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# Historical Searches

# Historijska traganja

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# Historical Searches

# Historijska traganja

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e-mail: [nauka@bih.net.ba](mailto:nauka@bih.net.ba)

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## PREFACE

Dear readers,

In front of you is 17th number of Historical Searches. In a way this is a number 1, since this number marks the beginning of new phase in development of our Institution and publishing. Therefore, in this number we have seven papers written in English, and only one in Bosnian. We have decided to try to open ourselves toward the much larger world, and with it, to present the results of our work to colleagues from abroad. In this number editorial board opted for commemorating the centennial of the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. However, this date served only as a motive, our aim was to explore the conditions and consequences of "regime change" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the past 150 years. We strived to present both perils and opportunities that arise from these events. In that attempt, we did not limit ourselves only to political and economic history but also to other aspects such as sociological impact of regime change, it's effect on Every-day life and other areas that were impacted by political and military actions in the observed period. Therefore, we aimed to promote multidisciplinary approach, and in doing so we have organized this Journal in three distinctive parts. Also, we were not limited to Bosnia and Herzegovina, we were eager to read about similar or different experiences from other nations in our region. Readers will determine how successful our attempt was. At the end we would also like to note that English is not the primary language of any of the writers, and even though we provided professional lector, some grammatical errors in papers are present, due to the fact that authors had the choice of accepting or refusing suggestions. We wish you a pleasant reading.

Editor in chief  
Dr. Muhamed Nametak



## UVODNA STUDIJA





Alma Felić

Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## HISTORIJSKA TRAGANJA (2008–2015)<sup>1</sup>

Na sjednici Naučnog vijeća 2008. godine, usvojen je prijedlog Instituta za istoriju iz 2007. godine o pokretanju časopisa *Historijska traganja* s obrazloženjem da "Cilj izdavanja još jednog časopisa, pored Priloga Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu, jeste upoznavanje s novim istraživačkim radovima zasnovanim na arhivskoj građi, ali i objavljivanje preglednih radova u formi sintetiziranih saznanja za neko periodizacijski zaokruženo razdoblje. Časopis je otvoren i za zanimljive teoretske članke koji mogu pomoći u historiografskim istraživanjima."<sup>2</sup>

Glavna i odgovorna urednica časopisa *Historijska traganja* od njegova osnivanja zaključno sa 16. brojem bila je dr. Vera Katz.

Časopis od samog objavljivanja ujednačeno izlazi dva puta godišnje. Ukupan korpus časopisa sastoji se od šesnaest (16) brojeva. Časopis je dostupan u štampanoj formi, ali i u elektronskom obliku na stranici Instituta za istoriju ([www.iis.unsa.ba/izdavastvo.html](http://www.iis.unsa.ba/izdavastvo.html)), s tim da za trinaesti, četrnaesti, petnaesti i šesnaesti broj nije dostupan cjelovit .pdf na službenoj web prezentaciji istog.

Časopis je prvotno podijeljen u dvije rubrike: *Članci i Predavanja sa Tribine Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu*, ali kasnije se javljaju i rubrika *In memoriam*, kao i rubrika *Reagiranja*. Bibliografije časopisa *Historijska traganja* sadrži, pored navedenih, i rubrike: *Bibliografija*, *Okrugli sto*, te *Izložba*.

Časopis nije geografski ograničen na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i objavljuje priloge autora i izvan Bosne i Hercegovine, pa su svoje radove u Časopisu objavili

<sup>1</sup> Ovaj rad predstavlja djelimično modifikovanu verziju dodiplomskog rada pod nazivom "Bibliografija časopisa *Historijska traganja* (2008–2015)" koji je odbranjen na Odsjeku komparativna književnost i bibliotekarstvo Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu, u mentorstvu doc.dr. Lejle Hajdarpašić.

<sup>2</sup> Katz, Vera; Ličina-Ramić Aida. Deset brojeva historijskih traganja (2008–2012), časopisa Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu.. *Historijska traganja*, 10, 2012. str. 233–257

i autori iz Hrvatske, Srbije, Turske, Francuske, SAD, Kanade, Austrije, Njemačke, donoseći odgovore na brojna pitanja koja se tiču prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Unutar ovog časopisa objavljuju se izvorni naučni radovi, pregledni radovi, stručni prilozi, te autorizirana predavanja održana na *Tribini Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu*.

Također, časopis *Historijska traganja* nije tematski ograničen i sadrži radove koji se odnose na antičku povijest, srednjovjekovnu Bosnu, historiju osmanskog perioda, teme koje se bave povijesnom problematikom 19. i vremenom s početka 20. stoljeća, Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske uprave, Prvi svjetski rat i međuratno razdoblje (od 1914./1918. do 1941. godine), Drugi svjetski rat, period pred agresiju (angažirani radovi Borisa Nilevića), radovi o obrazovanju, društveno-političkim uređenjima i društvenim promjenama, zatim dva rada historičara Marka Pijovića o problematici identiteta i demistificiranju “etniciteta”, radovi predstavljeni na okruglom stolu pod naslovom *ZAVNOBiH – pogledi iz nove perspektive*, radovi o Crkvi bosanskoj i njezinoj ulozi u bosanskom društvu.

Prvi i drugi broj časopisa imaju redovne rubrike *Članci* i *Predavanja sa Tribine*, dok u trećem broju dolazi do izostajanja redovnih rubrika zbog predstavljanja radova sa okruglog stola održanog pod naslovom *Godina 1918. – bosanskohercegovačko iskustvo*. Također, u okviru ovog broja, objavljen je i prikaz izložbe pod naslovom *Bosna i Hercegovina 1918. godine*<sup>3</sup>. U četvrtom broju, pored redovnih rubrika, pojavljuje se i rubrika *In memoriam* posvećena akademiku *Enveru Redžiću (1915 - 2009)*.<sup>4</sup> Peti broj donosi radove Borisa Nilevića i o Borisu Nileviću, odnosno radovi koji su uvršteni u rubriku *Članci* zapravo predstavljaju izbor iz njegove bibliografije, dok rubrika *Predavanja sa Tribine* donosi osvrt na njegov znanstveni opus ili uspomene na Borisa Nilevića. Nakon redovnih rubrika *Članci* i *Predavanja s Tribine*, predstavljena je i *Bibliografija prof. dr. Borisa Nilevića (1947 – 1999)*<sup>5</sup>, koju je priredio Esad Kurtović. Rubrika *Predavanja sa Tribine* izostaje u šestom, sedmom i osmom broju. Deveti broj prezentira pet radova i jedno izlaganje u rubrici *Predavanja sa Tribine*, dok u desetom i jedanaestom broju opet izostaje rubrika *Predavanja sa Tribine* i tako će biti do šesnaestog broja Časopisa. U dvanaestom broju prezentirano je četrnaest radova, predstavljenih u rubrici *Članci*, sa okruglog stola *ZAVNOBiH – pogledi*

<sup>3</sup> Rodinis, Andrej. IZLOŽBA: Bosna i Hercegovina 1918. godine. *Historijska traganja*, 3, 2009. str. 237 - 255

<sup>4</sup> Išek, Tomislav. In memoriam: akademik dr. Enver Redžić (1915-2009). *Historijska traganja*, 4, 2009. str. 229 - 231

<sup>5</sup> Kurtović, Esad. Bibliografija prof. dr. Borisa Nilevića (1947 – 1999). *Historijska traganja*, 5, 2010. str. 265 - 276

iz nove perspektive, a predstavljen je i rad Nedima Rabića o akademiku Marku Šunjiću, povodom petanest godina od njegove smrti.<sup>6</sup> Trinaesti i četrnaesti broj donose nekoliko članaka, a u petnaestom, pored rubrike *Članci*, posljednji prilog je komentar Adnana Jahića na objavljeni magistarski rad Edina Omerčića u broju 13, čime se otvara nova rubrika u časopisu – *Reagiranj*a. Šesnaesti broj donosi šest članaka u rubrici *Članci*.

Sadržaj časopisa “Historijska traganja” referiraju i prenose: *CEEOL – Central and Eastern European Online Library*, Frankfurt am Main /<http://www.ceeol.com/> i *EBSCO Publishing*, USA.

Bibliografija iz ovog rada počinje na 173. strani.

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<sup>6</sup> Rabić, Nedim. Naučno djelo Marka Šunjića – povodom 15 godina od smrti. *Historijska traganja*, 12, 2013. str. 269–296.



# ARTICLES

REGIME CHANGE AND FORMS OF  
CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES  
IN EVERY-DAY LIFE



Sara Bernasconi

University of Zurich – Forschungsstelle für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte  
Zurich, Switzerland

## THE PRNJAVOR WOMEN FIGHT FOR THEIR MIDWIFE: PROFESSIONAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL CONTINUITIES FROM HABSBURG BOSNIA TO YUGOSLAVIA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Researching regime change in Bosnia and Herzegovina means, especially for women's history, also asking about continuities. In 1918 when the new southslavic administration took over, it was preceded by a four years long wartime. After this very hard and cruel time span nothing was like before. I nevertheless argue that there were various continuities, principally for women, as I will show at the example of the former Habsburg's midwives. Firstly, a lot of midwives remained on the ground during the whole wartime from 1914 to 1918 unlike most Habsburg's physicians who left the country. Midwives in many places were still there when the new post-war administration took over. Previous attributions as members of the Habsburg administration got irrelevant when a midwife passed the difficult wartime with "her" women's community. Secondly, the relations between midwives and administration, established by the Habsburgs, prevailed and were adopted by the new administration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This relation can be traced in the paperwork and in surviving administrative techniques as the regular control of midwives' bags by the medical officer. The relation midwife-administrator served as a mediation to help establish the relation between the male administrators and the female habitants. It means the inclusion of women in "state". Thirdly, also the relation between local women and administration continued to be very

<sup>1</sup> This article was translated and edited by Babajalscha Meili and Sarah Hyde. I would like to thank Emily Greble for her support, Marion Wullschleger and the reviewers for their comments and helpful suggestions.



conflicting. At the example of the midwife Antonia Savić I can show both: how local women fought for their midwife and how women learned in Austro-Hungarian time their role, their rights and the ways to claim them. Finally, the local administration of Prnjavor had to adjust, women's solidarity and their correct and modern articulation won: the old midwife gained her work permit back.

**Keywords:** *continuities (cultural, social and professional), women's history, history of midwifery, history of modernity, paperwork, solidarity*

At the heart of my story is Antonia Savić, the midwife in Habsburg Bosnia who continued her professional work during and after World War I. My reading of the voluminous trial records from 1923 stored at the archives of the health department in Sarajevo (*Zdravstveni odsjek za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*) reconstructs parts of her life story.<sup>2</sup> This allows for a glance at how a decisive moment in the political history of Bosnia-Herzegovina had reverberations with the fate of Antonia Savić who is just one of many women – all Bosnian midwives had a similar fate.

Researching regime change, such as the one which occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1918, inevitably gives rise to questions of continuity. After the breakup of the Habsburg empire in October, 1918, the new South Slavic administration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes<sup>3</sup> took over. Historians of the twentieth century regularly view this moment as a rupture. But, as Pieter M. Judson points out, 1918 did not engender a radical break with former imperial institutions, practices, and legal systems; “(...) nor did Austria-Hungary's disappearance change people's lives.”<sup>4</sup> He argues that all successor states, although cultivating a nationalist rhetoric to artificially enlarge the differences with the collapsed Empire, “could be considered little empires, given the ways they administered their populations, legitimized themselves, and conceptualized cultural difference.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I'm grateful to the archivist Mina Kujović who in 2010 drew my attention to this unusually comprehensive file.

<sup>3</sup> The correct designation as of 29.10.1918 was “State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs” (*Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*). On 1.12.1918 it was renamed as the “Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes” was proclaimed (*Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*). On 28.6.1921, the Vidovdan Constitution was adopted and the name changed to *Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*. On 3.10.1929 it became the “Kingdom of Yugoslavia” (*Kraljevina Jugoslavije*), a politically redefined structure.

<sup>4</sup> Pieter M. Judson: *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016 : 387.

<sup>5</sup> Judson : 388.

This is particularly true for Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Habsburg region that was integrated into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Various scholars have made similar arguments about the benefits of thinking of this moment through a lens of continuity, rejecting the idea that 1918 witnessed a deep caesura that affected all layers of the society.<sup>6</sup>

Coming in the wake of a four-year war, the regime-change in 1918 was a part of a transitional political and social era that began in the war and even pre-war time. As historians of social history have argued, we cannot only examine the war through the lens of disastrous destruction; rather, we must also explore its manifold productive effects, its “enabling spaces” that lead to social innovation, new knowledge and governing practices.<sup>7</sup> According to this approach, old and new existed side-by-side during the transitional period.

Bosnia and Herzegovina certainly experienced such a long, multi-faceted transitional period. Starting with the annexation in 1908, the region found itself in a latent state of war.<sup>8</sup> The “Balkan Crisis” and the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913 broke ground for further radicalization along ethno-nationalist lines in the multicultural lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>9</sup> Then, World War I was marked by violent military action as well as shifting fronts across the country, with soldiers, prisoners, internees, deserters and refugees migrating across the hinterland in an example of one of the world’s first “total wars”. The entire population suffered from both the direct consequences of the war and the indirect ones - important losses in agricultural production, import bans, economic shortages.

During this decade of political rupture and violence, from 1908 until 1918, tensions between the ethno-religious groups of Bosnia and Herzegovina grew. Local political leaders, Habsburg bureaucrats, and various wartime military authorities

<sup>6</sup> See: Emily Greble: «The Uncertain ‘Wilsonian Moment’ for Muslims in Yugoslavia: Reframing Historiographical Conversations through Minority Experiences,» *Passato e presente: Special forum on 1918*, forthcoming 2018; Stefano Petrunaro: «The Medical Debate about Prostitution and Venereal Diseases in Yugoslavia (1918–1941)», *Social History of Medicine*, 2017, hxx023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hxx023>; Carlo Moos: *Habsburg post mortem: Betrachtungen zum Weiterleben der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wien: Böhlau, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Heike Karge et al.: «Introduction», in *From the Midwife’s Bag to the Patient’s File: Public Health in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017 : 16 et seq.

<sup>8</sup> Judson : 390.

<sup>9</sup> For the remainder of this paragraph: Greble 2018; Ferdo Hauptmann: *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878-1918: Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsentwicklung*, 251-256; *Die Habsburgermonarchie und der Erste Weltkrieg*, hg. Helmut Rumpler (Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band XI, Teil 1 und 2). Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016.

(both nationalists and imperial) manipulated these tensions. After the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie in 1914, for example, the Habsburgs escalated their relentless anti-Serbian propaganda. Physical attacks against Serbs, their goods and lands ensued, legalized by the laws of war.<sup>10</sup> Violence against Serbs contributed to retaliatory violence against Muslim and Croat groups. Yet, compared to other similarly structured areas in the Balkans with multi-religious populations (Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Macedonia), in which ethnic violence turned into modern ethnic cleansing, Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite the very violent war and post-war period, remained religiously and nationally mixed. Some scholars believed this to be the result of forty years of Habsburg imperial politics and policy.<sup>11</sup>

Analysis of continuity in moments of political rupture is particularly relevant for historians interested in women's history and especially the meaning of regime-change for women.<sup>12</sup> In this article, I argue that various forms of continuity related to women existed, as I will show on the example of the midwife Antonia Savić. I will interweave the reconstruction of her life story with the question about continuity. This allows me to show three different forms of continuity related to women in the time period discussed here, i.e. before and after 1918. First, many Habsburg midwives remained on the ground during the entire war from 1914 to 1918, in contrast to most Habsburg physicians who left the country.<sup>13</sup> Second, the bureaucratic and professional relationship between midwives and the Habsburg administration continued through and after the war, and was formally adopted by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This particular relationship left traces behind in the paperwork it produced - in its formal and technical execution as the regular control of the midwife's bag by the medical officer. The Habsburgs had professionalized midwifery. For the fledgling state, the official role of midwife-administrator became the key to establishing, for the first time, a direct relation-

<sup>10</sup> Marko Trogrlić: «Die südslawische Frage», in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie und der Erste Weltkrieg*, 965-1015; Michael Schwartz: "Ethnische Säuberungen" in der Moderne: *Globale Wechselwirkungen nationalistischer und rassistischer Gewaltpolitik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013 : 275 et seq.

<sup>11</sup> Schwartz : 277.

<sup>12</sup> This differs from the history of feminism or history of organized women's movements, but is still inspired by Johanna Gehmacher, Natascha Vittorelli (Hg.): *Wie Frauenbewegung geschrieben wird*. Wien: Löcker 2009.

<sup>13</sup> All of the five female doctors employed at the time remained also and were taken on by the new administration: Barbara Martin: Rosalie Sattler-Feuerstein und Rachel Weissberg – die beiden letzten von Österreich-Ungarn in Bosnien-Herzegowina eingesetzten Amtsärztinnen (female physician), [www.scribd.com](http://www.scribd.com), August 2017; Dies.: Zur Tätigkeit von Kornelija Rakić als Amtsärztin in Bosnien-Herzegowina (1908-1918): eine Spurensuche, [www.scribd.com](http://www.scribd.com), October 2017.

ship between male bureaucrats and female inhabitants. Midwives, in other words, transformed from health professionals to a new kind of professional employee, and women's healthcare shifted from the private sphere of the home to a matter of state. Thirdly, by exploring continuity through the lens of midwifery, we gain access to the voices of many illiterate women and we see how these women found agency in a transforming system. In this article, by focusing on the story of the midwife Antonia Savić, we can see how, under Habsburg rule, women had learned about their rights and the proper ways to claim them and, subsequently, how in the postwar years they stood up in support of a midwife, who was barred from exercising her profession. In many ways, Antonia Savić's life and career path is typical for Habsburg midwives. It does, however, stand out inasmuch as the records are very comprehensive and have been preserved in great detail to this day.

## Antonia Savić, Early Life

At the center of my story is Antonia Savić, a midwife in Habsburg Bosnia who continued her professional work during and after the war. She was born in 1859 or 1860 in Mrkopalj in the Croatian section of the military borderlands.<sup>14</sup> She was the first-generation midwife who had obtained a midwifery diploma at the beginning of the 1880s.<sup>15</sup> Presumably through her husband, she also had the right of residence in Otočac, where they had two children. After her husband's premature death, as a 22-year-old widow, Antonia Savić enrolled at the Zagreb Midwifery College for a five-month training program. She completed her training successfully in 1882, five years after the college's inception.<sup>16</sup> Savić's professional development was typical for a midwife at that time. Like many midwives, she was a widow who completed a training course in the hope of being able to care for herself and her children. Having obtained her diploma, Antonia Savić returned to Mrkopalj for three years to exercise her newly acquired skills. This indicates that the municipality had paid for her training course fees. Such a grant usually

<sup>14</sup> Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABH), Zemaljska vlada (ZV), 1899, 52-9/11. Janjić and Savić 1898. Information on the year of birth varies. In the files from Bugojno it is 1860, those from Sarajevo 1859.

<sup>15</sup> Reconstruction of Antonia Savić's lifestory as well as explanations on "Habsburg's midwives" are based on the research for my dissertation entitled «Habsburgs Hebammen in Bosnien-Herzegowina» (defended in 2017 at the University of Zurich).

<sup>16</sup> Maksimović Jovan / Maksimović Marko: «From the "Art of Cutting the Umbelical Cord" by Dr. J. B. Lalangue to the "Midwifery" by Prof. Dr. A. Lobmayer and Prof. Dr. F. Durst», *Acta med-hist Adriat*, 12, 2014, 385-412.

meant the grant recipient was required to work for a certain period of time (usually three years) in a place determined by the administration.<sup>17</sup> In Savić's case, this was her place of birth. Other women explicitly asked to be sent anywhere but to their place of origin, thus allowing women a space of professional and personal agency.<sup>18</sup> Having completed the mandatory three-year term, Savić's midwifery diploma allowed her to look for work anywhere in Habsburg territory. She went to Sarajevo, a very attractive spot in the 1880s for job-seekers of all kinds.<sup>19</sup> In Sarajevo, on 18 September 1885, she received a work permit to exercise her profession independently.<sup>20</sup>

The historical records allow only for an indirect reconstruction of these formative years of Antonia Savić's professional life. The relevant historical recordkeeping begins in 1898, after new administrative procedures had been introduced with the midwifery reform.<sup>21</sup> Under the new rules, all midwives were registered by political authorities and subject to regular controls by medical officers.<sup>22</sup> As a result of the reform, which required midwives to register themselves if they intended to practice their profession legally, midwives formed a professional group within the Habsburg administration. Thus, the year 1898 constitutes a caesura, especially for a history of women in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, as it is the year in which historical recordkeeping concerning the first major professional organization of women began.

At that point in time, Antonia Savić had already been living in Kaiserstrasse 2 in Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital for 13 years with her two children.<sup>23</sup> Her job allowed her to provide for herself and the children. Many others, women and men, felt ambivalent toward her, as was the case for many first-generation midwives.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> ABH, Zajedničko ministarstvo finansije (ZMF), 1910, K. 19, 3531. Midwifery report.

<sup>18</sup> ABH, ZV, 1899, 52-9/32. Appeal of Sofia Radić.

<sup>19</sup> See the plenty of letters of application: Historijski Arhiv Sarajevo (HAS), Gradsko poglavarstvo grada Sarajeva (GP), 1879 and 1880.

<sup>20</sup> ABH, ZV, 1899, 52-9/11. Summative register of midwives, Sarajevo. Registering in a place as a midwife, a work permit was issued automatically – an intentionally simple procedure installed with the aim of facilitating the hiring of missing health care personnel for the Habsburg administration's officials and their families.

<sup>21</sup> HAS, Biblioteka, Naputak za babice (primalje) u Bosni i Hercegovini, no. 67.637/I ex 1898.

<sup>22</sup> On reform, see: Sara Bernasconi: «The Material Side of Modernity: The Midwife's Bag in Bosnia and Herzegovina around the Turn of the Century», in *From the Midwife's Bag to the Patient's File* : 97-116.

<sup>23</sup> ABH, ZV, 1899, 52-9/11. Summative register of midwives, Sarajevo.

<sup>24</sup> About ambivalence: Sara Bernasconi (2018): «Genre et administration: les sages-femmes habsbourgeoises en Bosnie-Herzégovine / Gender and Administration : Habsburg's mid-

First, she was foreign to the city and spoke a slightly different dialect. People easily understood her in Sarajevo but still, her speech singled her out as a foreigner. Second, she came under attack for being unfamiliar with the latest medical advances. From the point of view of the administrators in 1900, the training program she attended at the Zagreb Midwifery College in 1882 had offered a limited introduction to asepsis and disinfection at birth. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, knowledge and know-how in this particular field was dated in imperial peripheries as soon as it was introduced, since medical advances in the centers of the empire were moving quickly.<sup>25</sup> It was this topic also which gave rise to a first conflict between Antonia Savić and the supervising government commissioner of the city of Sarajevo in 1904.<sup>26</sup> The commissioner accused her of quackery, explaining that she “*had received her midwife’s diploma in pre-antiseptical times*”. Disinfection and the specter of puerperal fever dominated the political discourse by which the government’s attempts to tighten the administration’s control of midwives and women giving birth were legitimized.<sup>27</sup> In the end, a measure was imposed on 45-year-old Savić who had to complete a “course” at the state hospital on theoretical concepts of cleanliness and antisepsis. Its relevance in terms of the situation in the countryside and the needs related to the healthcare settings Savić was exposed to in her daily work was not very high.

Further away from Bosnia’s capital, in peripheral Bugojno in Central Bosnia, the experience of midwives such as Antonia Savić were highly appreciated by locals.<sup>28</sup> Savić arrived in Bugojno in 1911.<sup>29</sup> Whereas Sarajevo’s bureaucrats focused on medical training, in the provinces, practical knowledge was admired. In 1911, the medical officer in charge of professional inspection for the county of Travnik seemed outright enthusiastic about Savić, describing: “*(...) The midwife, an expert in her field, profoundly exquisite skills, in service clean, antiseptic.*” In Bugojno, too, Antonia Savić continued to work independently, which meant that she did not have a fixed basic income like municipal midwives. The municipal

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wives in Bosnia-Herzegovina», *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* (Special Issue: Le genre dans l’espace (post-)ottoman / Gendering the (post-)Ottoman space), no. 48, (forthcoming).

<sup>25</sup> See the annual publication “Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte auf dem Gebiete der Geburtshilfe und Gynäkologie”, first published in 1888.

<sup>26</sup> ABH, ZV, 1904, 47-1/10. Complaint against the midwife Antonia Savić.

<sup>27</sup> Bernasconi 2017 : 100 et seq.

<sup>28</sup> On Bugojno from 1878 until 1918: Samija Sarić: *Bugojno i njegova okolina (Donji Vakuf, Prusac, Gornji Vakuf i Kupres) u vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)*. Sarajevo 2009.

<sup>29</sup> For the quote in the following sentence also: ABH, ZV, 1912, 105-7/2. Summative register of midwives, Travnik.

administration, however, would usually compensate her for assisting poor women giving birth. Apart from that, she depended on good relations with wealthy families that were able to pay her for her services.<sup>30</sup>

In the middle of the First World War, in 1916, Antonia Savić arrived to Prnjavor.<sup>31</sup> There she met Katarina Šušković Janjić who had been employed as the municipal midwife for about ten years. From the beginning, the two women were rivals - a situation that would escalate over time. After a few months, the municipal midwife Janjić closed ranks with the district physician Maoro Lefković and accused Antonia Savić of acting beyond her powers. They said she had turned around a dead baby and pulled it out by its legs, that she had treated farmers for various ailments, and that she had been involved in abortions. Antonia Savić immediately countersued the two of them, receiving widespread support from a group of influential female citizens who denounced Janjić's behavior during the war, accusing her of smuggling and regularly abandoning her "place of work".<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, they claimed the municipal midwife, as well as the district physician, were inept obstetricians. The complaints were followed by a judicial inquiry, which did not result in a judgment. The amnesty, which was granted shortly after the war, reset the conflict to zero.

What is so intriguing about the conflict in Prnjavor is how the female citizens used the argument that during the war, the municipal midwife had not been at her place of work when she was needed. The municipal midwife is portrayed as a woman of great business acumen (*žena "trgovačkog duha"*) who procured a carriage, horse, a lad, a tent and goods to trade them elsewhere instead of coming to see women when they were in distress.<sup>33</sup> Luckily, so they wrote, they

<sup>30</sup> The ratio of municipal and independent midwives, "private midwives" as they were called at the time, was roughly 1:1. The Health System in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878–1918, with two illustrations and maps, published by the national government for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sarajevo 1903, 18–29.

<sup>31</sup> For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor. I can only assume that this change has to do with the course of the war.

<sup>32</sup> Rising prices and the black market posed huge problems to the population, see: Anton Schmied-Kowarzik: «Die wirtschaftliche Erschöpfung», in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie und der Erste Weltkrieg*, Band XI, Teil 1, 528 et seq.

<sup>33</sup> "Pokraj ovog liječnika postoji opštinska primalja Katarina Šušković, žena „trgovačkog duha“, koja se je tečajem ovih ratnih godina sa svojim osobitno obljubljenim švercom istakla toliko kao da je i nema među nama kada je trebamo, t.j. ona je nabavila kola, konja, momka, napravila šator, nabavila razne robe i svake nedjelje, šverca te pazarnih i vašarskih dana između narodnih skupova i zborova po Prnjavoru i okolnim selima svoje službeno vrijeme trgovini i švercu posvećivala tako, da smo mi primorane bile da u našoj nuždi zovemo drugu ali srećom kud i kamo viještiju i sposobniju primalju gđu. Antoniju Savić, kojoj nam na predlog

had Antonia Savić by their side, who in the end proved to be more competent, too. Savić continued to serve the community through the end of the war and into the postwar era.

## Midwives Providing Continuity

How many midwives were there in Habsburg times who, like Antonia Savić, stayed in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war? How many were there at all in the country? Such were the questions the newly founded health department in Sarajevo (*Zdravstveni odsjek za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*) was concerned with in the early 1920s. The regional branch was set up as a sub-division of the central (Yugoslavian) ministry of public health (*Ministarstvo Narodnog zdravlja*) in Belgrade. Upon its inception, it was formed on the highest administrative level as a central entity, as was the case in many other successor states of the Dual Monarchy. After the huge losses caused by war and epidemics, health issues had become a priority for the future. Social hardship after the war could not be addressed locally anymore; the aim was to implement countrywide measures instead. The health offices and health councils, formerly scattered on lower administrative levels, had been pursuing local strategies. Their efforts were not coordinated by a trans-regional ministry because such a ministry had not existed. All of these individual entities now had to join forces. Accordingly, they were busy building internal administrative structures.

It is against this backdrop that, in 1921, the health department in Sarajevo requested all the district capitals to submit the number and names of the remaining midwives. The request fell on deaf ears. Only two counties - Banja Luka and Travnik - provided some incomplete data, rendering a systematic analysis impossible.<sup>34</sup> In the middle of 1921, the request was issued a second time, asking for an accounting of midwives and all other medical staff, including doctors and dentists.<sup>35</sup> This time, a list was compiled.<sup>36</sup> The resulting midwives' list contained 102 names, i.e. roughly the same number of midwives as in Bosnia

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ovdašnjeg g. liječnika i spomenute opštinske primalje Šušковиć ovdašnje sreska odnosno okružno načelstvu u Banjoj Luci zabranjuje u našoj nuždi dragocjenu pomoć." ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>34</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ-11, 1921, 3888. List of midwives. Data from the counties of Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo and Tuzla are missing.

