäre dann vor aller Welt eindeutig klar gelegt worden. Niemand mehr würde es wagen, die Großmachtstellung der Monarchie ernsthaft in Zweifel zu ziehen.

Aber noch gravierender fiel ins Gewicht, dass man auf Seiten der Regierung in Ungarn die heraufziehende „Gefahr des Panslawismus“ und die Brisanz der sogenannten „Südslawischen Frage“ bei weitem nachhaltig unterschätzt hatte. Allerdings waren diesem grundlegenden Fehler auch die oppositionellen Gruppierungen im ungarischen Abgeordnetenhaus aufgesessen. Sie alle haben gemeinsam, ob Regierung oder Opposition, die Nationalitätenfrage und damit die herbeigesehnte Gleichberechtigung aller ethnischen Minderheiten im multinationalen und multikonfessionellen Königreich Ungarn nicht als Bedrohung der Integrität der Habsburgermonarchie aufgefasst. Und diese Fehleinschätzung sollte dann, neben allen anderen Beweggründen – nach der Niederlage im Ersten Weltkrieg – schließlich zum Zusammenbruch und zum Zerfall der Großmacht Österreich-Ungarn führen.

„La reste, c'est Autriche“, so sollte dann jenes Gebilde heißen, das die Siegermächte dann noch dem sogenannten „Österreichischen Reichsteil“ zugestanden haben. Aber auch das alte und historisch gewachsene Königreich Ungarn hatte als Kriegsverlierer noch ärgere Territorialverluste hinzunehmen: Dreiviertel seiner ehemaligen Grundfläche und rund zwei Drittel seiner Einwohner gingen nach dem Spruch der Siegermächte in Trianon an die sogenannten „Nachfolge-Staaten“. Und – was besonders schmerzlich empfunden wurde – zahlreiche Magyaren fanden sich in den neuen bzw. in den neugeschaffenen Nationalstaaten – und das als ethnische „Minderheiten“ - wieder. Ob man damit das Nationalitätenproblem in dieser Region nachhaltig lösen konnte, das blieb in dieser Region die durchaus offene und daher kaum zu lösende Frage. Zu sehr war dieses Karpathenbecken-Mitteuropa durch die ethnische „Buntheit“ unterschiedlicher Völker charakterisiert.

Denn mit einer schicksalhaft beinahe unaufhaltsamen Verwicklung der Dinge, mit der selbsttätigen Automatik der Bündnissysteme und einem fast lawinenartig zum Weltkrieg mutierenden Weltenbrand hatte man in diesen Julitagen des Jahres 1914 zumindest in der ungarischen Hauptstadt offenkundig in keiner Weise gerechnet. Aber mit dieser „fatalen und katastrophalen Fehleinschätzung“ blieb man beileibe weltweit keineswegs alleine. Auch alle anderen Staaten wurden vom tatsächlichen Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges, von dem man keineswegs ahnte, dass er



so lange dauern würde, völlig überrascht. Die Annahme, es werde im Herbst mit den Kampfhandlungen vorbei sein, erwies sich als verhängnisvoller und blutig-trauriger Irrtum. Denn immerhin sollte der Krieg dann doch deutlich länger dauern, immerhin mehr als fünf Jahre!

Aber nun noch einmal zurück zur Kernfrage: Was hatte den unbeugsamen Willen zur Machtausübung von Stephan Graf Tisza, was hatte den entschiedenen Vertreter einer Beruhigungspolitik und Pazifikationshaltung dazu veranlasst, seine Position dem benachbarten Königreich Serbien gegenüber so nachhaltig und so radikal zu ändern?

Denn auf Grund des erfolgreichen Attentates auf den österreichisch-ungarischen Thronfolger und seine Ehegattin, das man den großserbischen Umtrieben zugeschrieben hatte, war die Gegenreaktion der Habsburgermonarchie nach dem eigenen Selbstverständnis als Großmacht doch herausgefordert worden. Und dass der „starke Mann“ in Budapest ein mehr als gewichtiges Wort in dieser Angelegenheit mitzureden hatte, das war für alle Beteiligten unhinterfragt und daher selbstverständlich gewesen. Denn ohne die Zustimmung des Königreiches Ungarn konnte man nach dem komplexen dualistischen System der Doppelmonarchie nach außen hin nicht einheitlich und energisch gegen Serbien vorgehen. Daher brauchte man dringend die Akzeptanz, die vorbehaltlose Zustimmung für die scharfe Form des Ultimatums an das südlich von Ungarn liegende Königreich ganz dringend. Daher kam der radikale Meinungsschwenk des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten doch einigermaßen überraschend. Diesen Sinneswandel hatte man offenkundig Stephan Graf Tisza nicht zugetraut.

Mit Fug und Recht wird wohl angenommen werden dürfen, dass der ungarische Graf von mehreren Beweggründen und einem ganzen Motivationsbündel zu seinem Sinneswandel veranlasst worden war. Seine wahren Intentionen dürften mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit recht breit gestreut gewesen sein. Sie nur andeutungsweise nachzuzeichnen, wird mit Gewissheit kein leichtes Unterfangen sein. Aber dennoch soll der Versuch gewagt werden, sich dieser verzweigten und verwickelten Fragestellung anzunähern.

Er wusste wohl, dass er persönlich bei der Symbolfigur der Habsburgermonarchie, dass er beim greisen Herrscher, beim Kaiser und König, bei Franz Joseph großes Ansehen und einiges an Reputation genossen hatte. Eines der Motive, das ihn persönlich mit einiger Sicherheit daher zum Einschwenken gebracht haben dürfte, war die zweifellos vorhandene Loyalität dem „Alten Herrn“ als gekrönter König von Ungarn gegenüber. Denn schon im Rahmen der gemeinsamen Ministerratssitzungen Anfang Juli hat er registrieren müssen, dass der gemeinsame Herrscher nun doch offenkundig entschlossen schien, energisch gegen das serbische Königreich vorzuge-

hen. Und der einstmals vom noch relativ jungen Franz Joseph 1867 geleistete Krönungseid auf die ungarische Verfassung und die vom Herrscher akzeptierte Heilige Stephanskronen als Symbol für diese Loyalität bedeuteten für den glühenden ungarischen, besser magyarischen, Patrioten Tisza sehr viel, wenn nicht alles. Mehr war es unter Garantie nicht, was er persönlich an Herrschertreue – noch dazu einem – horribile dictu - „Nichtmagyaren“ gegenüber - aufzubringen bereit war.

Auf Grund der unverbrüchlichen Bündnistreue, die der ungarische Ministerpräsident im Hinblick auf das Bündnis der Mittelmächte an den Tag gelegt hatte, wird es keineswegs überraschen, dass Graf Tisza am Zweibund eisern und konsequent festgehalten hatte. Dies schien der beste Garant für die erwünschte Suprematie der Magyaren im pannonischen Becken zu sein und würde dadurch die Stellung der Doppelmonarchie als anerkannte Großmacht nicht unerheblich stärken. Er war sich zwar als „ungarischer“/recte: „magyarischer Patriot“ über die Gefahr, die vom Zarenreich ausgegangen war, voll bewusst. Denn die Ereignisse aus dem Revolutionsjahr 1848/1849 und die Kapitulation vor der Zarenarmee waren noch in beinahe „frischer Erinnerung“ geblieben. Denn eine derartige Demütigung und eine solch umfassende Niederlage konnte man als in der Wolle gefärbter Magyare und als glühender „ungarländischer“ Patriot keinesfalls vergessen.

Er wusste allerdings auch von der sehr positiven Meinungsäußerung, die der deutsche Kaiser Wilhelm II. über ihn persönlich abgegeben hatte. Denn der Seniorpartner des Bündnisses der Mittelmächte hatte sich sehr lobend über den ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten geäußert und seine unverbrüchliche Charakterstärke hervorgehoben. Dieser Erwartungshaltung und diesem Lob gerecht zu werden, das wird wohl auch eines der Zielsetzungen des mehr als selbstbewussten ungarischen Grafen gewesen sein.

Tisza selbst war sich als „Vollblutpolitiker“ zweifellos voll bewusst, welchen Stellenwert die Öffentliche Meinung und die einschlägigen Presseorgane für die allgemeine Stimmung im Lande gehabt hatten. Als in der Öffentlichkeit stehender Mann und als Polit-Profi wird er sich wohl im Klaren gewesen sein, dass man gegen die Strömungen der Presse landesweit nur schwer ankämpfen konnte. Denn das wäre einem „Kampf gegen Windmühlen“ gleich gekommen. Und er hat in diesem Zusammenhang sicher auch an die demnächst anstehenden Wahlgänge gedacht und an die Tatsache, dass er mit seiner Partei ja die Mehrheit im Abgeordnetenhaus erringen wollte. Und all diese Beweggründe haben bei Tisza ohne jeden Zweifel eine Rolle gespielt. Denn auf die Stimmung im Lande und auf die Presseorgane hatte man als Politiker doch einigermaßen Rücksicht zu nehmen, wollte man die kommenden Wahlentscheidungen nicht ohne die dafür nötigen und erforderlichen Vorkehrungen hinnehmen und damit akzeptieren. Und welche politische Gruppierung verzichtet



schon „freiwillig“ und „gerne“ auf satte künftige Mehrheiten? Dies würde mit Sicherheit der eigenen politischen Klugheit, der Sachbezogenheit und schließlich der politischen Raison diametral widersprechen. Denn Machterhalt war und ist das Ziel jeder politischen und öffentlichkeitswirksamen Organisationsform, wie es nun einmal politische Parteien, von ihrem inneren Wesen her gesehen, nun einmal gewesen sind.

Neben diesen objektivierbaren Gründen hat es aber noch ein Überlegungsmuster gegeben, das bei Graf Tisza mit Sicherheit eine überragende Rolle gespielt hatte. Und dies war sein höchst persönliches Naheverhältnis zum obersten Souverän und dem potentiellen künftigen „Kriegsherrn“. Obgleich durch die unterschiedlichen Konfessionen getrennt, hatte Franz Joseph schon seit jeher eine hohe Wohlmeinung vom Calviner Stephan Graf Tisza an den Tag gelegt. Er schätzte die realpolitische Nüchternheit des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten und seine kühle Distanziertheit vor den parlamentarischen Anfragen und Interpellationen, denen Tisza sich – notgedrungen, wie der gemeinsame Herrscher meinte – ausgesetzt sah.

Denn im Herzen war Franz Joseph von einem tiefen Misstrauen gegen alle demokratischen Strömungen und Tendenzen erfüllt. Er war überzeugt, dass es in seiner Verantwortung als Herrscher lag, die Länder im Sinne des „Gottesgnadentums“ ohne „pseudo-demokratische“ Allüren und Anwendungen zielorientiert zu REGIEREN. Daher sein übergroßes Misstrauen gegen alle Tendenzen der „modernen“ Zeit, eventuelle demokratische Grundregeln bzw. eine Mitbeteiligung der „plebs misera“, des Volkes im umfassenden Sinne, zuzulassen und zu tolerieren. So sehr war er von dieser „heiligen Mission“ erfüllt, dass er selbst eine derartige Aufweichung des naturrechtlichen, ja des göttlichen Auftrags auf keinen Fall zulassen wollte. Denn das war ja – zumindest seiner tiefsten Überzeugung nach - Gottes Wille, dass er persönlich für das allgemeine Wohl oberster Verantwortungsträger sei. Schließlich trägt der Monarch für alle „Untertanen“ die Letztverantwortung. Und danach wird er auch beim Jüngsten Gericht einstmals gemessen werden. Und dieser Letztaufgabe wollte und konnte sich Franz Joseph auf keinen Fall entziehen.

Für die eigentlichen und tieferen Beweggründe Stephan Graf Tizas, für die doch deutlich schärfere Form des Ultimatums einzutreten, waren die oben vorhin angeführten Motive in Summe sicher deutlich entscheidender und zwingender gewesen. Auf Grund seiner bisherigen Haltung den oppositionellen Abgeordneten gegenüber ist der Schluss durchaus zulässig, dass er davon wenig bis gar nicht beeindruckt worden ist. Denn mit der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Reichstagsabgeordneten im Rücken und mit seiner mehr als satten Mehrheit ausgestattet, nahm der ungarische Ministerpräsident die Äußerungen der Oppositionsabgeordneten keineswegs ernst. Zu quantifizieren sind sie mit Gewissheit in keiner halbwegs verlässlichen und seri-

ösen Weise. Denn entsprechende und einschlägige Rückfragen an den ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten sind wegen des plötzlichen und unerwarteten Todes von Graf Tisza, der einem im Herbst 1918 erfolgreichen Revolverattentat – welche fatale Parallele zum Juni 1914! - zum Opfer gefallen war, klarer und einsichtiger Weise nicht mehr möglich. Der ehemalige ungarische Ministerpräsident (Jahrgang 1861) stand im erst 57. Lebensjahr, als er Opfer eines erfolgreichen Schussattentates wurde.

Denn Stephan Graf Tisza wurde am 31. Oktober 1918 in seiner Villa in Budapest von einer Schar von revoltierenden Militärpersonen erschossen. Sie überwältigten die fünf zur Bewachung des ehemaligen Ministerpräsidenten abgestellten Gendarmen, drangen in Tiszas Haus ein und erschossen ihn im Beisein seiner Gattin und seiner Nichte. Damit wurde Graf Tisza eines der wenigen Opfer der ansonsten unblutig verlaufenden Revolution im Herbst 1918, die nachträglich als „Asterrevolution“ (öszí rózsás forradalom) bezeichnet worden ist. Denn sie hatte im Herbst des schicksalsträchtigen Jahres 1918 stattgefunden, sozusagen am Totenbett der dem Untergang geweihten Doppelmonarchie Österreich-Ungarn.

Noch ein letztes und vielleicht und vermutlich ausschlaggebendes Argument, warum der damals zuständige ungarische Ministerpräsident Tisza von den Wortmeldungen der oppositionellen Abgeordneten wenig bis gar nicht beeindruckt war, sei zum Abschluss dieser Miszelle in Erinnerung gerufen. Bezug genommen wird auf die Abschlussdebatte im ungarischen Reichsrat am 24. Juli des Schicksalsjahres 1914. Die Entscheidung war mit Graf Tiszas Meinungsumschwung, zu datieren mit dem Gemeinsamen Ministertrat am 14. Juli, bereits längst gefallen. Und dies bedeutete mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit den Beginn der bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen. Denn kaum jemand konnte damals im Juli des Jahres 1914 ahnen, das sich dies zum Weltkrieg auswachsen würde mit mehreren Millionen Toten.

Aber die „Automatik der Bündnissysteme“ des alten 19. Jahrhunderts funktionierte fatalerweise auch noch im Juli des Jahres 1914. Hinzuzufügen ist aber auch noch zusätzlich, dass dem Krieg, den man ganz allgemein als „lokale“ Auseinandersetzung einzustufen bereit war, nur eine kurze zeitliche Dauer zugeschrieben wurde. Denn – wie man fälschlicherweise meinte – im Herbst des gleichen Jahres würden die jeweils eigenen bewaffneten Truppenformationen triumphal als „Sieger“ heimkehren. Welch fataler und folgenschwerer Irrtum diese Annahme sein sollte, konnte man dann im Spätherbst des Jahres 1918 nach insgesamt fünf Kriegsjahren mit Wehmut und Schmerz (auch auf Seiten der siegreichen „Entente Cordiale“ hat es unzählige Menschenopfer gegeben) zerknirscht feststellen. Die Welt war nicht mehr so, wie sie noch 1914 gewesen war ... Vor allem bestanden die drei Kaiserreiche der unterlegenen Mittelmächte nicht mehr. Weder Österreich-Ungarn, noch das Deutsche Kaiserreich. Und das Osmanische Reich ist gleichfalls dem Zerfall und dem Untergang

zum Opfer gefallen. - Auch das zaristische Russland, ein Partner der Entente cordiale, war in den Stürmen der Februar- und der Oktoberrevolution untergegangen.

Im Abgeordnetenhaus des ungarischen Reichstages fasste der ungarische Ministerpräsident Stephan Graf Tisza am 24. Juli 1914, einem Freitag, das Ergebnis der Beratungen des Gemeinsamen Ministerrates noch einmal resümierend zusammen. Er verwies noch einmal auf die kritische und dilemmatische Situation der Doppelmonarchie als Großmacht, die etwas zählen sollte im Konzert der Mächte. Er wollte ganz energisch gegen die „großserbischen Umtriebe“ vorgehen. Die Gefahr eines neuen, eines südslawischen Staates, der vor allem die Daseinsberechtigung des Reiches der Stephanskronen bedroht hätte, die sah der Ministerpräsident voll Selbstbewusstsein (oder sollte man besser: „Selbstüberschätzung“ sagen?) noch nicht als gegeben an.

Aus einem Gefühl der Stärke und der Überlegenheit einer Großmacht formulierte er vor dem Parlament seine Positionen. Er betonte zunächst, und das in erster Linie, den irenischen Friedenswillen Österreich-Ungarns:

*„Die Monarchie sucht den Frieden, wünscht den Frieden, hat sich bemüht, den Frieden zu erhalten ... Dass wir den Krieg suchen, dessen kann uns niemand beschuldigen. Aber selbstverständlich sind wir uns über alle Konsequenzen dieses Schrittes im Klaren. Und in der Überzeugung, eine wahre Sache zu vertreten, in der Überzeugung, das Lebensinteresse der Monarchie und der ungarischen Nation würden diesen Schritt erfordern, werden wir alle Folgen zu tragen wissen.“<sup>5</sup> (Fetthervorhebungen stammen vom Autor dieser Miszelle).*

Die folgenden fünf Kriegsjahre sollten dann allerdings auf tragische und blutige Weise das Gegenteil dieser allzu optimistischen Prophetie, Vorschau und Prognose unter Beweis stellen.

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<sup>5</sup> Stellungnahme des ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten Stephan Graf Tisza zum Ultimatum an Serbien und zur Haltung der Doppelmonarchie auf der Sitzung des ungarischen Reichstages/ Abgeordnetenhaus, abgegeben am Freitag, den 24. Juli 1914. Die Rede von Tisza im ungarischen Original: „A monarchia békét keres, békét kíván, békét igyekezett fentartani ... Senki sem vádolhat bennünket azzal, hogy mi keressük a háborút. De természetesen tisztában vagyunk ennek a lépésnek összes konzekvenciáival. S abban a meggyőződésben, hogy a monarchiának és a magyar nemzetnek létérdeke megköveteli ennek a lépésnek a megtételét, viselni fogjuk annak minden következményét.“ Az 1910. évi június hó 21-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója (= Protokoll des für den 21. Juni 1910 einberufenen Abgeordnetenhaus des Reichstages, Budapest 1915) 157.



UDK 929 Princip G.

## ICONOGRAPHY OF AN ASSASSIN: GAVRILO PRINCIP FROM TERRORIST TO CELEBRITY

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*Abstract: By assassinating Habsburg Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo in June 1914, Gavrilo Princip became a historically significant but polarizing figure. Consecutive regimes and political movements of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries either valorized or disparaged him in order to promote their particular ideology or world view. In the last four years of the Habsburg Monarchy (1918-1918), he was characterized by the monarchy's supporters as a murderous terrorist; during Royal Yugoslavia (1918-1941) he was portrayed as a Yugoslav or Serb national hero; during the Second World War (1941-1945), Nazis and Ustasha viewed him as a degenerate criminal; and in the time of socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1992) he was represented as a youthful hero of armed resistance. During the last two decades of socialism, he increasingly assumed the role of celebrity, one who drew attention and incited curiosity based not on a moral or political assessment of his deed but rather as a figure of monumental consequence in world history. Although politicians and popularizers continue to promote politically-motivated assessments of his life and deed, Princip's posthumous persona as a global celebrity is most likely to remain more widespread and appealing than either his ideologically-inspired heroic or his demonic representations.*

By firing the fatal shots that killed Francis Ferdinand and Sophie on June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip became not only an assassin but a secular icon as well. Physically nondescript and unimposing while alive, Princip served posthumously as a *tabula rasa* onto which others could project their interpretations of him. Consecutive regimes and political movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries have used him as a propaganda tool, distorting his life and deed to comport with their ideologies and world views.



