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HABSBURG SARAJEVO 1914: A SOCIAL PICTURE

James Lyon

Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria

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.¹ 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.²

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).³ 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.⁴ 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 hill-sides 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.

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

² *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.

³ Statistics are from the 1910 census. *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 481.

⁴ Hadžibegović, Iljas, *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.⁵

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.⁶ 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-*

⁵ Truhelka, Ćiro, *Uspomene jednog pionira*, (Zagreb 1942), 34.

⁶ Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački...*, 17.

luk (coppersmiths), *Kujundžiluk* (goldsmiths/jewelers), *Bravadžiluk* (locksmiths), *Kundurdžiluk* (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.⁷ 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-

⁷ 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.

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.⁸

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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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 Sandĝak of Novi Pazar, Vranje, Skopje, Kosovo, as well as Albania and other non-Slavic areas under the control of the Su-

⁸ Asboth, J., *Bosnien un die Herzegowina*, (Wien, 1888), 165.

⁹ 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).

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

blime Porte.¹¹ 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.¹²

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.¹³

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.

¹¹ Okey, Robin, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg ‘Civilizing Mission’ in Bosnia, 1878-1914*, Oxford University Press, (Oxford, 2007), 239.

¹² *Bosnischer Bote*, 506.

¹³ As quoted in Sugar, 46.

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 Hohenberg. 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 Street¹⁴ on the corner of Rudolf's Street,¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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-

¹⁴ Today's *Ulica Zelenih beretki*.

¹⁵ Today's *Štrosmajerova*.

¹⁶ Sugar, 214.



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.¹⁷ These officials formed a new and growing middle class; their children attended the newly-founded schools 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Muslims were almost absent from official positions, other than posts in town councils.²⁰ 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.

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

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁰ *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.²¹

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



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 Pařik.

²¹ *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.²² 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).²³ 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*.²⁴

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

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

²³ *Bosnische Post*, 25 June 1914.

²⁴ *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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ Cultural life flourished; by 1914 there were thirteen bookshops in Sarajevo.²⁷ 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*.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

²⁵ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 489-490.

²⁶ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 534-535.

²⁷ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 527.

²⁸ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 510-522.

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

³⁰ 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”.³¹

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).³² 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.³³ 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 18th of August by all religions. The Austrian hymn was taught in the 1st grade of primary school, and in the 4th grade pupils learned how God had saved the Kaiser when a Hungarian tried to stab him.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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.

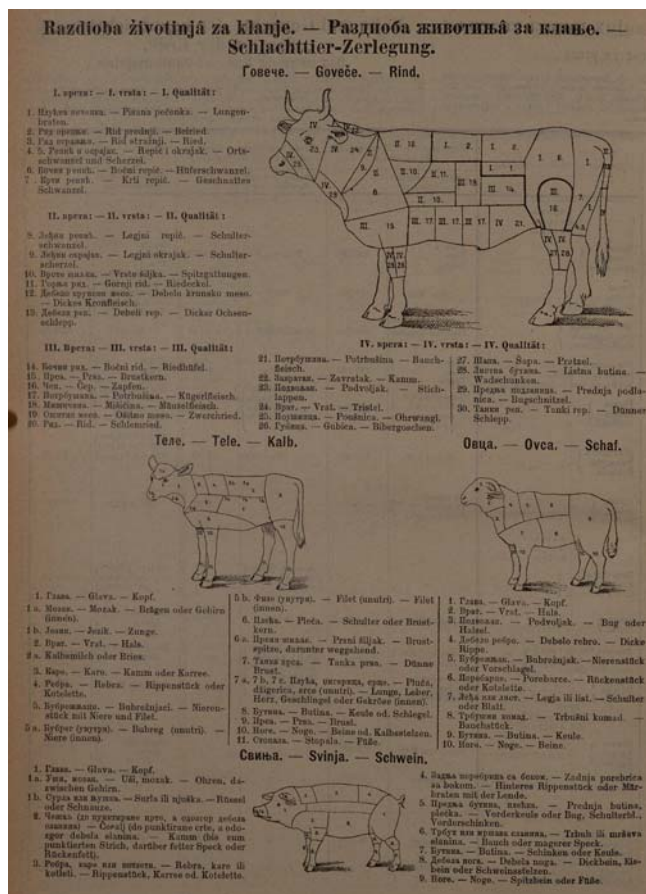
³¹ Okey, 221.

³² Kranjčević, 7.

³³ *Bosnischer Bote 1914*, 6-7.

³⁴ Kranjčević, 7.

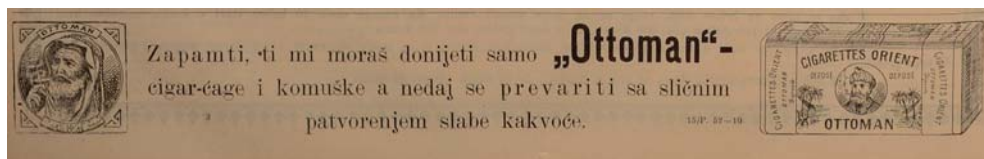
³⁵ Donia, Robert J. “Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg Transformation of an Ottoman Town”, *Austrian History Yearbook* 33 (2002), 59.



Bosnische 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.³⁶ Mixed marriages also caused consternation and considerable political difficulties in the first decades of Habsburg rule, as civil and religious aut-

³⁶ *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.³⁷

The Landesregierung regulated all aspects of economic life. Official diagrams were published instructing butchers on the standardized cuts of meat and poultry.³⁸ 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 100.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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.

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 110.

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

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

⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³

During their leisure time, Sarajevo's emerging upper and middle class would take excursions to the 16th 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.⁴⁴

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

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

⁴³ Okey, 209.

⁴⁴ Author's conversation with Ivan Straus.

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

Zemaljsko-erarno liječilište
ILIĐZE.
Kod Sarajeva u Bosni.

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

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

Iliđzansko vrelo djeluje lahko rastapljajuć, pobuđuje tek, uništava kiselina, ublažuje bol i grčeve, izlučuje sluz, pospješuje ludoenje žuči, proizvagja obilno mokroenje, potpomaže pretvaranje krvi, upravlja kolanje žile vratnice i povisuje trošenje masti.

Liječi: dugotrajne bolesti želuca i crijeva, slezene, jetara, mjehura i bubrega. Dugotrajni katar gutnjaka, jabačice i dušnika. Dugotrajne bolesti ženske, kostobolju, 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, kostobolju i njezine posljedice, rahitis kostane i ženske bolesti.

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

Na Iliđzi imade preko 100 elegantnih i svakim komforom urejenih 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.

Otmjena gostiona i pensjon.
Caronssel, Crocket- i Lawn-Tennis-igra, streljana, jahači konji, hintovi, kotači, omnibus na vrela Bosne 4 km daleko, setnje u brda i t. d.

Promet lokalnih vozova (20 vozova dnevno) izmegju Iliđze i Sarajeva.
Dnevno muzikalna koncerta 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 2nd class one-way ticket costing 25 Heller.⁴⁷ For those who preferred a more leisurely pace, the official fare for a round-trip *fijaker* (horse-drawn taxi) ride from downtown Sarajevo to the Vrelo Bosne spring was 8 Krone.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, back page advertisement.

⁴⁶ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 100-101.

⁴⁷ *Bosnischer Bote* 1914, 421.

⁴⁸ *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 20th 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.