<sup>35</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ-23, 1921. List of all doctors, midwives, dentists.

<sup>36</sup> For the remainder of the paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ-23, 1921. List of all doctors, midwives, dentists. Dates are not recorded in the files.



in 1900.<sup>37</sup> Comparing the names on the list with those of 1913 and 1914 respectively, it becomes evident that more than half of the midwives had stayed in the country.<sup>38</sup> The majority who remained had stayed in the same town.

The compulsory registration constituted an intended regulatory action and thus is reminiscent of the midwifery reform of 1898. As had been the case with the reform, it went far beyond merely counting the number of practicing midwives, it required a meeting between the supervising medical officer and the respective midwife. In 1898, each midwife was registered and then received an introduction to the new regulations and professional practices.<sup>39</sup> After completion, she received a midwife's bag free of charge. Henceforth, the midwives were obliged to present their bags and have them inspected regularly, making sure to refill substances such as disinfectants or aseptic cotton. Next to its original function as a container for the tools a midwife needed to do her job, the bag also became an administrative instrument to control the midwives. The bag's condition (proper or dirty) came to signify - pars pro toto - the midwife's methods, the midwife in general since the bag represented her. This administrative practice had been introduced with great success and was continued until the end of the Habsburg administration without any changes made, even if the model of the bag changed in 1906 and the regulations were adjusted accordingly. Furthermore, the inspection of the bag was reactivated in 1921 once again. This time, the order didn't come from the central administration, instead the bureaucrats at the district level reactivated an old technique. They registered not only the name of the respective midwife, but added a description of her bag's condition.<sup>40</sup> This indicates that the administrators' knowledge dates back to Habsburg times, that they knew of the procedures in place at the time and therefore had first-hand experience of that time. They considered this administrative routine a useful tool, which provided stability in insecure times.

The reports on the bags were also used deliberately to specific ends even after the war, and this is something Antonia Savić's story tells us, too. With the midwifery reform in 1898, the description of the bag's condition had already been turned into a proxy to assess the qualifications of the respective midwife, i.e. the midwife herself. These means of assessment could be used in a positive manner to report that a midwife did her job as cleanly as she kept her bag. But it could also be used – as we are about to see – to slander a midwife, in our case Antonia Savić.

<sup>37</sup> In 1923, the number of midwives was still the same, 102. ABH, ZOMNZ-71, 1923, 5370. List of midwives 1923.

<sup>38</sup> ABH, ZV, 1914, K. 302,105-5. Ausweise über die praktizierenden Hebammen.

<sup>39</sup> For the remainder of the paragraph, see Bernasconi 2017: 99 et seq.

<sup>40</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ-11, 1921, 3888. List of midwives.

## Antonia Savić, The Dispute

In 1921, the year which not only brought the compulsory registration of all midwives but also the proclamation of the kingdom on the basis of the Vidovdan Constitution, the death of King Peter I Karađorđević and the succession of his son Alexander I, the old conflict in Prnjavor between the two midwives rumbled on.<sup>41</sup> The dispute between the municipal midwife Janjić together with the district physician Maoro Lefković on the one hand, and the independent midwife Antonia Savić on the other, implicated almost half of the community as well as surrounding villages. The district physician Lefković claimed he now had detailed evidence to prove Antonia Savić was guilty of quackery and carrying out abortions. Allegedly, the illegal activities mainly took place in the villages, where Antonia Savić was posing as a doctor and not just healing gynecological disorders, the doctor said, but “*everything she could lay her hands on*”.<sup>42</sup> The suspicion of abortion was used again, as it seemed there was a concrete case: the lawsuit by a tax officer from Prnjavor, Franjo Czerkovski, whose wife Rosa Czerkovski was treated at the hospital in Banja Luka in 1921. The woman, who was very ill, had testified saying, when asked, that the midwife Antonia Savić had come to see her about four or five months earlier, using a black, twisted metal iron wire on her internally. It was alleged that other ladies, too, had confirmed that the midwife had applied her “arts” on many women, leading the district physician to the conclusion that she was carrying out abortions with this dangerous instrument.

Almost at the same time the municipal midwife Ljubica Janjić also filed a lawsuit against Antonia Savić. In it she describes how Savić and her daughter would actively wait for pregnant women in front of the church and recommend they go and see a midwife on a monthly basis if they wanted to give birth easily. “(...) *Especially poor peasant women and the Galicians, easily frightened, they tell each other from a very young age, see, dear, that is the midwife, she can tell by looking at your cheeks what ails you.*”<sup>43</sup> She alleged that Savić was

<sup>41</sup> For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>42</sup> “... nego liječi sve što njoj u ruke pada.” ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>43</sup> “... sa svojom bez zanimanja kćerkom, koja njoj služi kao kakvi špijun ide od kuće do kuće da sazna gdje ima koja žena u drugom stanju, da brže preporuču svoju mater, i ženu sirotu uplaši i kaže e draga moja viste trudna jelde? i ja to vidim da ste jako oslabila, što Vam je? trebalo bi da dodjete mojoj mami da Vas pregleda, može bit da Vam se diete okrene i onda posliem 6 mjeseci treba i mora svaka žena trudna da dodje svaki mjesec mojoj mami na pregled ako hoće da sretno rodi a to isto uradi i kad žene iz crkve izlaze pa ih tako dočeka osobito jadne

also taking in women at her apartment to heal them. She had treated “wild flesh” (“divlje meso”)<sup>44</sup> inside the uterus of a woman from the countryside by keeping her inside her apartment for eight days and injecting herbs into her uterus. This, allegedly, proved that she was lying, as “wild flesh” was a very grave illness, which required complicated surgery for treatment. Yet Savić, according to Janjić, was telling everyone that her father, her husband and herself had been doctors.

The midwife Savić was again confronted with these accusations and rejected all of them except for the one whereby many women from the countryside came to see her: “It is true that many peasant women come to see me, most of the time because of pregnancy and also because of the falling of the womb, and so I raised their wombs for them with a metal ring.”<sup>45</sup> The descensus of the uterus as well as of other internal organs of the lower abdomen (bladder, rectum) was a problem which occurred often with the local women at the time and was the result of hard physical labor and numerous pregnancies. Roza Czerkovski had suffered from it, too, and had not been pregnant in a long time.<sup>46</sup> In her deposition, she said that she had heard that the midwife could readjust the womb, making it possible to conceive again. After letting her take several hip baths in salt water, the midwife had inserted a ring and after a short period of time Roza got pregnant again. The midwife had confirmed it, when she had called on her in November because she had been nauseous. As she was sick again later, she had called the doctor Maoro Lefković, who had then proceeded to scrape out her uterus and sent her to hospital because he thought the midwife had given her something to provoke an abortion. This had not been the case, Roza said, she had instead been wanting to get pregnant.

After that, the district physician Maoro Lefković used the strongest argument he had against the midwife: He writes: “The bag of midwife Antonia Savić is not in order, in particular because the container with the Lysol is empty and dried out which shows that she does not use the Lysol.”<sup>47</sup> He reported it had been brought

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seljanke, i galicjanke, lahko uplašiti, one od mali kažu jedna drugoj e vidiš draga to je babica ona od malo pozna na obrazu ikome šta mu fali.” ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>44</sup> I think that we have to imagine this to have been something similar to nowadays’ cancer.

<sup>45</sup> “Istina je da mi dolaze seljanke većinom zbog trudnoće i zbog ispadanja materice te sam im ja materice podizala i prsten metala.” ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>46</sup> For the remainder of the paragraph, see the remainder of the hearing of Roza Czerkovskis. ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>47</sup> “Predlaže se s tim izvještajem, torba babica Antonije Savić nije u redu osobito da sude sa

to his attention that the midwife Savić was boasting she had been working as a midwife for 30 years already without ever using Lysol.<sup>48</sup> The ensuing court inquiry showed this to be wrong. The pharmacist Mihail Finkelštajn testified on 16 April 1921 that he had run out of Lysol about three months ago because he had given everything to the municipal midwife.<sup>49</sup> The order he had placed in advance had not arrived yet when Antonia Savić also asked to refill it. He was thus unable to give her any. Furthermore, he added, he had heard that she was accused of treating people. He could not confirm it; no one had ever come to see him with a prescription she had given.

Nonetheless, on 3 February 1921, Antonia Savić was disqualified from exercising her profession as a midwife.<sup>50</sup> Until the conclusion of the judicial inquiry, she was not allowed to work anymore and she was forced to hand in her bag. This measure, too, shows how closely connected midwife and bag were. In this very critical situation, Savić, however, could rely on a very particular kind of support. We will come to this in the third part of her story.

## Discontinuities of Paperwork

After the war, the administration was not only lacking data, it was most of all lacking paper. At the time, this influenced how the administration as well as the government went about their duties and it also has had repercussions until the present day, with incomplete coverage of the war and post-war period in the historical archives. My frustrating search for traces of Habsburg midwives in the archives of the Republic of Srpska in Banja Luka in 2010 did not produce any results because in the Krajina region the new administration had to reuse files from Habsburg times after 1918 for lack of any other paper, writing on the back to put down their own records. This very legitimate strategy at the time of paper shortage means that nowadays the registry listing the files of the years between 1878 and 1918 still exists. The actual documents, however, cannot be retrieved

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lizola je prazno i suho, što je znak da lizola neupotrebljuje.” ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>48</sup> “Ja mislim da su svi moji navodi dovoljni da se protiv ove babice strogo postupa, koja se hvali, da je već 30 godina babica a da nije ni jednoć Lysola upotrebila.” ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>49</sup> For the remainder of the paragraph also: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>50</sup> For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

as they only remain in the archive of the successor authority as the unsystematic back pages of files covering the years between 1918 and 1922.

Paper shortage, as well as the lack of adequate paper, such as pre-printed forms, did not prevent district bureaucrats and medical officers from filling them out anyway (see figure 1). In many places, the old forms had all been used, but new ones had not yet arrived. The district administrator and physicians still remembered what they had looked like in Habsburg times and recorded data by filling in imaginary columns and tables, sometimes without separating the information by lines, on any kind of piece of paper they could possibly make available. In the case of the compulsory registration they knew exactly which data to provide and how to record it. In such a manner, on 8 February 1921, the district commissioner of Prijedor produced some kind of table on the back of a handwritten note, recording data on the two midwives who worked there at the end of 1920.<sup>51</sup>

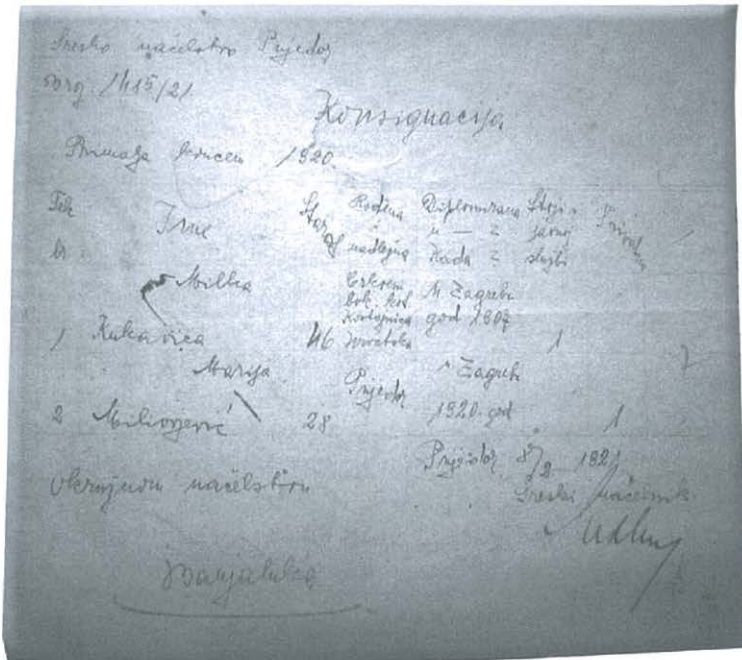


Figure 1: List of midwives, file ABH, ZOMNZ-11, 1921, 388.<sup>52</sup>  
Photo by Sara Bernasconi.

<sup>51</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ-11, 1921, 3888. List of midwives.

<sup>52</sup> I would like to thank the Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, especially Sandra Bilet ić for the permission to reprint the above image.

But even after the health department in Sarajevo had printed new Yugoslavian forms, the documents still reflected Habsburg practices and knowledge.<sup>53</sup> Even on higher levels in the hierarchy - in terms of the paperwork - not much was changed. Administrative documents (later files) consisting of loose or bound pages were still kept in a sheet of paper. This practice had been introduced by the Habsburg administration and it seemed to have proven successful. The sheet of paper was strictly formalized, containing various pre-printed subdivisions and fields. Clearly visible at the top of the first page was the name of the department in charge: the health department of Sarajevo. The language used for the new sheets of paper was Bosnian, written in Cyrillic instead of German. Everything else remained identical: the arrangement on the page, the individual fields, and even the pre-printed titles, which had literally been translated.

In 1922, another form surfaced again after several years: the “summative birth register”.<sup>54</sup> The summative birth register reports on the births assisted by a midwife, which have taken place in a particular period and it is based on data recorded in the birth tables. Filling in birth tables and the summative birth register requires an encounter between midwife and medical officer - the re-appearance of the summative birth register proves that such encounters took place. The pre-printed forms of the summative birth register were in 1922 the same as they had been before the war. This does not allow the conclusion that administrative practices remained exactly the same. Especially considering that in the administration’s annual report of 1918, written in 1921, it was noted that in those places where officials had left their posts before their replacements arrived, information was missing.<sup>55</sup> What we can conclude from this paperwork, however, is that, firstly, in places where continuity in terms of personnel existed, large parts of the administrative technique was retained and continued to be applied despite the destructive force the war otherwise had - in the worst case by “filling in forms without forms”. Secondly, both material (forms) and immaterial culture (knowledge) contributed toward a transfer of knowledge and knowhow, even after rupture had resulted in discontinuity. The administration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, during the initial years of its existence, drew upon Habsburg institutions and practices for expertise and continuity.

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<sup>53</sup> For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ-37, 1922, 1532. Annual report of the counties Bihać, Sarajevo, Banja Luka.

<sup>54</sup> ZOMNZ-44, 1922, 6566-22. Summative birth register.

<sup>55</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ-37, 1922, 1532. Annual report of the counties Bihać, Sarajevo, Banja Luka.

## Continuities of Solidarity

The centerpiece of the midwife Antonia Savić's file is the letter of support from the women of Prnjavor (see figure 2). That letter was written at a time when Antonia Savić had reached a nadir in the ongoing judicial inquiry against her; at a time when she was barred from working, her bag having been taken from her. The women of Prnjavor submitted the letter of support to the local city administration. Bearing the required stamp, it was structured as an appeal: "*We, the undersigned, kindly request the municipal authority and the district office to hear our appeal; we ask the municipal authority and the district office to inform the doctor to leave our resident midwife, Miss Savić, in peace.*"<sup>56</sup> They wrote that she was a good, hardworking and particularly competent midwife. She served them at any time of the day and night to their utmost satisfaction, whenever they would send for her. They, as they called themselves, were the female citizens ("*gragjanke*").<sup>57</sup> They needed their midwife, who had always remained with them, even during the war. She had always come to see them, whether they had been able to pay her or not. They were not willing to let go of her and this is why they were asking for her to be allowed to exercise her profession again. Otherwise, they were determined to appeal to the government.<sup>58</sup> 76 signatures were affixed to the letter. An annex, an additional page without address or stamp, contained the following text: "*Women from Herzegovina, on this day, we have come together in the name of Miss Savić, because to us she is an excellent and diligent midwife.*"<sup>59</sup> 22 more signatures in untrained and clumsy writing followed, together with almost 200 signs; crosses and points. The back of the page contains their explanation: "*These crosses and points are for those who cannot write.*"<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> "Molimo najponiznije mi dole podpisane gradsku općinu i kotarski ured da nam uvaži ovu našu molbu, mi molimo da gradska općina i kot. ured obavjeste, g. doktora da pusti u miru ovd. babicu gđu Savićku ..." For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>57</sup> The entire sentence reads: "... because to us, the female citizens, she is a good, hardworking and particularly able..." ("pošto je ona nama gragjankama vrlo dobra, vredna i potpuno vješta"). ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>58</sup> It was called national government (Zemaljska vlada) from 1919 until 1921. Before, from 1918 until 1919, it had been called "Narodna vlada narodnog vijeća Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Bosni i Hercegovini", afterwards, from 1921 until 1924 "Pokrajinska uprava za Bosnu i Hercegovinu".

<sup>59</sup> "Hercegovke! I sve se žene udružuju k ovima u ime gospogje Savić da je za nas izvrsna i točna primalja." ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>60</sup> "Ove križaljke i tačke to su one koje nisu pismene." ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.





Adding the number of crosses and points to the approximately 100 signatures, this brings the number of women expressing their support for the midwife Antonia Savić to about 300. It is not only the number of signatures which is impressive. Prnjavor counted at that time about 1500 inhabitants, this means that these 300 women accounted for about half of its female population.<sup>62</sup> Apart from their numeric strength, what is even more striking is the fact that women who cannot write their own names used the correct administrative instrument to express themselves. The women of Prnjavor undertook efforts in support of their midwife with the help of new and modern means: a written appeal. They used the appeal to express their opinion and formulate their requests. An appeal had to be signed off personally. The crosses and points show that the women were well versed in the functioning of modern administration; that they had knowledge of the administration's written means of communication and expression and that they trusted it and believed in it. Furthermore, they also knew how to express support. They were supposed to make a simple sign or have it made by someone else to express their consent. By using crosses and points, they modified the appeal to adapt it to their own circumstances.

It is possible that the women of higher social ranks, such as those close to the administration or wives of officials, knew the procedures well. The appeal begins with the address "*Women of Herzegovina!*" and "*on this day we have come together...*" Apparently, the women had convened a meeting and possibly, at this meeting, the better-informed women explained the course of action to the women who could not write and convinced them to take part. The appeal is written in a style similar to spoken language. The expression in the first-person plural - "*Miss Savić (...) to us she is an excellent and diligent midwife*" – at once includes the speaker as well as the audience. The language reveals a collective, "the women of Prnjavor", whose members expressed solidarity both among themselves and also with the midwife. If someone had written the letter from an outside perspective pursuing a descriptive-testifying intention, then such an author would have opted for a formulation such as "*the women testify*", "*the women state that*", using the grammatical third-person plural. The letter instead does not describe a situation from a distance; it actually constitutes the situation itself.

The women did not fear that the action might have negative consequences for them. Those women who made crosses and points could not be easily identi-

<sup>62</sup> Under Habsburg rule, from 1878 until 1910, Prnjavor's population grew by roughly 69 %, an increase of 769 people to 1876 citizens. I assume that the emigration of the officials and workers who had moved to Prnjavor before as well as was the war casualties meant that the number of inhabitants was considerably lower than in 1910. Iljas Hadžibegović: *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća*. Sarajevo 1991, 31, 71–73.

fied, but the women of higher social standing did expose themselves with their names. The district's health official recognized twenty names among the written signatures.<sup>63</sup> He failed at discrediting the letter by arguing that said women were not capable of bearing children anymore or had never even borne children.

Looking at the aforementioned crosses and points more closely, I think it's possible to argue that they may be more than representations.<sup>64</sup> They may also reveal affiliations. There are two kinds of crosses: straight, standing crosses, I believe to be catholic; others resemble an "x"; these might represent orthodox crosses. The points instead could indicate Islamic, or maybe simply non-Christian affiliation.<sup>65</sup> Scholarship is divided on the question regarding the point in time at which women from Bosnia and Herzegovina started equating their religious affiliation with political identity is still being discussed controversially. Under Ottoman rule, religious affiliation did have public law consequences (military service, tax liabilities, etc.), for Austria-Hungary, it also impacted administrative procedures.<sup>66</sup> In any case, being represented by a cross or a point was depending on context. In front of the assembled community of women from different religious communities in Prnjavor, a woman became a woman represented by a cross, whereas as a member of her own circles, she was just a woman or someone's woman. Identity crucially depended on circumstances.

## Conclusion

The women of Prnjavor won. Antonia Savić's bag was returned to her and she was allowed to exercise her profession again. This entry from 1923 is the last information the file of Antonia Savić contains. The fact that the municipal midwife Katarina Šušković Janjić fell seriously ill had contributed to this turn of events, too.<sup>67</sup> Pressure from local citizens, female and male, was mounting and the local authority, who had spearheaded the law suit, were forced to act. Throughout this

<sup>63</sup> ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

<sup>64</sup> I thank all the members of the DFG network "Sozialfürsorge und Gesundheit in Ost- und Südosteuropa im langen 20. Jahrhundert" for the openminded discussions on how to interpret sources, which got me on to this track.

<sup>65</sup> In 19th century, the symbol of the star with a crescent represented both the Ottoman Empire as well as Islam.

<sup>66</sup> Wolfgang Göderle: *Zensus und Ethnizität: zur Herstellung von Wissen über soziale Wirklichkeiten im Habsburgerreich zwischen 1848 und 1910*, Göttingen 2016 : 213 et seq.

<sup>67</sup> For the entire paragraph: ABH, ZOMNZ, 1923, k. 89, 18.279. Antonia Savić, Prnjavor.

time, Antonia Savić continually requested that her instruments be returned to her. Finally, on 29 October 1923, she received confirmation from the health department in Sarajevo that she was no longer barred from exercising her profession.

The letter of support the women from Prnjavor wrote in favor of Antonia Savić represents a survival of modern means, originally introduced by the Habsburg administration, that continued into the early Yugoslav period. The women of Prnjavor correctly and successfully made use of a state-provided administrative tool by adapting it to their situation with the aim of protecting their midwife and claiming what they considered to be their right. Regardless of war, misery and destruction, and despite nationalism and regime change, continuity, which extends through the decisive year 1918, becomes visible/ evident. In some places like Prnjavor midwives personally assured continuity, but they were not the only ones to guarantee it. On paper I found traces of modern material and immaterial culture bridging discontinuity caused by war. At the periphery, paperwork and administrative procedure could provide stability – even when the central administration changed. Leading us to the furthest margins of society, the episode about Antonia Savić teaches us finally how deeply modern communication culture took root in Bosnia during Habsburg times. The women of Prnjavor and their commitment to their midwife show us how modern means and ways of communication continued in post-Habsburg Yugoslavia.

Mitsutoshi Inaba

Tokyo, Japan

## A MICRO-LEVEL SHIFT IN EDUCATIONAL "REGIME OF PRACTICES" UNDER THE HABSBURG MONARCHY: HISTORICAL AND PSYCHO-PEDAGOGICAL ANALYSIS OF LUKA KARAMAN'S WORK *SCHOOL BENCH*

**Abstract:** Eyes, exactly speaking the vision was the most important subject of pedagogical texts in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918. We hold that two factors influenced it. Firstly, they recommended visual education (*Zorna obuka*) as a right way to educate the character, according to which our acquiring the unquestionable knowledge starts from the all-sided observance of everything around us. Secondly, they held that the vision is one of various factors for creating the loyalty to Habsburg monarchy, for example, through people's participation on Emperor Franz Joseph's visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910 as its spectators. It is therefore well-known that the visual representation was important to create loyal, pious, national character etc. Nevertheless, the scholarship has not analysed how the vision itself was understood in Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time. In this paper we investigate what kind of image of "observer" was re/produced by means of discourse on vision. As a starting point we analyze a book *School bench* of Luka Karaman (1910) that firstly discussed the school benches and myopia in the visual way. Besides it, we research the various texts in Bosnian and Croatian pedagogical periodicals and monographs that discuss the vision, especially myopia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early twentieth century, the concept of cost effectiveness became increasingly prevalent in the educational sphere, depending on the progress of mechanization in society. We demonstrate that the correct vision in this context was considered as an economically rational approach to the nerves. Furthermore, psychosomatic activities encompassed the energy circulatory

system, involving neural networks and blood flows. Thus, myopia functioned as one moment to normalize the “observer”, that is, human who sees correctly in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Habsburg regime according to mental and physical rational economy.

**Keywords:** *School bench, Myopia, Energy, Physiological psychology, Economy of human being*

## Introduction

Emperor Franz Joseph visited Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter called Bosnia) from 30 May to 4 June 1910, leaving a great impression on the population. The pro-government newspapers reported that the emperor’s visit should be regarded as a great opportunity to show loyalty and love for the emperor and his empire<sup>1</sup>. The *Serbian voice*, which was generally critical of the government, reported that the emperor’s visit inspired the nations such that they were “seeing” a better guarantee of their future<sup>2</sup>. What is common to the newspaper reports was the importance of *seeing* the emperor because *seeing* him was considered as the trigger to evoke certain emotions among the audiences, in particular, loyalty and love. That is why the *Sarajevo newspaper* complained that it was unable to provide any pictures, only text, to inform the nations of the decorated scenes for the emperor<sup>3</sup>. At the end of the nineteenth century, it became known in Western Europe that certain emotions, particularly patriotism, could be produced by manipulating the act of *seeing*<sup>4</sup>. In Croatia and Bosnia, this method of manipulation also became recognized with the rise of the crowd psychology, put forward by Le Bon, Tarde and Sighele<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Zijad Šehić, *U mojoj Bosni povodom stogodišnjice posjete cara Franje Josipa I Bosne i Hercegovine od 30. maja do 4. juna 1910.*, Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2013, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Amir Duranović, *Historijska 1910. godina. Pogled u sarajevsku štampu.* Sarajevo: *Historijska traganja*, Institut za istoriju, 2011: 7, 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception. Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999, 242-247.

<sup>5</sup> Ljudevit Kašiković, *Psihologija Kolektiviteta*, Vukovar, 1914, 17, 25 and 31. Vladimir Gaćinović, who had read Le Bon’s book, probably in 1911, asserted that one factor for the successful revolution is “gestures, which stand in mystic psychology of crowd” in 1912. No. 15, letter from Vladimir Gaćinović, Geneva, in: *Mlada Bosna. Pisma i Prilozi.* (ur. Vojislav Bogićević), Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954, 58; Osvetnik, Smrt jednog Heroja, in: *Ibid.*, 286. Osvetnik is the nom de plume of Gaćinović.

However, seeing does not always produce a uniform effect. For instance, Jagoda Truhelka, the former principal of the Higher girls' school in Banja Luka, asserted that the perception of colours is not uniform. Actually, the perception or *seeing* depends on the seasons, the level of eye training and the colours perception. Perceived colours change as a result of the relation between light and colours, which was exemplified for Truhelka by her perception of the colours of leaves in the forest<sup>6</sup>. Truhelka may have perceived that nature is full of diverse colour changes because she enjoyed cycling in her spare time between busy jobs<sup>7</sup>. As this example illustrates, *seeing* does not simply involve the external world being reflected into the eyes, as the external world is transformed by *seeing* itself. That is why seeing *correctly* was required. Indeed, the educational idea that seeing *correctly* brings about *correct* understanding was common at that time.

The discussions were held on the school benches about various opinions when it comes to *seeing*. They appeared frequently in the early twentieth century, and the emphasis was placed on the negative effect of the unhygienic classroom upon children's growth<sup>8</sup>. Here, *seeing* correctly became a point of school hygiene because a negative effect was myopia. However, such a point was already discussed in the nineteenth century<sup>9</sup>. From nineteenth to twentieth century society demanded more strongly that more attention should be drawn to hygiene, according to which not only the family but also teachers and pupils must regulate their life. At the intersection of family, school and children appeared one book *School bench* of Luka Karaman, the principal of Secondary school (Realka) in Sarajevo, in 1910, which is the first monograph on the school benches in Bosnia.

The point to note here is that the main goal of education at that time was not simply to create *imperial or national subjects*. The Bosnian historiography has had a narrow focus on the national aspect of education under the Habsburg monarchy<sup>10</sup>. And recent scholarship on Habsburg monarchy has argued that science

<sup>6</sup> Jagoda Truhelka, *U carstvu duše*, Osijek, 1910, 97-101.

<sup>7</sup> Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Zbirka rukopisa i starijih knjiga, R7414b, letter from Jagoda Truhelka to Hermina Tomić, Banjaluka, 10. V. 1902.

<sup>8</sup> N. Vidaković, *Kratkovidni naraštaj po Falkengorstu*. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1900: VIII, 544; Bogoslava Keck, *Čovjek i njegovo zdravlje*, *Osvit*, VIII; no. 26, Sarajevo, 1. IV. 1905, 3; Anonym, *Školski liječnik*, *Srpska riječ*, II; no. 115, Sarajevo, 22. VIII. 1906, 3; Anonym, *Kakva treba da je školska klupa?*, *Srpska riječ*, II; no. 139, Sarajevo, 7. X. 1906, 6; Franjo Radošević, *Rukovogj za pisanke*. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1909: XVI, 648-649.

<sup>9</sup> See Leopold Glück, *Crtice iz higijene*, Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1894: I, 26-30.