“Gavrilo Princip at the time of his trial”

In this paper I will describe five different characterizations ascribed to Princip over the past hundred years: terrorist (1914-1918), Yugoslav national hero (1918-1941), degenerate criminal (1941-1945), revolutionary youth hero (1945-1970), and celebrity (1970-present). I argue that the “celebrity” is likely henceforth to be the dominant and most durable of Princip’s attributed personas, dooming rival interpretations to oblivion.

## The Unbuilt House of Imperial Gloom (1914-1918)

In the days following the assassination, many Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina considered Princip and his accomplices to be Serb national heroes. The assassins became known among Serbs as the Heroes of St. Vitus Day (*Vidovdan* – June 15 by the Gregorian calendar; June 28 on the more widely used Julian calendar), a date already commemorating the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. In contrast, Habsburg officials and their supporters in Bosnia mourned the deaths of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, valorizing them as martyrs of the Habsburg Monarchy. At the same time, imperial officials began to vilify Princip and his accomplices as criminals and terrorists.

Princip and twenty-four alleged co-conspirators were arrested, brought to trial in Sarajevo, and found guilty of participation in the assassination.<sup>1</sup> Three of the accused were sentenced to death on 29 October 1914 and hanged in a military prison in Sarajevo on 3 February 1915. Thirteen others received prison sentences ranging from three years to life. Nine defendants were acquitted. The court faced a dilemma in Princip's case, since the judges were presented with two birth certificates, one showing that he had not yet turned twenty by June 28 and another showing that he had already reached that age. Remarkably, the court gave Princip the benefit of the doubt, spared him the death penalty, and sentenced him to twenty years in prison. He was transferred to a prison in Theresianstadt, in the present-day Czech Republic, to serve his sentence. He died of tuberculosis April 1918 while in prison and was buried in an unmarked grave.

In the days after the assassination, leaders of all religious communities in Bosnia held memorial services for the Archduke and his wife. Speakers at the services mixed denunciations of the assassins with expressions of grief and mourning for the imperial couple. On July 4, 1914, memorial services were held in the Catholic Cathedral at 9:00 a.m. and in the nearby Serbian Orthodox Church at 10:00 a.m.<sup>2</sup> On July 12, some of Sarajevo's most prominent and politically active Serbs, Jews, Muslims, and Croats gathered in the Croatian Central Bank building and agreed to collect donations for a monument to honor the Archduke and Sophie.<sup>3</sup> The assembled dignitaries voted to gather funds, but they reached an impasse failing to agree on the location, character, and design of the proposed memorial.

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<sup>1</sup> On the trial and sentences, see Dragoslav Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat* (Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1964), 194 and 205-206.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarajevski list*, July 4, 1914, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarajevski list*, July 14, 1914, 1-2.





Clay model of proposed memorial church

The stalled efforts of pro-Habsburg leaders in Sarajevo were dwarfed by a project of the Emperor Francis Joseph to build a grandiose but gloomy memorial church dedicated to the assassins' victims. We know of this undertaking owing to a booklet found in the library of the Regional Museum (BCS *Zemaljski muzej*, German *Landesmuseum*) that included detailed sketches and models by the sculptor Eugen Bory.<sup>4</sup>

The Imperial court proposed an enormous, cavernous Catholic church. The church, which would have cast a pall on all who entered, was to be located beside the Miljacka River at the assassination site, much like the Church of the Savior on Spilled Blood (*Cerkov Spasa na Krovi*) constructed at the site of Czar Alexander II's March 1881 assassination in St. Petersburg, Russia.

In retrospect, the heavy Romanesque design and brooding interior of the proposed church seemed to portend the Monarchy's impending doom as well memori-

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<sup>4</sup> Eugen Bory, *Spomen-crkva Nadvojvode Franje Ferdinanda i Sofijin dom u Sarajevu* (Vienna: C.Kr. Dvorska i državna tiskara, n.d.).





Drawing of proposed church interior

alizing Francis Ferdinand and Sophie, each of whom was to have been represented kneeling before an altar in a large sculpture in the church.

The imperially-sponsored structure was never built. Mercifully, it remained only sketches and images in a diminutive yellowing pamphlet. Not until June 28, 1917, the third anniversary of the assassinations, did officials erect a monument across the street from the actual site.



MODEL KIPA NADVOJVODINA (PO PROFESORU EUGENU BORY)



MODEL KIPA VOJVODKINJE (PO PROFESORU EUGENU BORY)

Drawings of statues of Francis Ferdinand and Sophia

The monument was a secular structure comprising two soaring Greek-style columns topped with engraved images of the assassination's two victims.<sup>5</sup> Catholic priests presided over a large crowd that gathered to witness the monument's dedication.

The monument did not last long. According to the historian Paul Miller, it was torn down in the early months of Royal Yugoslavia and its parts used to pay those who had helped construct it only a few years before.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Paul B. Miller, *Yugoslav Eulogies: The Footprints of Gavrilo Princip* (Pittsburgh: The Carl Beck Papers, University of Pittsburgh, 2014), 14. Miller ably describes the shifting memorial landscape at the murder site.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.





Dedication of Monument of Atonement

### Yugoslav National Hero (1918-1941)

Officials and many citizens of Royal Yugoslavia (first named the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 and renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) conceived of Princip as a *Yugoslav* national hero – he had, in the popular imagination, fired the first shots in a war that ended in the formation of Royal Yugoslavia. At the assassination site, officials placed a plaque that read, in Cyrillic, “On this historic place, Gavrilo Princip pronounced in favor of freedom on June 14/28, 1914.” These words profoundly minimized Princip’s deed – declaring oneself for freedom is a far cry from murdering the heir to the throne of an empire – but it should be remembered that at the time, Royal Yugoslavia’s officials were cultivating all three recognized peoples of Yugoslav – Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes – and wished to avoid alienating any of them.

As national differences arose and intensified in Royal Yugoslavia, Princip was increasingly presented as a Serb national hero as well as a Yugoslav icon. How can

we untangle these two elements of his iconic status? Which was the transcendent identity?

Princip's post-assassination utterances and writings suggest that he was both, but that his fundamental loyalty was to Serb nationalist ideals, which in turn led him to support Yugoslavism. In 1916, while incarcerated, Princip spoke for many hours with a psychiatrist, Dr. Pappenheim, with the permission of Habsburg officials. In two written statements and conversations from prison in 1916, Princip showed himself conversant with ideologies of socialism, anarchism, Serb nationalism, and Yugoslavism. But he expressly denied being driven by socialist or anarchist principles. "We as nationalists, although we have read both socialists and anarchists, don't concern ourselves much with this question," he wrote, "since we hold that each of us has another duty, a national duty."<sup>7(1)</sup>

Princip suggested that his commitment to Yugoslavism derived from his intense Serb nationalism. In summarizing his conversation with the assassin on May 12, Pappenheim paraphrased Princip's words as follows: "Unity! ... Everything associated with his ideals was destroyed. ... My Serb people! [Princip has] hope that things might get somewhat better but is still skeptical. Ideals of youth: Unity of the South Slav peoples, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but not under Austria."<sup>8(2)</sup> Presuming Princip was being candid, we may conclude that he saw Yugoslavia as the *means* by which the Serb national *end* was to be achieved. Indeed, most Serb nationalists supported a unified Yugoslavia as long as it remained a viable political option. They subsumed their Serb nationalism within their enthusiasm for a unified, centralized Yugoslav kingdom, which they envisioned as fulfilling their Serb nationalist hopes.

In 1920, officials of Royal Yugoslavia, with the cooperation of the government of newly-formed Czechoslovakia, arranged to exhume Princip's remains, transport them to Sarajevo, and rebury them in a Serbian Orthodox cemetery at Vrbanje (near where the Skenderija Sports Center now stands). Mourners and sympathizers made the new graves at Vrbanje a second shrine (after the assassination site itself), and many visited the graves on Serbian Orthodox religious holidays.

As the kingdom lost favor among many non-Serbs, support for Yugoslavia increasingly became a Serb affair. In the late 1930s, some Serb nationalists took to

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<sup>7</sup> *Gavrilo Princip's Bekenntnisse: Ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo; Zwei Manuskripte Princip's; Aufzeichnungen seiner Gefängnispsychiaters Dr. Pappenheim aus Gesprächen von Feber bis Juni 1916 über das Attentat, Princip's Leben und seine politischen und sozialen Anschauungen* (Vienna: Rudolf Lechner & Sohn, 1926), Letter of Gavrilo Princip dated May 12, 1916, 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

feeling betrayed by their fellow South Slavs, whom they accused of weakening Yugoslavia and rendering it vulnerable to German or Italian invasion. They saw in Princip a Serb national patriot who had sacrificed himself to advance the cause of Yugoslavism, and they called upon others to follow his example. By the late 1930s Princip had lost much of his Yugoslav patina and was more frequently identified as a Serb martyr. In 1939, when Sarajevans were conducting drills to defend their city against a widely anticipated outside invasion, one Serb writer explained how Princip's deed represented a clarion call for others to stand up for Royal Yugoslavia:<sup>9</sup>

“In these days more than ever, the words of this hero must be remembered in free Yugoslavia. ... Those for whom Gavrilo Princip sacrificed his life, must know today that his testament was a unified Yugoslavia. We must preserve that testament and be ready to sacrifice new victims for it.”<sup>10(3)</sup>



Koševo Memorial Chapel, built 1939

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<sup>9</sup> *Jugoslovenska Pošta*, August 20, 1939, 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Jugoslovenska Pošta*, August 21, 1939, 4.

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In 1939, authorities unearthed from the cemetery at Vrbanja the remains of the St. Vitus Day Heroes and moved them several hundred meters to the north to a specially constructed Serbian Orthodox chapel in the Koševo cemetery. The chapel, designed by a Belgrade architect, largely followed Serbian Orthodox church architectural conventions but featured a large red brick cross incorporated into its eastern side.

Without public announcement or ceremony, the remains of the St. Vitus Day Heroes were moved to the chapel prior to its formal dedication in October 1939.<sup>11</sup> The Koševo Chapel thereafter took over the role of a second shrine, after the site of the assassination itself, visited by those commemorating the St. Vitus Day Heroes and their deeds. The chapel reaffirmed Princip's essential Serbness by highlighting the deceased conspirators' connections to the Serbian Orthodox Church.

### Nazi and Ustasha Pariah (1941-1945)

In April 1941 German and Italian forces rapidly conquered all of Yugoslavia. In short order, German occupiers created a puppet state, the Independent State of Croatia, and installed a murderous regime of Croatian extreme nationalists, the Ustasha



Hitler contemplates Princip memorial plaque presented to him on his 52<sup>nd</sup> birthday on April 20, 1941.

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<sup>11</sup> *Jugoslovenska Pošta*, September 19, 1939, 4.

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(Ustaša), to rule Bosnia and most of Croatia. Upon entering Sarajevo on April 17, German troops removed the Cyrillic alphabet memorial plaque from the assassination site and sent it to Berlin where it was presented to Hitler on the occasion of his 52<sup>nd</sup> birthday, April 20.<sup>12</sup>

The Nazis assigned approximately the same urgency to this task as they did to the destruction of Jewish synagogues and the deportation of Jews, indicating the importance they assigned to ending the valorization of Princip and his co-conspirators. Both German occupiers and their puppet Ustasha rulers vilified Princip once again as a terrorist and criminal.

### Anti-Fascist Youth Hero (1945 -1975)

Four years later, on April 6, 1945, Partisans drove German occupiers from Sarajevo and began rehabilitating Princip. They purposefully recast him as a youthful hero of anti-fascism, but they waited a full month to dedicate a new memorial plaque while they arranged for a youth organization to honor him.<sup>13</sup> On May 6, 1945, communist youth leaders convened a congress of Bosnian youth (*Ujedinjeni savez antifašističke omladina Bosne i Hercegovine – USAOBiH*) and voted at its opening session to unveil a new plaque the next day to replace the one sent to Hitler.<sup>14</sup> The new memorial was aimed squarely at the recently-defeated Germans. The plaque did not mention communism, socialism, revolution, or nationalism of any kind – appropriate omissions, given the broad support the Partisans enjoyed and popular hopes that the new Yugoslavia would be governed by a broad coalition of anti-fas-



Princip footprints and plaque, 1953-1992

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<sup>12</sup> [www.politika.rs/rubrike/drustvo/Principova-spomen-ploca-Hitlerov-licni-plen.lt.html](http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/drustvo/Principova-spomen-ploca-Hitlerov-licni-plen.lt.html), viewed February 17, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Borko Vukobrat, "Prvi Kongres USAOBiH-a i otkrivanje spomen-ploče Gavrilu Principu," in *Sarajevo u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji*, vol. I, 267-270.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



cist forces. The new plaque read: “As a sign of everlasting thanks to Gavrilo Princip and his colleagues, fighters against German conquest, the youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina dedicate this plaque. Sarajevo, May 7, 1945.”<sup>15</sup> (4) Both the plaque’s pointedly anti-German language and Princip’s youthful anti-fascism were replaced in a new plaque dedicated in 1953. The new memorial broadened Princip’s iconography to include all of Yugoslavia’s peoples but mentioned no specific enemy. The text presented Princip as a part of the long-term struggle for the liberation of “our peoples” without naming them, and it failed to identify precisely from whom they were seeking liberation. It read:

“From this place on June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip proclaimed with his shots a popular protest against tyranny and for our peoples’ centuries-long struggle for freedom.”<sup>15</sup> Officials also carved out footprints in the sidewalk directly in front of the plaque, giving visitors an opportunity to reenact the assassination at its approximate location. The first floor of the corner building at the assassination site was converted into a small, single-room museum and filled with exhibits valorizing Princip and his revolutionary deed.

## Celebrity

During the last two decades of socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1992), Princip became a global celebrity. This was to be the most important, and likely the most enduring, of his reincarnations. By the 1970s, Princip’s oft-changing political colorations were overwhelmed by his status as an icon of popular culture. Barring the collapse of the global capitalist system, Princip will likely first and foremost be known as a global celebrity, although he may also have a secondary, less consequential persona as embodying good or evil, terrorist or national hero, nationalist or transnationalist.

The term “celebrity” has a specific meaning in scholarship on the subject. In short, a “celebrity” is someone who is celebrated for being who he or she is, what he or she has accomplished, or the extraordinary wealth he or she has accumulated. The term brings to mind images of Hollywood actors possessed with beauty or good looks, great wealth, huge homes, and a lavish lifestyle. Studies of the phenomenon emphasize that the celebrity’s elevated status evokes envy in the rest of us.<sup>16</sup> Most of us yearn to ascend to his or her level, to be in his or her presence, and to make contact (visual, verbal, or physical) with the celebrity, in order to render him or her a bet-

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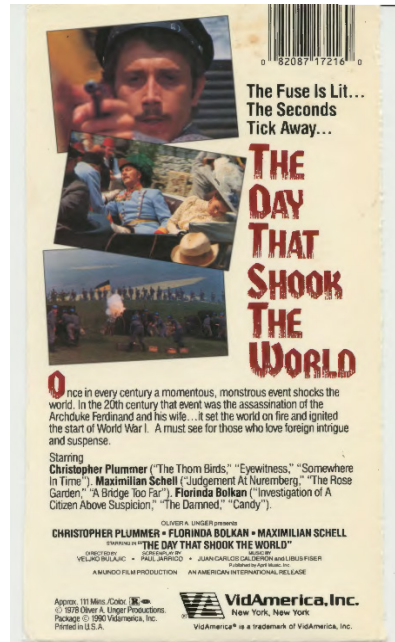
<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 3.

ter known and less inscrutable person. The celebrity becomes the object of our intense curiosity, awe, and admiration; he or she incites in us a desire to “uncover the real person behind the public persona,”<sup>17</sup> so that we can size them up, satiate our curiosity, and experience vicariously the deeds that make or made them so special. Importantly, the celebrity’s moral merit and political orientation is of little or no consequence to those who hold him or her in awe.

We are fascinated with celebrities not because they are good or evil, but because they are unique or did something extraordinary. As noted by David Marshall, “The celebrity can be described only as an ambiguous sign in contemporary culture.”<sup>18</sup> The celebrity functions as a Rorschach test, becoming, like an inkblot, a complex, ambiguous, and inscrutable being onto whom others project their interpretations and fantasies. Contained in the public perception of every celebrity is an unresolved creative tension, heightening intrigue and allowing each observer to attribute to the celebrity the meaning or values that he or she most cherishes. So the global public is largely indifferent to whether Princip is a terrorist or national hero, the heated controversy that rages today in the former Yugoslavia. To most of those living outside that region, he is known for committing a unique, monumental deed; they are disinterested in other labels that are applied to him but are fascinated by the sheer monumentality of his life and deed, whether famous or infamous.

Celebrity is a phenomenon of the age of global capitalism. It relies upon global market forces, mass marketing campaigns, electronic and print media, and inexpensive travel. Human circus exhibits were among the first celebrities of the modern era. Most of these early celebrities were physically abnormal: a woman who claimed to be 161 years old; midgets; giants, people with too many, or too few, extremities; peo-



The Day that Shook the World

<sup>17</sup> Marshall, *Celebrity and Power*, 3, citing Richard Dyer.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

ple with large heads or oddly shaped bodies.<sup>19</sup> In the nineteenth century, the general public learned of such people from newspapers, pamphlets, and other mass media of the time. They craved to see these celebrities in person and proved willing to pay to see them, making the circus economically viable. But travel was time-consuming and costly. Few members of the curious public had the means or time to travel far to partake in such morbid entertainment. Thus, instead of millions traveling to a central location to see celebrities, the circus brought such human exhibits to hundreds of cities and towns, remaining in each place for only a few days. When radio and television became widely available, public awareness of such attractions spread even more quickly and widely. And when it became possible to travel cheaply by rail and air, the “celebrity” transitioned from the odd, grotesque, and irregular to a beautiful person, a model human being to be envied and emulated. The universal adulation of the celebrity was captured by Goldie Hawn, in the role of wealthy Joanna Stayton in the 1987 movie *Overboard*: “Everyone wants to be me!”<sup>20</sup>

It takes a marketing campaign to make a celebrity, and Princip was no exception. Seeking to make Princip a global celebrity, Yugoslav authorities in 1975 supported a motion picture about the assassination, entitled “*Sarajevski atentat*” in Bosnian, and in English under the more compelling title, “*The Day that Shook the World*.” The cast, costumes, and publicity aimed to entertain a foreign audience rather than to validate a political ideology.

I was in Sarajevo during the filming and recall a lumbering, antiquated car appearing on the city streets – the car, shipped from Vienna, in which the Archduke and Sophie had been shot. The producers marketed the film completely differently to Yugoslavs and to foreigners. On the cover of the videotape container, foreigners who “love foreign intrigue and suspense” were urged to see the film. It was marketed as entertainment – specifically, historical drama – rather than as a political indictment or exoneration. The film promised a ringside seat for a “momentous, monstrous event” rather than blame, absolution, or ideological justification.

So obsessed were the filmmakers with the celebrity phenomenon that they listed as stars the Canadian-born actor Christopher Plummer (Francis Ferdinand), Austrian-born Maximilian Schell (Djuro Šarac); and Brazilian-born Florinda Bolkan (Sophie). Irfan Mensur, the Bosnian-born actor who played Princip, had no celebrity status in the West and warranted neither a photo nor mention on the cover of the English-language videocassette, even though he was the film’s central character.

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<sup>19</sup> James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) 1-12.

<sup>20</sup> Leslie Dixon (writer), Garry Marshall (director), *Overboard*, 1987.