<sup>10</sup> rf. Vojislav Bogičević, *Istorija razvitka osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba Turske i Austrougarske uprave (1463-1918)*, Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika BiH, 1965; Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)*,

– human and natural – developed under nationalism and colonialism<sup>11</sup>. However, the pedagogical journals in Bosnia were not merely national, and their discussions emphasized citizenship rather than nationality as the educational purpose. It was claimed that education of the individual would contribute to civil society as a whole<sup>12</sup>. The intellectual and ethical completion of the individual, that is, the rational and self-sustaining human being, was sought as a result of education. Patriotism was simply regarded as one of the qualities required of such an individual or, alternatively, as a developmental stage in this individual's acquisition of sympathy<sup>13</sup>. For both patriotism and for intellectual and ethical completion, the starting point is the senses. One of the senses, as stated, is vision. However, as well as being influenced by external conditions, seeing is also influenced by human moods. Pajo R. Radosavljević, then the docent of Pedagogical faculty in New York, (1909) stated that customs and temperaments were related to how things are seen<sup>14</sup>. As Jonathan Crary (1992) commented, this signifies that seeing *correctly* is not an independent act but is inseparable from the physical presence of the human who sees *correctly*, that is, the “observer”<sup>15</sup>. Seeing is influenced by the individual “observer”, through his habits and temperament. Vision was the object of education, and seeing *correctly* was not innate but was also an artefact

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Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972; Srećko M. Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischer Epoche (1878-1918) Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*, München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994. Recent scholarship has investigated the teachers' struggles to solve each concrete problem in social life. See Daliborka Škipina, Učiteljska društva u Bosni i Hercegovini o problemu obaveznog (obligatnog) polaska djece u školu (1878-1918), Užic: *Zbornik radova Učiteljski fakultet u Užicu*, 2011: XIV, 107-116; Robin Okey, The primary school movement in the South Slav lands of the Habsburg monarchy in the era of dualism. Ideal and reality, Sarajevo: *Godišnjak ANUBiH*, 2013: 42, 147-164.

<sup>11</sup> rf. Franjo Zenko, Filozofija na novoosnovanom Sveučilištu u Zagrebu (1874) na prijelomu stoljeća. Njezin odnos prema školskoj filozofiji u Beču u to doba, in *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč*. (prir. Damir Barbarić), Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997, 38-60; Tatjana Buklijas and Emese Lafferton, Science, medicine and nationalism in the Habsburg Empire from the 1840s to 1918, Amsterdam: *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 2007: 38/4, 679-686; Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman, The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe: An Instruction, in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848-1918*. (eds. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman), Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 1-29.

<sup>12</sup> Stjepan Basariček, *Pedagogija*, Zagreb, 1880, 248-249.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>14</sup> Pajo R. Radosavljević, Da li nas varaju naša osjetila? Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1909: XVI, 557-558.

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: The MIT press, 1992, 5-6.

acquired through education. As the word “correct” indicates, some *rationality* of the “observer” might be presupposed. At the same time, the possibility of seeing *erroneously* could not be precluded. Was failure predestined? As mentioned above, the goal of education was the development of a rational and self-sustaining individual. In 1896, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo recommended that the Bosnian population was sufficiently developed to deal with local affairs because of its “mental and political progress”. As a result, in 1897, the Joint Minister of Finance Benjamin Kállay agreed to introduce autonomous municipalities, although with some restrictions on their powers<sup>16</sup>. Thus, Kállay held an evolutionary idea, in that he considered that the Bosnian population was evolving and gradually developing sufficient maturity for autonomy, as Robin Okey (2007) indicated. According to Okey, Kállay’s successor, István Burián, also acted on the evolutionary idea that the Bosnians could be sufficiently “mature” to adapt themselves to a civic society<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the Serbian leaders pushing for autonomy claimed in their third petition to the Emperor in 1900 that “our nation has been mature with will and ability enough to decide our own destiny”<sup>18</sup>. What was missing at that time was an indicator measuring *maturity*. It is suggestive that, in 1906, Hugo Kutschera, the sectional chief of Joint Ministry of Finance, commented that the “absence of clear provision on human mature age” was complicating the problem of conversion law<sup>19</sup>. These testimonies show that knowledge of *maturity* was functioning as a “regime of practices”<sup>20</sup> to educate the Bosnians, that is, the central program, to govern and discipline their mind and body. The maturity regime, in which the “observer” who had to see *correctly* was positioned, still lacked the means to measure maturity<sup>21</sup>. However, this flaw

<sup>16</sup> Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986, 452–455.

<sup>17</sup> Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism. The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia, 1878-1914*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2007, 98, 130 and 178.

<sup>18</sup> Kraljačić, *op. cit.*, 396.

<sup>19</sup> Petar Vrankić, *Religion und Politik in Bosnien und der Herzegowina (1878-1918)*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1998, 681. In regard to human mature age, there were conflicting views between Vrhbosna Archbishop Josip Stadler and the Habsburg authorities. This conflict was not completely resolved.

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*, London: Sage Publications, 1999, 18.

<sup>21</sup> Nikola Vidaković confessed that it is “unfortunately” not easy to determine whether each child is normal from his behaviours. Nikola Vidaković, *Umorna djeca po M. Hagenau-u, Školski vjesnik*, 1908: XV, 31. In 1912 Radosavljević introduced the Binet-Simon method, indicating that this method shows the children’s state only at the “present moment”. The IQ test, which provides a more constant index, appeared during the First World War. Pajo R. Radosavljević,



did not stop its regime. According to Dean (1999), a “regime of practices” functions and evolves through interactions between knowledge and its practical uses to govern the population effectively. Therefore, to govern is a program that calculates even the possibility of its failures beforehand, and it is a constantly changing rule to deal with various issues<sup>22</sup>. In other words, to govern is “to structure the field of possible action”<sup>23</sup>, according to which we can calculate, even if not determine, others’ activities. The pedagogical or psychological knowledge may be such a field. Then, we consider that myopia was such a failure from which a new educational program and idea of human being became constructed to fulfill the above-mentioned educational purpose.

First of all, we have to do the historical analysis of the human concept if we want to understand the various activities and their reasons, because every activity (political, social, economic, educational etc.) always presupposes, (re)produces, and modifies the certain concept(s) of human being. Recent scholarship has researched the conceptualization of human being in Bosnia and Croatia. Marijana Hameršak, who has investigated the historical changes of relation between fable’s idea and child concept in Croatia from the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, has demonstrated that the new psychological understanding of dream effected upon such a change in the 1880s<sup>24</sup>. And Dinko Župan, who has analysed, with Foucault’s term *discipline*, how femininity was constructed in the Croatian educational system from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, has pointed out that the pedagogical discourse negatively evaluated the dance on account of its bringing about “the dangerous desire” in female body although it valued the physical education<sup>25</sup>. From these

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*Uvod u Eksperimentalnu Pedagogiju*, Zagreb, 1912, 257; Kurt Danziger, *Naming the Mind: How Psychology found its Language*, London: Sage Publications, 1997, 79.

- <sup>22</sup> Dean, *op. cit.*, 190; Michel Foucault, trans. by Robert Hurley, *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, 99.
- <sup>23</sup> Dean, *op. cit.*, 14. According to Michel Foucault’s verdict, “the characteristic feature of power is that some men can more or less entirely determine other men’s conduct – but never exhaustively or coercively.” Michel Foucault, *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of ‘Political Reason’* [https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\\_documents/a-to-z/f/foucault81.pdf](https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/f/foucault81.pdf) (accessed March 2, 2018), 255.
- <sup>24</sup> Marijana Hameršak, *Pričalice. O povijesti djetinjstva i bajke*, Zagreb: Algoritam, 2011, 131-152, 157.
- <sup>25</sup> Dinko Župan, *Odnos prema tijelu unutar hrvatskog školskog sustava druge polovine 19. stoljeća*, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 40 (2008), 192-194; idem, *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskjoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)*, Osijek i Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku i Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2013, 132-135.

facts, we observe that the psychological knowledge regulated how to associate with human being. However, those researches show that the various usage of psychological concepts in the discourse on human activity newly articulated the relationships between human and the society, but do not step into the concrete analysis of how to have (re)constructed idea of psychological mechanism itself. On the other hand, Mitsutoshi Inaba, who has examined the human concept in fin-de-siècle Bosnia, has focused on the analysis of the homology and variance between the evolutionary and antievolutionary human concept. Thus, he has not demonstrated how was the human concept (re)constructed to deal with each concrete problem in the school<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, this paper will contribute to such scholarship on the historicity of the human concept, especially in the pedagogical and psychological discourse on one educational failure, that is, myopia.

The first pedagogical periodical appeared in Bosnia in 1894. On the other hand, Karaman published his text *School bench* in 1910, in which he discussed the relationship between myopia and school facilities. This book was based on an open lecture delivered on 25 April 1910. This lecture had a large public response<sup>27</sup>. Thus, we analyse the concept of the human being, especially the "observer" in Bosnia around the beginning of the twentieth century.

## 1. Inappropriate Desks and Benches in Schools

Lecture on hygiene was introduced at the Teacher training school in Sarajevo since February 1905. Furthermore, district doctor Henrik Popper was appointed as its teacher in 1909/10<sup>28</sup>. These facts suggest that the society began to recognise the importance of the hygiene in Bosnia in the early twentieth century. This hygienic concern was linked to criticism for giving too much importance to intellectual education which dismissed the children's physical growth. And fear of degeneration spurred people to share that concern in society<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Mitsutoshi Inaba, *The Human concept in Fin-de-siècle Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Sarajevo: *Prilozi*, Institut za istoriju, 2011: 40, 97-133.

<sup>27</sup> Anonym, *Javno predavanje u profesorskom društvu*, *Srpska riječ*, VI; no. 86, Sarajevo, 4. V. 1910, 2-3.

<sup>28</sup> *Godišnji izvještaj učiteljske i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne djačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo, 1905: XVII, 49; 1910: XXII, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Paja. P. Radosavljević, *Loše vaspitanje*, *Sarajevski list*, XXV; no. 51, Sarajevo, 30. IV. 1902, 1; Theodra Krajewska, *Jahresbericht der Amtsärztin Dr. T. Krajewska in Sarajevo für das Jahre 1902*, Wien: *Wiener medizinischer Wochenschrift*, 1903: 53, 1781; Davorin Trstenjak, *Čovjek u budućnosti*, Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1905: XII, 563; Slavko Kosić, *Gimnastika*

Furthermore, criticism was directed to unhygienic cities and houses, especially family lifestyle. Female doctors, who could work upon Muslim women, were mobilised to improve the unhygienic lifestyle. For example, Hedwig Olszewska at Donja Tuzla reported in March 1903 that Muslim women improved their lifestyle according to her advice<sup>30</sup>. Criticism was also directed towards school. In relation to school, one of the problems that teachers perceived in the early twentieth century was that their pupils did not sit properly. More focus is given to the school bench in the book entitled *School bench* (1910), written and published by Luka Karaman, the principal of Secondary school in Sarajevo. Karaman argued that a poorly designed bench could cause irregular growth of the lungs and spine but, above all, that it has a negative effect on vision. A bench that is appropriate for a pupil's physique will contribute to his good health. Consequently, many investigators measured the physiques of pupils to determine their average size and to design appropriate desks for this average size. The appropriate proportions of a desk, its bench and its back, for physical health and pedagogical purposes, were quantified. In particular, the height from the seat to the inner edge of the desk, referred to as the difference (*diferencija*), was considered to be the most important measurement for promoting proper posture, with 17% of the height of the body recommended as the ideal difference. The distance between the bench's back and the inner edge of the desk, referred to as the big distance (*velika distancija*), was also regarded as important; 19% of the body's height was the ideal, although it was noted that it could not be applied if a pupil was overweight. Karaman recommended that the big distance should be slightly larger than the length of the pupil's forearm<sup>31</sup>. Thus, miscellaneous gatherings of individuals were standardized by being processed statistically and this opened the way for teachers to consider pupils as a group, which could be represented by numerical values.

Prior to Karaman's book, there were some explanations of the link between the school bench and myopia. The *Pedagogical encyclopaedia* (1895-1906) provides a good example of such an explanation. It recommended a difference of around 16% of the height of the body, which is very close to Karaman's recommendation (17%), and it advised that the big distance should match the forearm's

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u našoj školi, Sarajevo: *Srpska škola*, 1907/08: I, 105-106; Emil Mattauschek, Einiges über die Degeneration des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Volkes, Leipzig and Wien: *Jahrbücher für Psychiatrie und Neurologie*, 1909: 29, 142.

<sup>30</sup> Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (hereafter called ABiH), Zemaljska Vlada u Sarajevu (hereafter called ZVS), 1904, box 37, sign 38-300/3.

<sup>31</sup> L. Karaman, *Školska klupa*, Sarajevo, 1910, 6-18.

length, as in Karaman<sup>32</sup>. However, the *Encyclopaedia* provided only one illustration, a side-view, of the ideal school bench and did not provide any pictures of a child sitting at the desk. In comparison, the innovative feature of Karaman's book was the abundant pictures and illustrations, through which he aimed to promote visualization of the appropriate bench and posture<sup>33</sup>. In particular, as the *Serbian voice* commented, reviewing Karaman's book, even "if we are not experts", his book enables us to perceive the (in)appropriateness of each school bench. At the end of Karaman's book, the rules of sitting are summarized, referring to two particular photographs. Karaman published a booklet *The Rules about the health for school youth* the following year and, interestingly, it included almost exactly these same rules<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, it is clear that the main purpose of the photographs in the 1910 book were to make it easier for teachers to guide their pupils as to the *correct* way to sit. However, in the context of the 1911 rule book, it may be that Karaman's secondary purpose was to enable the pupil to reflect on his own posture by looking at the pictures of the child sitting (*in*)*correctly* at the school bench.

As mentioned above, the *Encyclopaedia* discussed the appropriate characteristics of the school bench. However, Karaman expands on and quantifies the ideal dimensions and qualities of the school desk, arguing that the desk, the bench and its back must be properly related together. In particular, he explains the importance of the relation between the big distance and the distance (that is, the distance between the inner edge of the desk and the front end of the bench) using a graphic<sup>35</sup>. To illustrate the relations among the various values was regarded as very important. Indeed, a review in the newspaper the *Croatian dairy* reported that, in a lecture by Karaman, the most important point emphasized was that "the validity of the bench should be put more into an alliance with the mutual position of all these parts, rather than in alliance with the dimensions of them"<sup>36</sup>. More

<sup>32</sup> Mito Orlić, Klupa školska, in: *Pedagojska enciklopedija*, Zagreb, 1895-1906, 612-613.

<sup>33</sup> Anonym, Književne vijesti. L. Karaman: »Školska klupa«, *Srpska riječ*, VI; no. 202, Sarajevo, 30. IX. 1910, 1; N. Vid., Književna smotra. L. Karaman: Školska klupa. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1911: VII, 178.

<sup>34</sup> L. Karaman, *Pravila o zdravlju za školsku omladinu*, Sarajevo, 1911, 12-14.

<sup>35</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 12-13.

<sup>36</sup> Anonym, O školskoj klupi i o njezinu utjecaju na zdravlje gjaka, *Hrvatski dnevnik*, V; no. 101, Sarajevo, 6. V. 1910, 2. In 1890, Antun Lobmayer discussed the appropriate dimensions of the desk, the school bench and its back. Here, the term big distance was not used, but the difference + 2 cm was recommended as an appropriate dimension for the so-called big distance. However, there was no explanation of the relationship between big distance and distance. On the other hand, Ivan Zoch discussed the ideal size for distance and difference, but did not place any importance on the big distance, which is the thickness of the pupil's body. Thus,

specifically, Karaman asserted that “the seat, the desk and back of the bench need to be reciprocally combined and to make up one bench”<sup>37</sup>. Here, the integrity of these three factors is recommended on the grounds that, unless they are arranged in the *right* ratio, the pupil’s head will be bent and his eyes will be brought excessively close to the books when writing and reading. The result of the irrational relation of these three factors was regarded as myopia. Of course, as noted, this relation between the three factors alone was not enough and it was important that the pupil habituates himself to the *correct* posture. That is, the standardized desk, bench and its back should be aligned with the standardized body of the pupil. Each child was expected to adapt his body *correctly* to the *right* bench because doing so contributed to the health of the child. As a result, “a good bench needs to enable the pupil to keep naturally his right posture even if he simply sits, hears or reads and writes”<sup>38</sup>. Here, the child was considered as if it was a part of the bench. Thus, it was considered important not just to prepare the environment, but also to arrange the relationship between the child and its environment. At the same time, it was required that the environment, that is the school bench, had the appropriate feedback effect on the posture of each child.

The above discussion clearly indicated that Karaman’s book focused on children, especially pupils in school. As mentioned above, social interest in hygiene may have an effect on its attention to children, but does not quite explain the reason why attention was devoted especially to schools. From the 1900s, the irregular schooling became recognized as a social and pedagogical problem, and there were frequent calls for a compulsory education law to be declared. For example, on 4 July 1908, a meeting of the Teachers’ association of Elementary public schools for Tuzla region requested the introduction of compulsory education, insisting that the irregular schooling hampered the achievement of the desired learning results<sup>39</sup>. In the following year, the Teachers’ association of Elementary public schools for Travnik region submitted the resolution of introducing compulsory education to the Provincial Government in Sarajevo<sup>40</sup>. As a result of such

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he discussed a desk and school bench suitable for learning calligraphy in the absence of the pupil. Indeed, we find a figure of the desk and school bench without a sitting pupil in his book. A. Lobmayer, *Škola i zdravlje djece*, Zagreb, 1890, 20-21; Ivan Zoch, *Metoda krasopisa*. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1896: III, 362-363. In 1914 Roko Vrdoljak appreciated Zoch’s article discussing posture and how to sit. Roko Vrdoljak, *O slikarskoj umjetnosti uopće, a napose o modernom crtanju u osnovnoj školi*. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1914: X, 236.

<sup>37</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 18.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>39</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1908, box 90, sign. 67-100.

<sup>40</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1909, box 41, sign. 67-80.

calls for compulsory education, a conditional compulsory education law was introduced in 1911, and a school committee was installed in each urban and rural municipality, which was responsible for enrolling school-age children. Punitive measures were imposed on parents who did not permit their children to attend school without sufficient reasons<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, it was at a time when there was increasing public interest in primary education that Karaman visualized the solution for a school problem, that is, the problem of the appropriate school bench, in a way that everyone could understand.

What was presented as a solution to myopia? In Karaman's book, we do not find out any measure against children with myopia. He asserted that it is important to prevent any disease in embryo (u zamjetku)<sup>42</sup>. The treatment is not important but prophylaxis. So, why did he pay attention to preventing myopia? In the course of giving answer to this question this paper will analyse the psychological discourse on myopia and vision.

## 2. The Visual Sense in Psychological Texts

Before we analyse the discourse on myopia, we will briefly examine how vision was explained in psychology and pedagogy in Bosnia in the late nineteenth century. *Pedagogy*, which Stjepan Basariček, one of the most famous pedagogues in Croatia, published in 1880, was used as a textbook on pedagogy until the end of the Habsburg rule at a Teacher training school opened in Sarajevo in 1886<sup>43</sup>. Therefore, we commence this section with an analysis of his views. What kind of mechanism did Basariček regard as underlying vision? His answer is too simple as he only explained that vision, the organs for which are the eyes, occurs through ether vibrations as a stimulus.<sup>44</sup> He regarded the body as serving the soul and grasped its centre as a nervous system<sup>45</sup>. However, the soul alone does not produce all psychological phenomena as they arise when the external world works on humans. It is the role of the nervous system to con-

<sup>41</sup> Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*, Leipzig, 1914, 705.

<sup>42</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Mitsutoshi Inaba, *Pedagogija i psihologija u Učiteljskoj školi u Sarajevu (1886.-1918.) za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine*. Zagreb: *Anali za povijest odgoja*, Hrvatski školski muzej, 2015: no. 14, 45.

<sup>44</sup> Stjepan Basariček, *Kratko izkustveno dušoslovje*, Zagreb, 1877, 22.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

vey the stimulus given by the external world from the brain to the soul, and the “entrance (vrata)” is each sensory organ. Finally, Basariček considered that the soul remains the subject of all psychological activities. His interpretation was that perception occurs only about the object to which the soul has directed its attention<sup>46</sup>. Even if vision is the core of mental growth, it was considered that its subject itself is the soul. Although important, vision is just one “entrance” to the soul, along with the other senses. In other words, the role of each sensory organ is to supply the “nourishment (hrana)”<sup>47</sup> necessary for the soul to grow. Inappropriate nourishment was considered as inhibiting human growth and, therefore, it was necessary to consider the appropriate “entrances” to the soul. Thus, according to Basariček, vision was one of many types of “entrances” supplying the soul with its “nourishment”.

In the 1890s, several new psychological books were published. Among them was *Psychology for the middle schools* (1892) published in Zagreb by Đuro Arnold, then the assistant professor of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, which was used as a textbook for psychology in the gymnasiums in Bosnia from 1896/97<sup>48</sup>. Arnold concurred with Basariček, in that he regarded the nervous system as an organ that plays a role in mediating between the body and the soul. Again, vision was explained as a sense caused by ether vibrations. Arnold explained that, after the light refracted by the lens of the eye reaches the retina, cilia consisting of the ends of the optic nerves are stimulated, and that stimulation is transmitted to the brain<sup>49</sup>. Unlike Basariček, Arnold interpreted the stimulated state on retina caused by the light as a visual object. This was in line with Johannes Müller’s influential thesis that vision is not the perception of the object but of the state of the optic nerve itself<sup>50</sup>. In addition, Arnold considered that our vision can only grasp ether oscillations from 450 billion to 790 billion per second. The numerical valuation of vision was occurring at this time<sup>51</sup>. Thus, building on Basariček’s psychology and pedagogy, more detailed anatomical and physical explanations of the mechanism occurring inside the eyeball were being developed.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-18. There are similar ideas in the articles during the 1890s. See Ivan Nep. Farkaš, Prinos naučanju psihologije. Sarajevo: Škoski vjesnik, 1894: I, 475.

<sup>47</sup> Basariček, *op. cit.*, 1880, 26.

<sup>48</sup> *Godišnji izvještaj Velike Gimnazije u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo, 1897: XII, 33; *Izvještaj o srednjim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini za školsku godinu 1918./19.*, Sarajevo, 1920: I, 42.

<sup>49</sup> Đuro Arnold, *Psihologija za srednja učilišta*, drugo izdanje, Zagreb, 1895, 14-15.

<sup>50</sup> Edwin G. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, second edition, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1950, 101.

<sup>51</sup> Arnold, *op. cit.*, 21.

Arnold agreed with Basariček that we are not conscious of all sensory stimuli, but he commented only that this depends on “differences in sensory organization and degrees of attention,” and did not use the word soul to explain this concept<sup>52</sup>. In Arnold’s psychology, emphasis was placed on the position of the eyeball because it was claimed that illusion can be rectified by adopting another viewpoint<sup>53</sup>. This argument seems similar to Basariček’s claim that there is a risk of one-sided observations providing imperfect “nourishment” to the soul. However, Arnold pointed to the existence of another physiological response that is brought about by the position of the eyeball. Specifically, when a light ray falls on the edge of the retina, after exemplifying the fact that the retina does not respond uniformly to all stimuli, Arnold argued that the edge of the retina is less stimulated than the centre, so the eyeball moves reflexively to the centre. Following this explanation, Arnold said that “every movement is performed by muscles, and its result is above all fatigue”<sup>54</sup>. Here, therefore, vision was associated with muscles that make eye movements.

In 1906, Ljudevit Dvorniković published his *Basics of psychology* in Zagreb. This book was reprinted in Sarajevo in 1913 with a new title, *Elements of psychology*, and a second edition was published in 1914. This work was intended to be teaching material for the Teacher training school in Sarajevo, but in the end, it was adopted as an auxiliary teaching material<sup>55</sup>. Dvorniković was born in Zagreb, recruited as a teacher of the Teacher training school in Sarajevo in 1902 and appointed as a professor in 1913<sup>56</sup>. Unlike Basariček and Arnold, Dvorniković worked as an educator in Bosnia. In his psychological book, vision is explained along with the eye movement nerve as being governed by one of 12 pairs of nerves that are connected with the cerebrum. Furthermore, the cerebral grey matter was seen as the centre of psychological activities in Dvorniković’s book; not only did he localize each psychological activity to a certain region of the cerebral cortex but he also visualized and included a cerebral anatomical map<sup>57</sup>. The

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. Vision became inseparably related to the movement involving discovery of indirect vision. Radosavljević explained this in his book. Edwin G. Boring, *Sensation and Perception in the History of Experimental Psychology*, New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1942, 171-173; Pajo R. Radosavljević, *Uvod u Eksperimentalnu Psihologiju*, Zagreb, 1908, 168-170.

<sup>55</sup> Inaba, op. cit., 2011, 103; idem, op. cit., 2015, 36.

<sup>56</sup> Istorijski Arhiv u Sarajevu (hereafter called IAS), O-DLJ-170: Lični fond Ljudevita Dvornikovića, DLj-4 and DLj-5.

<sup>57</sup> Ljudevit Dvorniković, *Temelji psihologije*, Zagreb, 1906, 17-19.



second edition of *Elements of psychology* included a new graphic showing that vision is localized on the posterior sphere of the cerebral cortex, which enabled vision to be represented as one anatomical route<sup>58</sup>. At the same time, this clearly indicates that vision was regarded as an organ directly linked to the cerebrum.

Why did Dvorniković pay so much attention to explanations of the nervous system? After demonstrating that we cannot memorize and remember correctly in a “drowsy, drunk or intoxicated state, that is, when our nervous system is troubled”, he asserted that the “worn-out state of the nervous system” is the main cause hindering the association of representations<sup>59</sup>. He interpreted intelligent activities, such as the association and recall of representations, as being related to the construction of neural pathways. He considered that each psychological activity passes through a certain neural circuit, causing a change in the molecular structure of the nerve every time. With this change, each similar psychological activity is adjusted to allow for a smoother passage through the route. There is no doubt that Herbert Spencer’s psychology had a major impact on his way of thinking<sup>60</sup>. Similarly, Arnold stated that when the nerve is stimulated moderately, a pleasant feeling arises, but if its stimulus continues, it will become blunt and dull<sup>61</sup>.

Unlike Arnold, who proposed adoption of another viewpoint on illusion, as a countermeasure, Dvorniković suggested eliminating obstacles to “accurate observation”<sup>62</sup>. He cited luminosity, excessively strong or excessively weak light, as an obstacle because the optic nerve does not adapt to these stimuli. Thus, this concept demonstrates Dvorniković’s idea that vision depends on the function of the optic nerves. Furthermore, he explained that although illusion is caused by external stimuli, hallucination arises from the stimuli of the sensory nervous centre, that is, from an extraordinary excited state<sup>63</sup>. He criticized faculty psychology and held that the intellect, feeling and volition are individual phenomena of mental activity. According to Dvorniković, what supported mental activity was the neural network that stretches through the whole body<sup>64</sup>. His psychology departed

<sup>58</sup> Ljudevit Dvorniković, *Osnovi psihologije*, drugo dopunjeno izdanje, Sarajevo, 1914, 13.

<sup>59</sup> Dvorniković, *op. cit.*, 1906, 48.

<sup>60</sup> Ljudevit Dvorniković, Herbert Spencer. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1904: XI, 129. rf. Mitutoshi Inaba, Obitelj u modernoj Bosni i Hercegovini iz perspektive pedagogije Herberta Spencera. Sarajevo: *Radovi (Historija, Historija umjetnosti, Arheologija)*, Filozofski fakultet, 2014: III, 321-340.

<sup>61</sup> Arnold, *op. cit.*, 25.

<sup>62</sup> Dvorniković, *op. cit.*, 1906, 35.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-60.

<sup>64</sup> IAS, O-DLJ-170, DLj-42, *Nacrt socijalne etike* (Manuscript).

from Herbartianism, which dominated nineteenth-century Croatia<sup>65</sup>. Consequently, Dvorniković did not deny the importance of education based on associationism and, similarly to Basariček and Arnold, he acknowledged the role that observation plays in psychological growth when he wrote of "accurate observation", as mentioned above. The physiological psychology extended the function of the sensory and motor nerves to the whole human activity. It cooperated with the associationism psychology based on sensation and motion, which Spencer then promoted<sup>66</sup>. Dvorniković was also an active participant in this trend. He visualized the nervous system, especially the nervous centre, and aimed at *visualization of the invisible soul*. This great interest in nerves and brain activities was not limited to Dvorniković, but was the subject of many discussions during this era<sup>67</sup>. Dvorniković proposed that one could understand the human mind in terms of the healthy state of the nervous system. However, his explanations of the visual mechanism itself appeared old-fashioned as he interpreted the reversed image falling on the retina as being conveyed to the brain by the optic nerve. Therefore, his theory was optical rather than physiological<sup>68</sup>.

Basariček's approach to vision was metaphysical rather than psychological. Arnold drew attention to the nerve that connects the eyes and the brain together, building on the anatomical interpretation. At the same time, not only the eye itself as a visual device but also the muscles that move the eyeballs were included in his interpretation. Since the development of Goethe's colour theory, it was widely known that vision did not simply reflect the external world and that its function depended on the physical states of the "observer". At the end of the nineteenth century, physiology functioned as the main knowledge base from which to un-

<sup>65</sup> Zlatko Posavac, Jedan zaboravljeni estetičar. Psihologističko-pozitivistička estetika Ljudevita Dvornikovića, in: *Novija Hrvatska Estetika. Studije i Eseji*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo, 1991, 135.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Young, *Mind Brain and Adaptation in the nineteenth century. Cerebral localization and its biological context from Gall to Ferrier*, Oxford: Clarendon press, 1970, 199-200.