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Scenes from film

Mensur was far from the stoic, expressionless Gavrilo Princip who stood trial for killing the heir to the throne in 1914. In the film he is glamorous, handsome, confident, and conversational, wearing a fine suit and bow tie—dressed, in short, more for an evening at the Oscars than at a tumultuous assassination. He is an affable soul, cavalierly exchanging best wishes with fellow conspirators and receiving their support. He shoots his pistol with careful calculation, focused determination, and a sure hand. Other characters in the drama are likewise personally attractive and properly dressed for a celebrity appearance. Florien Bolkan, as Sophie, loses none of her Brazilian good looks or fashionable hair style as she reacts with theatrical horror to the Archduke's graceful passing from this world. All the players are dignified, self-possessed, and unblemished in this sanitized rendition of one of history's brutal transformative moments.

Particularly in socialism's later years, Princip was represented physically as the essential rugged, handsome Hollywood celebrity. In the Young Bosnia Museum at the assassination site, Princip was crafted in relief as athletic and coarsely attractive, with curly hair, a jutting jaw, and penetrating eyes. In the same museum today, Fran-



Unidentified tourist, 1987  
*(Believed Princip fired a semi-automatic  
weapon to strike his targets)*

cis Ferdinand and Sophie are represented as attractive and ceremoniously attired manikins. They, too, have become beautiful, fashionable people, their faces expressionless but their apparel immaculate and colorful.

Like other celebrities, Princip lured others to imagine their own participation in the deed that made him famous. Footprints embedded in the sidewalk helped the visitors imagine themselves carrying out the killings. The footprints served as a visual invitation to visitors to experience vicariously what Princip had seen, done, and felt in that fateful moment. Many visitors had their picture taken while standing in the footsteps, enabling them to prove to family and friends that they had truly visited the site and imitated the deed. One visitor, imagining an event even more cataclysmic than it had actually been, pantomimed Princip firing a semi-automatic weapon to carry out the killings.

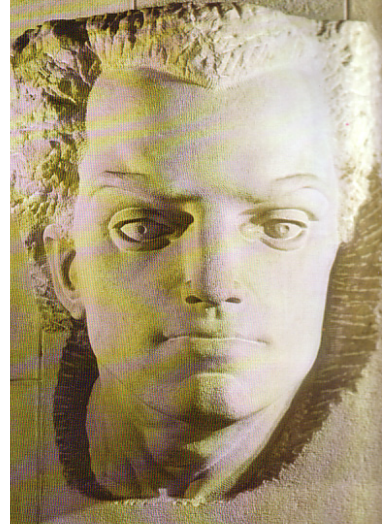
Officials arranged for similar reenactments in late June 2014, on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the assassination, by placing at the assassination site a replica of the car in which Francis Ferdinand and Sophie were riding when they were killed. Visitors to the site dressed in attire reminiscent of that worn by the Arch-

duke and his wife, paying to have their pictures taken while posing in the car's back seat. An Elvis Presley impersonator wielding a yellow water pistol mockingly reminded the crowd that someone had actually been shot there a hundred years ago, making the performative event even more entertaining. By engaging in these reenactments, visitors could participate vicariously in the events of a hundred years ago and provide photographic evidence of their connection to the celebrity protagonists.

The adulation of Princip was temporarily interrupted early in the war of 1992-1995. The footprints were ripped from the sidewalk, and the socialist-era plaque was torn from the side of the building and broken into pieces. The destruction has been widely condemned by outside observers, but it should be noted that this singular destructive act was committed by a few individuals against a highly polarizing secu-



lar political memorial. Many of those trapped in besieged Sarajevo in the early 1990s viewed the war and siege much as they perceived the assassination: an assault by primitive rural rebels on a civilized urban society. Sarajevans were acutely aware that the encircling Serb forces were systematically destroying their most treasured cultural and religious monuments. With their libraries burned, many of their government and commercial buildings damaged or destroyed, their mosques and churches being desecrated and bulldozed, and their fellow citizens being killed and wounded, a few Sarajevans exacted revenge on that secular representation of Serb nationalism within their reach. City officials, in contrast, preserved the exhibits in the Museum of Young Bosnia by secreting them in the basement of a nearby Jewish synagogue, safe from the shelling from



Museum representation of Princip, Sarajevo, 1980<sup>s</sup>



Destruction of the Princip memorial plaque between 1992 and 1995

Serb forces in the surrounding hills. The 19<sup>th</sup> century Serbian Orthodox Church in the heart of Sarajevo suffered more damage from Serb shelling than from vandalism by those under siege.

As he achieved global celebrity, Princip's political role diminished and became largely irrelevant. The global public sought to enter his aura not because he was evil or good, but because he was extraordinary and memorable: He made history (in the popular view) and helped shape our world. Like all celebrities, he generated profits when people paid for the privilege of proximity to the man and his deed. His celebrity status was promoted, both by socialist Yugoslavia and by independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, to bring people and their money to the country. The financial beneficiaries of Princip's celebrity include the airlines and bus companies that transport tourists to Sarajevo, the hotels and restaurants that serve them, and the governments of Sarajevo and Bosnia that receive additional tax revenues.

His enormous commercial potential dictated that Princip should attract as many celebrity-seekers as possible while offending none or few of them. Thus, the "celebrity" Princip is rarely portrayed today as evil or heroic, black or white. In most representations, he is colorful, significant, appealing, intriguing, but politically androgynous. Francis Ferdinand and Sophie are likewise portrayed as attractive, engaging, and elegant; stripped of their political associations, they are ethnically neutral personalities who entertain and fascinate but aspire never to polarize.

All three celebrity figures are contoured to appeal to the same outsider's curiosity that drew gawkers to the circus in the nineteenth century. Ironically, the antagonists of 1914 have become inextricably locked in one another's embrace in 2014, trapped in the personas of celebrities who once collided but now together evoke curiosity and a widespread desire to be near the site where the shootings took place.

Princip's celebrity status has rendered other representations of him obsolete or short-lived. But not everyone has abandoned the effort to exploit his memory to promote nationalist propaganda. As historians laid plans for scholarly conferences to be held in Sarajevo in June of 2014, they encountered opposition from imperial and authoritarian regimes seeking to superimpose ideological interpretations upon Princip and his signature deed. The governments of Serbia, France, and the inter-Bosnian entity of Republika Srpska worked hard to suppress all interpretations that strayed from the narrative of Princip as a martyr and hero of Serb national liberation. To that end, those politicians and ideologists tried to prevent and undermine scholarly conferences intended to foster open discussion of various interpretations.

French officials operated largely behind the scenes to sabotage the planned scholarly conferences. They sought to prevent European Union member states and





Visitors reenact a ride in the car in which the Archduke and Sophie were killed.

its central organs from providing financial support for such conferences.<sup>21</sup> Former and current officials of the Republic of Serbia and the Republika Srpska led the public effort to discredit conference organizers and undermine the conferences. Ivica Dačić, former Prime Minister of Serbia, told a reporter, “Serbia will neither allow a revision of history, nor will it forget who are the main culprits in World War I.”<sup>22</sup> Milorad Dodik, President of the Republika Srpska, denounced the planned scholarly dialogues regarding the assassination as a “new propaganda attack against the Serbs.”<sup>23</sup> The Serb polemicists found a willing accomplice in the journalist Paul Hockenos. On the eve of the conferences, Hockenos wrote a polemical attack, disguised as a news article, on the conference organized by the Institute for History in Sarajevo. He claimed that the conference “has triggered an ethnic firestorm in the

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Husnija Kamberović, *Aktual* (Zagreb), February 5, 2014, 59-62.

<sup>22</sup> “World War I Conference in Sarajevo Triggers Ethnic Tensions,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 18, 2014. <http://chronicle.com/article/World-War-I-Conference-in/147195/>, viewed August 5, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*



Francis Ferdinand and Sophie as represented in the City Museum of Sarajevo, 2013

Balkans.”<sup>24</sup> Since Hockenos wrote the story several days before the conference began, and filed it with a dateline of Berlin (hundreds of kilometers from the event), his report on the conference itself was pure speculation. The conference produced no such “ethnic firestorm,” either within its halls or in the city where it was held, revealing Hockenos’s article to be little more than a recitation of the propaganda themes favored by Serb nationalist leaders.

Post-1990 attempts to revive Princip’s role as an ideological polarizer have proven short-lived or unsuccessful. Those who destroyed the plaque at the Young Bosnia museum in the early 1990s had to wait until war’s end to see it replaced by another, but the text of the replacement is blandly factual and imputes no political significance to the event: “From this place on June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Francis Ferdinand, and his wife Sophie.”<sup>25</sup> (6) The Franco-Serbian effort to impose an ideological orthodoxy on interpretations of the assassination also collapsed. French officials abandoned their effort to enforce Princip’s image as national liberator, and Serb nationalists were powerless to prevent Sarajevo’s scholarly conferences from proceeding. Two conference participants, in a letter to the editor published by *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, showed Hockenos’ report on the conferences to be fabricated and his partisan attack to be groundless.<sup>26</sup>

## Conclusion

Over the past hundred years, Gavrilo Princip has been serially exploited by a succession of regimes and political movements to embody their ideologies and to discredit rivals and predecessors. In the last several decades of the twentieth century, such efforts abated, and Princip and his two victims were represented as celebrities, stripped of their polemicizing traits but holding allure, intrigue, and mystery. With the failure of recent efforts to revive Princip as a polarizing Serb nationalist, he is likely to be known henceforth by the global public as an intriguing and mysterious individual who committed a monumental, history-altering deed.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> [www.politika.rs/rubrike/drustvo/Principova-spomen-ploca-Hitlerov-licni-plen.lt.html](http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/drustvo/Principova-spomen-ploca-Hitlerov-licni-plen.lt.html), viewed February 22, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> “World War I Conference in Sarajevo Produced No ‘Ethnic Firestorm,’” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 30, 2014. <http://chronicle.com/blogs/letters/world-war-i-conference-in-sarajevo-produced-no-ethnic-firestorm/>, viewed August 7, 2014.

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> “Doch wir, als Nationalisten, obwohl wir auch sozialistische und anarchistische Schriften gelesen haben, befaßten uns nicht viel mit dieser Frage, den wir hielten dafür, daß jeder von uns eine andere Pflicht hätte, eine nationale Pflicht.”

<sup>2</sup> “Einsamkeit. ... Was in Verbindung, mit seinen Idealen war, alles zerstört. Mein serbische Volk! Hoffnung, dass etwas verbessern könne, sei aber doch skeptisch. Ideale der Jugend: Einheit südslawischer Völker, Serben, Croaten und Slovenen aber nicht unter Österreich.”

<sup>3</sup> “Stoga u ovim danima više nego ikad ranije, u slobodnoj Jugoslaviji treba se sjetiti riječi ovog heroja. ... Oni za koje sa Gavrilo Princip žrtvovao, danas treba dobro da to znaju. Gavrilov amanet je bio jedna Jugoslavija. Mi taj amanet moramo da očuvamo, i da za njega budemo gotovo na nove žrtve.”

<sup>4</sup> “U znak vječite zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima borcima protiv germanskih osvajača, posvećuje ovu ploču omladina Bosne i Hercegovine – Sarajevo 7. maja 1945. godine”

<sup>5</sup> “Sa ovog mjesta 28 juna 1914 godine Gavrilo Princip svojim pucnjem izrazi narodni protest protiv tiranije i vjekovnu težnju naših naroda za slobodom”

<sup>6</sup> “Sa ovog mjesta 28. juna 1914. Gavrilo Princip je izvršio atentat na austrougarskog prestolonaslednika Franca Ferdinanda i njegovu suprugu Sofiju”

UDK 329.78(497.15)"1906/1914"

## FORGOTTEN YUGOSLAVISM AND ANTI-CLERICALISM OF YOUNG BOSNIANS

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*Abstract: Worldviews and political ambitions of Young Bosnians were a far cry from later and contemporary emanations of Serbian nationalism, as evident in their Yugoslavism and staunch anti-clericalism. They should neither be praised for what they did nor blamed for what happened later. Their act can be understood and interpreted only in its own historical context, which opens new avenues for research away from false analogies and political abuses.*

There is an old noble custom practised in the United Kingdom whereby academics (and others) declare an interest when discussing matters/persons to which they might have a relation. Unfortunately this has not been the case in the historiography of those highly disputed issues such as the origins of First World War.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that documentary evidence from all sides was published already in the interwar period, the differences of interpretation and opinion abide or even increase with time so that what is being written often reflects the context and background of its author rather than the event analysed. I want to break this circle of unacknowledged bias by declaring that I was born and raised in the street bearing the name of Nedeljko Čabrinović, the failed Sarajevo bomber and thus from early age subject to the grand Socialist Yugoslavia's narrative of Young Bosnians as freedom fighters and Yugo-

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<sup>1</sup> For the manipulation of archival records and evidence relating the the responsibility for the outbreak of WWI in the interwar period and later see Keith Wilson, ed., *Forging the collective memory: government and international historians through two World Wars*. Oxford, Berghahn Books, 1996.



slavia's founding fathers, as established by Veselin Masleša and Vladimir Dedijer, though as we all know they were too young and naïf for either.

Marking its centenary, Sarajevo outrage has been invoked not only as a trigger but a serious cause for the Great War.<sup>2</sup> The issue of responsibility looms large because the tragedy that ensued determined the course of events in Europe for almost a century. Especially in Bosnia what happened on that fatal day still matters and can easily upset the fragile peace. Therefore, I decided not to attempt to populate any further the very contested field of interpretations of war origin and guilt by pursuing a detective style investigation of who said or did what first or who passed the weapon to whom, etc.<sup>3</sup> From all the knowledge and documentation assembled over the years I can only deduct that: 1) the war guilt is tenuous and spread over many frontiers, and 2) if we take the assassination of Franz Ferdinand as the reason for the WWI that would be a unique case that a group of teenagers was able to change the course of history and actually provoke the greatest tragedy of mankind ever. I will also leave for another discussion the fascination with what Žižek calls subjective violence, whose epitome Princip's act is, which blinds us to the so called systemic violence endemic to our socio-economic order and often with catastrophic consequences.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the discussion was marred from the outset by the flawed and not consequential use of terms terror and terrorism, disregarding the transformation of their use and perception over time. Let me note that the Bosnian Muslim National Organisation (MNO) in its memorandum to the Ottoman Parliament just few years before the assassination described the Habsburg rule as "state terrorism."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For the war origins' assessment and more on 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary see Jay Winter, ed., *The Legacy of the Great War*. Columbia, Mi, University of Missouri Press, 2009, where distinguished historians Jay Winter, Niall Ferguson and Paul Kennedy do not even discuss the Balkan factors when analysing the causes for the war.

<sup>3</sup> In this regard I subscribe to the opinion of Sarajevo writer and former ambassador Zlatko Dizdarević who described the overwrought centennial celebrations including this conference as "an expression of cynicism". According to Dizdarević they are to no advantage of Sarajevo or its inhabitants because the war did not start in Sarajevo and Sarajevo was not responsible for the war but the great powers. Moreover, Dizdarević, sums up the common perception, "they've re-opened a battle among us over Gavrilo Princip," so new fault lines are being created and old wounds deepened. See the interview with Dizdarević: *Sarajevo, One Hundred Years* at <http://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Regions-and-countries/Bosnia-Herzegovina/Sarajevo-One-Hundred-Years-151730/%28from%29/eng-newsletter>.

<sup>4</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Violence. Six Sideways Reflections*. New York, Picador, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Anonymous. Memorandum muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine: predan Osmanlijskom Parlamentu mjeseca februara 1909 god u Carigradu. Carigrad: n.p., 1909, 20. Cited in York

My modest concern here is only to rescue one aspect of the event from manipulation, namely the agency of Young Bosnians. First of all, recent revisiting of Sarajevo assassination is unashamedly approached from above.<sup>6</sup> The most talked about recent portrayal of the major players of the period for example, that of Christopher Clark, is disappointingly two-dimensional, with opera-going, horse-race-loving royalty, ministers and diplomats on one side, and vulgar, bloodthirsty Balkan plotters and murderers on the other. In a book of over 600 pages, *Mlada Bosna* is assigned just two paragraphs and reduced to a tool of the Serbian secretive and irredentist Black Hand, with no mention of any own motivations its teenage members might have had. Furthermore, in his introduction Clark recasts the role of young assassins by problematically constructing historical continuities where they simply do not exist. The book itself begins with and draws parallels to the assassination of the Serbian King Alexander Obrenović in 1903. The circumstances of this brutal murder were immediately widely known and analysed but not to imply some barbarity to the assassins but racist and orientalist stereotypes and discourse in its descriptions like that of the *New York Times*, published on 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1903.<sup>7</sup> Same could be said for Clark's account of this murder, which crowns a wealth of redundant detail about Serbian and Balkan politics in a chain of disparate episodes of unrelated, and often gruesome, violence that is overwhelming, irrelevant and serves to reinforce negative and stereotypical conceptions of the region that have long been disproved by scholars. Finally, Christopher Clark and others openly question whether Young Bosnians' alleged Yugoslavism was nothing but aggressive Serb nationalism in disguise by draw-

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Norman, Are Muslims 'Jews' or 'Gypsies'? A Reassessment of Bosnian Muslim Political Thought under the Habsburgs. unpublished manuscript, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> See Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers. How Europe Went to War in 1914*. London, Penguin, 2012 is echoed in Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War*. London, Icon, 2013 and previously *The Russian Origins of the First World War*. Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 2011 claiming that Young Bosnia was just an offshoot of the Black Hand but less so by Margaret MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace: How Europe abandoned peace for the First World War*. London, Profile books, 2013. Among recent publications is also a blatantly revisionist and romanticised account by Greg King and Sue Woolmans, *The Assassination of the Archduke*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 2013. No new evidence appeared recently so most claims of these books are based on Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of The War of 1914 Vol. I-II*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1952. Volume II, pages 1-119 deal with the assassination and its origins.

<sup>7</sup> Z. A. B. Zeman, The Balkans and the Coming of War in R. J. W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandman, eds., *The Coming of the First World War*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988, 19-32. here 21.



ing parallels and connections to how Serb nationalism was a driving force behind much of interwar Yugoslavia, some horrific crimes committed during the WW2 and last but not least - its key role in the destruction of the second Yugoslavia as well as in wars and crimes committed in 1990s.

Nonetheless Clark's or McMeekin's revisionist portrayals of Sarajevo events have encountered many supporters and led to changing perceptions among an educated audience without deep knowledge of the region. Most reviewers of Clark were no expert in the subject, not even historians, and many easily misunderstood the author but nevertheless, abided by Clark's own analogies, went on to project what happened in Sarajevo. Thomas Laquer writes about it as an example of Serbian irredentism, defined as a poisonous mixture of self-serving history and mushy metaphysics.<sup>8</sup> In his review on History News Network, Jim Cullen writes about Young Bosnians as fanatical Serbian terrorists and then explains to his readers that Serbian nationalism has long had strong religious overtones.<sup>9</sup> Contemporary observers would certainly find plenty of evidence for this as one of the bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church recently characterized Princip and friends as "Serbian fighters for eternal life in freedom and dignity."<sup>10</sup>

Now that I defined the problem let me turn to the modest aim of the rest of my paper and discuss Young Bosnia's Yugoslavism and anti-clericalism that defy their above characterisation as Serbian nationalists and links with later emanations of Serbian nationalism. While nationalism was definitely a driving force in Serbian culture and politics for a century there was nothing metaphysical about it. American historian David MacKenzie duly explained it including the workings of the Black Hand, secretive irredentist paramilitary organization that supplied weapons and some crude training to young would-be assassins.<sup>11</sup> Yet describing Gavrilo Princip and friends as

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas Laqueur, Some Damn Foolish Thing, *London Review of Books* Vol. 35 No. 23, 5 December 2013, 11-16, available on <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n23/thomas-laqueur/some-damn-foolish-thing>.

<sup>9</sup> Jim Cullen, Review of Christopher Clark's "The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914" published on 8.1.2013 and available on <http://hnn.us/article/152847>.

<sup>10</sup> As stated by Bishop of Bihać and Petrovac Atanasije held the requiem for Princip in his hometown of Bosansko Grahovo on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2014, on the anniversary of his death. See [http://www.spc.rs/sr/za\\_slobodu\\_dostojanstvo\\_srpskog\\_naroda](http://www.spc.rs/sr/za_slobodu_dostojanstvo_srpskog_naroda).

<sup>11</sup> See David MacKenzie's trilogy, *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator; The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević*. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1989, *The "Black hand" on Trial: Salonika, 1917*. Boulder, Colo., East European Monographs, 1995, *The Exoneration of the "Black Hand," 1917-1953*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1998.

agents of the Great Serbian project directed from Belgrade or reducing them to offshoots of Black Hand blatantly ignores their own confessions which we know were not made under duress. Unlike recent studies earlier literature made an effort to investigate their motivations and thus heavily relied on court transcripts, Gavrilo Princip's interviews with Dr Pappenheim and recollections of survivors.<sup>12</sup> These have all ascertained the Young Bosnians' integral Yugoslavism, anarchist – socialist leanings, anticlericalism and revolutionary violence. According to copious research in former Yugoslavia Mlada Bosna was described as an amorphous, informal movement whose adherents were scattered in various mostly high school student associations. They appeared as a reaction to the Empire's annexation, occupation and rule of Bosnia which had been encountered by armed resistance, followed by mass emigration of the Muslim population, long-drawn-out struggle for autonomy, and prolonged and deep dissatisfaction over the country's unresolved agrarian question. Disillusioned with the generation of their fathers and their political leaders, who engaged in a decade-long struggle by legal means to achieve a limited cultural autonomy, Young Bosnians preferred to think in terms of revolution and individual acts of

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<sup>12</sup> Court transcripts exist in several languages here *Sarajevski atentat – izvorne stenografske bilješke sa glavne rasprave protiv Gavrila principa i drugova, održane u Sarajevu 1914.*, Sarajevo, Državna arhiva NR BiH, 1954. In English: W. A. Dolph Owings, *The Sarajevo Trial*. Vols. 1 and 2. Translated and edited by W. A. Dolph Owings, Elizabeth Pribic, and Nikola Pribic, Chapel Hill, N.C., Documentary Publications, 1984 and Edward W. Knappman, ed. "Archduke Franz Ferdinand's Assassins Trial: 1914." *Great World Trials: The 100 Most Significant Courtroom Battles of All Time*. Detroit, Gale Research, 1997. Gavrilo Princip recounts his reasons for resisting the Monarchy; the assassination itself and the general atmosphere which conducted it and finally his own responsibility for the war that followed in Martin Pappenheim, *Gavrilo Princip's Bekenntnisse*. Vienna, 1926. The conversations between the Viennese doctor and Princip were translated into English and published in the U.S. in the August 1927 issue of *Current History* as "Dr. Pappenheim's Conversations with Princip: Confessions of the Assassin Whose Deed Led to the World War" edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Among many volumes of recollections of group members who survived the imprisonment or were only loosely associated with "Young Bosnians" and thus not set on trial see Vladimir Gaćinović, *Sarajevski atentat*. Sarajevo, 1956; Cvetko Popović, *Oko Sarajevskog atentata*, Sarajevo, 1969; Borivoje Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*. Sarajevo, 1924; Among hundreds of volumes written by historians later see Seton Watson, Borivoje Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*. Sarajevo, 1924; St. Stanojević, *Ubistvo austriskog prestolonaslednika Ferdinanda*. Beograd, 1923; Vojislav Bogičević, *Mlada Bosna*, Sarajevo. 1954; Drago Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*. Beograd, Nolit, 1959; Dragoslav Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat*. Sarajevo, Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1964; Vladimir Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914. godine*, Beograd, Prosveta, 1966.

terror in order to speed up the process of national and social emancipation of Bosnia from the Habsburg rule. This reasoning was widespread in Europe, especially among the Russian revolutionaries (we know they read Kropotkin, Herzen, Bakunin, Gorky, Chernishevsky, and Plekhanov). In this respect they both followed in the steps of full blown Serbian nationalism seeking the destruction of the Monarchy but also clearly defied it.<sup>13</sup>

As for their national leanings, the conspirators/assassins who belonged to all three major confessions found in Bosnia all declared ethnically Yugoslav or Serbo-Croat when facing the prosecutor. They believed that the cooperation between Serbs, Croats and Muslims should result in a common South Slav state. Many of these Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim youngsters from Bosnia but also Croatia would later volunteer to Serbian troops.<sup>14</sup> The fact that their idealised Yugoslavism was annihilated in the immediate aftermath of the war and the all-pervasive Serbian government backed centralism does not mean it never existed.<sup>15</sup>

Their position on religion is even more evident. The father and uncle of Vladimir Gaćinović, the author of *Mlada Bosna* article (inspired by *Giovine Italia*, and thus its precursor or founder, were Orthodox priests.<sup>16</sup> So were the fathers of Trifko Grabež, one of the three key organisers, or Petar Kočić, Bosnian Serb writer, closest to them in his idealism and anti-Austrianism. But hundreds of pages of trial records and subsequent investigations gloss over Young Bosnians' connection to the Church and for reason. In fact the investigators and prosecutors were puzzled by the young assassins' atheism. They repeatedly asked them about it during the process. Čabrinović's lawyer Premužić, and pater Anton Puntigam, superior of Sarajevo Jesuits who followed the process closely, even attempted to rationalise it by linking the plot to French free masons. The absurdity of these insinuations was best demonstrated when

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<sup>13</sup> Dimitrije Djordjević, *The Serbs as an Integrating and Disintegrating Factor*, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 1967, Vol.3(2), 48-82.

<sup>14</sup> Ibrahim Fazlinović and Đulaga Bukovac were being prepared for an earlier murder attempt in Vienna which the Balkan wars prevented. See Nikola Trišić, *Sarajevski atentat u svijetlu bibliografskih podataka*, podatak 902 and 1199. Hamdija Nikšić, another Yugoslav nationalist from the circle, unveiled the Young Bosnia memorial plaque in 1930.

<sup>15</sup> See the life path of Stevan Moljević for example, Yves Tomić, *Stevan Moljević et la question nationale serbe*, *Balkanologie*, Vol. XII, n° 1 (2010).

<sup>16</sup> Dragoslav Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i Sarajevski atentat*. Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1964, 49

picked up by the Nazi propaganda, which also discovered Princip to be a Jew.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, anti-Serb pogroms staged throughout Bosnia and Croatia in the aftermath of Franz Ferdinand's murder usually led by Croatian clericalist activists (Frankovci) were clearly targeting and vandalising Orthodox churches and attacking, humiliating and even murdering Orthodox priests.<sup>18</sup>

Not only that Young Bosnians shunned any link to organised religion they thought it was part of the problem they were fighting against. According to the testimony of Cvetko Popović, the only Catholic in the group, Ivo Kranjčević nourished the idea of blowing up the convent-residence of Sarajevo archbishop Štadler, who was the most vociferous representative of the Catholic proselytizing efforts during the Habsburg rule and a staunch anti-Yugoslav.<sup>19</sup> Serb Orthodox prelates did not fare much better. Bogdan Žerajić, Gavrilo Princip's precursor as unsuccessful assassin of Emperor Franz Joseph in 1910 (and then later of general Varešanin, governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina) was disgusted when the Serbian bishops ordered priests and church elders to greet the Emperor. Couple of years later, in 1912 when the Bosnian Serbs and others were celebrating Serbian victories in the First Balkan War, the recently formed Bosnian Sabor with but consultative powers adopted a declaration of congratulation to Serbia enthusiastically embraced by all Serb deputies except for the Sarajevo Metropolitan and the head of the Orthodox Church in Bosnia, Metropolitan Evgenije Letica. Metropolitan Letica's austrophilia was blatant as he decorated his private chambers but also Serbian Church's official premises with Habsburg paraphernalia. A source of shame for the Serbian clergy and people, he was forced to resign in the new South Slav state created after the war.<sup>20</sup> While Letica was definitely prioritising Habsburg over interests of his clergy and faithful there was a widespread dissatisfaction among the Serbs with the Church's stance in gen-

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<sup>17</sup> Cvetko Popović, *Slobodni zidari i Sarajevski atentat* cited in his *Oko Sarajevskog atentata*, 189-199. Puntigam is also remembered for performing the last rites to the royal couple and for being a zealous opponent of masturbation.

<sup>18</sup> Vladimir Ćorović, *Crna knjiga. Patnje Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vreme svetskog rata 1914-1918. Godine*. Beograd: Čigoja, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Cvetko Popović, *Prilog Istoriji Saraj. Atentata*, *Politika*, 31.III-5.IV 1928. Also in Pero Slijepčević, *Mlada Bosna* in his, ed., *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje*. Sarajevo, Oblasni odbor Narodne odbrane, 182-218, here 197.

<sup>20</sup> Sonja Dujmović, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini i stvaranje nove države (Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca) 1918. godine*, *Historijska traganja*, 3, 2009, 121-136, 225.

eral.<sup>21</sup> After the creation of Yugoslavia, a state newspaper described how the Church behaved during the war:

“Individually some of them strove for their people and clergy, but they never stood up united for the good of their people and Church although there was such a high need for it throughout the war”.<sup>22</sup>

This was no anomaly. While later suppressed, the story of the Orthodox Church hierarchy during the Austrian rule sees them as tools in hands of the occupying authorities. During the struggle for ecclesiastical and educational autonomy because of the attitude of the Church leadership Orthodox churches were boycotted for years and this extended to baptisms, communion, weddings and funerals.<sup>23</sup> For years the local inhabitants boycotted the Serbian Church in Blažuj that was built with the support of Austria’s government of Bosnia and left generations of children without baptismal sacraments.<sup>24</sup> After ending the struggle for Church and School autonomy, even the old generation of Bosnian Serb political actors turned away from supporting the Church, and instead of building any churches after 1901 funds were streamlined into schools and education.<sup>25</sup>

To view the Young Bosnians’ atheist mind-set only in relation to Austrophilia of high clergy would be greatly reductionist. They cherished a rich and long history of anticlericalism among the most influential Serbian authors and leaders from Dositej Obradović, Svetozar Marković and Vaso Pelagić, tradition ignored or downplayed in the Serbian historiography and even less present in that in other languages.<sup>26</sup> Sto-

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<sup>21</sup> For more on the role of religious leadership during the Austrian rule in Bosnia see Petar Vrankić, *Religion und Politik in Bosnien und der Herzegowina (1878-1918)*. Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1998; Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>22</sup> “Pojedinačno su se neki zauzimali za narod i sveštenstvo, ali jedinstveno nikada ne istupiše za dobro svojega naroda i svoje crkve i ako je to potreba iziskivala kroz cijelo vrijeme trajanja rata” from *Narodno jedinstvo*, br. 12, Sarajevo 11. januar 1919. Cited in Dujmović, p. 127.

<sup>23</sup> Mirko Maksimović, Crkvene borbe i pokreti, 85, In Pero Slijepčević, ed., *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje*. Sarajevo, Oblasni odbor Narodne odbrane, 1929.

<sup>24</sup> Srđa Đokić, Razvoj društvenog života, in Pero Slijepčević, ed., *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine*, 351.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 356.

<sup>26</sup> Mirko Đorđević, Klerikalizam i antiklerikalizam u Srbiji, *Republika*, 444-445, 1-31. 01. 2009.

jan Novaković, Vasa Stajić, Vladimir Ćorović<sup>27</sup>, Jovan Skerlić, Petar Kočić, Antun Gustav Matoš and Ivo Tartalja were contemporaries who provided much intellectual stimulus to Young Bosnians and are all known as outspokenly critical of the Serbian Church and/or religion in general rejecting domination of any faith or nationality in favour of Slav commonality and equality of all “Slavic tribes”.<sup>28</sup> Surviving members of the group Vasa Čubrilović and Cvetko Popović remained firmly atheist and anti-clerical until the end of their long lives.

To conclude, worldviews and political ambitions of Young Bosnians were a far cry from later and contemporary emanations of Serbian nationalism, as evident in their Yugoslavism and staunch anti-clericalism. They should neither be praised for what they did nor blamed for what happened later. Their act can be understood and interpreted only in its own historical context, which opens new avenues for research away from false analogies and political abuses.

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<sup>27</sup> Esad Zgodić, *Vladimir Ćorović: Pansrbizam, Bosna i Bošnjaci*, available on [http://www.diwanmag.com.ba/arhiva/diwan5\\_6/sadrzaj/sadrzaj8.htm](http://www.diwanmag.com.ba/arhiva/diwan5_6/sadrzaj/sadrzaj8.htm) discusses Ćorović's Serbian nationalism that refuses identification with the Orthodox church which Zgodić calls ethnic panserbism.

<sup>28</sup> Stojan Protić, Miša Trifunović, Jaša Prodanović, Ljubomir Stojanović, Milan Grol, Slobodan Jovanović and other top Serbian politicians also supported Yugoslavism at that time and dismissed any role of the Church.





UDK 929 Princip G.

## “UP IN FLAMES” - GAVRILO PRINCIP AND THE CITY

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*Abstract: In this paper the author makes use of the few biographical facts about Gavrilo Princip to elaborate on the hypothetical connection between migrants' issues and political radicalization. The assassin's life-story has been used and misused in socialist, nationalist and revisionist history-writing. For socialists, Princip was the personification of a dialectic struggle; for nationalists he was the symbol of a nation. For many western revisionist historians, Princip was a naïve protagonist in a Balkanist-flavoured narrative about rebellious hotheads. In order to clear up these politically inflected stories, the author adopts a microhistorian's perspective to observe Gavrilo Princip as a single person, in his own social context. The author suggests that in shifting away from ideas and ideology and using sociological ideas about migration and urbanization, it may be possible to gain new insights into the radicalization of the Sarajevo assassin.*

### Introduction

The life of the Bosnian-Serb assassin Gavrilo Princip has been a sensitive subject in the Balkans, because his deeds touch upon national identity, trauma and pride. Today, questions on the political orientation of Princip provoke heated debates in both media and parliaments of Bosnia, Serbia and Austria. Obviously, it is mainly politicians who participate in this non-academic fight over history, threatening each other with the of statues, plaques or monuments or the building of new ones.<sup>1</sup> For

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<sup>1</sup> See for example: Revija prošlosti u režiji velikih sila. *Politika* 09/06/2013; Gavrilo Princip nije bio terorista. *Blic* 10/06/2013; Sarajevo bi moglo dobiti spomenik Franji Ferdinand-

me, as a Dutch historian whose background is not associated with any of the Yugoslav successor states, it was not Princip that fascinated me, but rather his radicalization. This requires a short explanation. Political assassination has been topical in contemporary Dutch politics, since the violent outrage in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2002 populist politician Pim Fortuyn was assassinated by a left-wing animal welfare activist, and in 2004 polemicist cinematographer Theo van Gogh was shot by a young Muslim fundamentalist, after which he used a dagger to leave a 5-page message on the slain body, calling for new assassinations of high-ranking Dutch politicians. Assassins in both cases were young and angry zealots, coming from difficult, although very different, social backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> I will not delve too deep in the 'terrorism-comparison' and the issue of whether Princip was a freedom fighter or a terrorist. I ascribe to the notion that freedom fighters can be terrorists at the same time, because the *ideal* (freedom) is not the opposite of the *method* (terror) and one does not rule out the other. Keeping in mind the above-mentioned assassinations in the Netherlands, I prefer to present a more interesting question, which is: What made Princip radicalize? Being aware of the impossibility to give a clear and concise answer, I will elaborate on just one explanation that was given by the British/Canadian writer Doug Saunders in his highly-acclaimed book *Arrival City. How the largest Migration in History is reshaping our World* (2010).<sup>3</sup> This study offers interesting food for thought about the violent tensions in the outskirts of cities in both the Global South and the Western World. Within it, Saunders coined the notion of the 'Arrival City', a transitional urban space on the outskirts of global metropolises, where ex-villagers struggle to establish a new life and integrate themselves socially and economically. In contrast to what policy-makers tend to think, the Arrival City is not necessarily the doomed slum where urban planning and social engineering eventually failed. Saunders claims that the *favelas*, *plattenbau*-quarters and *banlieus* can be - and actually often are - dynamic urban spaces, where people do climb the social ladder, make the best out of their harsh lives in order to offer their children a better future. Still, because of their vertiginous social and cultural dynamics, the Arrival Citi-

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du, *Glas Slobode* 9/9/2013; Gradnjom spomenika Ferminandu Sarajevo veliča okupatora, *Večernji Novosti* 12/06/2013.

<sup>2</sup> An elaborate study on this subject matter is: Ron Eyerman, *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh. From Social Drama to Cultural Trauma*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2008. Further reading: Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam. The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*. New York: Penguin Press, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Doug Saunders, *Arrival City. How the largest Migration in History is reshaping our World*. London: Weidenfels, 2010.

es have other potential as well. Not *in spite of* but *because* of the high growth-potential, they can develop into explosive social environments, where revolutions, political crises and even wars start.<sup>4</sup> Recent examples of this are the 2005 riots in the Paris outskirts, or the violence perpetrated by disillusioned migrants in suburbs of London, Berlin and Amsterdam. As a prime example from the past, Saunders mentions – surprisingly - the radicalization of the ex-villager Gavrilo Princip, as a result of the *unsuccessful* Arrival City.

A problem each historian faces in the research concerning Gavrilo Princip is the lack of reliable sources. However, a few details of the life of the 1914 assassin do give enough information to test Saunderson's statement. In the next few paragraphs I will first focus on the migrant position of Princip in the Austro-Hungarian city of Sarajevo, where he lived between 1908 and 1912. Then I will observe the social circumstances in the margins of the Serbian capital Belgrade, where Princip lived from 1912 to 1914, and finally I will come to some concluding remarks on Princip's radicalization in light of migration issues and rural-urban contrasts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Balkans.

## Sarajevo

One of the few facts we know about the assassin is that he was the younger brother of Jovo Princip, a city-dweller who moved from his rural hometown of Bosnian Grahovo to the Austrian city of Sarajevo. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Sarajevo had developed rapidly, both economically and socially. After the Ottomans left, the Austrians heavily invested in infrastructure, city-development and architecture, and they invited Central European traders, craftsmen and officials to find their luck in the new province. The so-called *kuferaši* ('suitcase-people') became a migrant community of Sarajevo. Besides these adventurous, partly middle-class visionaries from all over Europe, quite a number of Bosnian lower countrymen also moved to the city. One of them was Jovo Princip, who lived a simple life in the margins of society, where he earned his money as a waiter, cab-driver, lumberjack and finally as a successful entrepreneur by founding his own company in wood-transport and pro-

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<sup>4</sup> In case we would perceive Young Bosnia as a social movement, the argument of the growth-potential in social peripheries can be connected to the political process theory of sociologist Doug McAdams and others. They claim that social movements emerge in times of declining repression and increasing political opportunities. See: Doug McAdams, John Carthy eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

duction. During and after the First World War, he became a leading merchant dignitary of the Sarajevo suburb of Hadžići.

In short, Jovo Princip could be perceived as a representative of the Arrival City. He was a former villager and ex-peasant who found his fortune in a rapidly changing and modernizing Sarajevo. His high ambition was noticed by entrepreneurs and merchants, who helped him to become a businessman. A counter-argument to this observation could be that Sarajevo, with approximately fifty-five thousand inhabitants, may be called a city in the local context, but it should not be compared to today's enormous urban agglomerations.<sup>5</sup> However, this argument can be rejected on two grounds. Firstly, Sarajevo *was* a migrant city, where one-third of the population claimed to be originally a citizen of a distant region of Austria-Hungary. Secondly, the population of the city of Sarajevo doubled in a time frame of three decades. The speed of this process strongly resembles today's urbanization process, particularly in the global south.