<sup>67</sup> Stj. Žanko, Nešto o školskoj higijeni. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1910: VI, 21. Jovan Galić did not provide a special interpretation of vision, but when the connection between the brain and the nervous system was taught, he recommended using visual teaching materials such as anatomical charts. Jovan Garić, *Mozak i živci*. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1902: IX, 541.

<sup>68</sup> Dvorniković asserts that it is the explanation "according to physical-optical law" and that the visual perception is not explained only by physical law. He points out the possibility that "taste", acquired or innate, could induce the direction of perception including vision. Thus, he may have simply illustrated the so-called *pure perception*. Dvorniković, *op. cit.*, 1906, 24-25; idem, O psihološkim osnovima estetskog osjećaja, u: *Essay-i iz Područja Psihološke Pedagogije i Estetike*, Sarajevo, 1905, 91; idem, Govor umjetnosti, u: *ibid.*, 107.

derstand human brain functions<sup>69</sup>. Hence, Dvorniković's physiological approach to vision itself was not a unique method. As a result, Dvorniković discussed the influence of state changes, such as fatigue or nervous excitement, on vision. He claimed that *correct* psychological activities would be carried out by *correctly* connecting the neural network. The graphic in his book showed that the neural network as consisting of 12 pairs of nerves and that it connected itself to the brain. Furthermore, in the second edition of *Elements of psychology*, he illustrated the hypothesis of functional localization on the cerebral cortex. Dvorniković indicated several people who contributed to brain research development, citing anatomy and pathology as contributing to brain study, and he argued that anatomical investigation of brain growth confirmed the hypothesis of localization on the cerebral cortex<sup>70</sup>. We infer that Paul Flechsig had a great influence on Dvorniković's anatomical comprehension of the brain. The important thing for Flechsig was not to show a mechanism, but a neuroanatomical meshing (*Verzahnung*)<sup>71</sup>. In Dvorniković's psychology, the brain was the centre of all nervous networks, and the anatomy functioned as an important cornerstone to *scientifically* reinforce his associationism, even though his idea of the visual mechanism was very old-fashioned. Based on this historical understanding of vision, in the next chapter, we will analyse the discourse on myopia.

### 3. Myopia

Myopia was a well-known disease in the nineteenth century. So, what was the problem of myopia that was perceived in the pedagogical discourse? According to Karaman, when reading or writing, a pupil brings his book closer to eyes if the difference or distance is too large. As a result, hydrostatic pressure at the back of the eyeball becomes stronger, and the dura sticks out in the front, leading to the interpretation that this expands the eye axis and causes myopia<sup>72</sup>. Furthermore, because of the deformation of the eyeball, various membranes expand and crack and paralysis occur. In serious cases, there is the possibility of blindness resulting from retinal detachment<sup>73</sup>. First, we understand that myopia itself was

<sup>69</sup> Crary, *op. cit.*, 1992, 70-71; Young, *op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>70</sup> Dvorniković, *op. cit.*, 1914, 20.

<sup>71</sup> Olaf Breidbach, *Die Materialisierung des Ichs. Zur Geschichte der Hirnforschung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997, 226. Radosavljević also used Flechsig's investigation to interpret the cerebral localization. Radosavljević, *op. cit.*, 1908, 92.

<sup>72</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 190, 21.

<sup>73</sup> Stjepan Ratković, *Slijepi i njihovo odgajanje*, Zagreb, 1917, 15.

regarded as a problem because it was a disease that could give rise to blindness. However, blindness was not only an individual problem but also a social problem. In a society with few occupational options available to them, blind people became unemployable and dependent on others for assistance. Indeed, Vinko Bek, famous as the pioneer of typhological education in Croatia, insisted on vocational education as an important object for the blind because it would reduce the social burden of blindness<sup>74</sup>. This fact obviously reflects the reality of blindness at that time.

Thus, myopia was visualized as a social problem. This is shown by the statistics resulting from a survey conducted by Herman Cohn at Breslava, which indicated that, as the grades of pupils increased, more pupils had myopia, and there was a higher percentage of myopic pupils at urban schools than at rural schools<sup>75</sup>. Therefore, myopia was viewed as a disease that was growing along with cultural development<sup>76</sup>. The *scientific* fact of the increase of myopic pupils in schools and urban areas attracted attention to the living environments of the pupils rather than to myopia itself as a disease. What is common to the texts related to myopia is not criticism of myopia itself, but a focus on living environments or the way of life that gave rise to myopia. In the book *Our optic diseases* (1911), Vladimir Jelovšek, the oculist and editor of the medical periodical *Medical Herald (Liječnički vjesnik)*, argued:

Due to working excessively near, as is the case for school children, their eyes are continuously strained to promote close vision, and the ocular muscles extend their eyeballs to make the images clearer – and thus in some cases, myopia goes from bad to worse<sup>77</sup>.

That is, the focus of Jelovšek's criticism was the term "excessively (odviše)", in that the eyes are excessively close to their object. Karaman also held that having the eyes "excessively" close to the object makes them become strained and "tired"<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Franjo Tonković, *Vinko Bek i njegov utjecaj na odgoj i obrazovanje slijepih u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb: Tiflološki muzej, 1960, 110.

<sup>75</sup> Franjo Klaić had already used this report in 1872, but did not concretely use its statistical numbers, whereas Karaman cited them in his book *School bench*. Lobmayer does not refer to the report and its statistical numbers. Franjo Klaić, *Njega duševnoga i tjelesnoga zdravlja dječeta, opomena roditeljem, učiteljem i školskim oblastim od profesora dr. Bocka*, Zagreb, 1872, 17-18; Lobmayer, *op. cit.*, 13; Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 20-21.

<sup>76</sup> Ratković, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> Vladimir Jelovšek, *Naše očne bolesti (Trahom)*, Zagreb, 1911, 64.

<sup>78</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 21.

More specifically, we ask, what kind of optic structural components are strained? In his book *Caring for the mental and physical health of pupils* (1872), Franjo Klaić, the first principal of the Higher girls' school in Zagreb, insisted on the importance of distance between the eyes and the object but was mainly critical of excessive stimulation damaging the optic nerves<sup>79</sup>. Bek (1888) warned that exposure of new-borns to excessively strong light damaged the optic nerves and lead to future myopia<sup>80</sup>. As noted above, Dvorniković also focused on the ability of the nerves, including the optic nerve, to become worn out. Antun Lobmayer, the surgeon and editor of the medical periodical *Medical Herald*, commented in his book *Human and his health* (1898) that “when a child writes something, his eyes become enlarged due to an increase in blood pressure inside the eyeball by concentrating blood flow on the head because of bringing his head too close to the desk”. As a result, myopia occurs. In addition, even “when the light in the room is too strong or too weak, his eyes are forced to be strained so that the blood flow increases to the eyes and myopia occurs”<sup>81</sup>. According to Dragutin Mašek, the first professor of Medical faculty in Zagreb, the act of focusing is performed not by the lens itself but by the muscles surrounding it and this is also the muscle that becomes strained<sup>82</sup>. As mentioned above, Arnold also pointed to muscular fatigue of the eye.

Therefore, our answer to the above question, which optic structural components are strained, may be the nerves, blood vessels and the eye muscles. For example, in the article on sensory organs in the *Encyclopaedia*, Radosavljević introduced Hering's theory of the colour perception mechanism as more popular. According to this hypothesis, the perception of colour occurs because of the chemical change in “nourishment”, which the optic nerve on the retina receives from the blood flow<sup>83</sup>. Therefore, it was recognized that the activity of the optic nerve is not carried out independently of blood flow. Stjepan Blažeković, the author of various articles on pedagogy, held that the nervous function depends not only on the amount and vibration of the nerves but also on the quality of

<sup>79</sup> Klaić, *op. cit.*, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Vinko Bek, *Uzgoj slijepaca. I. dio. Uzgoj slijepaca u prvoj dobi po Entlicheru*, Zagreb, 1888, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Antun Lobmayer, *Čovjek i njegovo zdravlje*, Zagreb, 1898, 153. This book was approved as a reference book for hygiene lessons for the Higher girls' schools in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banjaluka in August 1917. ABiH, ZVS, 1917, box 118, sign. 67-59.

<sup>82</sup> Dragutin Mašek Bosnodolski, *Mala anatomija i fiziologija*, Zagreb, no date (1909 according to preface), 165.

<sup>83</sup> Pajo R. Radosavljević, Osjetila, in: *Pedagogijska enciklopedija*, Zagreb, 1895-1906, 858. The Young-Helmholtz hypothesis to interpret the perception of colours with three kinds of optic nerves was also in existence. See Jakov Kohn, Daltonizam. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1895: II, 405.

blood vessels providing the nerves their nourishment<sup>84</sup>. In fact, the idea that blood flow is related to brain function had already appeared among English physiologists in 1890<sup>85</sup>. Interestingly, Klaić (1872) held that eyes should be rested after their activities, as should the "brain"<sup>86</sup>. His book did not attempt to show the relationship between the brain and vision either anatomically or visually. However, as Dvoniković's psychology (1906) showed, when Karaman's book *School bench* was published, the optic nerve had already been visualized as the nerve directly connected with the brain. A 1917 paper cites Adolf Wittner's statement of this theory, as follows: "From the anatomical and genetic perspective, the eye is one part of the brain, a fortress of the central battery which is pushed out to the outside"<sup>87</sup>. Although the role of Karaman's book in Bosnia could be overestimated, we do consider in this pedagogical context that the accumulated texts on myopia culminated in his book, which provided *a visible example* highlighting the "excessively strained" state of school children's eyes, known as myopia<sup>88</sup>. As mentioned above, an important measure against myopia was prophylaxis, and its object was above all the "excessively strained" eyes. Why it should be avoided? That is why eyes, especially, optic nerves were related with brain, vessels and muscles. In short, the "excessively strained" eyes were considered in the context of mental and physical health. In the last chapter, we will analyse what kind of function the discourse on the "excessively strained" state performed in relation to the human concept in the 1910s.

#### 4. Nerves and Energy

We recognize the fact that using the eyes was not criticized. Human beings gradually grasp each object's shape, beginning with the perception of light and ending with the perception of various colours. Vision is acquired empirically. In fact, it was a widely accepted fact that training of the vision was a necessary condition to see<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Stjepan Blažeković, Umor. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1901: VIII, 622.

<sup>85</sup> Marcus E. Raichle, Visualizing the Mind, in: *The Scientific American Book of The Brain*, Guilford: The Lyons press, 1999, 46.

<sup>86</sup> Klaić, *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>87</sup> Divljan, Ljudsko oko. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1917: XIII, 134-135.

<sup>88</sup> "I will only assert that every eye gradually breaks down if it is forced to watch from a too small distance". Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 22.

<sup>89</sup> Nikola Maraković, Čula u prvom duševnom radu, *Sarajevski list*, XIV; no. 102, Sarajevo, 30. VIII. 1891, 1; Gjuro Protić, Bitnost i didaktična vrijednost nazorne nastave u prirodopisu.

It was also known, however, that seeing is accompanied by fatigue. In Basariček's *Pedagogy*, in relation to explanations of the need to strengthen the power of the sensory organs, it was pointed out that constant activity exhausts the sensibility, a problem that is not limited to vision<sup>90</sup>. Josip Preindlsberger, chief of the department of surgery at the Provincial hospital in Sarajevo, advised that the rules for "living rationally and orderly" should be followed to protect the optic health<sup>91</sup>. In 1897, Julije Golik, who had serialised the outline of psychology in the Croatian pedagogical periodical *Progress (Napredak)*, pointed out the correlation between nervous fatigue and the decline of psychological activities, stating that "physical strain reduces the ability to act mentally"<sup>92</sup>. In this way, the fatigue of the optic nerve was widely positioned within the context of human lifestyle. As a contribution to this idea, there was a trend towards describing the human body as a kind of power machine. Herman von Helmholtz had already interpreted the human being as an "energy transforming machine"<sup>93</sup>. Vladimir Novak, a gymnast of Tuzla Gymnasium, held that our body becomes useless unless it is refuelled through blood vessels, insisting that "the body is our perfect machine. (...) Heat transforms water into steam, and the machine moves with wheels. Our body needs to be heated similarly"<sup>94</sup>.

We indicated, in the first chapter, that Herbert Spencer influenced Dvorniković's psychology. However, Dvorniković explained that Spencer's psychology, based on the law of the conservation of energy, interprets human behaviours, in particular habituation, using the hypothesis that the energy movement is exercised in the direction of least resistance<sup>95</sup>. In other words, it was claimed that human psychological activity physiologically configured to move according to a principle of parsimony. Furthermore, Karaman asserted that the school desk is related to the human physical material, which is "the capital of the social economy"<sup>96</sup>.

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Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1896: III, 185; Adam Grusling, Ljudsko živčevlje s pedagoškog gledišta. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1900: VII, 845; Ljud. Rajman, Važnost temeljita obrazovanja osjetila. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1907: XIV, 217.

<sup>90</sup> Basariček, *op. cit.*, 1880, 30.

<sup>91</sup> Josip Preindlsberger, Kako valja čuvati oči. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1896: III, 147.

<sup>92</sup> Julije Golik, Nekoliko opaske o rasporedu sati o duševnom radu. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1897: IV, 308.

<sup>93</sup> Crary, *op. cit.*, 1999, 320.

<sup>94</sup> Vladimir Novak, Mens sana in corpore sano. Tuzla: *Godišnji izvještaj Velike gimnazije u Donjoj Tuzli*, 1905: VI, 7.

<sup>95</sup> Dvorniković, *op. cit.*, 1904, 69.

<sup>96</sup> Karaman, *op. cit.*, 1910, 5.

Then, it becomes an issue not just of physical health and pedagogy, but also an economic concern to protect that "capital". This term "capital" suggests the social background of Karaman's works. During the late nineteenth century in Bosnia, the demands for everyday items were generally met through the traditional handicraft industries, and the mechanization of industry was still weak<sup>97</sup>. A power station was built in Sarajevo in 1893, and mechanization in the factories began to progress from the mid-1890s (primarily involving the steam engine, but there was some electrification). In the twentieth century, however, the construction and mechanization of factories accelerated. For example, a steam boiler was built at a cigarette factory in 1882, but mechanization of the tobacco packing work was only introduced in 1905. Also, in 1905, a cigarette paper factory based on electric power started operations<sup>98</sup>. Gasoline-engine cars were running in Bosnia at this time. For instance, in January 1912, a car taxi company appeared in Sarajevo<sup>99</sup>. Although the cases noted above took place only in Sarajevo, we hold that this mechanization of transportation and industry at the beginning of the twentieth century supported the growing understanding of the human being as an energy machine. In 1914, Marko Ilić, a brother of the leader of the youth movement in Tuzla Todor, claimed that the leader must be "energetic" like the "gasoline motor" to promote some activities if he wants to accomplish them<sup>100</sup>. At the same time, with the advent of various national political groups, many national banks were established. The establishment of a Chamber of Commerce and Industry was frequently proposed in the 1880s but, because the Bosnian people were considered "not mature enough for civil liberty", the realization of this institution did not occur at this point. The unstable position of Bosnia was cited as another reason for the delay and when this was resolved by the annexation in 1908, permission to establish the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was finally granted in January 1909<sup>101</sup>. As a result,

<sup>97</sup> Gojko Krulj, *Gradska privreda*, in: *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za Oslobođenje i Ujedinjenje*, Beograd: Oblasni odbor Narodne odbrane u Sarajevu, 1929, 311; Ilijas Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2004, 46.

<sup>98</sup> Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod Austro-Ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*, Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1960, 209-213. An electrochemical plant was constructed in Jajce in 1897 and a power plant was built in Mostar in 1911. Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878-1918*, Seattle: University of Washington press, 1963, 118; Hadžibegović, *op. cit.*, 73.

<sup>99</sup> This taxi company ended due to a fire on 22 January, about two weeks after its opening. Anonym, *Das ersten Autotaxi in Sarajevo*, *Bosnische Post*, XXIX; no. 7, Sarajevo, 10. I. 1912, 4; Anonym, *Das Ende des ersten Autotaxi*, *Bosnische Post*, XXIX; no. 17, Sarajevo, 22. I. 1914, 4.

<sup>100</sup> No. 46, letter from Marko Ilić, Reljevo, 2. III. 1914, in: *Mlada Bosna*, 117.

<sup>101</sup> Amila Kasumović, *Austrougarska Trgovinska Politika u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1914*, Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju, 2016, 256-258.



an entrepreneurial class gradually developed among the Bosnians. Workers were required to improve their *quality* to secure workplaces and, in this way, the commercial ambience improved<sup>102</sup>. In the periodical *Commercial-Craftsmen's Herald*, launched in 1911, "energy" was regarded as a key to the secret of commercial success. In particular, Čed. Mijatović regarded the individual's health as "capital" and recommended using the human workforce "rationally" to achieve business success<sup>103</sup>. Views regarding economic rationality and cost effectiveness rose in popularity and stringent reviews of schools from the viewpoint of educational outcomes occurred. In a 1904 report on the inspection of schools, the sectional chief Lajos Thallóczy asserted that "although the cost cannot serve as a gauge of the school policy, it is necessary to apply a critical criterion to justify these costs"<sup>104</sup>. Similarly, cost effectiveness was claimed by "weighty figures" in Serbian community against Serbian ethnic schools<sup>105</sup>. Furthermore, the formation of various educational support organizations by each national group (Napredak, Prosvjeta and Gajret) at the beginning of the twentieth century transformed the scholarship policy; instead of merely increasing the number of students, scholarship policy now took into consideration the *quality* of each applicant<sup>106</sup>. In such a social context, we understand that the physiological approach to vision opened the way of understanding human physical and mental activities as a problem of economic *rationality*, using the metaphor of energy.

We now turn to an analysis of the book *About the education of the youth*, which was published in 1913 in Sarajevo. Its author, Avram Altarac, entered the Teacher training school in Sarajevo in 1902/03 and passed the teacher's test in 1908/09<sup>107</sup>. Consequently, his book provides an appropriate case to analyse pedagogy and psychology in Bosnia just before the First World War. According to Altarac, the most important issue in modern times was human quality to survive in

<sup>102</sup> Ferdinand Hauptmann, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1878-1918. Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsentwicklung*, Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz, 1983, 245-250.

<sup>103</sup> -o., Trgovačko samovaspitanje. Sarajevo: *Trgovačko-zanatlijski glasnik*, 1911: I, no. 3, 42; Anonym, Uputstva za uspjehe u životu. Sarajevo: *Trgovačko-zanatlijski glasnik*, 1912: II, no. 2, 18; no. 5, 65; no. 7, 98; Čed. Mijatović, Tajne uspjeha. Sarajevo: *Trgovačko-zanatlijski glasnik*, 1913: III, no. 11, 142; idem, Filozofija trgovine. Sarajevo: *Trgovačko-zanatlijski glasnik*, 1914: IV, no. 3, 34.

<sup>104</sup> ABiH, Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija, Pr. 1282 / 1904.

<sup>105</sup> Okey, *op. cit.*, 189.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>107</sup> ABiH, Sarajevo, ZVS, 1903, box 152, sign. 56-462; *Godišnji izvještaj učiteljske i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne dječke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo, 1909: XXI, 75.

the struggle for existence. Therefore, it was necessary to nurture children who are robust, not only mentally but physically. "The moderate state" was recommended as its quality. To keep "the moderate state", it was claimed that the physical needs of each child must be understood. Specifically, Altarac criticized excessive mental efforts, indifference to physical exercise and the reduction of rest time that strained and weakened children and gave rise to various diseases, including myopia. For these reasons, he considered that the time spent learning and that spent resting must be regulated rationally; for example, it was considered that three hours in school was appropriate for 8-9 years old and four hours for 10-11 years old<sup>108</sup>. Moreover, Altarac proposed a "natural division" with respect to a timetable for pupils. He asserted that the school timetable should not be regulated by some external factors but that human natural needs could regulate it because it is performed according to the "economy of human being"<sup>109</sup>. He considered a human to be an "economical and propagating property" and claimed that the "economy of human being" is to "save its power"<sup>110</sup>. This enables us to understand concretely what is meant by "the moderate" in Altarac's discourse. He asserted that "affordable profitability of economy of human being will be achieved if we pay special attention to consumption"<sup>111</sup>. According to Altarac, if the time spent on brain activity went beyond the desired standard, then physical growth would slow down accordingly. Overheated psychological activity would increase the volume of "nourishment" consumed and result in insufficient nourishment for other parts of the body. Imbalance should be avoided, and the aim should be *economy of human being*<sup>112</sup>. Thus, the concept of nourishment used by Basariček was also used by Altarac as a key component of his approach, which regarded human activities from an economic perspective of energy demand and supply. A state in which the demand and supply are balanced is required, that is, a "moderate" state. So, how can "the moderate" be measured? Altarac provided numerical values for appropriate times to be devoted to learning and to resting as a method of visualizing mental energy. This made it possible for anyone to determine "the moderate" and the excessive. Similarly, Stjepko Ilijić, the editor of the pedagogical periodical *Teacher's dawn*, insisted that there was a causal relationship between the excessive burden placed on pupils and the weakening of their nervous systems, and he

<sup>108</sup> Avram Altarac, *O obrazovanju mladeži*, Sarajevo, 1913a, 7-12.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-20.

<sup>110</sup> Avram Altarac, *Viši razvoj, ekonomija čovjeka i naše prilike*. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1913b: IX, 6-7.

<sup>111</sup> Altarac, *op. cit.*, 21.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

based this criticism on the wasting of “life energy”<sup>113</sup>. By introducing the concept of energy, psychological studies opened up a new domain of sciences related to the body, namely physiology, medicine and dietetics. At the same time, the appropriate lifestyle became a problem for analysis, with the view that all diseases are caused by every incorrect lifestyle<sup>114</sup>.

As shown by a graphic of the neural pathway in Dvorniković’s psychology, the issue of vision or the optic nerve was not limited simply to a problem of the eyes themselves. It was related to the whole nervous system through the brain, or to the whole body and mind. In this context, we understand that myopia acted as one theme that exemplified the problem created by a lifestyle that was not *moderate*. Why was lifestyle regarded as a problem requiring analysis? We point to the influence of inheritance theory to answer this question. There was an increasing number of studies concerned with the risk of degeneration in Bosnia from the end of the nineteenth century. To avoid germinating an inherited tendency towards degeneration, these studies proclaimed the need for a lifestyle that avoids excessive burdens and that keeps the balance between the body and mind<sup>115</sup>. In this context, Altarac insisted that “power saving is more important than money saving” because “debt of the human economy” signifies exhaustion of the “capital” available for mental and physical work and, unless such power is saved, society would become stunted<sup>116</sup>. Because of lifestyle being regarded as a problem for analysis, as Altarac’s discourse suggests, the pursuit of a *moderate* upbringing was considered to be a necessary component of the education of a spontaneous human or citizen.

We recognize that Karaman’s book *School bench*, including the arguments for greater discipline for pupils, appealed to teachers. However, Karaman’s booklet, mentioned above, recommended that “if you get tired while writing, you must rest, but with a regular and comfortable posture for you”<sup>117</sup>. Here, the pupils are viewed as responsible for their rest time, not the teachers. The functions of the discourse on myopia was to let the pupils themselves choose *how to live* instead of forcing them to undertake certain actions, as a starting point in educating *rational and self-sustaining humans*. The *correct* way of life in this context meant consideration of the balance of nervous energy in the context of *economic rationality*.

<sup>113</sup> Stj. Ilijić, Uzgojni problem u našim školama. Sarajevo: *Učiteljska zora*, 1913: IX, 116-117.

<sup>114</sup> See Milan Bešlić, Školski uzgoj i nervoznost. Sarajevo: *Školski vjesnik*, 1908: XV, 147.

<sup>115</sup> Mitsutoshi Inaba, Ideja djetinjstva u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1918: Utjecaj Darvinizma. (Ph.D. diss., University of Sarajevo, 2016), 323-325.

<sup>116</sup> Altarac, op. cit., 1913b, 6-7.

<sup>117</sup> Karaman, op. cit., 1911, 14.

## Conclusion

In Bosnia in the early twentieth century, the mechanization of industry progressed, the commercial ambience improved, and the concept of cost effectiveness became increasingly prevalent, even in the educational sphere. In this social context, the book *School bench* by Karaman (1910) proposed the means to prevent myopia in pupils by determining the appropriate relations or measurements between the desk, the bench and the child's body. Karaman's method of educating the "observer" to see *correctly*, through the provision of visualized and quantified information, was intended to be shared not only by teachers and families but also by the pupils themselves. Emphasis was placed on determining and ensuring the appropriate relations between the children and their environment, that is, the desk and its bench, not just on adjusting their environment. The appropriate posture and the way each child faces his environment, or more broadly, the appropriate way of life, was considered to be a real problem that required resolution at the time.

What kind of concrete linkages were there between lifestyle and myopia? The importance of the function of the nerves in vision was emphasized in psychological texts from Basariček through to Arnold and Dvorniković. In particular, Dvorniković relied on Flechsig to visualize the anatomical neural network on a large scale. In this context, myopia was interpreted as resulting from "excessively" strained eyes. Specifically, the "excessive" functioning of optic nerves, muscles and blood vessels was identified as a cause of myopia.

However, exercising the eyes was not criticized, because vision was recognized as being improved by accumulated experiences. Truhelka warned Zdenka Marković against working too much as it makes the nerves too strained and she noted that, when she went out to sketch nature to heal the fatigue of her eyes, her eyes grew stronger<sup>118</sup>. Her perception of the diverse changes of colours may be a phenomenon she experienced during her activities to rest her eyes. In any case, the criticism of working "excessively" was based on the idea of understanding the nervous function as energy. Work consumes energy and new energy must be supplied. Thus, human psychosomatic activity was understood in terms of energy demand and supply. At the same time, it was considered that neural networks stretched throughout the body and the support of such psychosomatic activity also became considered in that framework, that is, the framework of energy demand and supply. Moreover, it was considered that balancing energy demand and supply requires a *moderate* lifestyle and, if this balance breaks down and energy

<sup>118</sup> No. 6. letter, 13. XII. 1902 and no. 8. letter, 29. III. 1903, in: *Pisma Jagode Truhelke Zdenki Marković*. (ur. Ana Batinić), Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2011, 123 and 125.

is concentrated on a certain organ, it was emphasized, not only this organ but the whole mind and body will be damaged. At the same time, the prevalence of inheritance theory made it possible to interpret lifestyle as a problem requiring resolution not only for the benefit of the individual but for the entire group to which he belonged. Seeing *correctly* in this context involved ensuring an economically rational approach to the activity of the nerves.

Altarac used time allocation as a visual means to measure economic *rationality*. Instead of using a certain rule to discipline school children, he established a timetable that aimed to suit their natural needs, which enabled the *normalization* of the “observer”, ensuring him to see *correctly* not as the imposed rule from without but as a norm generated from the activities of their mind and body<sup>119</sup>. Karaman confirmed that the three-dimensional combination of desk and school bench according to each child’s physique guaranteed a “natural right posture”. Educating the “observer” inspired not only the theories regarding the school bench but also theories relating to dietetics and other such fields. Exemplifying Gustav Fechner and Helmholtz, Crary insisted that, from the mid-nineteenth century, the “observer” was quantified and solved within a single and uniform field filled with energy and that “all the sciences in the nineteenth century beginning with the prefix *psycho-*” were related to the modernization of power<sup>120</sup>. Indeed, psychosomatic activities were not reduced to the eyes or vision but rather encompassed the energy circulatory system, involving neural networks and blood flows, and aimed to achieve the *normalization* of human beings. Here, the human being was reduced to the vital/biological activities, such as nervous activity illustrates, as if the object of education was not an “observer” as an individual subject, but rather “bare life” which is *normalizing* itself according to its own mechanism<sup>121</sup>. Therefore, we conclude that myopia functioned in this context as one entrance to attempt to normalize the *correct* “observers” in Bosnia under the Habsburg monarchy according to a mental and physical rational economy, that is, the neuro-physical natural demands.

<sup>119</sup> “The norm is thus intrinsic to the group that applies it to itself and hence is a form of regulation and stabilization that is independent of all philosophical or religious values”. Dean, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>120</sup> Crary, *op. cit.*, 1992, 147-148.

<sup>121</sup> Giorgio Agamben argues that in the extreme case “the biopolitical body (...) is not an inert biological presupposition to which the rule refers, but at once rule and criterion of its own application”. Giorgio Agamben, trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford: Stanford University press, 1998, 173.

Hana Younis

University of Sarajevo – Institute for History  
Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## LĚSE-MAJĚSTE – AN EXCEPTION OR PART OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE PERIOD OF AUSTRO- -HUNGURIAN RULE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** At the turn of the 19th to 20th century, inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina were between two empires, Ottoman and Habsburg. Emperor, as a synonym for the new system and new government, became a target of vulgar assaults and curses with which people tried to express their dissatisfaction by the new rule. Strict prison sentence served as a warning that such behavior is a crime. The article discovers whether the crime of insulting majesty and his family was part of everyday life of inhabitants in Bosnia and Herzegovina or it just happened occasionally. Analysing available court records that included the number of offenders, a comparison of certain years was made. Special attention is drawn to 1914 and the period after the assassination of heir to the throne. This event was of great importance, considering that after it, the royal family “entered” to every house in Bosnia and Herzegovina and (un)deliberately became a part of their daily life. As a consequence, number of offenders has increased, as well as the number of fake accusations. Also, detailed information about offenders were being reported, such as their age, gender and social status. Through concrete examples it is shown how the court process took place and which punishment was chosen. Each punishment had certain aggravating and extenuating circumstances, which court had accepted regardless of how illogical they were. Furthermore, the practice of false accusations had been indicated, which

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of an ongoing project “Everyday life in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century” funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science.

presented the violation of law, as well as pardons and occasional postponing of execution of the verdict.

**Keywords:** *Lèse-majesté, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austro-Hungarian Empire, everyday life, the crime of insulting majesty and his family, Penal Code, Supreme Court*

## Introduction

With the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, Bosnia became part of a new system that has aligned gradually established legal norms to the new rule. One of the newly proclaimed laws was the Penal Code on Criminal Offenses and Delicts, published in 1897.<sup>2</sup> Until then, the Imperial Penal Code for Bosnia Vilayet, which was introduced by the Ottoman Empire under the Tanzimat reforms in 1858<sup>3</sup>, was in force on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The shift of empires that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 had brought change in all spheres of public and private life, in some gradually, and some were imposed automatically with the shift of the power. The Ottoman Sultan, who was governing the Empire that also included Bosnia for more than four centuries, was factually not leading Bosnia and Herzegovina anymore, but the rule was taken over by an Emperor from the Habsburg dynasty, the Emperor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The attitude of *ordinary people* towards him actually reflected the attitude towards the new rule. The phrase “our Emperor” is increasingly used in the everyday life, and the special importance is demonstrated by accentuating the word “*our*”, but however, who is mentioned after that word depended exclusively on the persons saying it.<sup>4</sup> In a case of false accusation that ended at a lower instance court, the accused was reported of cursing the “new Emperor” (underlined by H.Y.). It only confirms that these phrases have become

<sup>2</sup> The Penal Code on Criminal Offenses and Delicts for Bosnia and Herzegovina, National printing house, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> About the Penal Code in 19<sup>th</sup> century consult: Fikret Karčić: Osmanski krivični zakonik iz 1858. i njegova primjena u BiH, *Almanac of the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo*, LV III – 2015, 295-304; Mr. Mehmed Bečić: Recepcija krivičnog prava u Bosni i Hercegovini u drugoj polovini XIX stoljeća, *Almanac of the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo*, LIX - 2016, 219-244.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase had mostly three endings “our Emperor Franz” or “our Emperor is a Sultan” or “our king is Peter”. See: Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter ABiH), Fund of the Supreme Court for Bosnia and Herzegovina, criminal division (hereinafter SCBiH, CD), box number 80, 909/23, box number 84, 909/481, box number 95, 910/5, box number 165, 914/743...

integral part of everyday conversations<sup>5</sup>. Being aware of the actual situation in the field, the new rule was trying to impose acceptable scopes of public behavior through the legal norms.

It has to be explained that when it comes to the insults, the Ottoman Imperial Penal Code from 1852 did not even mention the Sultan as the unparalleled authority.<sup>6</sup> Unlike that Code, the issue of *Lèse-majesté* was precisely defined in the Penal Code of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>7</sup> That criminal offense was explained in the Second part, Second Chapter of the Code that regulates *the crime of high treason, crimes against the military forces, Lèse-majesté, insults on members of the Imperial House of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty and the crimes against public order*.<sup>8</sup> It is the analysis of certain crimes listed in the second part of the Second Chapter of the Penal Code that is the subject of this research paper. We will analyze the question of how common were the insults on the Majesty and his family in the everyday life through the documents of the Supreme Court in Sarajevo in the period 1892-1915. This time period established itself for several reasons, the key one being the fact that the records of the Supreme Court in Sarajevo in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule were only partly preserved, so that we can follow the work of this court only from 1892, while the year 1915 was taken as the final year since the crimes of *Lèse-majesté* committed anent assassination of heir apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie on June 28, 1914 were still being prosecuted in that year.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> ABiH, Fund of the District Court Sarajevo (hereinafter DCS), box 1881, C, 271-278, 1881/271

<sup>6</sup> The law contains several Articles in three sections that can be associated with the Insult to the state authority i.e. with the anti-state activity. That also includes Part One, second section in which Article 66, in particular, can be associated with the verbal delict. It reads: "Anyone speaking clearly in the markets, in the streets and in the places where many people gather or placing proclamations or distributing leaflets and directly inciting the citizens and residents to commit crimes described in this section (crimes and delicts that disturb internal peace of the Imperial government, author's comment), shall be punished as the ones who committed the crime. Anyhow, if no aforesaid incitement is materialized, these shall be punished with life imprisonment." Then, the insult of highly positioned servants in the special section seven laying down "punishment for the ones who are against the civil servants and disobey them, and for the ones detesting them", which also contains verbal delict, and in the Second Chapter, third section that defines "punishment for the ones who undermine the honor, and which relates to lecherous behavior." the Imperial Penal Code for Bosnia Vilayet., Sarajevo, Vilayet's Printing House, 1870.

<sup>7</sup> Statutory regulation of the *Lèse-majesté* was also present in the *Penal Code on crimes, delicts and minor offenses from May 27, 1852* for Croatia. Penal Code on crimes, delicts and minor offenses from May 27, 1852.

<sup>8</sup> *Penal Code on crimes and delicts for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 45.

<sup>9</sup> The files of the Supreme Court for BiH for 1897 contain several documents, while only four



This topic was neither elaborated nor given any attention in the literature so far.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the objective of this paper is to point out changes in everyday life plagued by the attitude towards the Majesty i.e. the Emperor as the synonym of the rule using concrete cases that were tried for the crimes of *Lèse-majesté* against the Majesty and members of the Imperial family. It is particularly important to show how much the change of power affected the change in the everyday life and a small aspect of deviant behavior can be observed as a reflection of attitude towards the new power embodied in the personality of the Emperor and members of his family.

## Who, when and where committed crimes of *Lèse-majesté*

Robert Mišambled states that: “Significance of the courts is not only in their repressive actions and restoration of inner peace, but also in the fact that they shape new male generations after the ruling criteria.”<sup>11</sup> Although we do agree with this statement we have to underline that its feasibility within the B&H society at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century is dubitable, which is clearly shown by the analysis of the total number of commissions of this crime, but also by the frequency in some of the years.<sup>12</sup> The analysis of the trials shows that the insults were more frequent in the years when the Emperor or a member of his family *disturbed* the steady everyday life of the citizens and (un)intentionally, as an actor of certain event, changed the course of the life either for a couple of hours or permanently. Those are the days or the years that stand out by the number of trials for these “crimes” in the courts.

With regard to *lèse-majesté* i.e. a verbal delict against the Emperor or a member of his Imperial house there had been more than 205 trials in the period

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documents for 1880 were preserved, and no documents are available for the years 1881-1891. See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD.

<sup>10</sup> Two exceptionally valuable scientific papers elaborating this phenomenon on the territory of Republic of Croatia after the World War I have been published in Croatia. See: Bosiljka Janjatović, “*Uvreda Veličanstva*”: *teži zločin u karadorđevićskoj kraljevini*, in: Papers – Institute for Croatian History, vol.30, Zagreb, 1997, 245-256; Stipica Grgić, *Neki aspekti uvrede vladara u vrijeme diktature kralja Aleksandra I. Karadorđevića*, in: Papers – Institute for Croatian History, vol.41, Zagreb, 2009, 347-365.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Mišambled, *Istorija nasilja*, Novi Sad, 2015, 275.

<sup>12</sup> It is necessary to note that the court records also mention the insults on the public servants, recognized religion and honor of the individuals. All of these crimes had their specificities, but the insult of the public servants was, we can safely say, the most frequent.

1892–1915, whereof 18 lawsuits were filed before the Supreme Court, and were basically filed on false reports.<sup>13</sup> These false reports tell us several facts, primarily confirming that the *lèse-majesté* had become a part of the everyday life, and that some people had tried to use it for personal interest, but also the fact that the punishment was fast and that a mandatory dungeon could have represented an instrument of blackmail.<sup>14</sup>

The files most adequately show how much were the legal framework and the court measures effective, therefore the information provided by the files of the Criminal Department of the Supreme Court represent the most important source for analyzing this question. The analyzed files contain appeals from all county courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus representing the only source to get a full picture since the files of the county courts were neither preserved nor arranged and are therefore not available to the researchers. It is, however, important to point out that the number of cases prosecuted for this crime by the county and district courts had certainly been higher than the number indicated by the Supreme Court for B&H. It is proved by comparison of the cases that are mentioned at the District Court in Sarajevo and that cannot be found in the files of the Supreme Court for B&H, as well as petitions of the convicts requesting deferral of the punishment or a pardon without their cases being found in the files of the Supreme Court for B&H.<sup>15</sup>

The analyzed files of the Supreme Court contain complete proceedings that were transferred by the lower instance courts, starting with the minutes of the questioning and all the way to the first instance ruling, so the appeals at the second

<sup>13</sup> This is the number obtained through a detailed analysis of the available files of the Criminal Department of the Supreme Court for BiH, for the period 1892-1915, which is found in 177 boxes. However, the files for some years have not be entirely preserved due to what we believe that the number of trials for *lèse-majesté* was actually much higher.

<sup>14</sup> The case of Ivo Ital will serve as an example. Their daughter-in-law, who was in a constant feud with them, accused him and his wife Marija. She constantly accused them of different crimes, so the “gendarmery station had grown tired”. She *inter alia* accused them both, but separately, of insulting the Emperor, but she could not prove the allegations because the witness statements did not add up, and her father-in-law Ivo had been completely drunk on the day when, according to her words, he committed the crime. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 175, 915/420.

<sup>15</sup> So we have the situation where the files of the District Court Sarajevo contain the records on the proceedings for *lèse-majesté* where the accused were Pašo Imamović, Stjepan Bojan and Ibro Bajić, without them being mentioned in the files of the Supreme Court for BiH. Furthermore, there are cases of Vedriš Matija or Velić Sema, who pleaded for pardon i.e. deferral of the punishment, and their case cannot be found in the files of the Supreme Court for BiH. See: ABiH, DCS, box 1880, C, 1-36, 880/30, box 1880, C, 183-216, 1880/192, box 1880, C, 217-243, 1880/217; SCBiH, CD, box no. 78, 909/88 and box no.165, 914/799.

instance level could be viewed in detail and the judges could get access to the entire course of the proceeding and the delivery of the ruling.

The entire process started with a report that a person has verbally or with certain physical actions insulted His Majesty the Emperor or a member of his imperial house. It was understood that the event happened in public, in front of several persons. It is necessary to mention that certain cases were reported even several months after the insult was uttered. The proceeding would have been initiated after the report, but it was first preceded by a preparatory investigation, during which the court officers would verify correctness of the statement, and the moral dignity of not just the person being accused, but also of the person bringing the accusations. If infringement of a certain legal provisions would be proved, the proceeding would start by inviting the accused and the respondent to give statements and to list the witnesses whom they believe can confirm their statements. In most of the cases the accused remained in the custody by the end of proceeding, and if found guilty of the crime, the time spent in custody would in most of the cases be included in the term of the sentence. If there were multiple witnesses, the hearings were suspended and continued the next day. The accused had the right to file an appeal to the Supreme Court, which they did exercise, but the sentences set by the district and county courts were rarely modified. There are only several cases in which the Supreme Court's judges had found the mitigating circumstances inadequately considered and had reduced the sentence, while the number of people acquitted by the Supreme Court is negligible although such cases did exist.<sup>16</sup>

The analysis of age and gender structure is very important for completing the picture about perpetrators of this crime. In terms of age, it can be safely said that the accused were people of all ages i.e. people who were between 13 and 86 years old. However, most of them, around 65%, were the people in third or fourth decade of life. The gender difference is also quite interesting. In 26 out of 205 analyzed cases<sup>17</sup>, women were in the docks. However, it has to be mentioned that 21 women out the aforementioned number were convicted, while three women were falsely accused, and two were imprisoned for falsely accusing women of having insulted His Majesty.

The precondition for initiation of the proceeding was that *the crime* had happened in a public place, which meant that at least one more person had heard the

<sup>16</sup> Mihajlo Živković is one of those people whose prison sentence was reduced by the Supreme Court. See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 35, 903/209.

<sup>17</sup> One process hasn't been included in these data. The case is about 14 girls in a convent insulting the Emperor with their stories, but they were acquitted by the first instance court, which the second instance court confirmed. See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 176, 915/507.

allegations, and in practice a public place could have been a private room in the house. Most verbal insults were uttered in a café or a bar. Besides the café or the bar, reported crimes were committed in the inns, on the street, but very often at the private evening gatherings where the ones with whom they were socializing would make the report. When it comes to the *public space*, the case of Samardžić Jovan is very interesting. He was accused of lèse-majesté for writing offensive words on three open postcards that he had sent to his brother Todor in Vienna. Jovan admitted in court he wrote the “incriminating words”, but he claimed that he wrote postcards only to his brother, and that he had taken the words “from the papers that were freely distributed in Bosnia.” He also stressed that he didn’t intend to “cause anything illegal”. The court concluded that the postcards were not public and that Jovan cannot be accused of any crime.<sup>18</sup> The case of Jefto Ignjatić shows that the *public space* had to have more than one listener. Namely, during a tête-à-tête in his house he said to Niko Vasić that the King Peter will come to Bosnia and “find Franz Joseph and then shave his head”. Although the witness confirmed the accusation, stating that the children of age 4 and 6 were also in the room, the district court determined that there were no elements for a conviction, which the Supreme Court confirmed.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from the age, gender, religious affiliation and marital status, the documents contain very important information about the literacy and material status of the accused. So we learn that around 70% of the accused was literate, while the number of those in possession of any material assets was negligible. Actually, 21 of them had certain possessions. We believe that the economic conditions, in which the accused lived, have had important, but not crucial role for violation of the law. We are more inclined to the interpretation that the way of life and the social status had more influence on the perpetrators of this crime. It is confirmed by the fact that around 10% of the convicts were justifying the crime committed with inebriation.

Financial possibilities affected the method of execution of the punishment. So the prison term could have been substituted for a pecuniary fine in the amount of 6 K (krone) per day.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 170, 915/16.

<sup>19</sup> The judgment holds: “It has to be acknowledged in this case that the accused and the witness had tête-à-tête, which doesn’t imply objective commission of a crime referred to in § 42 of the PC. Since this case lacks public and more people...” ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 170, 915/5.

<sup>20</sup> Dreca Todor was of the few who owned a property. The court had sentenced him to 7 days in prison for cursing Emperor at a public place and he substituted it with 42 KM. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 102, 910/474.

When it comes to mitigating and aggravating circumstances for a judgment, it has to be noted that they were taken into consideration literally by the regulation, and they were applied to every defendant equally. Here, we particularly think of the circumstance *neglected upbringing*, which was a mitigating circumstance in the judgment to eighteen years old Risto Perić.<sup>21</sup> Inebriation, light intoxication, irritation if a conflict preceded the statement, as well as, *integrity* and confession were mentioned most often as mitigating circumstance, and in some cases the family situation was also taken into account i.e. if the “innocent family” is suffering due to length of imprisonment and if it is significant for welfare. Aggravating circumstances were: previous convictions, i.e. *impropriety*, two crimes committed at the same time, i.e. if the person would insult the Majesty personally, but also a member of his family or if, besides the verbal insult, the person would bring charges against them.<sup>22</sup> Aggravating circumstances would exacerbate the verdict with *fasting, hard bed* or *solitary confinement*, but didn't make it longer.

If viewed chronologically, the highest number of prosecuted *lèse-majesté* cases happened in 1914 after the assassination of heir apparent and his wife, 91 in total.<sup>23</sup> Specificity of the processes after the assassination of heir apparent is noted through the manner of perpetration, which was not manifested through vulgar words or curses anymore but through the expression of happiness or approval of the crime.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 166, 914/854.

<sup>22</sup> Such is the case of Lovrić Gospava who was convicted for publicly uttering a statement: “it is a damned family and our Emperor Franz Joseph ordered his brother's murder.” Therefore her verdict lists the following aggravating circumstances: “...aggravating commission of two crimes” whereof one was the insult and the second one was transferring of the crime “murder”. There were cases where a person was simultaneously prosecuted for more than these two crimes. Pajolić Ivko committed five crimes at the same time whereof two related to *lèse-majesté* and insults on members of his family. Therefore, the punishment was aggravating. In 1907 Ivko was sentenced to 7 years in prison, and in November of 1913 he petitioned to have the remaining time in prison pardoned. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 165, 914/743; box no. 61, 907/373.

<sup>23</sup> In years before, there were on average 2-3 cases a year prosecuted by the Supreme Court of BiH.

<sup>24</sup> Jovo Simić had several days after the assassination said: “I don't feel sorry for him (late heir apparent) (explained in the original, author's comment), he is nothing to us, were he any good he would not have died, he wasn't good for the people, all monarchs should be killed, and have the Republic be the judge.” For this insult Jovo was sentenced to one year of maximum security imprisonment aggravated by two fast days a month and one solitary confinement in a dark room. The same sentence was pronounced to Uroš Šekrlija who, after the assassination, had said in front of Pero Lečić's café: “it was all right, thank God, it was not done at first, but at the second try”. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 165, 914/746, box no. 177, 915/586.

## Crime Lèse-majesté in practice

Article 140 of the Penal Code under which lèse-majesté was prosecuted read: “Whomever violates awe of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, either by personal insult or by reproaches, blasphemy or mocking uttered publicly or in front of several people, by printed works, communication or dissemination of pictures or documents, shall be found guilty of lèse-majesté and shall be punished by a term of imprisonment of between one and five years.”<sup>25</sup> Whilst Article 141 under which the judgment was passed for insult of the member of Imperial family reads: “If such actions or felonious insults are committed against the members of the Supreme House of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, they shall be punishable as a crime by a term of imprisonment of between one and five years, unless they present criminal offenses that are to be more severely punished.”<sup>26</sup>

In practice, uttering any vulgar word and curse that related to any member of the Habsburg dynasty was considered an insult that ultimately resulted in an imprisonment sentence. Lèse-majesté was not just a mere violation of the honor, but it included assaults on the State, order and overall authority, and therefore the punishment had to be fast and heavy. The perpetrators, but also the society in general, had to know that the punishment was obligatory, and that their actions are legally unjustified. The sentences and their almost regular exacerbation with *fasting*, *hard bed* or *solitary confinement* vividly described that mentioning of the Majesty and members of his family in a vulgar context is a crime, and the person punished had to serve as an example in order not to have such a crime domesticated in the everyday discourse.

The defendants’ stories in the court files depict not only the crimes committed, but also the realistic picture of the everyday life of a certain group of people, the rhythm of their life, mindset and the environment.

As already said, the analysis of the files indicates that insults to the members of the Apostolic House were more frequent in the years when something was happening in the imperial house, like for example in the year when Empress Elisabeth was murdered, she was several times offended. The death of Empress Elisabeth on September 10, 1898 implied mourning in the entire Monarchy, which directly affected the settled everyday life that included visits to the café and listening to the music. Alberto Giraldi di Emilio is one of the people who did not want to respect the Order on prohibition of singing during the day of mourning

<sup>25</sup> Penal Code on Criminal Offenses and Delicts for Bosnia and Herzegovina, 45.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

for the Empress. In the café of Vidak Popović, he replied to the comment of a teacher, Kresić, who said that “singing was prohibited because Her Majesty the Empress and Queen is dead” saying the following: “Why should I care, we will sing regardless of who bites the dust.”<sup>27</sup> The proceeding lasted more than a month, and although never convicted before Alberto was sentenced to three months in maximum security prison.<sup>28</sup> Although he admitted uttering the statement, during the proceedings Alberto used his lack of knowledge of Bosnian language as the defense, more accurately not knowing the meaning of the phrase “to bite the dust”.<sup>29</sup> Although the conviction was appealed before the Supreme Court, it was confirmed at that instance as well.<sup>30</sup> Alberto was pronounced a quite lighter punishment than Salih Jamaković who had said in front of Bećir Hadrović and Vejsil Hadrović: “listen to the bells toll, the Empress has bitten the dust, him dying would be even better, whoever killed her is reborn”, thus “violating the awe towards His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty and awe towards the house of Her Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty the late Empress Yelisaveta.”<sup>31</sup> Although never convicted before and although married and father of two children, which was often taken as a mitigating circumstance, for the words he had spoken Salih was sentenced to eight months in maximum security prison exacerbated with a fast day every 14 days.<sup>32</sup>

In general, the Empress was insulted quite rarely and more *along with* the Emperor who was a frequent target of vulgar insults.<sup>33</sup> Insulting the Emperor implies a much deeper meaning of insult against the state and the system. Actually, cursing the Emperor or a member of Apostolic House denoted the attitude towards the rule. It is confirmed by the fact that there were more prosecutions for *lèse-majesté* during the first years after the occupation than in the subsequent

<sup>27</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no.24, 1898/854.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The accused confessed to “having said the mentioned words, but denied that he had the intention of insulting Her Majesty the Empress and the Queen, and in his defense he stated that he has just recently moved to this country, and that he is not skilled in this country’s language and in fact that he had heard people of the country saying after someone had died that he/she has bitten the dust.” The court believed that his defense was founded on lies because, as they said: “there is no doubt that he couldn’t understand the meaning of words “to bite the dust” particularly as he had literally said the incriminating words in Italian language....” Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> ABiH, SCSBiH, CD, box no.24, 1898/390.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> So did Vitović Semio cursed the Emperor in a public place adding “and his wife and children as well”. See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 53, 906/570, box no. 13, 1897/217.

years. Offending *the new* Emperor was the way of expressing the attitude towards the newly-established authority.<sup>34</sup>

Every bad word that was related to or alluded to a member of the Imperial House was considered lèse-majesté. The authorities made it clear that such behavior will not be tolerated, not only due to violation of legal norms, but also in the light of the dangers that such behavior constitutes to the entire society. It is also interesting that the uttered vulgar words were recorded in the minutes only with first letter and dots, so the vulgarities would not be repeated. It also has to be noted that the various court rulings were published in *Sarajevski list*, in order to publicly humiliate the convict. However, that was not the case with the crime of violating the Majesty; persons convicted of this crime were never mentioned in *Sarajevski list*, which leads us to several conclusions. Firstly, publishing the reason for the conviction meant citing the words that the person said, so the vulgar expressions would be passed into the society and reading them could be hardly prevented, and no one could be accused for those words because they are found in the official papers. It also indicates the need of the authority to hide from the public, actually *to cover up*, these crimes that were to remain within the walls of the courtroom.

Having in mind the period of available files, the first cases of lèse-majesté can be followed from 1892, considerable volume of files has been preserved for that year.<sup>35</sup> In general, most of the insults were uttered by persons who were drunk at that moment or during the lively political discussions. We will give a few examples, such as Danilo Budimir, who moved from Zrmanja in Croatia and who was convicted of violation of imperial honor and sentenced to one year in maximum

<sup>34</sup> We will take the case of Mujo Bajraktarević as an example. After a minor quarrel with Marko Perić, who was showing off his medal with the image of the Emperor, he, in his café, said: “that he doesn’t want to see him nor his medal, and that he f... (dots in the original, author’s comment) the medal.” Whereafter “he jumped up and took a Turkish medal from a bowl on the shelf, yelling: “I have my medal and my Emperor, I don’t recognize yours, f... him.” ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 26 901/288.

<sup>35</sup> The files of District Court Sarajevo are available from the year 1880 and first cases of lèse-majesté were recorded that same year. One of the first persons accused of this crime was Pašo Imamović, who cursed Franz Joseph in February of 1880 during a quarrel with Pero Sušnjić. Although immediately after Puliša Andrijašević accused Pašo for lèse-majesté Lutfaga Avdagić, Marko Vidić, Anto Sakić and Niko Alaupović had said that the report was false, the court decided to examine verity of the allegations. Each party proposed their witnesses and a total of 8 sessions and as many minutes were taken to have all witnesses questioned. While some of the witnesses had claimed to have heard Pašo insulting the Emperor, some didn’t hear anything and others described the situation in a completely different way. The trial was held after two months of hearings, the court confirmed the indictment and convicted Pašo for lèse-majesté, sentencing him to one month in prison, chained, exacerbated with one fast day. ABiH, DCS, box 1880, C, 1-36, 1880/30.



security prison since “he wasn’t member of these countries” and to “exile from the territory of the countries where this law is valid after serving the sentence” because he had “publicly and in front of several persons” in the bar of Mihajlo Šučur shouted “f... (dots in original) your Franz Joseph 1.”<sup>36</sup> Danilo didn’t stop at cursing the Emperor, and after the discussion with Mihajlo “he took out a book from his pocket, showing it to Mihajlo Šučur and saying that he is an Austrian fugitive and a Serbian volunteer, and if he just knew who he was, he would give him 10 K. Whereat he yelled “Long live King Peter.” The defendant asserted that he was drunk and that Mihajlo was accusing him out of hatred. Nevertheless, his appeal to the Supreme Court was fruitful, his sentence was reduced to 6 months in maximum security prison for: “agitation due to drinking, neglected upbringing and longer pre-trial detention.”<sup>37</sup> However, being in a drunken state wasn’t taken as a mitigating circumstance to Đumišić Omeraga, although Omeraga was known “as a drunkard, who has already lost entire father’s fortune to drinking”, and the witnesses spirits, beer and wine.”<sup>38</sup> One of the witnesses, Vuković, owner of a bar, claimed that Omeraga had come to him, before the fatal event, completely drunk, asking for spirits “but that he didn’t give it to him, because it is forbidden by the county regulation to serve drinks to the accused.” The witnesses also told that “the accused hasn’t been supporting his wife at all and that she has already filed for the divorce with the Sharia Court.” Omeraga’s crime was that he had, completely drunk and in front of several persons, said “f... (dots in original) all Emperors except the sultan.”<sup>39</sup> Although all witnesses confirmed that Omeraga was completely drunk, and he did not remember anything, he was sentenced to three months in maximum security prison, exacerbated with a fast day per month.

When it comes to crimes of violating Majesty committed in intoxicated state, it has to be noted that these crimes exclusively relate to men.

## False reports

Considering the way in which the crime of violating Majesty was committed, it was easily abused. Thus, in some cases a person uttered certain vulgar words or curses in anger, which could be interpreted as *lèse-majesté*, and sometimes additional words were made up in order to make the accusation more authentic. Being

<sup>36</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 95, 910/5.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no.80, 909/232.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

aware of that possibility, the county, district and supreme courts would consider the way in which *lèse-majesté* was committed as a mitigating circumstance. Regardless of that, any proved intent of the insult had to be punished with prison. The defendant was free only in case of dismissal of the accusation, but in most cases the defendant would be in pre-trial detention.

Husein Keranović was also accused based on malicious interpretation of spoken words. He was accused of *lèse-majesté* in December of 1891 by an owner of a bar in which Husein broke a glass worth 20 coins. However, when the glazier Franjo (Franz) had fixed it, he charged 40 coins. Upset with the amount charged Husein said “here you go, let Franjo buy himself peasant shoes.”<sup>40</sup> The owner of the bar used it and reported him for insulting Emperor Franz Joseph. The judges unanimously concluded that Husein’s statement has nothing to do with His Majesty, but that it referred to the glazier and had dismissed all charges against him. Something similar happened with Avdo Begeta, tithing clerk, who was accused by Periša Džopa for publicly stating “that is the order I have received, and if not so I will say to both chief and Emperor that they are lying and lying” thus, he claimed, violating *the awe of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty*.<sup>41</sup> The witnesses confirmed that Avdo didn’t even mention the Emperor, and the court concluded that it is unlikely that “the accused, as tithing clerk, had without any reason uttered the words, which he knew well were not to be spoken.”<sup>42</sup>

Personal gain that the notifier would get if the accused is imprisoned was usually clear after the first questioning. Such was the accusation made by Martin and Anto Mihaljević against Salih Bulić for *lèse-majesté*, and they actually wanted to misappropriate a “hole filled with snow” that was used as watering hole for animals, but were quickly discovered. Two of them reported Salih of insulting Emperor Franz with curses during the argument they had with him over the aforementioned hole. Subsequently, the court concluded that Mihaljević’s statements cannot be trusted, and that they have been contradictory, giving opposite statements at every hearing, and that the accusations were fabricated. It is interesting that they claimed that Salih had threatened them and that they are scared of him, whereupon the court concluded that: “the very sight of the witnesses and the opponents is enough to convince the court otherwise, because the witnesses seem to be towering, stout and massive people, whilst the accused seems small, puny and weak, barely reaching their shoulders.”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 6, 1892/330.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 33, 903/99.

<sup>43</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 5, 1892/304.