Other facts demonstrate how Jovo involved his family in his success. Although a self-made man, he insisted on sending his younger brothers, Gavrilo and Nikola, to the city to get a proper education. So it was Jovo, not his father, who enrolled his then 13-year old brother Gavrilo in the Merchant's School in Sarajevo. There, Gavrilo, as a peasant boy from the Bosnian periphery, was placed in class among the children of the local mercantile elite. It can be assumed that Gavrilo's school career was financed with money his brother Jovo earned as a guest worker *avant-la-lettre*.<sup>6</sup>

In 1911 Gavrilo transferred from the Merchant's School to the more intellectual Gymnasium – a decision that could be motivated by anti-capitalism or the adolescent longing for a life of poetry and *Weltschmerz*. Later, in prison, Gavrilo explained to the psychiatrist that 1911 was the year everything profoundly changed for him because he 'discovered idealism'.<sup>7</sup> The secondary schools of Sarajevo fostered ideas of resistance to the Austrian occupation and notions of a collaborationist Bosnian mercantile elite. Through informal and international networks, the pupils of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's schools learned about anarchism, socialism and nationalism.

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<sup>5</sup> Details taken from Robert Donia, *Sarajevo. A biography*. London: Hurst & Company, paperback edition, 2009, 64.

<sup>6</sup> Memoirs of former schoolmates give some evidence: Drago Ljubibratić, *Gavrilo Princip*. Beograd: Nolit/Prosveta, 1959, 55. Ratko Parežanin, *Die Attentäter. Das junge Bosnien im Freiheitskampf*. München: L. Jevtić, 1976, 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Ein geschichtlicher Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Attentates von Sarajevo. Gavrilo Princip's Bekenntnisse* (Vienna 1926).

Here I take a step back to Saunders' concept. The Arrival City, as he describes it, makes resistance, emancipation and the ability to speak up against oppression possible. Most Bosnian peasants around 1900 did not have any knowledge of a larger world and would not even consider opposing their lords. Yet, as we can observe today as well, it is not the traditional urban upper class but often the newly settled ex-villagers who raise their voices against suppressive authority. This raises an interesting paradox. Thanks to the economic and social infrastructure of the Austrian Empire, Jovo could become a respected businessman and Gavrilo an elitist *gymnasiast*. On the other hand, due to the same infrastructure, Gavrilo could be educated to form his own ideas regarding the Austrian Empire, and learn methods of how to oppose it. This means that Gavrilo's radicalization should be read in light of social emancipation in the Bosnian context. Jovo and Gavrilo were very different characters, but they both were inspired and educated by the same Austrian cultural semi-colonial project. In other words, Gavrilo's radicalization may not have been a reaction to Austrian cultural policy, but a result of it.

While living on the margins of Sarajevo from 1908 and 1912, Gavrilo Princip developed antipathy for the Bosnian mercantile elite. According to his former schoolmate Borivoje Jevtic, Gavrilo supposedly stressed his hatred for the 'Čaršija' – the trade-centre of Sarajevo, and expressed his wish to "send it all up in flames".<sup>8</sup>

## Belgrade

In order to test Saunders' statements, it is more fruitful to examine Princip's life after 1912, when the 18-year old student decided to move to Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. This time it was his own personal choice, and not that of his brother, to begin a new life in a new city. A characteristic of migrants in the Arrival City, as in Saunders' concept, is their great ambition and zeal to become fully-accepted members of the urban community. This fits Gavrilo's life in Belgrade. As a Bosnian Serb living in the occupied zone of Sarajevo, he had high hopes of making a career in the capital of independent Serbia. He used to call Belgrade the "Piedmont of the South Slavs", referring to the region from which the unification of Italy was initiated. On a postcard he sent to Sarajevo in 1912, he wrote: "Greetings from Belgrade. The city is even nicer than we ever have imagined!"<sup>9</sup> Unlike Sarajevo, Belgrade was the place of Gavrilo's arrival.

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<sup>8</sup> Borivoje Jevtić, *Sarajevski Atentat. Sećanja i utisci*. Sarajevo: Petar N. Gaković, 1924, 35.

<sup>9</sup> Arhiv BiH, ZOP. 911.

A closer look at the state of Belgrade in the year 1912 shows aspects that resemble the Arrival Cities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. First of all, Belgrade was a city for men. In 1914, 58 % of the population was male.<sup>10</sup> The number of one-person households was six times higher than in the rest of the country. Most of the inhabitants of Belgrade were like guest workers, sending the money earned to their families in the countryside. Furthermore, there were a large number of soldiers in Belgrade, preparing themselves for the First Balkan War that broke out towards the end of the year. This 'war-like' atmosphere made the city of Belgrade a latent dangerous place, not a city for young romantic soul searchers such as Gavrilo Princip.

Princip came to live in an area close to the train station, where he shared rooms with other Bosnians, predominantly Bosnian Serbs. This part of town, circled around today's *Gavrilo Princip Street* and the *Zeleni Venac* marketplace, was like a 'Little Bosnia'. Only poor, young migrants from Bosnia lived there and they had little or no contact with their Serbian neighbors. This part of town was notorious for its dirt, criminal activities and unhealthy living standards. Tuberculosis, the disease of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, took its toll in these slum-like areas. In Belgrade 50 % of the population died of this disease, but in the milieu of migrants from the Habsburg and Ottoman areas, this percentage was much higher. Local authorities failed to comprehend and manage this Arrival City. According to historian Dubravka Stojanovic, this mismanagement was the result of a poorly developed civil society in the young Serbian state.<sup>11</sup>

In the trial records Princip and all his accomplices confirmed that they had lived in Belgrade in a 'Bosnian enclave' and felt excluded from society. This complicated 'in-between-identity' must have played a role in the radicalization of the young assassins, including Princip. In fact, in Bosnia they were seen as Serbs and in Serbia they were seen as Bosnians. Cabrinovic, the typographer who made an assassination attempt on Franz Ferdinand on the very same day as Princip, described during his trial an incident in the printing plant where he worked in Belgrade, in which he was introduced to the Serbian king as 'a Bosnian' – much to his dismay. Contemporary philologist Predrag Palavestra, a Bosnian Serb, explained to me in a conversati-

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<sup>10</sup> Nataša Mišković, *Basare und Boulevards. Belgrad im 19. Jahrhundert*. Vienna: Möhlau 2009, 290; 'Kretanja broja stanovnika, domova, domaćinstava i porodica', in: Vasa Čubrilo-  
vić ed., *Istorija Beograda II*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974, 271.

<sup>11</sup> Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008. The observations on Serbian civil society around 1900 are discussed in her other books: Dubravka Stojanović, *Srbija i demokratija 1903-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za Društvenu Istoriju, 2003; Idem, *Iza zavese. Ogledi iz društvene Istorije Srbije 1890-1914*. Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2013.



on last year that most Bosnian Serbs lived in Belgrade as 'the Irish in London'; alienated from home and willing to radicalize for a greater cause. It was exactly in this ambience that Princip decided to take up arms against the Austrians. In the gloomy bars of the Zeleni Venac quarter his path crossed those of frustrated war veterans, malicious criminals and corrupted army officers. The tuberculosis, the miserable living standards, the war-like atmosphere and Princip's vain attempts to become part of the Serbian army all added up to the feeling of social marginalization and, eventually, failure. Very likely, the teenager got lost in Belgrade's urban jungle, as was demonstrated by a postcard he sent to Sarajevo in 1913 that said: "I flunked, Princip, Gavrilo".<sup>12</sup> Later, in court, he claimed that by killing Franz Ferdinand he wanted to do something good for the nation. However, it can be assumed his violent act was not only inspired by ideology or nationalism, but by personal frustration and social alienation as well.

### Primitive rebels?

Saunders wrote: "Gavrilo Princip was giving violent expression not only to the tortured politics of central Europe but also to the dismal failure of many European governments to comprehend or manage the expansive new communities of former villagers forming within their cities".<sup>13</sup> While the urban planning strategies of the Austrian local government and the Belgrade city council are outside the scope of this paper, they both can be understood within the concept of the Arrival City as a 'transitional urban space.'

Broadly speaking, there are two views on the European Arrival City of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, one being optimistic and the other pessimistic. The latter view, made famous by novelist Charles Dickens and economic philosopher Friedrich Engels, depicts the Arrival City as a place of pure misery. The former, however, stresses the fact that most of the people who left the countryside for the city weren't passive victims, but motivated migrants, willing to invest in a better future. Sarajevo offered the Principis a chance to raise living standards above the level of perpetual rural poverty.

Both perspectives can be useful in understanding the circumstances under which Gavrilo Princip radicalized in the years he lived in Belgrade. Although a place of endemic diseases and chaotic urban planning, the capital of Serbia was a place of dynamic bustle, attracting a lot of fortune-seekers. Unlike their older brothers and fathers,

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<sup>12</sup> Vojislav Bogičević, *Mlada Bosna*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954, 143.

<sup>13</sup> Saunders, *Arrival City*. London: Windmill, paperback edition, 2011, 159.

most young pupils such as Princip felt part of a larger urban European youth movement, not only striving for better living conditions and a reasonable wage, but also for bigger ideals such as freedom, national self-determination and social equality. The fact that they reached for the sky reflected the speed of life, the *Zeitgeist's* vertigo, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. I claim, however, that another part of their ambition was triggered by their status as migrants. Their high hopes strikingly contrasted with the reality that they faced in the cities. This theory also extends to the few Bosnian students who went abroad to universities in Vienna, Prague, Rome and Paris. "I am going to Bosnia, to see the countryside's disgrace" one Bosnian student in Vienna wrote to a friend in a letter. This student was Bogdan Zerajic, the first would-be assassin of Bosnia, who failed in his attempt to assassinate the Austrian governor in 1910. I suggest that the Arrival City's insecurity haunted ex-villager Zerajic and made him choose the path of violence.

The generation of Gavrilo Princip was born in poor conditions, raised in good circumstances and had the prospect of a bright future. It must therefore be stated that many representatives of the first generation of the Sarajevo gymnasium pupils became the frontrunners of modernization in Bosnia. Some of them became respected politicians in interwar Yugoslavia, others became famous writers, such as Ivo Andrić, the 1961 Nobel Prize Laureate. The Arrival Cities of Bosnia and Serbia, and in some cases also those of Vienna and Prague, offered great opportunities. However, such opportunities may give birth to both great and tragic men.

In conclusion, I argue that scholars need to question Vladimir Dedijer's notion that Princip and his accomplices were 'primitive rebels' who gave expression to an ancient desire to stand up against alien oppressors.<sup>14</sup> While Dedijer's 1966 study is impressive in many ways, it is framed within a nationalist tradition of writing about the 1914 assassination. I instead claim that Princip was not a 'primitive rebel' from the rural tradition of the Balkans, but rather an urban and modern activist whose problems and ideas were developed in the particular 'in-between-space' of the Arrival City.

Most certainly nationalism, socialism, and other 'isms' of Europe's *fin-de-siècle* all played a role in his radicalization. However, the emphasis many historians have put on the ideological background of Princip is too strong. From a Yugoslav socialist perspective, Princip was the embodiment of dialectic struggle; from a nationalist perspective, he was the Serb or Yugoslav hero and, additionally, from a western Bal-

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<sup>14</sup> Dedijer sees the Young Bosnians as 'primitive rebels' but does not refer to the famous study of Eric Hobsbawm with the same title (*Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*). Hobsbawm's book came out in 1965, one year before the first edition of *The Road to Sarajevo* was published.

kanist perspective, he was the naïve protagonist in an orientalist-flavored narrative about Balkan hotheads. I suggest shifting the emphasis from macro-level understandings of history to the individual level, to look at Princip as a Bosnian student discovering his own social context. Radicalization, as a social question, can best be understood as a process, rather than a state of disconnection.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Princip’s radicalization it is therefore crucial to study the process of his coming-of-age alongside the process of his social migration.

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<sup>15</sup> M. Taylor and J. Horgan, ‘A Conceptual framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist’ *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18:4 (2006), 585-601.

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## IDEOLOGICAL USE OF MEMORIAL PLAQUES DEDICATED TO GAVRILO PRINCIP IN THE UPBRINGING AND EDUCATION OF GENERATIONS OF YOUTH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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*Abstract: This paper analyzes newspaper articles dealing with Sarajevo assassination published in mid-1945 in the Sarajevo daily newspaper Oslobođenje, showing how the narrative of this event and its main protagonist, Gavrilo Princip, were presented with a simplified, one-sided interpretation that guided the upbringing and education of young people. Although the attitudes toward this event may be followed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and different political regimes, this paper focuses primarily on the second half of the century. Although it offers only a partial picture, the paper sheds light on a time devoid of dialogue and the right to differing scholarly interpretations of historical events.*

After the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), many visitors (journalists and various researchers) approached educators in Sarajevo's primary and secondary schools with a question: "How do you interpret the Sarajevo assassination today, and what does Gavrilo Princip mean to you: was he a national hero or an assassin?" This was at a time when one could already say openly that Princip had committed an act of terrorism. Still, such was not the case in that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina named the *Republika Srpska* by the Dayton Agreement of 1995, where the teaching of history, and perhaps even more the general public, continued to interpret Gavrilo Princip as a national hero – no longer as a Yugoslav hero but only a Serbian one. During socialist Yugoslavia, many generations were educated in the narrative of

Gavrilo Princip as a supranational hero who had fought foreign power in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but without additional explanation, such as whether he had been fighting for the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina or for the expansion of Serbia. This is only one example of history teaching as an indicator of a broad approach to history in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Second World War. The generations that took an active part in wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s had learned history in a socialist education system, and during the war, the knowledge they had acquired was incorporated into nationalistic efforts to rectify historic wrongs that then turned into violence.

It is well known that the socialist educational system adopted the regime's official position that mandated an interpretation of history that applied to all citizens of SFRY. Besides, the attempts to establish supranational loyalty to the Yugoslav community were implemented at all educational levels as the most important means to promote statehood and a feeling of supranational belonging. Although there are many examples that may illustrate this, this paper focuses on a particular case to explore the starting point to any challenge to officially-sanctioned viewpoints. One may analyse this using materials published in daily newspapers immediately after the liberation of Sarajevo, which put history in the service of the political establishment. At the time after the World War Second, the victors claimed the moral right to success and believed that history belonged to them; it made no sense to grant others the right to interpret history, because they believed that no such interpretation would lead to progress. In reality, the state established control of historical knowledge, and everything had to correspond to an interpretation of the conflict as a struggle between the communist partisans on the one hand, and the Nazi and fascist occupiers and domestic quislings on the other. Events and individuals from the past were elaborated with the aim of making them fit the needs of the new authorities. The communist regime sought to maintain its ideological and material supremacy in the society by mandating interpretations of different events and valorizing different individuals. Any other interpretation was considered an act against the state.

The instructions on how to interpret the Sarajevo assassination and understanding of the person and acts of Gavrilo Princip first appeared in early May 1945. The daily *Oslobođenje* published a series of articles meant as directives and guidelines for constructing "proper" views of the event. For journalists, these articles were meant as instructions on the spirit, topics and manner of their writing; to academic researchers, the articles presented an interpretation of historic events that scholars were required to promote. Under the title "Revealing the memorial plaque to Gavrilo Princip", these articles from mid-1945 assigned great significance and social value to the assassination. They placed particular emphasis on linking the assassination with the First Youth Congress. "As a part of the First Youth Congress, on May



7, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a large crowd gathered in the Park of the Emperor Dušan for the unveiling of the memorial plaque to the great national hero and martyr, fighter for freedom and brotherhood of all peoples of Yugoslavia – Gavrilo Princip. Joining the gathering with banners and flags were numerous young people whose deeds during the previous four (wartime) years proved that they had deservingly followed ideals of our young hero, Gavrilo Princip, and members of the organization *Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia)*”.<sup>1</sup>

In view of such a gathering, it was impossible to initiate any scholarly dialogue, because such discussion would have raised too many questions, including how it was possible that in a society of “people’s democracy”, the Atmejdani was named the Park of Emperor Dušan”, the Miljacka River bank was named after Vojvoda (*Duke*) Stepa, the Square of the 6<sup>th</sup> November (...), and an assassin was given attributes of a national hero to be admired by progressive youth. Important political figures of the time attended the gathering, lending it legitimacy. As *Oslobodjenje* reported, “the gathering was attended by the President of the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vojislav Kecmanović Ph.D., members of the Peoples’ Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina headed by its Vice President, comrade Rodoljub Čolaković, members of the National Assembly, representatives of the Land and the USAOBiH (United Alliance of Antifascist Youth of Bosnia-Herzegovina), the youth delegates from the provinces and the delegates of the youth of Greece and brotherly Bulgaria”.<sup>2</sup> The mere presence of such high-ranking persons at this event was horrifying to anyone who might have had different ideas. To validate the authenticity of the event, the “Gathering was opened by comrade Braco Kosovac and he passed the floor to comrade Dragoslav Ljubibratić, one of Princip’s collaborators and a member of the revolutionary organization *Young Bosnia*, while underlining the important role of the youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina – the Princip’s youth, inspired by the ideas of brotherhood and unity of all peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, all peoples of Yugoslavia, and emphasized their fight against then reactionary politicians who had advocated a compromise with Vienna. He concluded his speech with the words: “By his ideas, Gavrilo Princip belongs to the young generation of today, which has finally and completely realized the same aspirations Gavrilo Princip initiated in his time”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Otkrivanje spomen-ploče Gavrilo Principu“. *Oslobodjenje*, Year III, No. 45, Sarajevo, 9 May 1945, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

In order to show that, apart from the Serbs, the person of Gavrilo Princip is perceived as heroic by the youth from Croat and Muslim peoples, comrade Cvijetin Mijatović took the floor, followed by two youthful speakers – the Croat Mile Čačić and a Muslim girl, Nađa Biser”.<sup>4</sup> Adhering to a detailed script, the event ended with a commemoration ceremony. “After the speeches, a long line was formed that continued to the historical place of “Princip’s Bridge”, where the bullet shot by Gavrilo Princip announced death to all those who attempted to enslave our peoples. The Gavrilo Princip memorial plaque, removed by the hated occupier in the first days of the occupation, was replaced by a new memorial plaque in the same place. It was unveiled by comrade Borko Vukobrat, a youth from Bosansko Grahovo, with the words: “I am proud and greatly honoured as a countryman of Gavrilo Princip to have this opportunity to unveil this memorial plaque to his name at this first day of the First Youth Congress of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Gavrilo Princip, who assassinated Ferdinand, was only the first in a line of many national heroes. Gavrilo Princip showed heroism when he leapt at the car with gun in hand. Grahovo also gave birth to new heroes of today, who leapt at the tanks in the same way. On their arrival to Sarajevo, the Schwabe (pejorative for German) gangs removed the memorial plaque to Gavrilo Princip. But those heroes, inspired by ideas of Gavrilo Princip and his comrades from *Young Bosnia*, fought and struggled once again to liberate our dear city of Sarajevo and all of our homeland. The ideas for which Gavrilo Princip fought, became reality, and today we are again unveiling this memorial plaque to Gavrilo Princip and other heroes. May there be eternal glory and thanks to the national hero Gavrilo Princip.

After these words, comrade Borko Vukobrat revealed the memorial plaque containing the following text written in golden letters: AS A SIGN OF ETERNAL GRATITUDE TO GAVRILO PRINCIP AND HIS COMRADES – FIGHTERS AGAINST GERMAN OCCUPIERS, THIS PLAQUE IS DEDICATED BY THE YOUTH OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. Sarajevo, May 7, 1945”.<sup>5</sup> If one counts the number of times the name of the leading hero was mentioned, it becomes clear that the keyword and the significance and merits ascribed to Princip constituted a direct message to anyone who might entertain a different interpretation. The paper reported, “Those present followed the unveiling of the memorial plaque by declaring, “Glory to the un-dead national hero Gavrilo Princip and his comrades”!<sup>6</sup> This article in

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

*Oslobođenje* was followed by others that further affirmed the officially-prescribed narrative of the Sarajevo Assassin.