Sulejman Sejdić was also falsely accused of violating the Majesty. He was accused by Todo Trkulja who claimed that whilst taking out his personal pocket watch in front of him, Sejdić had said: “that he hates the watch because that dog, son of . . . , is on it” whereafter Trkulja “broke the watch saying that His Majesty is painted on it.”<sup>44</sup> The background of this accusation, as read in the ruling, was the fact that Sulejman Sejdić was manager of the bathing resort and that Todo Trkulja “has already had a cottage in the bathing resort for 4-5 years where he makes coffee and sells meat and he, i.e. the defendant, did forbid that so he feels animosity towards him and has falsified the report of crime of violation of Majesty to take his revenge on him and remove him from the position of bathing resort manager.”<sup>45</sup> The Court concluded that “Todo Trkulja had made everything up thinking he would easily remove him from the position of bathing resort manager.”<sup>46</sup>

Since the political situation was often the reason for involvement of the ruling family in the everyday conversation, ignorance about the events at that level could be useful upon accusations for *lèse-majesté*. So did the ignorance about assassination of the heir apparent save Zlatan Gojko from maximum security prison. On June 28, 1914 Gojko was angry in Doberlin because of the prohibition to play gramophone, and he had said in front of an armed patrol: “why it is prohibited to play when it is allowed throughout entire Bosnia and Herzegovina”, adding: “we don’t care if someone has died or was killed, I guess one can play music anyway.”<sup>47</sup> The statement got him accused of *lèse-majesté*. Gojko asserted that he was unaware of the assassination on the heir apparent, which the court confirmed, and concluded that he couldn’t insult a member of the Imperial House if he was unaware of the events.<sup>48</sup> Something similar happened to Đurđa Sumonja, who had during a conversation with the neighbors said that her husband went to Kalinovik, and that a person for whom she had vulgar words is coming there as well. After she was reported to the court, she claimed of not knowing that Archduke Franz is coming to Kiseljak. The witnesses couldn’t agree on what Đurđa had said, the only thing they did agree on is that she mentioned her husband, which is not against the law.<sup>49</sup>

Although the analysis of documents indicates that the highest number of false accusations had ended with the acquittal at the county or district court, there were

<sup>44</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 24, 1898/374.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no.165, 914/745.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 179, 916/84.

the cases in which accused were acquitted only by the Supreme Court. Aforementioned Samardžić Jovan is one of the accused who was acquitted by the Supreme Court. He was charged by the district court in Mostar for lèse-majesté for the contents of postcards he had been writing to his brother in Vienna. However, the Supreme Court concluded that the postcards were not public, and that the element of public is missing, and had acquitted Samardžić of all charges.<sup>50</sup> Seventy-five years old Šaćir Kandžić Čosić was also accused of insulting Emperor with vulgar words, and was sentenced by the first instance court to 6 months in prison, exacerbated with a fast day every 14 days, but the second instance court concluded that the witnesses' statements do not concur, and had advised annulment of the sentence and reopening of the proceeding.<sup>51</sup>

Having in mind the frequency of the accusations for lèse-majesté and numerous abuses in some proceedings, we discovered that persons who made false accusations were also instantly prosecuted for the crime of "concoction".

Two women accused of concoction during 1915 were Emina Kotorčić and Vida Zadro.<sup>52</sup> Both women, in their fifties, reported two other women for committing lèse-majesté and disturbing public peace. During the trial it turned out that they could not hear with their own ears the words for which they had accused Marija and Ana, and they had also changed their statement many times. Hence, Emina was sentenced to two months in prison, exacerbated with two fast days, and Vida was sentenced to a month in prison, exacerbated with a fast day.<sup>53</sup> Although both women filed an appeal to a higher instance courts, first to the district and then to the Supreme Court, their rulings were upheld. Rulings were confirmed. Rulings like this were to clearly demonstrate that the false accusations will not be tolerated, and that one should take a very careful thought before making any reports to the court.

The documents also contain the cases of concoction, but from another perspective. One of those cases is the case of Stojić Marjanović, who was accused of lèse-majesté, and the defense witness was sixty years old Ahmed Hamid Kikalić. Ahmed had falsely testified that Stojanić didn't say the words that insulted the Emperor and was punished for concoction with four weeks in prison, exacerbated with a fast day.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 170, 915/16.

<sup>51</sup> ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 24, 1898/350.

<sup>52</sup> See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 177, 915/548, 915/614.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Tasija Stanić was also accused of falsely testifying in favor of Osman Brčkalija. In his statement Tasija said that: "he cannot recall Brčkalija saying "that the Austrian Emperor is

The analysis of the files in the period of World War I reveals a phenomenon of requests for the suspension of the sentence for *lèse-majesté* convicts. The requests were usually approved if someone from the place of residence would confirm that the suspension is reasonable to the request made.<sup>55</sup> There were also requests that were rejected at the first instance court, and granted by the Supreme Court.<sup>56</sup>

Execution of the sentence validates the power of a ruler, but frequent requests for suspension of the sentence and pardon indicate not only decline of the power and reputation of the authority, but also the attitude of citizens towards them. However, pardons by the Emperor were also a kind of message that was to show *his mercy* to all people. The texts about His Majesty were always written with many epithets and glorifying his deeds, especially if he visited Bosnia and Herzegovina. The visit of 1910 was also an occasion for pardoning the persons convicted for *lèse-majesté*. The newspaper *Bošnjak* published a text on the occasion of the new 1911 in which it described the visit of Franz Joseph to Bosnia and Herzegovina stating: “In particular we very much like the fact that the Emperor and the king has pardoned those who had committed crime of *lèse-majesté*. With this, he had won the hearts of all.”<sup>57</sup> This collective pardon happened only on special occasions as was the visit of Emperor Franz to Bosnia and Herzegovina, whilst it was possible to ask the Emperor for a pardon in the everyday life.<sup>58</sup>

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a coward for keeping such officers in Bosnia”, because it was after lunch and after the lunch or dinner or when angry he doesn’t notice what is happening around him...” ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 32, 1903/37, box no.170, 915/2.

<sup>55</sup> The example we will use is the case of Anka Gradina. On September 17, 1914 she was sentenced to two months in heavy security prison, exacerbated with a fast day. Immediately after hearing the verdict Anka requested suspension until March 1915, which the district court approved, but on March 2, 1915 she again filed a petition for suspension with the same court, not specifying the duration of suspension and listing the following reasons: “because her husband died, leaving her with 7 children and penniless, and she has to provide for them, and she had lost another child and is feeling weak.” Their claims were true and the district court proposed the sentence to be suspended until October 1, 1917, which the Supreme Court approved. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 171, 915/83.

<sup>56</sup> See: ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 179, 916/138.

<sup>57</sup> Historian year 910, Calendar *Bošnjak* – calendar for 1911. 01.01.1911, 45.

<sup>58</sup> In 1913 Adolf Ceder was granted pardon for the remaining prison sentence that he should have served for the crime of *lèse-majesté*. ABiH, SCBiH, CD, box no. 146, 913/628.

## Conclusion

Eight decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century brought multiple changes to Bosnia and Herzegovina. After centuries-long Ottoman rule a new Empire came to power. Although the western traditions were slowly becoming established in the cities of Bosnian Vilayet decades before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the occupation had however represented a certain breakup with the centuries-old system. It particularly relates to the legal norms. The new administration was aware of the fact that attitude of ordinary people towards the Emperor reflected the attitude towards the new rule. Therefore, was protecting of the honor of the Emperor and his family of utmost importance. This is clearly indicated by the fact that any vulgar mention of the majesty or members of His Imperial and Royal house was categorized as a criminal offense and considered a crime. Analysis of court files indicates that even besides quick judgments that entailed prison sentence, this crime can be continuously followed throughout the entire period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia. Continuity in commissioning of this crime, as well as the number of cases that appeared before the Supreme Court, indicate that it was part of the everyday life. Furthermore, we can safely claim that all cases of uttered vulgar words or curses against the Emperor or a member of his family were not prosecuted. The increase in number of perpetrators in the years when the Emperor or a member of his family had (un)intentionally affected the steady habits confirms the latter. Only in a few days after the assassination there were reports that this crime was committed 64 times!

In order to initiate a court proceeding and prosecute a person for *lèse-majesté*, the insult had to be uttered in front of more than one person, and the law had also defined public space, but according to the analyzed proceedings every place was considered public – street, café, a room in a private house. Preparations would be done before the proceedings were initiated, i.e. the particulars of the charges would be verified, while the proceedings had to include questioning of all persons who could have heard the particulars of the charges. They were invited according to the defendant's statement and the statement of the person who reported the crime. If we look at perpetrators we will conclude that they were mainly men in their fourth or fifth decade of life. In the first years, the perpetrators attempted to justify their behavior with alcohol intoxication. It was also one of the mitigating circumstances when the sentence was passed. Apart from the perpetrator's state, marital status and integrity, neglected upbringing was also taken as a mitigating circumstance. It is very interesting that the neglected upbringing was considered as a mitigating circumstance for persons in their nineties! When it comes to literacy, we can say that around 50% of the

accused were literate, while the number of those in possession of any material assets was negligible. The objective of the quick prison sentence was to show to the public that anyone who dared to mention Emperor or a member of their family in an ugly context will be punished, but it was also a good occasion for personal reckoning. False accusation show that personal gain and hatred were the main reason for false reports. Only from the beginning of the WWI the court files show that the false report was published as concoction, wherefrom we can conclude that number of such reports increased and that a message had to be sent that such action will be punished. The number of those requesting suspension of the sentence, but also pardon, increased in that period.

Honor of the Emperor and his family was protected by law and under supervision of the judicial bodies. The importance of the message disseminated by the authorities through the Article of the law on lèse-majesté is clear and concrete. It warned the citizens of the punishment in case that the allowed code of behavior is violated. Their punishment is not only important in terms of legal norms, the message sent to the society is more important. There are several indicators that the authorities had tried to *cover up* this type of crimes, to create an illusion of non-existence of this crime, most concrete being the fact that rulings for this crime were not published in the official paper like others. The insults directed towards the Emperor or a member of his family were not put down in the minutes literally, but only first or first and last letter were written; aware of the fact that publishing the name of a person convicted for other crimes and minor offenses harms not only his, but also the honor of his family, while the announcements about crimes of lèse-majesté would bring the crime closer to the public, and the Emperor could be offended again by new reading of the announcement.

With its proclamation the crime of violating the Majesty and a member of his family was becoming part of the everyday life of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and while it was firstly punished by shorter prison sentences, over time it became a frequent crime that in 1914 and 1915 could be considered as part of the everyday life.

# Political Ruptures and Economic Changes





Muhamed Nametak

University of Sarajevo – Institute for History  
Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## REGIME CHANGE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON BOSNIAN ECONOMY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 brought tectonic changes in Bosnian economic life. System that was created over the period of 40 years vanished, and in its place came new order that made a long-lasting impact on economic and social life. One of the most significant changes occurred in agrarian legislature, with the so-called Agrarian reform, which saw a termination of feudal relations in agriculture, although at high cost for country which oversaw this reform. Moreover, big changes happened in the ownership of industrial enterprises, because by laws enacted immediately after the war, all property of citizens and countries that (previously) waged war against Serbia in the previous war, were confiscated and nationalized. Therefore, large industrial enterprises such as Zenica Steel works, Privileged state bank, Eisler and Ortlieb wood industry and many other companies changed their owners and entered an unstable period which prevented them from working as it was intended. Another big change was a change in currency, which impoverished many citizens. After the war Austro-Hungarian Krone was changed by Serbian dinar, but conversion was conducted in manner that was favourable to dinar owners, and henceforth people who had Krone savings and entered the new state lost considerable wealth. Changes that happened and are discussed in the Paper did not open possibilities for any new development. Yugoslav period of Bosnian history was the period of economic stagnation which is easy to prove just by

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of an ongoing project "Everyday life in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century" funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science.

comparison of statistic tables. The new authorities did not have capabilities to use the long-awaited freedom for any substantial advance of economy.

**Keywords:** *World War One, Industry, Agrarian reform, agriculture, nationalization, banking*

The end of the First World War brought tremendous challenge for Bosnian economy. This challenge was amplified by the state of society, which was still in 1914 adapting to modern ways in business. For example, only prior to the outbreak of the war Bosnian banking begun to expand, due to the fact that even the most conservative parts of Muslim society finally caved in and accepted the role of banking in the development of modern world. Bosnian economy prior to the war was in a very difficult position. In one segment, it was purely exploitative, oriented in forestry and mining, in other words, it was a victim of political relations between Austria and Hungary, which was obvious in railway construction, tariffs, customs regulations etc.<sup>2</sup>

Bosnia and Herzegovina was on the front line of the war for almost a year and half. This state of instability and war devastation contributed to economic depression in all spheres of economy. According to some sources, Bosnia and Herzegovina had total losses of 360.000 people in the war.<sup>3</sup> It was further aggravated by the large number of refugees; more than 90.000 people were internally displaced from summer 1914 until the Serbian and Montenegrin defeat 1915/1916.<sup>4</sup> After-war economy was a big victim of war and post-war migrations. Firstly, people that were internally displaced during the war stopped their activities which contributed to downfall of economic production, especially in agriculture. Second problem was expulsion of foreigners after the war, which was out in place in May of 1919 with "Order of expulsion". This order was formulated in order to expel all citizens of countries that were part of former war-time adversaries. Problem was two-fold. In the expelled group, there were also citizens from allied nations such as Czechoslovakia and Poland. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, lack of

<sup>2</sup> Juzbašić, Dževad. *Izvištaj Hermanna von Sautera o odnosima Bosne i Hercegovine i Monarhije u svjetlu austro--ugarskih ekonomskih suprotnosti*. U: Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom. ANU BiH, Sarajevo, 2002. 87-139.

<sup>3</sup> Group of authors, *Bosna i Hercegovina od najstarijih vremena do kraja drugog svjetskog rata*. Štab vrhovne komande oružanih snaga Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1994., 244.

<sup>4</sup> Hauptmann, Ferdo. *Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba Austro-Ugarske Vladavine (1878-1918)*. U: Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine II. ANU BiH, Sarajevo, 1987., 203.

skilled labor in Bosnia and Herzegovina was remedied by immigration of deficient professions. After the war many were forced to leave, though some left on voluntary basis. This exodus created problem of regular work and maintenance of several branches of economy. For example, during 1919 86 Railway workers from Czechoslovakia expressed their desire to return to their motherland. Since their departure would create big issues in railway function People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina wrote to the Ministry of railways of Czechoslovakia to order these workers to postpone their decision because replacement labor was not available yet. The compromise was reached in solution where mentioned workers would not immediately leave Bosnia, but during longer period of time.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, due to the poor war-time harvests, winter of 1918/1919 saw huge famine that threatened the existence of a large number of people. The scarcity of food, in first line cereals, was augmented by the particularism of regional governments, which saw Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other parts of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) as foreign country and prevented trade. Free flow of goods between these provinces was normalized in the spring of 1919. Since organized trade was not in place by that time county officials tried to smuggle cereals and food abroad. For example, People's government of Bosnia and Herzegovina tried to trade salt from Tuzla for grain from Czechoslovakia. County of Prijedor offered to export lard to Czechoslovakia in exchange for other goods. Town in Vojvodina, Sombor, exported maize to Bosnia, and for compensation it received lumber. Therefore, the post-war period offered great challenge for authorities and also for the ordinary people who struggled to survive. Even though the government authorities condemned the trade by means of compensations, it had very little choice in the first few months after the war and reluctantly accepted the inevitable.<sup>6</sup> In order to secure sufficient quantities government had to approve requisitions of cattle, wheat and grain. This in turn led to unhappiness among the peasantry, because requisitions were conducted in unfavorable terms for peasants, both in terms of prices and way in which it was organized. Therefore, by the middle of 1919 requisitions were cancelled, and free trade was promoted, that was followed by sharp increase in prices and market speculations.<sup>7</sup> Aforementioned examples show deterioration of economic situation and even destruction of free market economy in favor of goods exchange which was a huge step back in economic practice. These problems arose primarily because of war exhaustion and lack of authority and order in the months following the war.

<sup>5</sup> Šehić, Nusret. *Bosna I Hercegovina 1918-1925*. Institut za istoriju. Sarajevo, 1991., 326.

<sup>6</sup> Šehić, N. (1991.), 294-295.

<sup>7</sup> Šehić, N. (1991.), 296.

The production output of most industrial enterprises decreased substantially in period after the war. Metallurgic production in Vareš and Zenica Mills dropped from almost 300.000 metric cents to 35.940 and 47.090 respectively. Cellulose production in Drvar produced 6.493 metric cents down from 130.000 prior to the outbreak of war.<sup>8</sup> The overall decrease in industrial output was fate of most industrial systems. For example, output of Zenica Mill never broke the record production of 1912. Instead, like in many other cases this system changed owners many times in years after the war without serious planning and strategy. After the Kingdom SCS was formed on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1919 this company was nationalized. Only two years later Jadranska banka (Adriatic bank) became the leading stockholder. Two years later it changed owner again, and company *Grajnic* joint stock company took majority of shares, but this change also lasted for only one year, when *Šipad* bought these stocks. Only a few months later company came under the control of Ministry of forestry and mining.<sup>9</sup> Available literature points to fact that main purpose of heavy industry in period of 1918-1941 was defense of the newly formed country. Therefore, it can be argued that Bosnian economy was centrally planned and organized as part of larger national economic system. This system, unfortunately, never met its potential due to the lack of funds and long-term planning.

Several mines were closed after the war ended, partly because their production was connected to the economy of Austria-Hungary and Germany, but also due to the fact that many skilled workers abandoned the newly-formed state and left for their countries of origin. One such example was iron mine in Ljubija, Prijedor. This mine was opened in 1916 to serve the war needs of Central powers. This mine, which had the finest iron ore in the country ceased operations at the end of 1918. It was closed for more than three years and resumed its operations in April 1922.<sup>10</sup>

General deterioration of economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina happened, as shown, partly due to objective difficulties, but its roots can also be traced to bad planning and neglect of the central government of the Kingdom SCS. There are numerous contemporary proofs from that time that can support this thesis. One such proof is Memorandum of Bosnian MPs sent to the cabinets of several Ministries including that of Construction, Finance, Trade and Industry etc. In this letter, members of Bosnian branch of National Radical Party demanded significant increase in investments for roads and railways. They pointed out, that Bosnian roads which were once regularly maintained and in very good con-

<sup>8</sup> Hauptmann, F. (1987.), 205.

<sup>9</sup> Lazović, Uroš. *Metallurgijska industrija*, in: *Bosna i Hercegovina kao privredno područje*. Sarajevo, 1938., 312-313.

<sup>10</sup> Đaković, Luka. *Rudarstvo i topioničarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Univerzal. Tuzla, 1980., 64.

dition are now in appalling state. Among other complaints they also demanded that National Bank should grant credits to states according to number of inhabitants. For example, they argued Croatia received more than double amount of credits per capita compared to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was contradictory to real needs of population.<sup>11</sup>

Bad planning and poor enforcement of law in years after the war was immediate cause of crisis that struck entire Kingdom of SCS in 1925. Even though agricultural and industrial production recovered after the war, several poor decisions made this recovery only temporary respite. For example, country allowed its currency *dinar* to gain too much value, and fought against inflation without measure, therefore creating financial crisis. Furthermore, too many enterprises were formed without solid economic background. These firms created a great burden on the economy and as they collapsed they created many bankruptcies. In 1926 70% of all firms did not meet their financial obligations and in the entire Kingdom of SCS more than 5.000 companies bankrupted in a very short period of time between 1924 and 1926.<sup>12</sup>

In sector of finance, the First World War had a devastating effect on money institutions, their operations and finance in general. One of the first problems to struck the Bosnian economy was the post-war monetary crisis. As legal currency of Austria-Hungary, *krona*, was the only legal tender in country during the dissolution of the Monarchy. Problem with it was that by the war's end it lost value more than any other European currency.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, after the war, the process of exchange of krona for dinar was initiated, and it ended in 1920. At first, krona conversion was set to be 50% value of dinar, however, at the end it was exchanged for only 25% of dinar (one dinar for four kronas). This conversion value favored the dinar owners from Serbia. Krona owners from Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the newly formed state lost a lot of money during this process, which affected the possibility of post-war development.<sup>14</sup>

In sector of banking good example is the Privileged State Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the largest bank in the country. It lost 20% of its personnel during the war. On 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1919. Law for assets treatment of enemy countries

<sup>11</sup> *Memorandum of people representatives from National Radical Party from Bosnia and Herzegovina 31. March 1926.*, published in "Sloboda" nr. 52. Sarajevo, 3. quoted from: Kosier, Lj. S. Bosna i Hercegovina, Ekonomski fragmenti i konture. Beograd, 1926, 459.

<sup>12</sup> Kosier, Lj. S. Bosna i Hercegovina, Ekonomski fragmenti i konture. Beograd, 1926, 461.

<sup>13</sup> März Eduard, Austrian banking and financial policy. Creditanstalt at a turning point, 1913-1923, St. Martin's press, New York, (1984.), 208.

<sup>14</sup> Šehić, N. (1991.), 298-299.

subjects was enacted. It meant nationalization of German, Austrian and Hungarian companies.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the bank was put under the control of government authorities. Even though it resumed its operations in 1921 it lost privileges and consequently its market share. On list of eleven most powerful banks in Kingdom of SCS in 1918, it was on the fifth place. However, only three years later it was on the last place on this list. It is also important to underline that this bank was one of many banks with foreign capital. Significant were also banks such as *Privileged Agrarian Bank* with Hungarian capital and *Austro-Bosnian Bank*. Bad conduct in process of nationalization was admitted even by contemporary Serbian bankers such as Ljubomir Stefan Kosier, who in 1924 wrote about these mistakes:

“Purpose of nationalization is not to destroy companies, to weaken their position and ruin their connections, public trust... purpose of nationalization should have been to place our nation in controlling position of that company. In case of State bank, all this could have been done in period of few months. But to jeopardize entire business was exactly against our national interests. First class institution such as State Bank should have kept their international relations, business ties with buyers of Bosnian prunes (Privileged State Bank was a leading plum and prune exporter in Bosnia and Herzegovina prior to the outbreak of the war (A/N Muhamed Nametak). Now, we have drawn the attention of International community on us, but in wrong manner, and only now government officials instruct Yugoslav Bankers to go to international market and ask for foreign credits because we are not able to meet our needs.”<sup>16</sup>

Misconduct in the process of nationalization made a huge disfavor to Bosnian economy, not only because prosperous companies were harmed, but also their international relations were destroyed and therefore the market for Bosnian goods was reduced. Another important fact is that reputation of Yugoslav economy was tarnished, after the nationalization ended it was much harder to receive foreign loans and find partners outside for projects of development. Consequently, in banking sector interest rates went extremely high, much higher than before the war. Therefore, development itself was hampered by wrong policy.

Other tendency in after-war banking was emergence of ethnic centered banks. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, especially in the mandate of joint finance minister Kallay (1882-1903) government worked actively to bypass ethnic element in banking, often giving the most lucrative businesses to foreign banks.

<sup>15</sup> ABIH, PBZ BiH, Dvadeset i treća redovna generalna skupština Privilegovane zemaljske banke za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, (1922.), 12.

<sup>16</sup> Kosier, Ljubomir S; Ristić Vasa. Vodeće institucije u nacionalnom bankarstvu Bosne. Zagreb (1924.), 58-59. (Text translated by the author of this paper.)

This policy changed somewhat before the outbreak of the war, and ethnic banks started getting big projects, such as railways, absolution of serfs, entering the mortgage loans business etc. However, only after the war did these banks become the cornerstone of Bosnian banking. On the one side was *Serbian Central Economic Bank*, and on the other side *Croatian Central Bank* and *Muslim Central Bank*. Central government in Belgrade did not pay enough attention to Bosnian and Muslim economic needs. Therefore, Muslims and Croats tended to cooperate in banking business. This cooperation culminated in 1924 with fusion of Muslim and Croatian central banks in *United Central Bank*. Some economists saw this fusion as an act of political cooperation, because on political plan leading Muslim and Croat politicians fought vigorously against Serbian centralism that aimed to control all strings in the newly formed Kingdom of SHS.<sup>17</sup>

In terms of railway construction, the First World War had perhaps the most profound effect. The Bosnian Representative House (Sabor) approved a big plan of railway expansion in 1913. This plan sought to modernize existing narrow-gauge railway network, as well as to make new lines that would connect Bosnia with the modern, standard gauge European railway network. Additional benefit to this was the fact that the plan was made so that Bosnian financial and construction systems would have certain share in it. For example, most banks based in Bosnia and Herzegovina sought to secure certain share in project funding that would grant them profit through interest rates. Also, banks that were more powerful had their own construction companies, and they tried to put them in this plan too. BHBG (Bosnien Herzegovinische Bau Gesellschaft) was one such company. It was owned by Privileged State Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that secured its share in funding the line between Bihać and Bosanski Novi. The bank also tried to secure construction business on this line for the BHBG.<sup>18</sup>

Hungarian response to the Privileged State Bank was founding of the Privileged Agrar and Commercial Bank in 1909. Just as the State Bank had its construction company, the Agrar and Commercial Bank founded *Union Bau Gesellschaft*. This company also attempted to get into the railway business. Claiming that the State Bank is an exponent of Austrian capital it demanded compensation for itself as an exponent of Hungarian interests. It was awarded big contract, construction of railway tunnel on the line Banja Luka – Jajce. Needless to say this contract never materialized due to the outbreak of the war.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Kosier, Lj. S.; Ristić V. (1924.), 65-66.

<sup>18</sup> ABiH, Fond PBZ BiH, An das Executiv Komitee der Privilegirten Landesbank für Bosnien und Hercegovina, Bahnbau betreffend, (29. January 1914.) – Incomplete document.

<sup>19</sup> Bosansko-Hercegovački Kompas 1912.-1913., Sarajevo, (1913.), 298.



## Agriculture

This sphere of economy was followed by many controversies in the period of the Austro-Hungarian administration. During the entire period 1878-1918, the administration was accused of malpractice of Agriculture, especially towards the Serbian peasants. Hard living and working condition was accentuated by the so-called Agrarian question, which assumed unsolved land ownership issues between the tenants (called kmets), and landlords (called agas).

The administration that came to power in 1878 did not solve this problem to kmets' liking, by paying their debts and taking land from agas. Instead it opted for gradual absolution by promoting facultative process of kmet absolution. This meant that kmets who made agreement with agas could *buy* agas' land and own that land without any obligation towards agas anymore. This gradual process lasted the entire period of Austro-Hungarian rule and had only modest effect even though it managed to decrease the number of landless agrarian population significantly. At the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule, kmets made 38,2 % of the entire population.<sup>20</sup> Last census in 1910 showed that their share in the entire population dropped to 27,6 %.<sup>21</sup>

The administration was accused not only for problems in this regard, but also for deliberate destruction of important agriculture branches such as plum production, which was the single most important crop in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since most of the plum and prunes production, and their trade, was in the hands of foreign merchants, domestic manufacturers and traders often complained to these conditions. However, the truth was elsewhere, in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration not only that the Bosnian plum production and trade prospered, it also became renowned on the international market. Bosnian prunes were exported to Austria, Hungary and Germany and this trade brought significant profit to both merchants and producers. The government also founded several Agricultural stations, institutions which aimed to introduce modern technologies in agriculture, by distributing the best seeds for crops, ploughs and other material. These stations also had schools where students were educated in the most modern ways of growing crops, cattle etc.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und Herzegovina. Sarajevo, (1913.), 48-49.

<sup>21</sup> Jarak, Nikola. *Poljoprivredna politika Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini i zemljoradničko zadruštarstvo*. Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine. Građa knjiga 1, Odjeljenje Privredno tehničkih nauka, knjiga 1, Sarajevo, (1956.), 35.

<sup>22</sup> Jarak, N. (1956.), 77-78.

New authorities failed expectations upon forming of the Kingdom of SCS. Immediately after the war it seemed that agricultural production soared and that was indeed the case. However, what some failed to see was that this situation was only temporary and was caused by the high demand for agricultural products after the war. High demand lasted until European agriculture recovered and soon Europe was overwhelmed by high import of American cereals. Price index for the period before and after the war illustrate this change. If prices in 1914 were 100, in January of 1924, they were 228, and they reduced significantly in 1926 to 143. It was obvious in 1926 that the period of prosperity was only temporary and caused mostly by outside factors.<sup>23</sup>

Twenty years after the war one agronomy engineer reviewed agriculture policy with the following words: “All this post-war work with regard to livestock breeding is marked with dilettante experimenting. Austrian administration, at least worked in tandem with university professors. Currently this practice is unknown to us”.<sup>24</sup> All data indicate that number of livestock decreased significantly after the war. For example, cattle data from 1933 showed that number of cattle decreased by more than 35 % in respect to data from 1910. Similar tendency appeared in other areas, such as beekeeping and fruit-growing. Statistical data from 1933 showed that number of bee hives decreased by staggering 70% in relation to numbers from 1895.<sup>25</sup> The biggest problem, apart from bad planning, was inadequate funding. In 1930’s the budget for livestock breeding in Vrbaska banovina was only one third of the amount needed, and even the money that was granted, it came with many delays and obstacles which put further problems for development.<sup>26</sup> When it comes to fruit-growing, which was so important for Bosnian economy, plum and prune production results were also disappointing. One contemporary critic testifies this: “Administration in Sarajevo remained, but it was left without any funds. Bosnia and Herzegovina was totally neglected, initiative and funds were in hands of Ministry of agriculture (of Kingdom SCS), in whose focus was revitalization of fruit-growing in Serbia.”<sup>27</sup> Important process in the post-war period was execution of agrarian reform. Immediately, as the Habsburg

<sup>23</sup> Perin, Đoko. *Ekonomski razvitak sela od 1878. do 1928.* in: *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje.* Oblasni odbor Narodne odbrane. Sarajevo, (1929.), 301.

<sup>24</sup> Janković, Milan, Džuverović Josip; *Stočarstvo i stočarska proizvodnja u Bosni i Hercegovini,* in: *Bosna i Hercegovina kao privredno područje.* Sarajevo, (1938.), 56.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid,* 53-54.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid,* 55.

<sup>27</sup> Bubić, Šerif. *Vočarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini,* in: *Bosna i Hercegovina kao privredno područje.* Sarajevo, (1938.), 40.