In the same issue of the *Oslobođenje*, on the following page, the official version of the assassination was presented in great detail: “On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip killed the nephew of Emperor Franz Joseph, the heir to the throne Ferdinand and his wife, announcing the uncompromising fight of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Austro-Hungarian conquerors. The vindictive shot fired on the bank of the Miljacka River spoke of inextinguishable hatred toward the foreign power and love for the enslaved homeland borne in the hearts of the progressive Bosnian-Herzegovinian youth. The heroic accomplishment of Gavrilo Princip inspired hundreds and thousands of young sons of Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the liberation war against fascist conquerors and their servants to fight for a better future and for a happier, brotherly Bosnia and Herzegovina like the one Gavrilo Princip had also wanted, and for which he gave his life”.<sup>7</sup>

The next task of the article was to incorporate the slogan of brotherhood and unity and to establish continuity between the Second World War and this fundamental communist slogan. This was done in the following way: “As early as the time of the arduous and unequal fight against the enemy, through numerous heroic deeds of young patriots, the brotherhood and unity of Serbian, Croatian and Muslim youth was forged. Today, the united youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina are experiencing brotherly love for the homeland based on the example of Gavrilo Princip and his comrades. His deeds taught heroism to the national heroes Slobodan Princip, Pavle Goranin, Slaviša Vajner Čiča, Danilo Đokić and many more of Tito’s brave youth. The torch lighted by Gavrilo’s shots on that historic day of June burned for years for the fighters for justice and freedom, and it flared up during the national liberation war with inexhaustible power and the heroism of our youth whose numerous heroic deeds and selfless sacrifices inscribed the brightest pages of our history. Gavrilo’s shots announced the uncompromising fight against the foreigners – for freedom, national independence and a better life in which all our peoples would live together and in happiness”.<sup>8</sup> There was not a single word about the unrest, protests, insults and other undesired events caused by the assassination.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “U znak vječne zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima“. *Oslobođenje*, Year III; No. 45, Sarajevo, 9 May, 1945, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Further information is to be found in the proceedings of the academic conference “Sarajevo 1914 – Devedeset godina poslije“ (*Sarajevo 1914 – Ninety Years Later*) held on 28 June

By equating Gavrilo Princip with national heroes of the Second World War, these articles suggested the assassins were Tito's heroes and Tito's youth and delivering a clear message to anyone with a different opinion on the assassin. The vocabulary used in this text was identical to that used in propaganda regarding other events, thereby emphasizing that this was the Party's position. As in other narratives in the post-war period, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was disparaged: "The dream of Gavrilo Princip and his comrades did not come true. The year 1918 did not bring to our peoples, especially the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, any greater freedom or happiness or a better life. The Old Yugoslavia was a prison of peoples in which the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina were denied all rights. Today, after four years of the war of liberation, the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina are celebrating their own holiday, their liberation. The dream of Gavrilo Princip, Gaćinović, Čubrilović, and others who had given their young lives for a homeland for all peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is coming true. Sarajevo, where the first retaliatory shots at Germanic conquerors were fired, became the capital of the first Bosnian-Herzegovinian government. Its streets echo with the sounds of marching soldiers of Tito's Army, who will remain faithful guardians of the legacy of the war of liberation for which the peoples of our country made countless sacrifices. May Gavrilo Princip and his comrades remain eternally in glory!"<sup>10</sup> These proclamations sent a clear message to scholars, history textbook writers, and the general public, leaving no room for dialogue, since anyone questioning them might be considered an "enemy of the people."

To provide a scientific basis for this view, *Oslobođenje* published an article two days later called "Lik Veselina Masleše – publiciste, naučnika i javnog radnika" ("The Personage of Veselin Masleša – publicist, scholar, and public figure"). At that time, *Borba* (published in Belgrade) was the main Party newsletter, and articles published there were frequently republished in the daily newspapers of the Republics. The papers' interpretation of the Sarajevo events of 1914 was therefore disseminated throughout Yugoslavia, most likely under directives from the Party's central headquarters. *Borba* reported, "Veselin Masleša was born on 20 April 1906 and later became a member of the young generation of Marxists who devoted their skills to serving the proletariat. Originally from Banja Luka, he was educated first in Bosanska Krajina, then in Frankfurt, where he studied political science and Marxism. After that he went to Paris, but he was soon expelled from France because of his political

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2004. Selected papers from the conference were published in *Sarajevo 1914*, a special edition of journal *Prilozi* 34 (2005): 13-78.

<sup>10</sup> "U znak vječne zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima". *Oslobođenje*, Year III; No. 45, Sarajevo, 9 May, 1945, 6

activities. Upon his return, he was arrested and kept in prison until the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941. Masleša had spent a short time in Osijek and then moved to Belgrade where, in addition to his active involvement with illegal organizations, he wrote prolifically. Various newspapers and journals published his literary criticism and other articles on economics, sociology and history. Masleša also became an editor and translator. His editing of the second volume of Marx's *Capital*, translated by Moša Pijade (who was at the time in prison in Sremska Mitrovica) is generally considered his most important work. As an experienced scholar, he also published his own original studies in *Kultura*, most notably the works 'Mlada Bosna' (Young Bosnia), with a forward by Milovan Đilas; and 'Svetozar Marković,' with the foreword by Radovan Zgodović."<sup>11</sup>

Masleša's published biography conformed fully to the requirements of a scholar who could provide an authoritative, incontrovertible interpretation of the life and deeds of Gavrilo Princip. The details of his life corresponded with the image of an ideal scholar at the time: educated, persecuted by the authorities, scientifically versatile, knowledgeable of publishing, and so on. Veselin Masleša was presented as highly knowledgeable of the terrorist organization Young Bosnia. His biography was further enhanced with the vitally important element of his service during the national liberation war: "From the first days of war, Veselin Masleša joined the ranks of people's fighters. He performed a wide variety of functions. As a journalist, he centered his activities on liberation and combat. He was member of political department of the 4<sup>th</sup> Montenegrin Brigade and Head of the Propaganda Section of the AVNOJ (*Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije – Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia*). At the first session of AVNOJ he was elected to its the executive committee. He was killed in the Fifth Enemy Offensive in Montenegro. In his foreward to Masleša's book *Young Bosnia*, Milovan Đilas concluding by summarizing Masleša's importance as a publicist and scholar: 'Veselin Masleša is an example of a tireless cultural and political worker. His life is the epitome of those intellectuals who remained faithful to their people and to progressive social thought. He and others suffered harsh repression because of their work, and some of them lost their lives. The personage of Veselin Masleša will radiate far in future by its example and its ideas'."<sup>12</sup> This article, third in sequence, reaffirmed everything that had been said about Gavrilo Princip in the two prior texts. The interpretation of history was validated by Masleša's scholarly authority and achievements as a Partisan.

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<sup>11</sup> "Lik Veselina Masleše – publiciste, naučnika i javnog radnika". *Oslobođenje*, Year III, No. 46, Sarajevo, 11 May 1945, 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Party-issued instructions on how to understand the Sarajevo assassinations were finalized in late June 1945, by adoption of a report on celebration of the Vidovdan (St. Vitus Day) in Sarajevo. Party powers fashioned the celebration as a combination of religious and secular events for the needs of the “peoples’ government,” ideologically, politically, socially and culturally. On the second page of the paper *Oslobođenje*, under the title “Vidovdan was celebrated festively in Sarajevo”, there was an extensive report on the celebrations reiterating previous interpretations: “Thirty one years have passed since the day when the revolver shots fired by the un-dead fighters for freedom, Gavrilo Princip and his comrades, echoed on the River Miljacka. They were members of the Young Bosnian movement that was based on great love for one’s peoples and the aim of liberating our homeland from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Their path, a path of devoted struggle, was followed by all our progressive and freedom-loving youth. The ideals for which the members of Young Bosnia fought were realized and firmly grounded in our national-liberation struggle. And today, while remembering heroic deeds of Gavrilo Princip and his comrades, we also remember those of Tito’s soldiers everywhere in our country who spilled their blood for a better and happier future of our peoples”.<sup>13</sup> Of course it was necessary to report that the atmosphere was festive, that the turnout from all social strata was massive, and that the most prominent political figure in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary to the Party Committee of CPY (*Communist Party of Yugoslavia*) for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Đuro Pucar Stari was also there. His title, well known politically, was not mentioned in the report; however, the meaning of his attendance was well understood by everybody. “Sarajevo paid its respects to the fearless heroes of St. Vitus Day in a very solemn way. Many youths, military and citizens came to Koševo to put flowers and wreaths on their graves. Among them were members of the national government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Minister of Social Policy, comrade Novak Mastilović and Minister Comrade Đuro Pucar Stari, who personally placed a wreath on the common grave”.<sup>14</sup>

The massive turnout, presence of the dignitaries of the State and Party, flowers and wreaths were all well-designed elements of a commemoration that was named a celebration: “The event was opened by comrade Anđelko Volić, member of the local committee of USAOBiH, who said, among other things, the following: ‘Today, for the first time in our free homeland, we are celebrating the day when the un-dead fighters, Gavrilo Princip and his comrades, announced to the great Austro-Hungarian

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<sup>13</sup> “Vidovdan je u Sarajevu svečano proslavljen“. *Oslobođenje*, Year III, No. 74, Sarajevo, 29 June 1945, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



Monarchy that the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, our freedom-loving peoples, shall not be slaves. This great holiday has never before been celebrated in Sarajevo, by the youth of Sarajevo, in a completely free, brotherly and united homeland. The youth are particularly entitled to celebrate this great day because the fighters, the heroes of the St. Vitus day, the un-dead Princip and his comrades, were also young”<sup>15</sup> Then the Protocol once again cited well-known historic events. “After that, the fallen heroes were honoured by a minute of silence, followed by comrade Braco Kosovac, President of the City Committee of the USAOBiH, taking the floor and describing in brief the history of the organization Young Bosnia; and among other things, he emphasized that Young Bosnia first came into existence around 1910, at the time of democratic and revolutionary turmoil in Europe that followed the Russian revolution of 1905. In our country, at that time, democratic life was undermined and the position of serfs was unbearable. Such circumstances, such revolt against Austro-Hungarian tyranny, produced youth ready at any time to lay down their lives for the freedom of their peoples. In the beginning, Young Bosnia had a largely Serbian national character. Youth looked up to Serbia as a country where life was better, more bearable. They felt their people were suffering and that they were nationally and socially enslaved. Young Bosnia had no help from anyone because the business community (‘čaršija’), although its merchants and craftsmen felt Serbian, did not want to fight. They had no help from Serbia either. Serbia provided help only when required by imperialistic interests. The young heroes believed their personal sacrifice was sufficient to achieve freedom. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, young fighters also emerged from Muslim and Croat communities, so besides Žerajić, Gaćinović and other Serbs who were members of Young Bosnia, Mehmedbašić, Golubić and Ivo Kranjčević also joined. Young Bosnia thus assumed a Yugoslav character”<sup>16</sup>

Following the established order of things, the speech was expected to mention the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in a negative light. This was done as follows: “The ensuing imperialistic war was followed by an imperialistic peace. That peace failed to yield any of the results for which Gavrilo Princip and his comrades had laid down their lives. The same community (‘čaršija’) they had fought against, and that Princip had hated, came to power. That same ‘čaršija’ wanted to use Princip’s patriotism for their Great Serbian purposes. It wanted to ruin the name of Gavrilo Princip, who had loved Serbian peoples with all his heart, but he had also loved all other peoples”<sup>17</sup> But

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

the “(...) people’s government offers the following: ‘Today, the situation is completely different. Today the youth are not the only ones who fight, but they are rather a part of the general populist movement. What we can learn from the Young Bosnia is fierce patriotism, how one should sacrifice and die for one’s people. Their examples should show us how to affirm brotherhood and unity. Gavrilo Princip, we can tell you that the youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina stand firmly on the foundation you have laid! With these words the celebration concluded’.”<sup>18</sup> This glorified portrait of this event offered the prospect of a better and more just society. Anything different would have damaged this prescribed narrative and been politically unacceptable.

The day-time celebrations alone were not enough for this St. Vitus Day. The paper went on to report, “In the evening, an academic meeting was held in the Youth Home that was opened by Braco Kosovac honouring the heroes of the Young Bosnia and describing the role of the young people gathered in Young Bosnia to fight for liberation of our peoples. Their assassination of Franz Ferdinand had not been an act of fanatics, but a reaction to the politics of Austro-Hungary and reaction to the difficult social situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The heroes of Young Bosnia were pioneers of revolutionary awareness. They understood that freedom could not be won in peaceful and legal ways; instead, they took the path of individual terror, forgetting the link with the broad popular masses, which is the only way for a political struggle to be successful. Although they had failed to find the appropriate form of fighting, their sacrifice still produced a deed that is a glorious page of our political history. They were models of heroism and self-abnegation to today’s generation of youth, whose massive participation in national-liberation fight with arms in their hands has brought to a conclusion what Gavrilo Princip and comrades had started on St. Vitus Day in 1914. Then abstracts from documents on the assassination, the articles ‘Ljudi’ (*People*) by Veselin Masleša, and ‘Onima koji odlaze’ (*To Those Who are Leaving*) by Vlado Gaćinović were read, as well as Gaćinović’s poem ‘Drugarići sa Volge’ (*To a Comrade (female) from Volga*) and ‘Otadžbina’ (*The Homeland*). The meeting ended with the ‘Pjesma o Titu’ (*Song about Tito*) that was performed by the choir of the Central Theatre Group”.<sup>19</sup>

According to the news published in the paper, Sarajevo celebrated St. Vitus Day with a program that was held in a number of locations in the city and that lasted the whole day. The question remains: “What was the perception of this ceremony in va-

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

rious national and social groups of population?” But this would require additional research.

The articles published in *Oslobođenje* depict a pattern that imposes a strict division between events of the distant and recent past, with construction of common elements for actions in the future. Public observance of St. Vitus Day combined religious festivities with a secular holiday, and insistence on the speeches as the central and the most important element of the ceremonies of the time sent out a clear message from the center of political power to the general public.

During the peacetime development of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, generations were educated in schools, at celebrations and commemorations, and on school trips, all in this type of historic learning. The contents, publicly already established by mid-1945, were conveyed in textbooks and the teaching of history all the way until the 1990s. With this valorized picture of this historic event, as well as many others, the socialist generation joined the war following dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Dissolution of the country had led to the end of the prescribed historic lessons. The symbiosis between Princip and the national-liberation events faded away. Interpretations of historic events and their protagonists were transferred into national historiographies. The figures and events from this article, Gavrilo Princip, the Sarajevo assassination, the national-liberation war, St. Vitus Day, communist politicians (...) were given new interpretations, completely different from the ones before. A dialogue with the past was begun but it never fully crystalized. After half a century of delay, the discussions sometimes wandered from academic discourse into the domains of political rhetoric and feuilletons.

The various current interpretations of Princip exceed the intentions of this paper, and only some of them will be mentioned here, without any special order, to introduce the necessity of thinking differently if one wants to build a democratic society. One of the interpretations of this event is “So this was how Croatia entered the First World War. The trigger for the war was the assassination of the heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 by Gavrilo Princip (1894-1918), a member of a terrorist organization Young Bosnia, organized and directed from Serbia. The assassin had also shot and killed the heir to the throne’s wife Sofia, who was pregnant, and he later regretted this”.<sup>20</sup> In one current textbook the event is described as follows: “The excuse for the war was found in a bloody event of 1914. In June of that year, Austro-Hungarian army had been carrying out military exercises in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they were to be visited by the heir to the throne Franz Ferdi-

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<sup>20</sup> Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest*, - volume 21, Zagreb: 2008, *Europapress holding*, 313-314

nand. Members of a revolutionary organization Young Bosnia, mostly students of secondary schools and university, had planned to assassinate the heir. Supported by some secret organizations from Serbia, members of the Young Bosnia twice attempted to assassinate the heir on 28 June 1914 on the occasion of his visit to Sarajevo. The first attempt was unsuccessful, while in the second, a young grammar school student Gavrilo Princip shot and killed the heir to the throne and his wife Sofia”.<sup>21</sup>

This textbook also offers information on the monument devoted to the event in the following way: “From ancient times, monuments were erected to honour great people and events. All of history is filled with numerous monuments that serve as silent witnesses to the past. During the First World War and afterwards, monuments commemorating the killings were built throughout Europe and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most famous among them certainly was the one erected at the site of the assassination in 1917, on the third anniversary of the event. Beneath a medallion with images of the two victims, a Latin script read, “In this place, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Archduchess Sofia of Hohenberg gave their lives and spilled their blood for God and homeland’. This monument was removed after the war, in 1918. In 1953 it was replaced by a memorial plaque with an inscription and imprints of Princip’s feet at the place on the street where he fired the shots. This monument was destroyed in the period 1992-1995. Today, the location is marked by a plaque that shows the location of the assassination”.<sup>22</sup>

The *Museum Mlada Bosna*, established during the socialist times, was restored and is today known as the *Museum of Sarajevo 1878-1918*. During the socialist period, the bridge across the Miljacka River at the assassination site, formerly known as the Latin Bridge, had been renamed Princip’s Bridge. After 1995, its former name was restored and it again became known as the Latin Bridge.<sup>23</sup> The ideological import of these monuments becomes clear when the various interpretations are put in sequential order: First the Austro-Hungarian period, then time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then the era of Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina, and finally the present-day independent Bosnia and Herzegovina. The textbook also contains an assessment of the assassination and Gavrilo Princip by Duke Georg von Hohenberg, grandson of Franz Ferdinand: “For me, and seen from the perspective of today, he

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<sup>21</sup> Leonard Valenta, *Historija - Povijest* (History) textbook for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade of primary school, Sarajevo, Bosanska Riječ, 2007, 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> About this, see: Indira Kučuk-Sorguč, “Prilog historiji svakodnevnice: Spomenik umorstvu – okamenjena prošlost na izdržavanju stoljetne kazne“. Sarajevo: *Prilozi*, Institut za istoriju, 2005, No. 34, 61-66.

was a poor student joined by a handful of other people who thought they were doing the right thing, but did the wrong thing”.<sup>24</sup>

This balanced opinion, without any harsh references to terrorism, assassination, or the primitivism of destroying the original monument etcetera, has not prevented scholars and textbook authors in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina from holding varying opinions about this event and characterizing its main protagonist differently. But a dialogue has begun, and with it, the possibility of public re-examination of the past. In the continual struggle for legitimacy, political elites in different ethnic communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been using the educational systems for propagating historic interpretations that maintain the *status quo* or promote their desired goals. The society of Bosnia and Herzegovina has embarked on the path of a free approach to the past, without centralized control – one of the main freedoms enjoyed by citizens in a democratic society. This time-consuming process is developing slowly and at a different pace at the national-academic level in a divided Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.

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<sup>24</sup> Leo Valenta, *Historija - Povijest*, 41.





UDK 725.94(497.6 Sarajevo)“1914“

## THE POLITICS OF MEMORY: THE FACE AND THE PLACE OF THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION

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*Abstract: The paper examines the visual memory constructs synonymous with the Sarajevo Assassination in the period since the beginning of the First World War. The attention is given to the transformation of the official commemorations after the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia on 28 June 1914, the ideologically motivated mythologising of Gavrilo Princip and Mlada Bosna conspirators and subsequent ‘museumification’ of their memory in the communist period. Following the chronological alignment of the Assassination visual memory constructs in hundred years to date, it is possible to identify the interwoven pattern of exclusivity, conflict and inclusivity, orchestrated by each consecutive regime in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in periods between three major wars. The exposition and interpretation of this divisive and contentious memory pattern, as suggested in the current Sarajevo ‘Sarajevo 1878-1918’ exhibition, provides an argument in favour of more complex and pluralist approach to the subject of Assassination, in keeping with the contemporary critical heritage discourse which is emerging among the transforming communities in Central and Eastern Europe.*

Whilst much of the First World War was fought outside Bosnia-Herzegovina, the country is often seen as its symbolic epicentre due to the well-known political assassination of a Habsburg Crown prince and his wife in Sarajevo in 1914. This single action eventually drew a number of other countries into major conflict, resulting in the deaths of millions of soldiers and civilians across the European continent from 1914 to 1918.