Monarchy was collapsing many peasants tried to take the land. In that process they also attacked and burned the homes and property of landlords, and refused to pay their rent. At the same time national and religious intolerance erupted. In order to appease peasants, regent Alexander issued the Manifesto of January 6<sup>th</sup> 1919, in which he promised the execution of the agrarian reform soon.<sup>28</sup> The following month, on February 25<sup>th</sup>, the government formally abolished serfdom<sup>29</sup> (even though many landlords and opponents of the reform claimed that serfdom, as it existed in Middle ages, was not similar to landlord-tenant relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They insisted that these relations were legally sanctioned by contract). Agrarian question was the most important socioeconomic problem of the new state, Kingdom of SCS. Its execution was complicated, and it could not move on smoothly because it was subject to various political and religious influences. Due to the fact that more than 90 % of landlords were Muslims, and more than 90 % of tenants were Christian (predominantly Serbs) two diametrically opposed groups fought for and against the radical execution of the reform. Radical reform aimed for solution in which all land that was cultivated by tenants (kmets) would pass into their ownership without any compensation to landlords. Therefore, like the previous Austro-Hungarian administration, the new government, although more inclined towards peasants' demands, opted for compromise. In order to gain support of the *Yugoslav Muslim Party* for the Kingdom of SCS first constitution, the government agreed to solution in which it promised to pay 255.000.000 dinars for compensation for the land taken from the landlords and additional 25.000.000 dinars for beys' land. In all, 8,5 million dunams passed into the hands of peasants with this reform. Around 150.000 peasant families were included in this reform.<sup>30</sup>

It is generally accepted as a fact that compensation for the land taken was inadequate. Average price of one dunam was 33-34 dinars, while at the same time the market price of land was much higher. One example for village of Japage, near Han Pijesak shows that price per aro was as high as 400 dinars, therefore, landlords got around one tenth of the land value in compensation.<sup>31</sup>

Even though, execution of agrarian reform granted land to peasants and enabled them to use all profit of their work for improvement in land cultivation, any

<sup>28</sup> Gaković, Milan. *Rješavanje agrarnog pitanja u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918-1921)*. Prilozi. Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta. Sarajevo, (1970.), 31.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 32-33.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 109-110. 1 Dunam equals to 1000 m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Erić, Milivoje. *Agrarna reforma u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941. god.* Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, (1958.), 440, 451.

significant economic effect of the reform was absent. There were many reasons for that development. Firstly, organized agricultural policy in terms of national strategy was absent. Some critics of the economic policy argued that both government and the peasants acted as if agrarian reform was the only aim in regard to improving the country's agriculture. Instead, it should have been only one of the measures in process of modernizing the Yugoslav agriculture.<sup>32</sup> Investment in agriculture was extremely low. The budget of Ministry for agriculture in the post-war period was under 2% of the national budget, in spite of the fact that agriculture was country's main economic branch.<sup>33</sup> Secondly, the rapid growth of population meant that the average size of properties that were cultivated decreased, while their total number increased. This had an effect on efficiency, because most families had to invest all of their income just for plain survival, so no investment in machines was possible. Thirdly, absence of strong banks after the war opened way for expansion of high interest rate loans. Problem with bad loans was that if crops would fail in one year that would automatically cause hundreds of bankruptcies. That is what caused big crisis in mid 1920s: "Debt has swapped across country like pandemic."<sup>34</sup> In contrast to Austro-Hungarian period, when the highest interest rate was limited by law at 12%,<sup>35</sup> interest rates after the war were much higher. Bigger banks had interest rates from 16-24 %, while the smaller ones had interest rates as much as 28 %. Interest rates, that were so high, not only hindered the development, but they also encouraged banks from other parts of Kingdom of SCS to open their branches in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to suck the capital out of state.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to problems mentioned above, it is essential to note that character of the new State, Kingdom of SCS was different to the previous State, Austria-Hungary. Many writers, after the war, acknowledged that Austro-Hungary was a country that advocated strict compliance to the existing laws. That was the case during the entire period of Austro-Hungarian administration. However, after Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Kingdom of SCS, situation somewhat changed to worse. The following quotation will best serve to illustrate the character of this change:

<sup>32</sup> Krulj, Gojko. *Gradska privreda* in: Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje. Oblasni odbor Narodne odbrane. Sarajevo, (1929.), 337-338.

<sup>33</sup> Erić, M. (1958.), 518.

<sup>34</sup> Kosier, Lj. S. (1926.), 456-457.

<sup>35</sup> Schmid, Ferdinand, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*. Verlag von Veit & Comp. Leipzig, (1914.), 327.

<sup>36</sup> Šehić, N. (1991.), 313.

Old government advocated on first place, state and law. New administration, in that regard, proved to be much weaker. In its core weak and loose, it advocated state and national policies very weakly, and laws and public order were not in place. In such circumstances people developed behavior of noncompliance to the laws, and of non-fulfilling their legal obligation. Authorities especially demoralized people with distribution of free food, forests and other goods in very unhealthy form. With these actions appetite for undeserved goods developed.<sup>37</sup>

## Conclusion

The end of the First World War created numerous opportunities for the newly formed Kingdom of SCS. All South Slavs for the first time formed a common state, which had all prerequisites for solid economic development. Excellent strategic position, long Adriatic coast, abundance of minerals, forests and ores, and thanks to the unification of the country, a big market. However, new state also faced many challenges for its progress. The war left scars that needed time to heal. These scars were not merely material devastation, but they were also caused by poor ethnic relations. The poor state of interethnic relations plagued Kingdom of SCS during the entire time of its existence and they reflected on the economy a lot, especially in regard to execution of the agrarian reform. In area of industry and traffic, the results of the war perhaps were the most detrimental since it stopped the big railway construction plan that started just before it's outbreak. In years after, and even to this day, underdevelopment of Bosnia and Herzegovina was often addressed to poor traffic condition. Therefore, it is safe to argue that outbreak of the war had a significant consequence to the development of Bosnian economy, not only in post-war years but many years later. It is hard to find any significant improvement in this period, and to this day it is considered as the period of stagnation in economy. The opportunity that arose, to develop national economy in the best interest of population, was unfortunately not realized.

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<sup>37</sup> Perin, Đoko. (1929.), 300. (Text translated by the author.)

Marija Naletilić

The Agency for Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education  
Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN HERZEGOVINA AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MONOPOLY ON TOBACCO IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

**Abstract:** *The paper considers the financial policy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the introduction of the monopoly on tobacco and importance of the organized tobacco production which transformed the lifestyles of Herzegovina people. The paper seeks to clarify conditions that caused changes in the social structure of population and economy of Herzegovina.*

**Keywords:** *Herzegovina, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, monopoly, tobacco*

The cultivation of the tobacco in Herzegovina began during the reign of Ali Paša Rizvanbegović who encouraged people to plant the culture.<sup>1</sup> Until the end of the Ottoman rule there was no control of production and there was no state monopoly on tobacco. Paid was only the production tax, which would occasionally increase.<sup>2</sup> After the collapse of the Ottoman rule in 1878, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The time witnessed major changes in the cultivation and production of the tobacco since the state introduced the monopoly and the strict control over processes.

<sup>1</sup> Nevena Krstić, "Rasprava o kafi, duvanu i pićima" u: *Prilozi*, XX-XXI, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1974., str. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim Tepić, *Trgovina Bosne i Hercegovine od 1856. do 1875. godine*, str. 23. (magistarski rad u rukopisu).

The new international position of BiH was regulated by XXV Article of the Berlin Treaty and the Istanbul Convention.<sup>3</sup> The administration over Bosnia and Herzegovina was transferred to the joint finance minister who established a special office in B&H.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the organized tobacco production began in the Austro-Hungarian period. The tobacco was produced in such quantities that it soon became important not only for the economic development of Herzegovina, where most inhabitants lived on planting and processing this culture, but it became one of the vital cultures upon which the economic development of the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina was based. With the opening of the Mostar Tobacco Factory, changes in the social structure of the population were created - in fact, a social class of workers was created.

As part of the agricultural economy, as pointed out by Vlado Smoljan, "the processes were under way, which also indicated the final break up with the practices of feudal age".<sup>5</sup> The introduction of the capitalism brought changes in the villages, because part of the rural population moved to the cities in search for a better existence, which due to transition from agricultural to industrial production changed the urban social structure. Immediately after the occupation, Catholics of different nationalities relocated from Austro-Hungary and other states to B&H while Muslim population immigrated to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>6</sup>

The tobacco production for the needs of the state monopoly, export and personal use was regulated by the various transition orders and basic regulations in early 1880, and the Monopoly Law was adopted.<sup>7</sup> In analysing the financial policy of B&H, Ferdo Hauptmann stressed the importance of the Austrian-Hungarian Law, which was passed at the same time in 1880, determining that B&H was to finance its daily administration costs on its own and that, only in case of the unplanned expenses and investments, B&H was to receive the financial support from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>8</sup> In the period from 1882 to 1903,

<sup>3</sup> Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1976., str. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Dževad Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 2002., str. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Vlado Smoljan, *Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine*, I., Gospodarska komora Herceg Bosne, Mostar, 1997., str. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Ilija Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća*, Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2004., str. 20-22.

<sup>7</sup> Ambroz Kapor, *Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine*, Udruženje preduzeća za otkup i obradu duvana "Hercegovina", Mostar, 1953., str. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdo Hauptmann, "Memorandum šefa finansijskog odjeljenja bosanskohercegovačke vlade

Benjamin Kallay, as a joint finance minister to Bosnia and Herzegovina, had to convince the delegation of the Austrian-Hungarian Parliament<sup>9</sup> that the B&H budget “was fully based on the actual revenues and therefore there was no fear the Monarchy would have to contribute to the costs of the regular administration of these countries”.<sup>10</sup> Kallay determined that the planned expenses were always lower than the actual revenues, and, as Hauptmann pointed out, he adhered to that, “no matter how much he personally thought it would be better to go into deficit if that would speed up the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.<sup>11</sup> With the goal of the self-sustainability of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kallay was aware that he could not count on larger investments so he consumed as many resources as he had at his disposal, being aware that such investments could accelerate the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and bring it closer to the rest of the Monarchy. The financial sustainability of Bosnia and Herzegovina became the central issue of B&H policy, which meant as Hauptmann noticed, “much larger load, as the new modern administration and getting into the novel economically and socially developed environment demanded high resources, certainly much higher than in former Turkish time”.<sup>12</sup> Georg von Plenker, director of the finances in Bosnian Provincial Government, claimed that the budget in the amount of 6 to 7 million forints was a maximum load that the country could handle and that the amount was insufficient to cover the costs of administration in period from 1880 to 1882.<sup>13</sup> By the end of 1883 Plenker could not control the administration districts and districts with unauthorized funds, so-called black funds; these funds were intended for the tax offices.<sup>14</sup> The tax primarily burdened agriculture and livestock as the industry and trade were not developed yet.<sup>15</sup> The development of

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Plenkera, o finansijskoj problematici Bosne i Hercegovine u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije”, u: *Glasnik arhiva i društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, VIII./IX., Sarajevo, 1968./69., str. 512.

<sup>9</sup> Izaslanstvu se svake godine podnosio završni račun Zemaljske vlade kako bi se utvrdilo u kojoj mjeri proračun odgovara stvarnosti. Usp. M. IMAMOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnjo-politički razvitak BiH*, str. 44.

<sup>10</sup> F. Hauptmann, “Memorandum šefa finansijskog odjeljenja bosanskohercegovačke vlade Plenkera, o finansijskoj problematici Bosne i Hercegovine u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije”, str. 512.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 513.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 514.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 516.



the agriculture, which provided living for 87.91% of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910, was disrupted due to the unresolved agrarian relations. In this regard Hauptmann explains:

The rural communities were not developing fast enough, and from the provincial finances place it meant the main revenues would not come from the direct taxes, but from the group of indirect ones. The group of the indirect taxes (monopolies, excise duties, fees) represented the largest revenue for the provincial finances. The largest revenue - monopolies, did not flow to the national budget as a result of the reciprocal calculations with the Monarchy but owing to the development of the domestic production capacity. In the first place it was the tobacco and starting from 1885. it was the salt too.<sup>16</sup>

The salt and tobacco as monopoly products were taxed indirectly, which supported the improvement of the economy and industrialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In view of the fact the production and consumption of these raw materials increased so the processing industry developed, enlarging the number of workers who ensured the existence. As the tobacco reached good quality, there were more cultivators and more land planted with tobacco.<sup>17</sup> This resulted in a higher number of employees in the purchasing offices and Mostar Tobacco Factory.

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<sup>16</sup> Ferdo Hauptmann, "Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba austrougarske vladavine", u: *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine II.*, 18, Sarajevo, 1987., str. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878.-1918.*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1963., str. 88.

**Table 1.** The Number of Employees in the Tobacco Factory Mostar and Purchasing Stations in 1897

TOBACCO STATION	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AT THE END OF THE YEAR 1897						
	Controllers	Workers		Children under the age of 14		Total	
		Men	Women	Boys	Girls		
MOSTAR TOBACCO FACTORY	9	180	422	12	26	649	
Ljubuški	11	141	375	-	5	532	
Stolac	3	57	89	-	25	175	
TOBACCO PURCHASING STATIONS	Čapljina	4	67	96	4	26	197
Trebinje	4	35	54	-	-	94	
Ljubinj	2	19	26	-	-	48	
Total	33	499	1,062	16	82	1,695	

**Source:** Austrian State Archives, Department of Finance Archives, Vienna, General section of the Ministry of Finance, V Section - Monopoly, Tables of Statistics of BiH Tobacco Dealing in 1897.<sup>18</sup> (Taken from the Master's Thesis of Marija Naletilić<sup>19</sup>).

In the Mostar Tobacco Factory and across all the purchasing offices in Herzegovina in 1897 there were 1,695 employees, mostly women and children under the age of 14. As the number of employees increased, the economic position of the Herzegovinian population improved to some extent<sup>20</sup> Since the old Ottoman rule was retained in the field of land tenure relations, the greatest burden was upon rural population, which by the tithing of 1906 paid another eight kinds

<sup>18</sup> ÖeStA, Abteilung Finanzarchiv, Wien, Allgemeine Abteilung des k.u.k. Finanzministeriums, V. Sektion-Monopol, *Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1897*.

<sup>19</sup> Marija Naletilić, *Značaj uzgoja i prerade duhana za društveni i ekonomski razvoj Hercegovine od 1878. do 1918.*, str. 114. (magistarski rad u rukopisu)

<sup>20</sup> M. Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914*, str. 132.

of taxes.<sup>21</sup> Even though the area of Herzegovina became a part of the Monarchy in 1878, as confirmed by the annexation of 1908, in reality there were no major changes, particularly in relation to the economy, since the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy “opted for gradual changes”.<sup>22</sup> As early as 1881, an experimental project of the productive and demonstrative character was launched in Mostar, envisaged to evolve into the advanced tobacco production using the scientific approach. The demonstration fields in Herzegovina were spread over the area from 2 to 6 hectares. However, due to the shortage of the skilled personnel who would combine the fieldwork and science, the project failed and the B&H tobacco policy body, established to control the tobacco monopoly, had only two educated experts. In addition, there was no tobacco institute with a network of experimental labs and sample fields. Hence, the demonstration fields soon became dysfunctional and they were closed in the eve of the First World War.<sup>23</sup>

The Mediterranean climate and fertile land of Hercegovina were favorable for cultivation of the high quality tobacco.<sup>24</sup> Exceptionally favorable were valleys around Trebinje and Ljubinje, while tobacco was also cultivated in Mostar and Stolac district.<sup>25</sup> In this area, several types of tobacco were grown: *ravnjak*, *tanče*, *grljevac*, *virginia light* and *mreško*.<sup>26</sup>

The high quality of Herzegovinian tobacco was also acknowledged by prizes awarded at the exhibitions in various European centers at the end of 19th century: the Budapest Prize in 1896, Brussels in 1897, Vienna in 1898, and in Paris in 1900.<sup>27</sup>

Alma Leka and Amra Custo described the pavilions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, exhibited at the exhibitions in the mentioned cities, as a real sighting for a large number of visitors who had an opportunity to learn about the history, economy, tradition and culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austro-Hungarian

<sup>21</sup> Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u BiH i njen razvoj do 1914.*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1980., str. 105.

<sup>22</sup> V. Smoljan, *Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine*, I., str. 241.

<sup>23</sup> Ambroz Kapor, *Duhanska pokusna služba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Udruženje preduzeća za otkup i obradu duvana "Hercegovina", Mostar, 1956., str. 7-14.

<sup>24</sup> Slavko Jelčić, *Ekonomika proizvodnje duvana u Hercegovini*, APRO Hercegovina, Mostar, 1983., str. 27-31.

<sup>25</sup> Mirko Odić – Slavko Jelčić, *Duhan u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1880. do 1979. godine*, Mostar, Duvanski institut Mostar, 1980., str. 10-11.

<sup>26</sup> A. Kapor, *Duhanska pokusna služba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, str. 30-35.

<sup>27</sup> A. Kapor, *Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine*, str. 15-27.

Monarchy exploited the economic exhibitions to promote the European culture and way of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>28</sup>

The tobacco cultivation changed the way of life in Hercegovina. More people were engaged with the agriculture apart from the cattle breeding, despite the fact the tobacco cultivation was very complex activity. The cultivation of the tobacco plants was demanding, for, it went all year round and required a large number of tobacco workers. As no great physical efforts were constantly needed in tobacco cultivation, easier works would be done by women, children and the elderly. Due to this type of engagement, the excess workforce was employed during the winter time and the tobacco cultivation in Herzegovina gained the economic and social significance.<sup>29</sup> The tobacco production ensured the existence and prevented the poverty. The Hercegovinians were eagerly awaiting the tobacco repurchase because the money they would receive paid for the debts accumulated throughout the year. Yet, in most cases, the villagers were displeased with the tobacco prices set by the Tobacco Control Directorate, what depended on the tobacco quality and class. This fact confirmed the tobacco was a monopoly plant and the producers were never the absolute owners of their product.<sup>30</sup> The producers would not receive adequate compensation for their work. According to Gujica, in 1913, the planters from Ljubuški received one krone and twenty hellers for one kilogram of tobacco and they could buy one kilogram of sugar or two and a half kilograms of rice for that money.<sup>31</sup> In period before the First World War, there would be occasional increases in tobacco prices as well as quality improvements.<sup>32</sup> Compared to previous period, new monopoly regulations increased the tobacco selling prices as well as tobacco taxes, in order to harmonize them with the prices of similar products in Monarchy.<sup>33</sup>

The average prices of tobacco per kilogram in the period 1888 to 1912 in Mostar region were as follows:

<sup>28</sup> Alma Leka – Amra Čusto, "Jedan novi svijet – Bosna i Hercegovina na međunarodnim izložbama", u: *Znakovi vremena*, Sarajevo, 22-23/2004., str. 150.

<sup>29</sup> Miloš Bjelovitić, "Duhan u Hercegovini", u: *Geografski pregled*, 2, Sarajevo, 1958., str. 104.

<sup>30</sup> Ivan Alilović, *Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini*, Hrvatsko književno društvo Sv. Ćirila i Metoda, Zagreb, 1976., str. 105-106.

<sup>31</sup> Kasim Gujić, *Duhansko pitanje i pitanje krijumčarstva duhana u Hercegovini*, Naklada Pivčeva, Zagreb, 1935., str. 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Statistički podaci o proizvodnji duvana na području Bosne i Hercegovine*, Duvanski institut u Mostaru, Mostar, 1961.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. A. Kapor, *Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine*, str. 72.

**Table 2.** Prices of Tobacco in Mostar Region

Year of production	Tobacco average price per kilogram in kronas
1888.	0,90
1892.	1,02
1895.	1,15
1908.	1,29
1911.	1,42
1912.	1,55

Mostar, 1961. **Source:** *Statistical Data on the Production of Tobacco in the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, the Tobacco Institute in Mostar, Mostar, 1961.<sup>34</sup>

The lowest average price of tobacco in 1888 amounted 0.90 kronas and was increased in the following years to reach the amount of 1.55 kronas in 1912. If the data are compared for the stated 14 years, we can see a rise in tobacco prices by 0.66 kronas which was probably yet another motive for the growth of the tobacco planting in Herzegovina. During the Austro-Hungarian administration, considerable efforts were made towards improving the tobacco cultivation in Herzegovina and harmonizing its purchasing standards. A high standard was reached regarding the raw material quality and the needs of consumption and exports were balanced.<sup>35</sup>

Although Bosnia and Herzegovina had a special status in the Monarchy, as Kurt Wessely pointed out, its "power and economy were closely related to the Monarchy despite different social, religious, and agrarian relations".<sup>36</sup> Regarding the implementation of the settlement laws on economic processes in B&H, unique reciprocal measures were determined, essential for functioning of the commercial processes in a single customs area (common currency, indirect taxes, monopoly on tobacco and salt)".<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The special table was created based on the data taken from the book: *Statistički podaci o proizvodnji duvana na području Bosne i Hercegovine*, Duvanski institut u Mostaru, Mostar, 1961.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, str. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Kurt Wessely, "Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Bosnien-Herzegovina", in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Band I., Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, hrsg. von Alois Brusatti, Beč, 1973., 533.

<sup>37</sup> Akos Paulinyi, "Die sogenannte gemeinsame Wirtschaftspolitik Österreich-Ungarn", u: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918.*, Band I., Die Wirtschaftspolitik Entwicklung, hrsg. von Alois Brusatti, Beč, 1973., str. 584.

The tobacco purchasing stations were established in Mostar, Ljubuški, Trebinje, Stolac, Čapljina, Ljubinje and Široki Brijeg. At the stations, the tobacco was repurchased and then despatched for further processing.<sup>38</sup> The village women, popularly called *the weighers*, worked there. They sorted and arranged the purchased tobacco and their work was seasonal.<sup>39</sup> The Austro-Hungarian government, after the opening of the Mostar Tobacco Factory in 1880, built other supporting facilities by 1910, besides the central factory building, warehouses, barracks, kitchen and a greenhouse.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 3.** The Value of Supporting Facilities of Mostar Tobacco Factory from 1887 to 1910

Type of facility	Year of construction	Building value	
		krones	h
Administrative building	1887.	50.489	5
Old factory building	1880.	58.783	25
New factory building	1885.	67.789	79
Warehouse I	1881.	68.691	83
Warehouse II	1882.	132.000	
Warehouse III	1890.	73.667	82
Warehouse IV	1900.	92.673	18
Warehouse V	1910.	150.500	
Machine room	1885.	43.909	1
Hut 2	1888.	5.856	82
Brick house 3	1889.	9.613	56
Worker's toilets	1897. 1898.	3.400	

<sup>38</sup> V. Smoljan, *Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine*, I., str. 241.

<sup>39</sup> I. Alilović, *Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini*, str. 117.

<sup>40</sup> ÖeStA, AF, *Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1911*.

Drive for rails	1886.	310	56
Fence	1831.1905.1907.	7.806	21
Kitchen	1896.	593	6
Stokehold	1898.	586	78
Fire room	1901.	483	43
Stores for tobacco		119	24
Tailor shops, stalls	1902.	617	42
Cellar	1904.	411	43
Water system		1.298	
Hothouse	1903.	217	18
Hut 3		6.635	52
Hut 4	1905.	6.635	52
Hut fence		1037	56
Huts for purchase	1906.	391	59
Bathroom for workers	1909.	17.000	
Shelter house for bad weather		111	66
Waiting room	1909.1910.	47.347	61
Storage for timber		1.430	57

**Source:** Austrian State Archives Department of Finance Archives, Vienna, General Section of the Ministry of Finance, V Section - Monopoly, Tables of Statistics Bosnian Tobacco Dealing in 1911<sup>41</sup>. (Taken from the Master's Thesis of Marija Naletilić<sup>42</sup>).

<sup>41</sup> ÖeStA, AF, *Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1911*.

<sup>42</sup> M. Naletilić, *Značaj uzgoja i prerade duhana za društveni i ekonomski razvoj Hercegovine od 1878. do 1918.*, str. 127

Investments in the Factory started with the construction of the administrative building in 1887 with an investment of 50,489 kronas and 5 hellers. After that, in intervals of one or two years, various factory facilities were built. The total funds invested in the Mostar Tobacco Factory until 1910 reached the amount of 911,088 kronas and 65 hellers.

The factory, according to Carl Peez, “exclusively produced Herzegovinian tobacco of finest varieties from Trebinje and Ljubuški regions (near Šuma and Vitina).”<sup>43</sup> In the Tobacco Factory the poorest people of Mostar were employed, performing hard physical jobs, while the “skilled workers and managers would come from the developed regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.”<sup>44</sup> Due to the strenuous physical work in improper halls, which was inappropriately paid, the workers would be very exhausted and infected with various infectious diseases and ailments caused by malnutrition. Displeased with the working conditions, the workers went on strike in 1906, gaining an increase in salaries of 20 hellers a day, shortened work-hours from ten to eight hours per day, and a 14-day termination period.<sup>45</sup> The strike of Mostar workers spread to the area of Ljubuški. The four thousand protesters in Ljubuški area made demands in relation to the tobacco repurchase, selection of the appraisers, elimination of the moils, right to vote in elections, freedom of the press, maintenance of the drainage channels and protective embankments, and increased salaries for municipal officials. The five hundred employees of the purchasing station in Ljubuški required 30-40% higher salaries and reduced working hours - eight hours a day, and elimination of money fines. In addition, they demanded the expelled workers, who worked more than 10 years, to be returned to the job; recruitment of workers exclusively from Ljubuški area; half pay as a support for workers unable to work longer who acquired 20 years of service; women to be spared from heavy work such as carrying heavy bales of tobacco; nice manners towards workers and respect for their religious customs; dismissal of workers from other districts and, ultimately, no criminal procedure taken against workers who participated in the strike. After the talks with the competent authority in Ljubuški, all their requirements were met. The salary was increased by 25% while the request for 40% salary increase was passed onto the relevant ministry.<sup>46</sup> During the six-day strike in Ljubuški, which

<sup>43</sup> Carl Peez, *Mostar i njegova kultura. Slika jednog grada u Hercegovini, 1891*, Crkva na kamentu, Mostar, 2002., str. 56.

<sup>44</sup> O. Hadžiomerović, *Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941)*, (rukopis), Mostar, 1974., str. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, str. 22-25.

<sup>46</sup> Tihomir Zovko, “Radništvo u Hercegovini i njegovo uključivanje u proces hrvatske nacionalne integracije”, u: *Hum*, 10, Mostar, 2013., str. 206-208.



lasted from May 16 to 21, 1906, the army was deployed throughout the entire Ljubuški region and more than 25 people were arrested and detained. After the situation stabilized, there was no need for military presence and the situation was monitored further by the police.<sup>47</sup> The year 1908 was marked by the demonstrations of workers of the Mostar Tobacco Factory due to the decision of the management to reduce the production, what resulted in reduction of the working days and lower earnings. During these demonstrations, incidents and clashes with the police occurred and several workers were detained with the criminal charges filed against them.<sup>48</sup>

The criminal records were filed against Fila Bajić and Anđa Lasić for a public incident on August 27, 1908. On that day, about 100 workers of the Tobacco Factory Mostar were protesting on the streets and when ordered to disband the two workers who strongly opposed to the orders were taken to the police.

**Document 1.** The Charges of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's State Security Guard in Mostar Against Fila Bajić and Anđa Lasić (page 105)

**Source:** Archive of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, National Government, *Charges. Fila Bajić and Anđa Lasić for Public Disturbance*, no. 1139, August 27, 1908, box. 145.

On the same day, charges were filed against Vladimir Bejatovic who was taken to the police for supporting the protests and urging the workers to stay on the streets.

**Document 2.** Charges of the Guard Žagar against Vladimir Bejatovic to Bosnia and Herzegovina's State Security Guard in Mostar (page 106)

**Source:** Archive of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, Provincial Government, *Charges. Vladimir Bejatović from Mostar for the Criminal Conduct Pursuant to 144 of Criminal Law*, no. 1137/1908., August 27, 1908, box. 145

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, str. 208.

<sup>48</sup> Arhiv Hercegovačko-neretvanske županije (dalje: AHNŽ), ZEMALJSKA VLADA (dalje: ZV), *Prijava. Fila Bajić i Angja Lasić radi javnog izgređa*, br. 1139, 27. kolovoza 1908., kut. 145. Vidi dokument 1 u prilogu disertacije. AHNŽ, ZV, *Prijava. Vladimir Bejatović iz Mostara radi zločina iz § 144. k. z.*, br. 1137/1908., 27. kolovoza 1908., kut. 145.

Bos. herc. državna straža sigurnosti u Mostaru.

Broj 1139

Mostar, 27 august 1908

151782  
1805

Prijava.

Pajić Fila i Lasić  
Anđija radi jaonog  
uzreda

Podpisani stražničestvo jaoga:

Kanas u 10<sup>o</sup> 30<sup>o</sup> prije poduce bio sam  
spomenjen sa više stražara, da razičam radnice  
u dubravke toornice po prilici njih 100 na broju  
koje su se skupile u Šušerwaldovoj ulici pošto  
razici druge osobe da im se prisluškivaju.

Ja sam stao među ove radnice i kazao  
im, u ime sabona da se smijete raziti svo-  
jim kućam mirno, a ako koja nebi postojela  
da će biti uhapšena.

Ne to je proa počela vikati Fila Pajić  
, jik mi se nećemo raziti, hapnite nas ako  
nas smijete! - usto su počele sve radnice  
vikati nećemo se raziti.