The Assassination was seen as a catastrophe by the Austro-Hungarian authorities who ruled Bosnia at that time, while the captured assassin, a self-proclaimed Yugoslav nationalist and six other conspirators, claimed it as an act of ‘tyrannicide’ in protest against the foreign oppression.<sup>1</sup> This year’s centenary is marked by a local debate which is questioning the ‘ownership’ of the Assassination, as the commemorations cannot escape the fresh memories of the last war (1992 to 1995) and its legacy of destruction and point to the heart of the complex identity of Bosnian nationals.<sup>2</sup>



Plate 1: Gavrilo Princip, Franz-Ferdinand and Family, Graveyard for Bosniak soldiers from First World War in Austria (Sarajevo City Archives)

The 1990s war deliberately targeted the selected symbols of Bosnian cultural heritage aiming for the ‘obliteration of memory’, as correctly termed by Robert Donia. This was later continued in a form of the ‘segmentation of memory’ in which Sarajevo’s archives, libraries and museums, have been either devastated or actively neglected by the post-war political structure. Furthermore, the attempts to physically ‘trifurcate’ the records of libraries and cultural institutions by the nationalists’ political apparatus almost succeeded, in Donia’s words, ‘to reformulate’ the fundamental repository of records and information for future generations.<sup>3</sup>

The recent controversial accidental or ‘accidental’ burning of the part of the National Archives in the Presidency of B-H building, during the citizens’ protests in February in Sarajevo is the latest ‘obliteration’ attempt, yet to be fully understood.<sup>4</sup> In parallel, same can be said for a large scale ‘post-modernist memory fabrication’

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<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (London: Macgibbon&Kee, 1966) 341

<sup>2</sup> Vahidin Preljević, ‘Čija je 1914?’, *Oslobođenje, Pogledi*, Sarajevo, 25.05.2013, 30

<sup>3</sup> Robert J. Donia, ‘Sarajevo Archives and Cultural memory under Fire: destruction and the Post-war nationalist Transformation’, in *Historijski arhiv Bosne I Hercegovine*, 2004, <<http://www.arhivsa.ba/ica2004/robert.html>> [26.08.2013]

<sup>4</sup> Bosnian media, have we been to the same protests? « Zašto ne <http://zastone.ba/en/bosnian-media-have-we-been-to-the-same-protests/>

in Emir Kusturica's Andrićgrad, with its specific appropriation of Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia) symbolism and the significant political support in one part of Bosnia.<sup>5</sup> Equally, the 'culture war' is raging between the 'modernists' who seek to contextualise the centenary commemorations within the European First World War discourse while the 'traditionalists' reject any revision that may alter a specific version of an identity-forming narrative. Thus the Sarajevo Assassination persists as a Bosnian meta-narrative, a memory in flux, continuously associated with the political instrumentalization in the last one hundred years.

This paper is a shorter version of the thesis on politics of memory of the Assassination, in which I applied methods from the visual studies setting to, as framed by Mieke Bal, to 'peel[...] off, ...[a] layer after layer of interwoven signs and signifiers, in order to deconstruct its make-up'.<sup>6</sup> It is an overview of the official memory visualisations on location of the Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918 which replaced the former Muzej Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia Museum) and it traces the path of memory-making and the elevation from the *place of memory* into a museum.<sup>7</sup> However, the museological aspect of commemorations is only marginally dealt with here, in cognisance of the broader critical heritage discourse, as framed in Mathew Rampley's edition.<sup>8</sup>

## Commemoration of the Victims and the Place Memory-making

The corner of former Franz Josef Strasse and Appel Quay at the time of the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into Austria-Hungary, seen on a photograph from 1908 has a look of a Central European city street, as suggested by the architectural forms with classic pillars, pediments and medallions between window arches, typical of the period. (Plate 2). A row of young trees protected with timber guarding grow along the Appel Quai. The ground floor at the corner of the building houses a pastry

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<sup>5</sup> Press Online Republika Srpska: Andrićgrad - kulturna prestonica Srba! [http://pressrs.ba/sr/vesti/vesti\\_dana/story/40347/Andri%C4%87grad+-+kulturna+preston...](http://pressrs.ba/sr/vesti/vesti_dana/story/40347/Andri%C4%87grad+-+kulturna+preston...) 29.06.2013.> [06.07.2013]

<sup>6</sup> Bal, Mieke, *The Talking museum*, in *Double Exposures, The subject of cultural analysis*, Routledge, New York & London, 1996, 88.

<sup>7</sup> Paul B. Miller, 'Compromising memory: The Site of the Sarajevo Assassination, EES Noon Discussion, 10.01.2007, 1-3.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Rampley, ed., 'Contested Histories: Heritage and/as the Construction of the Past: An Introduction', in *Heritage, Ideology and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe, Contested Pasts, Contested Presents*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012) 1-20.

shop with a name-plate above the entrance, with a text in German: Moritz Schiller Delicatessen. The frieze above the ground floor carries an advertising board along the corner of the building with inscriptions in Hebrew and Arabic. There are four languages and four alphabets on the same façade of the building.



Plate 2: Corner of former Appel Quay and Franz Josef Strasse, today Ulica Zelenih beretki and Obala Kulina bana ; 7th December 1908 -Public announcement of the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, 1908, From Bogičević, Vojislav, *Sarajevski atentat, Stenogram glavne rasprave*, in Sarajevo City Archives

A group of people are reading the Public Announcement of the Annexation. The group consists of two soldiers, one of them Bosnian, judging by the fez on his head, two other adults and two Bosnian children, girl dressed in traditional *dimije* (baggy trousers). A dandy-ish looking young passer-by in a European-cut suit with a fez is joining the crowd to read the text on the poster in Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian and in Cyrillic, advising them that Austria-Hungary took formal charge of the country from the Ottoman Empire, after 30 years of ‘occupation’ and is now fully institutionalising the Habsburg rule under the imperial seal of the Emperor Franz Joseph.

Six years later, the same place became a scene of the infamous political assassination, during the ill-chosen timing of Archduke Franz Ferdinand’s official visit to oversee the military manoeuvres in Bosnia which were coinciding with the Bosnian-Serbs’ national feast day of Vidovdan-St. Vitus. The historic narrative of the Sarajevo Assassination is well known, and the event in which a son of a peasant eliminated the European Crown prince unleashing a huge catastrophic chain reaction, catapulting the key conspirators into the realm of symbols and legends or, in today’s terms, into the international celebrity. As a consequence, and after a brief period of

commemorations in honour of the deceased Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia on location, with the departure of Monarchy from Bosnia, their memory was practically obliterated by the radical refocus on commemorating the perpetrator(s) on location of the assassination.

The Austria-Hungary officials immediately termed the act and the place of the assassination as the *Catastrophe*, the euphemism that appeared in newspaper reports. The spatial-visual elements were devised to mark the site of mourning, including memorial stamps and memorial plaque, accompanied by postcards and popular literature and publications (Plate 3). The historic site of assassination began to be, to paraphrase Pierre Nora, an ‘appropriation by a cult of death’.<sup>9</sup>



Plate 3: Corner of former Franz Joseph Street and Appel Quay, with Moritz Schiller's pastry shop and the place of the assassination, marked with +, 1914, (Photo : Sarajevo City Archives)

The heading on the postcard and the cross ‘+’ sign are pointing to the spot where the Archduke’s car was halted. The ground floor still houses the Moritz Schiller’s pastry shop, with some visible advertising embellishments on the façade and a text in Latin script and Bosnian/Serbo-Croat advertising Croatia insurance company office for Bosnia-Herzegovina on the fascia above the shop front. The draped dark flags at half-mast along the street indicate the period of official mourning (Plate 3).

This closer look on the photo show that the orderliness of architectural forms is contrasted by a plurality of dress code, textual and visual signs and languages,

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<sup>9</sup> Pierre Nora, ed. , ‘Entre Memoire st Histoire, La Problematique des Lieux, in *Les Lieux d Memoire*, (Paris:Gallimard 1984) 17-42.



signifying what Pierre Nora calls 'the ephemeral film of actuality'.<sup>10</sup> Within a short period of time, a simple stone memorial plaque will be placed above the corner shop window as a first permanent visual commemoration of the victims of the Assassination. Some alterations to the façade had to be made to accommodate it.



Plate 4: Corner of Appel Quay and Franz Josef Street, location of the assassination, showing memorial plaque to Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Höchenberg, and Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing during the official dedication of the monument, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)

On the third anniversary of the assassination on 28 June 1917, Spomenik Umorstvu (Monument to Killing) was officially unveiled on location, with an official Catholic consecration ceremony. The Spomenik Umorstvu (Monument to Killing) was based on the design by a sculptor Eugen Bory from Budapest, in a late Secession style.<sup>11</sup> It was an asymmetric composition, with a 12-meter high two-pillar structure and a bench at the mouth of the Latin Bridge bordering the former Appel Quay. From the bench across from the twin-pillars, the public could have had a direct view to the lower part of the pillars and two medallions with busts of Archduke and Duchess.<sup>12</sup> (Plate 4).

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<sup>10</sup> Nora, P., [1984], 18.

<sup>11</sup> Krzović, I., *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918*, (Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Sarajevo, 1987) 229.

<sup>12</sup> Indira Kučuk-Sorguč, 'Prilog historiji svakodnevnice: Spomenik umorstvu-Okamenjena prošlost na izdržavanju stoljetne kazne', in *Prilozi* 34 (2005) 61-66.

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Plate 5: View to Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing with double pillar and bench at Latinska Ćuprija-Lateiner Brucke erected to commemorate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hohenberg, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)

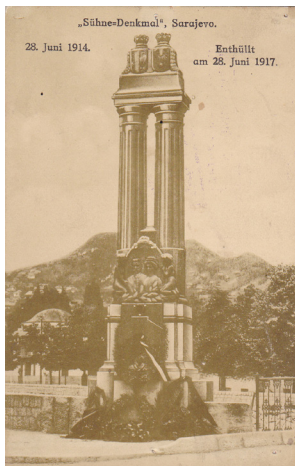


Plate 6: Postcard and photo of Spomenik Umorstvu-Monument to Killing at Latinska Ćuprija-Lateiner Brucke erected to commemorate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie von Hohenberg, 28 June 1917, (Sarajevo City Archives)

The visual impact of the monument, the ritual and the selected gathering, dominated by military and police presence, was designed as a strong symbolic demonstration of ruling authority's wish to commemorate the victims, but also to

demonstrate confidence and restore the order according to its values. The timing was in particularly significant, given that this was the third year of the Great War.

Towering over the modest surrounding of smaller scale buildings each side of the Latin bridge, the monument was an attraction to visitors from the Metropolis to Sarajevo, as seen on a photo (Plate 5.) There were plans for building of a memorial church in a neo-Gothic/Alpine style based on designs by the same Hungarian sculptor on an unknown location, but this never went ahead.

Closer look to commemorative postcard and the photograph taken from the same angle show the graphic intervention at the background to the Monument and blotting out of the unsightly building under scaffold (Plate 6). This artistic embellishment can be seen as a handy metaphor for the *never-ending business of bringing order and harmony to this troublesome place*, as it must have been regarded by the authorities.

The first mention of the Monument to Killing during socialist Yugoslav period can be found in in the catalogue of the exhibition “Architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1878-1918”, curated by the art historian Ibrahim Krzović for the National Art Gallery of Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>13</sup> While restricting his observations to the architectural description of the monument, Krzović must have been aware of the significance of this discrete broadening of the commemoration narrative, made by the silent re-entrance of the victims in the public eye, without an overt challenge to the official communist narrative of the Sarajevo Assassination, in 1987.

Later on in 2004, Indira Kučuk-Sorguč delves a bit further into the politics of commemoration. She challenges the propositions to fully reconstruct the Monument to Killing on the original location in perspective, by contrasting it with the lack of commemorations of the older heroes of Bosnian resistance to the Occupation in 1878, namely Muhamed Hadžijamaković and Avdo Jabučica. While their names can be on the street plaques of two smaller Sarajevo streets, according to her, they have never been otherwise commemorated. With this, she highlights the need for the balanced versus selective ‘distribution’ of memory of the period which had been heavily dominated by the official memory of Mlada Bosna and Princip at the expense of other complex local narratives.

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<sup>13</sup> Krzović, I., 242.

## Expropriation, Erasure and Reversal of Memory (1918-1941)

The new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia succeeded the Austria-Hungary rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has officially distanced itself from direct knowledge and association with the Mlada Bosna organization and condemned them at the international level, while the popular opinion in Serbia and parts of Bosnia was that Gavrilo Princip and the others ‘sacrificed their lives for freedom’. The youth of conspirators, their conduct, the scale and harshness of the trial, the executions and sentences, all these commanded attention and often empathy, respect and admiration, not only among the Slavs but also by a number of international supporters.

At the same time, large segments of the population in Bosnia- Herzegovina felt excluded and threatened by the new authority which harboured many antagonistic, nationalistic and expansionistic tendencies at the expense of Bosnia, under the disguise of the ‘liberating and unifying’ Serbian military, political and royal leadership. As already noted by Alija Nametak and quoted by Muhidin Pelesić, the Serbian military commander Stepa Stepanović upon entering Sarajevo in 1918 effectively stated to the local leaders that he did not recognize Bosniaks as the indigenous people of the land.<sup>14</sup> Yet his name—Obala Stepe Stepanovića, was immediately given to former Appel Quay in Sarajevo and remained such throughout the socialist Yugoslav period until it was changed to Ulica Zelenih beretki, after the defenders of Sarajevo in the 1992-1995 war.

The arrogance of the Serbian-dominated new rulers was matched by the attitude of Bosniak political leaders who were, in the turbulence of the events, mainly focused on their own economic and political survival, opportune tactical alliances and trade-offs with the new regime.<sup>15</sup>

From the beginning, the new administration started erasing the visual iconography of the former regime, firstly the one immediately associated with the former Monarchy and its legal and cultural role.<sup>16</sup> Anything that reminded of the Austria-Hungary, the monuments, the portraits of the Emperor, the plaques and place-names, had to be removed, in parallel to ‘cleansing’ of the official language

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<sup>14</sup> Muhidin Pelesić, ‘Drijemanje na ramenu vremena ili žudnja za vlašću predvodnika iznad nada i strahova sunarodnjaka’, in *Historijska traganja* 3(2009) 51-89 (68).

<sup>15</sup> Pelesić, M., 89.

<sup>16</sup> Seka Brkljača, ‘Neke karakteristike integracijskih procesa Bosne i Hercegovine u novu državu, Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca /Jugoslaviju’, in *Historijska traganja* 3 (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2009) 137-182.

and communication using the German terms.<sup>17</sup> The instruction was issued to all local authorities for the removal of ‘all photographs, sculptures, coats of arms [and] plaques that remind of the old regime [...] in keeping with the spirit of our people and without offending the dignity of others.’<sup>18</sup>

Consequently, the Spomenik Umorstvu commemorating the victims of the assassination was removed in December 1918, but its parts were kept safe for more than ninety years by various individuals and authorities in Bosnia.<sup>19</sup>

By the time the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed most of Mlada Bosna conspirators were dead. Princip’s remains were exhumed on 9th June 1920, and together with those of Čabrinović, Grabež and others who died in Theresienstadt and Möllersdorf prisons, were transported to Sarajevo and buried in a common grave in Sarajevo’s graveyard Koševo. These were joined by the remains of Ilić, the elder Čubrilović, Jovanović and Žerajić.<sup>20</sup>



Plate 7: The removal of St. Vitus’s heroes- G. Princip, V. Čabrinović, T. Grabež- Exhumation of remains, Handwritten text in Cyrillic: Na odru herojima Vidovdana pri iskopu kostiju u Terezinu 1919, (Sarajevo City Archives, date incorrect)

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<sup>17</sup> Rodinis, A., 237-255.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 246; Full original quote in Bosnian: ”Naredite stoga, da se u svim javnim prostorijama poskidaju slike, kipovi, grbovi, natpisi, itd. koji podsjećaju na staru vladavinu. To treba izvršiti na način koji pristoji ugledu uredskih prostorija a i odgovara duši našeg naroda, jer on zazire od vrijeđanja tuđih osjećaja. Poskidane stvari pošaljite vladinom ekonomatu, osim onoga što možete zadržati za drugu sličnu potrebu.”

<sup>19</sup> Kučuk-Sorguč, I., 61-66.

<sup>20</sup> Dedijer, V. 364.

The archival photograph of ‘The removal of the St. Vitus’s heroes’ shows a large crowd gathered around three coffins in Theresienstadt, before the transport of remains to Sarajevo (Plate 7) to be buried in a simple common grave. The return ‘home’ and re-burial, in a ‘freed country’ after the Great War offered a form of pilgrimage destination for Serbian youth. (Plate 8).

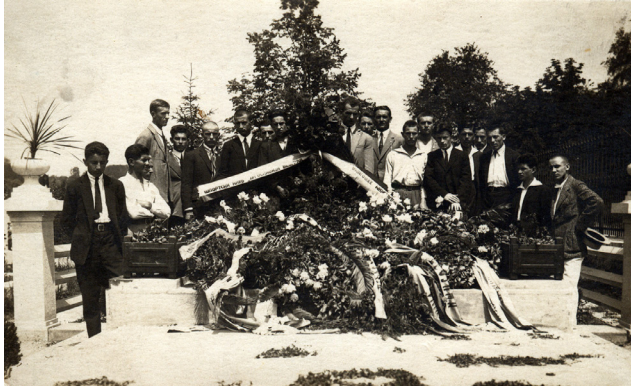


Plate 8: Photograph showing the visit and wreath-laying on common grave to Mlada Bosna conspirators; text on the ribbon in Cyrillic reads: ‘Športni klub Jugoslavija Beograd (Sport club Yugoslavia Belgrade)’, (no date)<<http://www.politikin-zabavnik.rs/pz/content/beograd-koga-vise-nema?page=3486>>[27.08.2013]

It took 11 years until the Kingdom of Yugoslavia officially marked the place of the Assassination in Sarajevo, with a simple black stone plaque at high level above the pavement, stating how Princip announced freedom on St. Vitus day in 1914 (Plate 9).<sup>21</sup> The two dates for a day in June show observance both to Julian and Gregorian calendars, the former being used to mark the Serbian-Orthodox feast.

**Princip navijesti slobodu na Vidovdan 15 (28) juna 1914**

**(English version):**

**Princip announced freedom on St. Vitus’s day on 15 (28) June 1914**

Plate 9: Mock-up of the First memorial plaque to Princip, which was mounted on the external wall of the future Museum building in Sarajevo, on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1930

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<sup>21</sup> Miller, P.,B., 2006, 2-3.



The original text on the plaque was written in Cyrillic, its wording made a linguistic link between *Princip-Freedom (Liberty) - St. Vitus*. The archaic expression *navijesti* elevates Princip to a ‘Herald of Freedom. This politically bold and provocative statement in the context of the time was constructed as a memory trigger with words and symbols whose meaning were rooted exclusively in the Serbian nationalist narrative. Rebecca West saw the plaque in Sarajevo, probably in the same position from which some time earlier the plaque to Franz Ferdinand was removed. She described it as ‘a very modest black tablet [...] to record the exact spot of the assassination for historical purposes, [...] placed so high above the street-level that the casual passer-by would not remark it’.<sup>22</sup>

The news about the official commemorating of the plaque to Princip caused an international controversy. Alerted to the reactions, according to *The London Times* correspondent, only three days before the ceremony 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1930, the authorities pulled out from the official commemoration, stating that it was a family and private initiative and not one by a government-linked Narodna Odbrana-National Defence, otherwise implicated in organizing the assassination. Even the Belgrade press made every effort to tone down the significance of the event, which was nevertheless perceived as ‘honouring the memory of those who risked their lives for the Fatherland’.<sup>23</sup> But while the government in Belgrade exercised open restraint in canonizing the assassin, the religious leaders openly laid the exclusive claim to Mlada Bosna conspirators.

In 1939, the Serbian-Orthodox Church Community in Sarajevo commissioned a Belgrade professor of architecture Aleksandar Deroko to design a chapel on the common grave of St. Vitius’s Heroes, and build it in the Serbian-Orthodox Cemetery in Koševo part of Sarajevo (Plate 10). There is a simple inscription with names of eleven members of Mlada Bosna, all Bosnian Serbs, and the text in Cyrillic, arched around the Orthodox cross, which in English translation reads: ‘Blessed is the one with the eternal life-he had a reason to be born’, referring to self-sacrifice and martyrdom as a path to eternity.<sup>24</sup> The associative link created here is simple and clear: *St. Vitius-martyrdom-eternity*. This formal appropriation of the bodies and souls of the conspirators in a way seals the historic narrative with the Serbian-Orthodox/Nationalist stamp.

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<sup>22</sup> Rebecca, West, Blck Lamb and Grey Falcon, *A Journey through Yugoslavia*, [Edinburgh, New York, Melbourne, Cannongate, 2006] 351-352.

<sup>23</sup> Miller, P. B., 2006, 2-3.

<sup>24</sup> SH/The Bosnian text reads: ‘Blago tome ko dovijek živi-imao se rašta i roditi’

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Plate 10: Orthodox chapel in Koševo cemetery, Sarajevo, designed by Belgrade architect Aleksandar Deroko, with graves of Heroes of St. Vitus, and memorial plaque dated 28 June 1939, (Photo SH, 5 July 2013)

### ‘Beheading’ of the Memory (1941-1945)

The Second World War coincides with a short-lived administration of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in Bosnia, from 1941-1945. When the German troops entered Sarajevo in April 1941, the plaque to Princip was removed from the wall and sent as a birthday gift to Adolf Hitler.<sup>25</sup> ‘Sarajski Novi List’ from July 1, 1941 welcomes the removal of the plaque as ‘an act of cleansing of Sarajevo City from the St. Vitus’s disgrace’ (Plate 11).<sup>26</sup>

Blogger Carl Savich shows more photos with the orderly removal of the plaque from the wall by a group of Yugoslav volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) under the watch of two Wehrmacht officers and the process was filmed by Hitler’s personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann.<sup>27</sup> Savich explains that Hitler saw the plaque as a symbol of anti-German sentiment in the Balkans; he associated it with the German defeat in the First World War and in his *Mein Kampf* wrote extensively about the Sarajevo Assassination. He disliked Franz-Ferdinand for his ‘Slavicization’ of Austria-Hungary and for the plans to create a tripartite Austrian-Hungarian-Slavic country, while he viewed Princip and comrades as ‘Slav fanatics’. The assassination played in his hand as a military opportunity for Germany to restore its power and the

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<sup>25</sup> Husnija, Kamberović, ‘Ubojstvo Franza Ferdinanda u Sarajevu 1914.- devedeset godina poslije’, in *Prilozi* 34, Sarajevo, 2005, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Miller, P. B., 2006, 2-3.

<sup>27</sup> Savich, Carl, ‘Sarajevo, 1941: The Removal of the Gavrilo Princip Plaque’, 12 May 2013, <[http://serbianna.com/blogs/savich/archives/2489?utm\\_source=feedbur...](http://serbianna.com/blogs/savich/archives/2489?utm_source=feedbur...)>, [12.05.2014]



Plate 11: Adolf Hitler examines the memorial plaque to Princip removed from Sarajevo and given for his 52nd birthday on 20 April 1941, aboard his special command and control train, Sonderzug Amerika, in Monichkirchen, Austria. The photograph was taken by Hitler's personal photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann. (Carl Savich, <http://serbianna.com>)

subsequent defeat and humiliation added more reason to lay a symbolic claim to the plaque in an atavistic manner of 'beheading' the enemy.<sup>28</sup>

### Canonization and 'Museumification' of Memory (1945-1991)

After the end of the Second World War, the new Yugoslav socialist state and its political structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed the clear connection and ideological continuity of the partisan freedom fighters and Gavrilo Princip. The commemorations were held immediately after the liberation of the country on 7th May 1945, before the actual anniversary in June, likely wishing to link the assassination with the day of the Defeat of Fascism in Europe. Examining the archival reporting by the daily *Oslobođenje*, both Paul B. Miller and Vera Katz give a detailed account of the ceremonies and speeches held during the unveiling the second commemorative plaque to Princip and Mlada Bosna-Young Bosnia (Plate 12). In contrast to the restraint and diplomatic sensitivity shown previously by the 'Old Yugoslav' regime in 1930, this official celebration was a clear public demonstration of battle-emboldened new rule.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Miller, P.,B., 2006, 4.

U znak vječite zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima, borcima protiv germanskih osvajača, posvećuje ovu ploču omladina Bosna i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 7. maja 1945.

(English translation): The youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina dedicate this plaque as a symbol of eternal gratitude to Gavrilo Princip and his comrades, the fighters against the Germanic conquerors.”  
Sarajevo, 7 May 1945

Plate 12: Mock-up of the second memorial plaque to Princip and comrades, 7 May 1945

While the text on the plaque is devoid of any direct reference to Orthodox-Serbian patron saint Sv. Vid/St. Vitus, as was in keeping with the officially promoted atheism among partisans and communists, young communist Borko Vukobrat not only connected Princip's and his own birthplace Grahovo with the revolutionary tradition in his salutary speech, but more importantly, his message ensured the continuity and vitality of St. Vitus's heroes myth:

What Gavrilo Princip and comrades have started on St. Vitus's day in 1914, the youth which liberated Bosnia from Germans, have completed, and concluded the *Oslobođenje* article on St. Vitus's day in 1945.<sup>30</sup>

A significant contribution to the official Yugoslav assassination narrative and its international promotion was made by the politician, former partisan Vladimir Dedijer in his epic volume *The Road to Sarajevo*, published after the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Sarajevo assassination. He follows the ideological code of the post-revolutionary Marxist language in keeping with the proclaimed 'Bratstvo i jedinstvo' (Brotherhood and Unity), a Yugoslav official slogan. Mindful of the international audience, he places the Mlada Bosna conspirators in the league of international revolutionaries and their justified anti-colonial and class struggle in Ireland and India. He terms Mlada Bosna members as 'primitive rebels' with high idealism and moral values, linking their act with the ideological foundations of the subsequent socialist Yugoslav state, and deeply influenced by the Kosovo legend.<sup>31</sup> Dedijer's engaged, romanticised and idealised view of the assassins, dove-tail neatly into the nationalist

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 5, Quote from *Oslobođenje* 74 (June 29, 1945), 2.; Bosnian text: "Ono što su Gavrilo Princip i njegovi drugovi započeli na Vidovdan 1914", zaključivao je članak u *Oslobođenju* na Vidovdan 1945, to su dovršili omladinci koji su oslobodili Bosnu od Nijemaca.

<sup>31</sup> Dedijer, V., 446.

Serbian programmes, with an underlying ambiguity towards the Bosnian Muslim population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>32</sup>

It can be said that the official socialist Yugoslav narrative, that otherwise distanced itself from 'the old Yugoslavia, practically recycled, appropriated and rejuvenated the old narrative rooted in the Serbian folk mythology, continuing and expanding its associative power as a linguistic memory trigger constructed with words and symbols: 'Princip- Freedom-St. Vitus-Youth-Liberation'.<sup>33</sup> In effect, a Serbian national narrative was implicitly transposed into a new Serbo-Yugoslav narrative, and 'it looked as if the socialist Yugoslavia was born on the ideas of Gavrilo Princip', to quote Husnija Kamberović.<sup>34</sup>

The peak of glorification of the Sarajevo Assassination and Gavrilo Princip was the opening of the Muzej Mlada Bosna (Museum Young Bosnia) in 1953 in the building near which the Assassination took place. This literally 'cemented' the site into a place of memory, with the famous footsteps imprinted onto the pavement (Plate 13).



Plate 13: Princip's cousin, Museum curator points to Princip's footsteps. from A. Rhodes, 1956, [courtesy O. Hadžiselimović]

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 366-400.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 4. Quote from "U znak vječne zahvalnosti Gavrilu Principu i njegovim drugovima," *Oslobodjenje* 1945 (May 9, 1945), 6.

<sup>34</sup> Kamberović, H., 2005, 14.

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The new memorial plaque was placed onto the wall of a new Museum in 1953, positioned to mark the place where allegedly Princip stood while firing the fatal shots. The plaque, which was carved in a rough Bosnian Hreša stone with a red-painted inscribed text in Cyrillic and placed low on the wall above the footsteps, is in contrast with the rest of an elegant façade. The wording was changed, written in Cyrillic, more explicit in use of militant terms and cumbersome in style (Plate 14).



Sa ovog mjesta 28 juna 1914 godine Gavrilo Princip svojim pucnjem izrazi narodni protest protiv tiranije i vjekovnu težnju naših naroda za slobodom

(English translation):

From this place on 28 June 1914 Gavrilo Princip expressed with his shot a popular protest and an eternal aspiration of our people for freedom

Plate 14: Third memorial plaque and Princip's footsteps impressed in the concrete paving in front of the Muzej Mlada Bosna-Young Bosnia Museum in 1953; Footsteps used to mark the position where Gavrilo Princip stood at the time of the assassination. (image taken in 1987, before steps were removed in 1992 and plaque changed from Cyrillic to Latin script), < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassination\\_of\\_Archduke\\_Franz\\_Ferdinand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassination_of_Archduke_Franz_Ferdinand)>[ 28.08.2013]

The disappearance of the footsteps after they were removed by the Bosnian defenders in the 1990s war, created speculation and even popular nostalgia.<sup>35</sup> Jelica Kapetanović describes the making of the imprint of the footsteps by one of Najdhart's team, sculptor Radenko Mišević, who worked on the project of Mlada Bosna Museum. His small size shoes were chosen for the task as they were likely to correspond to Princip's size!<sup>36</sup>

Zagreb-born Najdhart who had worked in Europe with the well-known modernist Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier up to 1936, returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1938. He worked with Professors Dušan Grabrijan, architect and Hamdija Kreševljaković, historian with whom he co-authored a seminal work *Arhitektura*

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<sup>35</sup> Savich, C. 2013, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Jelica Kapetanović, 'Stvaralaštvo arhitekta Juraja Najdharta', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo, 1988), 344-348.

*Bosne i put u savremeno* (The architecture of Bosnia and the road to Modernity). In 1952, Najdhart was given a task by the Narodni odbor Sarajevo (Municipal Committee of Sarajevo) to design and oversee the adaptation of the existing building into a Museum dedicated to Mlada Bosna and Gavrilo Princip, with the team of artists, colleagues and students from the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo. He saw it as a real opportunity to apply his internationally gained *Modernist* skill and also as ‘a big step towards the renaissance of the interior architecture and applied arts in the country’.<sup>37</sup> With a team of best artists and craftsmen in the country,

He set on to creatively interpret and build on the assassination narrative, interweaving it with the minimalist adaptation of the traditional Bosnian architecture forms shaped in the Ottoman period. The idealised bust of Princip sculpted by Andrija Kostović was a key feature in the small Museum space (Plate 15).

The exterior of the building was adapted to receive a modernist smooth stone façade placed to cover the original profiled neoclassical décor around arched windows. In place of the first memorial plaque for Franz Ferdinand and later first one for Princip, there was a modern low-relief Mlada Bosna *motif*, showing a group of young people holding hands as if advancing towards some imaginary goal. The museum was officially opened on 28 June 1953, the 39<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the assassination by the Narodni Odbor President Dane Olbina, born in Bosansko Grahovo like Princip.



Plate 15: Muzej Mlada Bosna- Princip's head 'growing' from the wall, by A. Kostović ; Images of the interiors, in Grabrijan, D. and Najdhart, J., 1957, *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno* (The architecture of Bosnia and road to Modernity), (Copy from Arch. Said Jamaković), p. 438

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<sup>37</sup> Grabrijan, D. and J.Najdhart, 1957, 437-440; SH/combined translation from Bosnian and English version.

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The records about the work of Muzej Mlada Bosna until its closure in 1992 are sketchy at present (Plate 16). It is evident that the Assassination narrative was expanded to include documentation and artefacts from the Second World War partisan epic, together with Mlada Bosna documentation.<sup>38</sup> Najdhart's fine interiors seem to have been reduced and replaced with more austere display, losing the intended air of elegance and serenity.



Plate 16: Copies of catalogue images from Muzej Mlada Bosna, year unknown,  
(Source: Mirsad Avdić, Curator, Museum of City of Sarajevo)

By the 50th anniversary the official Yugoslav authorities began to feel uneasy about glorifying the Assassination, while at the same time the predictable influx of foreign visitors on occasions demanded preparations and continuation of commemorations. However, there were no government officials' speeches and the local officials tried to get the journalists to concentrate on the more recent past.

However, as Miller points out, irrespective of all the ambivalence, all figurations of memory, Princip's footsteps, Museum display, street names and other memories of the Assassination remain in Sarajevo all through 70th anniversary and 1984 Olympic Games up until the 1990s war. The siege of Sarajevo became a watershed,

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<sup>38</sup> SH- Interview with Mirsad Avdić in the Museum of City of Sarajevo headoffice in Sarajevo, (04.07.2013).

everything was rejected- the footsteps removed and thrown into the river Miljacka and the museum closed. The Mlada Bosna collection survived unharmed though, due to the extraordinary dedication of its curator, late Bajro Gec.<sup>39</sup>

## Broadening of the Memory

It took almost ten years in a post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina to revisit the way of marking of the Sarajevo Assassination memory. In 2004, the city authorities took a decision to reinstate a memorial plaque on the location, with a restrained factual statement about the historic event.<sup>40</sup>

It reads: 'From this place on 28 June 1914 Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia' (Plate 17).



Plate 17: Fourth memorial plaque on the wall of Museum of Sarajevo 1878-1918 mounted in 2007 and replacing the previous, in Bosnian and English language; The Bosnian text reads: " Sa ovog mjesta 28. Juna 1914. Gavrilo Princip je izvršio atentat na austrougarskog prestolonasljednika Franca Ferdinanda i njegovu suprugu Sofiju", (Photo: SH, 31 .12. 2012)

The text is for the first time in Latin script, which is used predominantly but not exclusively in Bosnia, with an English version as well. There are no emotional declarations, just the bare facts. More significantly, for the first time, apart from Gavrilo Princip, the wording includes mention to the victims of the assassination,

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<sup>39</sup> Miller, P. B. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 3.

Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia. So, some ninety years after the historic event, the Sarajevo's lieu de memoire came full circle. A simple grey stone set low on the Museum wall is a formal acknowledgement of the fatal clash between a number of individual destinies on a day in the past on the particular spot, with far reaching consequences beyond that particular place and time. It offers to public to seek the meaning, without indoctrination (Plate 18).



Plate 18: Museum Sarajevo 1878-1918, corner Ulica Zelenih beretki and Obala Kulina bana, Sarajevo, (Photo: SH/ 5 July 2013)

It is not certain if they are the same ones as conceived by Neidhardt, but the imprint of footsteps on a concrete slab awaits the visitors at the entrance to the new Museum, in recognition of the meaning this 'fake artefact' acquired in the past. The new permanent exposition was themed Muzej-Museum 'Sarajevo 1878-1918' and opened in 2007 in the same building of previous Mlada Bosna Museum. The museum exposition has now more headings illustrating a multiple cultural clash that have shaped the history of Bosnian people during the period of Austria-Hungary rule.

The exposition commemorates the period rather than the event that marked it, moving the earlier narrative into a broader context leading to the First World War. The presentation of artefacts is an embodiment of complex and multi-layered narrative, a form of 'interwoven memories', a term borrowed from Rampley's translation of a German original, describing the emerging discussion within Central European cross-cultural heritage studies.<sup>41</sup> It is showing the lesser known aspects

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<sup>41</sup> Rampley, M., 2012, 17; Rampley uses the translation of the German 'verflochtene Erinnerungen', from the volume (Aust et al 2009) about the interwoven historical memories of Poland, Germany, Russia, the Soveit Union and Lithuania.

of national heritage which no longer fit in the simplified and old Serbo-Yugoslav one. What was uncomfortable, problematic and concealed, is now exposed in an acceptance of ambiguity and possibility of an inclusion.

It is easy to describe today's Bosnia-Herzegovina as a divided society seeking refuge in the separate national narratives, with the nostalgic, imperial or revolutionary tone and the three parallel visions of history among Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks. But a closer look in fact shows a positive departure from the narrow focus of previous periods. The centenary of the First World War is a timely occasion for a broader reflection and understanding of the troubled past as a way of addressing the present divisions among the Bosnians. The Catastrophe ultimately led to the appeasement of former enemies in Europe, now living in peace and democracy in the European Union, which is founded on the principles of cooperation, trade and commerce, with respect for culture and diversity. It is to be hoped that the Bosnians and Herzegovinians will see and take their place among these nations.

## Summary

The Sarajevo Assassination, in which a son of a peasant eliminated the European Crown prince, was a catastrophic event of much bigger scale than the term first anticipated. After the initial commemorations in honour of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia, their memory was obliterated by the accelerated radical refocus of memory to the perpetrator on location of the assassination, whose human dimension was also sacrificed to the symbolic one. The history of commemorations show they were based on the exclusive, idealised, ambiguous, divisive and reductionist memory of assassination, constructed as an official political propaganda. The presentation of memory developed over a period of time and was formulated and actively promoted by each official political structure in charge of cultural heritage, with the ambition to influence, engage and educate the population within the dominant ideological system. The identification with the assassination and subsequently with commemoration of Mlada Bosna was an imposition on the city of Sarajevo and Bosnia- Herzegovina and its people, in which they did not have full participation.

From the association with the Catastrophe, the place of assassination was catapulted into a place of memory symbolising a 'Herald of Freedom', based on deeds of Gavrilo Princip and his Mlada Bosna comrades. Leading up to the 50th anniversary of the Sarajevo Assassination, the visual symbolism on location of the assassination, employed by each respective authority in charge, was a demonstration of the exclusivity of their power and vision, and in a reactive relationship with

one another, as is demonstrated by the placement of memorial plaques and their messages, as well as by the erecting and removal of the Monument to Killing, and later the Footsteps.

The commemorations were taken further by the establishment of the museum dedicated to the assassination heroes. Under the brief from Socialist Yugoslav authorities, the curators made a conscious effort to move away from creating 'a shrine to the dead' and celebrate a new imagined life, with some subtle interior interventions as attempt to promote the elements of traditional Bosnian material culture, mixed with revolutionary content.

The Mlada Bosna museum was a largely a monochromatic version of the historic context, which suppressed and disallowed the complexity other subjectified experience about the start of the First World War and its connection to the Yugoslav national-liberation narrative. The official commemoration solidified in the museum was an incomplete and unrepresentative interpretation, and became an unwanted memory construct which was ultimately rejected and silenced in period of 1992-2004.

Whilst it can be argued that the socialist regime used a singular memory interpretation in the name of a supra-national unity, the present extreme and opposed popular positions vary between the nationalist Bosnian-Serb ones, claiming the memory of Princip as a symbol of [their] national liberation struggle, to the nationalist Bosniak ones, likening him to a modern-day terrorist. In the absence of a unifying Post-Dayton Bosnian national consensus, each relevant regional public administration shapes the scope of manifestations of memory as they see fit. This regression makes the contemporary politically divided situation in Bosnia comparable with the situation in the last years of Austria-Hungarian rule. However, this memory 'revivalism' or 'revisionism' can be also seen as an opportunity to develop a new more balanced understanding and interpretation of the collective memories or at least agree to disagree.

The case of former Mlada Bosna museum collection, its closure and reopening within the broader scope, is a positive signal of facing up to the difficult past and re-examine rather than destroy its evidence. The revival, reinterpretation and reintegration in the Museum 'Sarajevo 1878-1918' show that Bosnia and the city of Sarajevo are taking a closer look into their own heritage. Here, Bosnia speaks about itself primarily to itself and then to others. This means that it is 'coming to terms' with conflicting and unwanted memories, substantiated by research and dialogue, rather than by exclusivity of a political or clerical manipulation.

By displaying previously ignored local story of the Bosnian resistance and compliance with the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the exposition opens up an inquiry

into the period which brought European capitalist modernization, administration and urbanization and left gaps in education and social policy measures. This is a more inclusive and engaging pluralist approach, reaching out both to local and international visitors, and in line with current discourse about the cultural heritage preservation and management.

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