Sva toga sam Fila Pajić uhapšenom  
proglasio, te je usto u među ostalih radnice  
a satim ju dao jednoma stražaru da ju na  
poliriju odvede.

Čim je to vidjela Anđija Lasić počela je  
pozivati ostale radnice, nadojete da ju vode pa su  
usljed toje poziva nagrnule ostale radnice da  
Fila Pajić otmu, pa sam usljed toje proglasio i  
Anđiju Lasić uhapšenom te oba u kju poveo  
i predao ju stražaru da ju vodi na poliriju.

Prato se je skupilo mnogo ~~stražara~~ pri-  
sliki smo svi zajedno da su se ostale  
radnice raziti morale.

vidi!  
jelenske v.r.

Kagan v.r.

Hrvatska državna tiskara u Mostaru.

ad. 10957 4.7 Češko

Bos. herc. državna straža sigurnosti u Mostaru.

Broj 1187 Mostar, 27. augusta 1908.

Kašić  
151782  
1908

**Prijava.**

Vladimir Bjatović iz  
Mostara radi klocinara  
iz 8 144 k. z.

Štarić i. naz. Halil Memović javlja:

Danas u 10 sati: 30<sup>5</sup> prije ponoći skupilo se je  
u Ševčevaldovoj ulici preko 100 radnika iz duhana  
i kod trgovnice, koji su postavili stražu saopštenom  
da niko se ne približi.

Politički spomenuti radnici bila pozivana na  
strance, da se imjenta mirno razidju, ali polito  
nismo htjeli poslušati, bili su dvie radnice  
predvedeni.

Kada te skupštine radnica nalazio se je  
prisutan i Vladimir Bjatović, koji je pričio  
vikati radnicima, nemojte se razilaziti, hajde  
na vid na policiju, smete se radnice moraju  
pubicati, te ih je na taj način potraživao na  
odpor protiv straca.

Ja sam Bjatovića spomenuo, u ime zakona  
da viđati i da odmah idje kući, te je i nadalje  
vikar radnicima, hajde samo napred one se  
moraju pubicati.

Čitoga sam stao u ime zakona proglasio  
uhapšenim i htjelo ga na policiju predavati,  
ali je Bjatović zamahnuo rukom, da će me  
udariti. U tom času kad je istie zamahnuo  
da me udari, pograbio sam ga za ruku i udario  
mu prednjom, te ga predos i zatvorio  
Taj slučaj, kad je Bjatović zamahnuo rukom  
da me udari, vidio je i strahom i razred  
Bosmar Husarom i Bjatović mišta naprivaoga.

K. H. Z.

After these events, the organized activities of workers intensified. The number of union members increased, a health fund was established in Mostar and used for mutual aid. The production was considerably modernized by the introduction of the new machines, resulting with redundant workforce.<sup>49</sup>

The tobacco planters in Herzegovina, where 164,785 natives were engaged in agriculture in 1910,<sup>50</sup> could not live solely on the tobacco trade so they started with the tobacco smuggle, especially during the First World War. Namely, if the households were running out of the goods, people would go smuggling because the tobacco was much more worthy: up to ten times more valuable than when regularly sold.<sup>51</sup> The tobacco soon crept into the world of the poor who preferred to starve than to stay without the tobacco. In the newspapers of that time, it was noted that the tobacco became expensive and the popular daily habit was constantly expanding, being the reason the tobacco “was expensive sold for expensive money in spite of the fact the daily consumption of the cigarettes and tobacco was limited.”<sup>52</sup> The war time brought many changes into the life of people. Military capable men were mobilized and women became the main labor force, along with children. Life was getting tougher and prices were going up without any control.<sup>53</sup> The smuggling jobs were also affected by the large fluctuation of the population caused by the odds of the war. This was the reason the tobacco production decreased while the demand increased significantly. Equally, the price of the tobacco was going up steadily.<sup>54</sup> Given that men went to the war, women and children could not produce plenty of tobacco for the ever growing market that emerged during the war.

In addition to the war in Herzegovina in 1917, the drought also affected the production of the tobacco, which, for the first time, led to higher tobacco repurchase prices during the First World War, resulting in increase of trade prices. The prices of the tobacco in the stores, popularly known as newsstands, amounted from 4 to 16 kronas in 1917.<sup>55</sup> The demand and the quality of tobacco caused higher prices which amounted 7-26 kronas in 1918.

In addition to the aforementioned disasters in 1917, there was also a short-

<sup>49</sup> O. Hadžiomerović, *Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941)*, str. 9-40.

<sup>50</sup> M. Bjelovitić, *Duhan u Hercegovini*, str. 104.

<sup>51</sup> I. Alilović, *Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini*, str. 129-133.

<sup>52</sup> *Sarajevski list*, br. 11, Sarajevo, 1918.

<sup>53</sup> O. Hadžiomerović, *Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941)*, str. 41.

<sup>54</sup> I. Alilović, *Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini*, str. 128.

<sup>55</sup> *Glasnik zakona i naredbi za Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1917*, Sarajevo, 1918.

age of labor, requisition of corn and meat, price increase of provisions, and no money.<sup>56</sup> Because of all this, in 1917 and 1918, a famine happened and “the population ate grass and maple bark bread”.<sup>57</sup> In order to provide real bread, people went to smuggle the tobacco into Slavonia, and then into Srijem.<sup>58</sup> The end of the First World War saw the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which, despite all the troubles, related Bosnia and Herzegovina to Europe, partly thanking to the market of the quality Herzegovinian tobacco.

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<sup>56</sup> Andrija Nikić, *Godine gladi*, Naša ognjišta, Duvno, 1974., str. 17.

<sup>57</sup> I. Alilović, *Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini*, str. 128.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid

Imperial – State and  
Nation-Building Interactions



Sonja Dujmović

University of Sarajevo – Institute for History  
Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## “THE EIGHTH POWER” IN THE INTRODUCTION TO THE GREAT WAR – A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF SERB PRESS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Abstract:** The reaction of Austro-Hungarian policy on the intensification of national movements of the Slavic peoples was also felt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was considered to be a potential framework of Yugoslav reciprocity and convergence. Press editorial boards were centres of national promotion and this ideological and political trend was promoted in various ways – through Slavic media congresses, establishment of associations and inspired texts. The Serb press and their protagonists were thus found under attack of the authorities and were sanctioned in varying ways, which is a topic explored in this paper.

**Keywords:** *national movements, Slavic reciprocity, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serb press, editorial boards, Slavic media congresses, press associations, sanctioning, Law on press, repression*

Like any other military conflict, the First World War completed many processes and social changes whose roots go way back into the past, and one of these, an integral part of modernization movements, was the cultural and national revival of Slavic peoples in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The national movements and requests for national independence, which gradually began to appear from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, were already by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century taking shape into first national institutions and societies. This process was intensified by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was one of the main ideological currents which damaged the social stability of the multinational empire. Up to then, the Monarchy was relatively



tolerant towards the spiritual and national tendencies of the Slavs, but after the losses caused by Italian and German national movements and territorial separation, it formed new patterns of behaviour and changed its stance towards these movements, considering that they severely undermined Habsburg confidence. Thus the emperor and the minister of foreign affairs, as stated by Haselsteiner, “*decided that foreign policy needed to be carried out in tighter organisation with military assumptions*”.<sup>1</sup> In one word, it was a dawn of an era where the “*right of fist ruled over small and great*”,<sup>2</sup> whereby the proclaimed harmonious coexistence proved to be fragile, because there was already a hierarchy among the certain peoples of the Monarchy.<sup>3</sup>

Applied to the South Slavs, after supporting and forcing of separation of Balkan nationalisms, feeding their mutual struggles with political and police methods, the idea of final military intervention gradually took its form. Until this happened, the Monarchy dealt with the bearers and propagators of the idea of Slavic reciprocity, as well as with the leaders of national movements, that is to say, it focused on the main dangers – the idea of Pan Slavism, Russophile attitudes, the Yugoslav idea, all notions of Serbo-Croatian cooperation, but also on the Croatian and Serbian national movements,<sup>4</sup> and from the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, on the Serb “*piedmontism*”, as a matrix around which a greater Yugoslav state would be formed on the South of the Monarchy.

However, what was actually happening was that the “*Spring of peoples*”, i.e. the social, political and national movement for changes on a European stage, did not bypass Bosnia and Herzegovina, and therefore the solution of the “*Bosnian issue*” did not move in the desired direction for the Monarchy. Therefore, the so-called “*civilizing mission*” was proclaimed in the central Yugoslav regions and it included the elimination of all attractive neighbouring influences, especially of Serb ones, which were dominantly present, and whose activity the Austro-Hungarian authorities sometimes labelled as “*unreasonable*”. The tendency of even closer convergence of Serb and Muslim political goals and their common actions

<sup>1</sup> Vervaet, Stijn. *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj*. Synopsis. Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2013., 37.

<sup>2</sup> Popović, Đ. Cvjetko. *Sarajevski Vidovdan 1914*. Prosveta. Beograd, 1969., 36. (Serbian Cyrillic)

<sup>3</sup> “From the standpoint of the occupation and expansionistic policy of the Monarchy it would be difficult to say that the Bosnians were treated as an equal member of the Habsburg family.” – Vervaet, N. (2013.), 125.

<sup>4</sup> Whereby in Bosnia and Herzegovina work was undertaken to eliminate the pro-Yugoslav, but also Croatian ideas and their bearers promoted through, for instance, the papers of the Party of Rights until the 1890’s, the publications of the Matica hrvatska, ideological followers of Bishop Strossmeyer, press from Dalmatia, Vojvodina, and especially Serb press from these lands and other various Serb influences on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

presented an additional danger for the Monarchy, and this was something which was feared from the beginning of the occupation.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, the greatest problem was the national and political positioning of the Serb population,<sup>6</sup> justifiably so, considering the "special, ethnically differentiating policy of Austria-Hungary towards the three religious and ethnical groups in Bosnia, as in the sphere of religious and educational self-governance, so in the sphere of culture..."<sup>7</sup>

In their attempts to "permanently exclude Bosnia and Herzegovina as the central Yugoslav region from becoming a factor of Yugoslav unity",<sup>8</sup> the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, even though it was purported to be the bearer of "West European culture", but not of the promoted democratic proclamations, was forced to, among other things, cover the land with a network of informants who monitored the population. They especially focused on the esteemed and educated individuals in the university centres of the Monarchy which were conservative, but in the full flight of liberalism still generated more opponents than loyalists. The others sought to get employment in the administrative structure and state educational institutions, "separated" from the people and their interests.

"On the side" of the educated groups were assembled in the editorial boards of the first newspapers "for literature, entertainment and education", where they attained new life and political experiences and were engaged in the forming of

<sup>5</sup> In the name of imperial military office General Beck issued instructions to General Filipović on the eve of the occupation, on 19 July 1878: "We advise you most heartily to take particular concern in religious issues, whereby among the population special attention needs to be given to the Catholic element which has proven itself to be reliable and friendly towards the endeavours of the Monarchy, as well as to the Muslim population ... We also advise you to bring the Muslims into closer contact with the Catholics and to prevent the convergence or alliance of the Muslim with the Orthodox population, which needs to be monitored most severely considering its potential aspirations which are adverse to the occupation" – Kapidžić, Hamdija. *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1958.,13.

<sup>6</sup> Even though the limits of this paper prevent us from delving into more detail, we will only cite one observation, connected to North-Eastern Bosnia: "Now the most difficult problem is the Serb population. In the associations for whose work the authorities were quite thrifty to issue permits, the "Serb spirit" is being nurtured, the books from Serbia and Vojvodina which enter Bosnia through secret channels, speak of a Mother Serbia, about the unity of Slavs, the imminent downfall of the Monarchy, about Bosnia which is yelping under the yoke of the predatory Germans, and all over Majevica, Ozren and Birač – armed troops intercept finance officers and gendarmes, scribes and counts, officials and friends of the government, killing them one by one." – Sušić, Derviš. *Tuzla – hronika narodno oslobodilačkog rata*, (manuscript), Tuzla, novembra 1965, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Vervaet, S. (2013.), 28.

<sup>8</sup> Kraljačić, Tomislav. *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1987.,76.

public opinion, but at the same time raising of national awareness of their religious and national group, gradually bringing them closer to national struggles.<sup>9</sup> These papers were helped by the growing number of reading rooms in towns,<sup>10</sup> by the already present coffee shops and the increased political interest, not only on the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also outside of it.<sup>11</sup>

The press and individuals awakened by national inspiration went hand in hand, so from the mid 90's of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the secondary school pupils from Sarajevo organized secret associations and established their literary lithographic papers (*Srpska svijest* 1896, *Zolja* 1903/1904, *Srpsko kolo/Zora* 1910), interwoven with revolutionary ideas and notions of struggle against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Many of their members later on even publicly fought for their ideals.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "The great majority of the reading public only read the papers belonging to their kin or confession, not acknowledging others, often not even by name... Each of the peoples and confessions strove to have their own press where they would be able to print their own papers." – Pejanović, Đorđe. *Štampa u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850-1941*. Svjetlost. Sarajevo, 1949., 15. (Serbian Cyrillic)

<sup>10</sup> Here we should take into account the limited outreach of the press on the illiterate population (87,84%) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was mostly influenced by the confessional leaders. "Every breeding of national consciousness is accelerated through the church, because the elitist phase of the national movement is thereby skipped over and there is no need to wait for the peasant masses to be brought gradually to the national struggle by means of a "reading revolution". The church helps to create an illusion of a mass type nationalism, before the society was mature for it in a historical sense." – Ekmečić, Milorad. *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918*. 2. Prosveta. Beograd, 1989., 168-169. (Serbian Cyrillic)

<sup>11</sup> "In a report about the government for Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1906 it is claimed that by the end of 1905 a number of 19 papers were published in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 20.292 copies, with 16.260 subscribers ... on average 900 subscribers per paper. *Srpska riječ* was printed in most copies (3.000), then *Bosanska vila* (2.500), *Težak* (2.000), *Vrhbosna* (1.800), *Kršćanska obitelj*, *Mala biblioteka* and *Pokret* (1.000 copies), *Bošnjak* (900 copies), *Učiteljska zora*, *Osvit*, *Behar*, *Školški vjesnik*, and *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* (800 copies), *Sarajevski list* (official) had 686 copies. Other papers were printed in smaller numbers, around 500 copies ... Of the 16.260 subscribers, only 9.809 or 60% were from Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas 6.451 or 40% came from Austria and other countries." – Pejanović, Đorđe. *Bibliografija štampe Bosne i Hercegovine 1850-1941*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1961., 11.

<sup>12</sup> Malbaša, Ante. *Hrvatski i srpski nacionalni problem u Bosni za vrijeme režima Benjamina Kallaya*, 1. Dio (1882-1898), Tisak Građanske tiskare. Osijek, 1940., 60. The founders of this secret society were: Vasilj Grdić, Milan Srškić, Nikola Stojanović, Lazar Brkić, Đorđe Pejanović, Dušan Čorović, Vaso Varagić ... The first president was Vasilj Grdić. The society was enlarged immediately or later by: Savo Skarić, Petar Šotrić, Branko Žegarac, Đoko Kovačević, Savo Ljubibratić, Vaso Zrnić, Vlado Andrić, Vojislav Besarović, Vaso Glušac, Aleksa Jerković, Živko Nježić, Aco Babić, Mihailo Bukvić, Lazo Kondić, Jovo Popović, Đoko Milošević and others. – *Spomenica Velike gimnazije*. Sarajevo, 1929., 52-51, prema: Kruševac, Todor. *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*, Muzej grada Sarajeva.

The importance of the published word in that time brought about the use of the phrase "seventh power",<sup>13</sup> which implied the power of the media to manipulate. In time the press became more important, since it was the stage of political battles even before the formation of political parties, and its speech was not only the speech of culture and literature, but formed the basic national and ideological matrixes. The "eighth power" referenced in the title of this paper is an allusion to Slavic press and is a phrase coined by Mile Pavlović – Krpa, professor and publicist, used in a text about the 10<sup>th</sup> congress of Slavic journalists, held in Belgrade in 1911.<sup>14</sup> Besides that, war against journalism and freedom of press as an indicator of freedom of opinion goes further back than the title might suggest – since it interfered in the sensitive political and national sphere of struggle between the regime and the freedom of political expression, which preceded the military conflict – a kind of a war before a war. Considering that the encounter of the authorities with the "eight power" had its principles, which stemmed from the political circumstances, the process of its emergence and crescendo seems more important and interesting than the time when there was no doubt about the positions of the political adversaries in the years closer to the big armed conflict, and it will be treated as such in this paper.

The basis for the upsurge of journalism on the Yugoslav territory was established in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when requests for its freedom were placed,<sup>15</sup> and

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Sarajevo, 1960., 418. (Serbian Cyrillic). The editor of *Srpska svijest* was Vasilj Grđić, and the main associates of the secret youth literary paper *Srpsko kolo/Zora*, founded in 1907, were Jovo Davidović, Svetislav Tešanović, Slavko Trninić, Drago Radulović and Isak Samokovlija. – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 54, 63.

<sup>13</sup> The French revolution brought the later adopted democratic principles, among which was also the freedom of the press. In the time of this social upheaval the word journalism was created, and Napoléon Bonaparte coined the expression that journalism was the "fifth power in Europe" (after France, Great Britain, Russia and Austria). Since Italy (1861) and Germany (1871) were unified later on, the number of European powers increased to six so journalism "fell" to the position of the "seventh power".

<sup>14</sup> *Bosanska vila*, no 15. and 16, 15. and 30. 8. 1911, 227.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, in the political petition of the Croatian people from March 1848, titled "Request of the people", of the 30 articles, the 9<sup>th</sup> proclaimed "Freedom of press, faith, teaching and speech", and the 11<sup>th</sup> "Equality of all without regard to class and faith in court". - Gavranović, Ante. "U borbi za nacionalni identitet. Kratka povijest hrvatskog tiskanog novinstva". in: *Medianali: znanstveni časopis za medije, novinarstvo, masovno komuniciranje, odnose s javnošću i kulturu društva* 1, 1(2007.), 121. The basic principles of the programme of the *Serb people's organization*, formed in Sarajevo in 1907, declares that: "... individual freedom, freedom of property, expression of thought, freedom of congregation and association, the protection of the sanctity of the home threshold and secrecy of letters are precursors and guarantee of every liberty." – *Srpska riječ*, no 237, 1/14. 11. 1907, 3.

an additional wind under its wings was the organization of media congresses – Global,<sup>16</sup> Slavic in Austria-Hungary (the first of which was held in Prague in 1898), the congress of Yugoslav journalists,<sup>17</sup> and a congress of Serb journalists (Belgrade, 1902),<sup>18</sup> established with the idea of strengthening mutual solidarity and the necessity of closer cooperation within the greater Slavic community.<sup>19</sup> The review of the last, 10<sup>th</sup> congress of journalists, held in Belgrade, brought the following politically engaged words published in *Bosanska vila*:

Slavs, Northern as well as Southern, have a common enemy. He is strong and very dangerous, and should be, if not beaten, at least subdued and limited in his aggressive demands.<sup>20</sup>

To this we should add news about congresses of Slavic journalists held in America,<sup>21</sup> as well as about other congresses of intellectual circles, such as the national student youth and their activities.<sup>22</sup>

The *Serb journalist association*, founded in 1882 in Belgrade, influenced Yugoslav journalism and strengthened its structure from 1891 to 1897. The rise of journalism had an impact on the composing of the so-called “*journalist circle dance*”

<sup>16</sup> *Bosanska vila* reported on the International journalist congress in Bordeaux in 1895, where “many European states were represented and were free as the United States of America”, and on the congress in London in 1909: “Of the Slavs Serbs, Czechs and Russians were present.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 19, 15. 10. 1895, 304; no 19. and 20, 15. and 30. 10. 1909, 319.

<sup>17</sup> The Yugoslav journalist congress began its three-day work on 6 November 1905, and Yugoslav authors participated in it. In that year, the editorial board of the *Bosanska vila* could not attend “due to the poor material conditions”, but its editor participated in the congress held the following year on 13 August in Sofia. – *Bosanska vila*, no 23, 15. 12. 1905, 366; no 15-16, 15. and 30. 8. 1906, 254.

<sup>18</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina was represented with its two journals – the editor of the *Bosanska vila* and the associate of *Srpski vijesnik* Aleksa Radović. Special honour was afforded to the “famous champion and popular leader Mr. Gligorije M. Jeftanović”. – Prvi kongres srpskih novinara u Biogradu, *Bosanska vila*, no 21-22, 30. 11. 1902, 406. During lunch a toast was given to “their majesties emperor and king Franz Joseph and sultan Hamid, as rulers who rule where Serbs live, and from where many delegates came to the journalist congress. And this toast was followed by delighted cheers.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 23, 15. 12. 1902, 430.

<sup>19</sup> From 1889 to 1911 a number of 10 congresses of Slavic journalists were held.

<sup>20</sup> *Bosanska vila*, no 15-16, 15. and 30. 8. 1911, 227.

<sup>21</sup> “In St. Louis in America a Pan Slavic journalistic congress will be convened, to which all Slavs from America are invited.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 6, 31. 4. 1904, 119.

<sup>22</sup> Madžar, Božo. *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1982., 338. (Serbian Cyrillic). In Vienna the *Serb academic society Zora* published a review of the same name from 1910.

in 1900,<sup>23</sup> and on other, more serious and official manifestations with significant impact.<sup>24</sup> On the area of Bosnia, the public importance of the press was increased by the marking of anniversaries significant for journalism (such as the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Serb journalist association*, or the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Bosanska vila*), publishing of articles written by eminent journalists, writers and philosophers,<sup>25</sup> which were also used for potentiating the national name, institutions, symbols and national goals. Thereby, the newspapers, even the "literary" ones, became stages from where a group of educated individuals manifested collective interests, formed a collective opinion and deepened collective, national feelings.<sup>26</sup>

This young intelligentsia, which drew on western political terms and was already profiled in humanist studies on universities throughout the Monarchy, began establishing papers, printing them in "their" presses,<sup>27</sup> with a firm belief in their role of enlightening their own illiterate and neglected people,<sup>28</sup> ("they took their pens to serve their kin"),<sup>29</sup> with the goal of protecting their own culture, language, tradition and other national determinants, thereby defining their function as protectors and promoters of patriarchal, popular values. The editorial boards were also schools for many literary forces and political actors,<sup>30</sup> where the fever-

<sup>23</sup> "The journalist circle – the composer of the royal Serbian popular theatre in Belgrade composed a new dance – the journalist circle. It was played and danced for the first time on the journalist concert in Belgrade." – *Bosanska vila*, no 3, 15. 2. 1900, 48.

<sup>24</sup> The Serb king Alexander I awarded the president of the Serb journalist society and founder of the Serb journalist congress Mr. Stevan Đurčić with the order of the Takovo cross of the 2<sup>nd</sup> degree. The king heard an audience of Serb journalists from Dalmatia, Mr. Antun Fabris, the editor of *Dubrovnik i Srđ*, who was awarded the order of St. Sava of the 4<sup>th</sup> degree. – *Bosanska vila*, no 20, 30. 10. 1902, 376.

<sup>25</sup> Dimitrije Mitrinović wrote a review on the initiation of the paper *Pijemont*, Pred novom žurnalistikom. – *Bosanska vila*, no 18, 30. 9. 1911, 273-274.

<sup>26</sup> Pera Taletov, Novinar književnik – *Bosanska vila*, no 2, 30. 1. 1909, 18.

<sup>27</sup> The only companies with the national names founded by the end of Kállay's regime were the *Serb printing press and bookstore* of Vladimir Radović in Mostar and the *First Serb printing press* of Risto J. Savić in Sarajevo in 1891. – Kraljačić, T. (1987.), 173.

<sup>28</sup> *Bosanska vila*, for instance was the paper of the teacher's society and its founders were teachers.

<sup>29</sup> Kosta Majkić, Jezik u novinarstvu. – *Bosanska vila*, no 2, 30. 1. 1905, 24-26.

<sup>30</sup> A number of prominent individuals had their "education" in *Bosanska vila*, for instance Aleksa Šantić (from 1888), Jovan Dučić (from 1889), and the fourteen year old Svetozar Čorović, Božidar Čerović (Gaj Dobričev), 1896 Avdo Karabegović Hasanbegov and Osman Đikić, Petar Kočić (1899), who became the second editor of the paper in 1912, Dimitrije Mitrinović (1905), "and a good number of quality and conscious workers in science": Risto Jeremić (1889), Vladislav Skarić (1892), Stevan Žakula (1896), Vaso Glušac (1900) ...*Bosanska vila*, br. 1, 1912, 3. It should be mentioned that other prominent names also sent

ish romantic enthusiasms often intertwined with real social situations, so that it seemed sometimes that it was “*an enterprise in the thin layer of semi-literate Serb çarsi behind who came, more or less consciously, the vast illiterate peasant mass*”.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, the idealistic goals of these cultural and national workers who promoted them, “*thinking, probably, that politics was a kind of art*”,<sup>32</sup> which sometime brought to internal disagreements about the conduct of the newspaper policy, and even to conflict with founders and real-politicians,<sup>33</sup> which was publically visible in the recurring changes in the personnel of the editorial boards of the newspaper (*Srpska riječ*).<sup>34</sup> These social and generational differences were described after the annexation by baron Karol Pinter in his report written from Mostar, in which he emphasises

“that the Serbs have differences and shades in opinions, from the well-off merchants who have only half an hour a day for the Serb

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their contributions to the *Bosanska vila*: Vladimir Ćorović, Milan Prelog, Sava Kosanović, Risto Radulović, Toma Bratić, Pera S. Taletov, Marko Car, Ivo Ćipiko, Lujo Vojnović, Mita Klicin, Milorad Pavlović-Krpa, Pavle Lagarić, Branko Lazarević, Milan St. Nedeljković, Tihomir Ostojić, Tihomir Đorđević, Vladimir Čerina, as well as Tin Ujević, Isidora Sekulić, Laza Kostić, Sima Pandurević, St. Sremac, Aleksandar Belić, Nadežda Petrović, Vladimir Gaćinović, Jaša Prodanović, Milan Grol, Jovan Skerlić, Milenko Vesnić, Kosta Majkić, and Vjekoslav Jelavić.

<sup>31</sup> Kruševac, Todor. “Osnivanje i prve godine “Bosanske vile” .in: *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva*, god. I, knj. 1. Muzej grada Sarajeva. Sarajevo, 1963., 147-171.

<sup>32</sup> *Bosanska vila*, no 11-12, 15. and 30. 6. 1912, 164.

<sup>33</sup> The intelligentsia supported the policy of the Serbo-Croatian coalition, while in 1908 Jeftanović gave instructions to the editorial board of the *Srpska riječ* that in Bosnia and Herzegovina they cannot pursue policy “such as is led by the Serbs, who are in the coalition in Croatia and Slavonia”, and that they should not seek in Bosnia “some progressive Croats”, because the acknowledgment of them “stands in opposition to the interests of Serbdom”... The *Srpska riječ* should still express sympathies towards Hungary and the Hungarians “because it is required by our interest” and is “of great help to the Muslims”. This is “justified because of the truly useful conduct of the Hungarian press towards the Serbs in Bosnia concerning the campaign of the Austrian press about the Great-Serbian propaganda”, ... In the same way to report about the situation in Serbia and Montenegro (Less information should be given about Russia, especially about the “corruption and bad state because it suits the enemies and does not affect the popular spirit in a good way. f.n.)” Imamović, Mustafa. *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914*. Svjetlost. Sarajevo, 1976., 165.

<sup>34</sup> The new generation saw the methods of old leadership as more opportunistic for the Austro-Hungarian governments, while they advocated an opposing view and the expansion of national requests. More on that and the dispute of the editorial board of *Srpska riječ* with its founders: Grdić, Vasilj. *Riječ dvije o našem sporu*, izdanje piščevo. Srpska štamparija Đorđa Ivkovića. Novi Sad, 1906., (Serbian Cyrillic)

ideals, to the journalists who are starving of hunger, but still live for their ideals and want to continue living."<sup>35</sup>

All the journalists in Bosnia shared this characteristic, so in 1906 a representation was sent to the common minister of finance Istvan Burian for "the freedom of press which was signed by 21 author, journalist and publicist from all the nations."<sup>36</sup> Further organizational strengthening was achieved by the establishing of the Serb literary club in 1906,<sup>37</sup> and then with the "colourful" Association of journalists and authors in Bosnia and Herzegovina, founded in 1911.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, the editorial boards of literary journals began growing with the appearance of political parties, and in the Serb case (*Serb national organization*) with the establishing of political papers,<sup>39</sup> which fortified the group of opponents

<sup>35</sup> Mastilović, Draga. *Između srpstva i jugoslovenstva. Srpska elita iz Bosne i Hercegovine i stvaranje Jugoslavije*. Art Print. Banja Luka, 2012., 32.

<sup>36</sup> "For the freedom of press. All domestic authors and journalists, without regard to faith and political opinion, agreed and wrote a representation to the common minister of finances and governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina Mr Burian. In it they ask that the following things be abolished: 1. preventive censure; 2. all orders of the Provincial government that prevent the change of opinion; 3. all of the government's orders which prevent all the better papers to be imported into Bosnia. All of them request to introduce complete freedom of press, freedom of congregation, agreement and association, that all the prohibited Serb, Croat and foreign papers should be directed to the country. The representation was written in Cyrillic and Latin. We are pleased to make it known that Muslim representatives signed the Cyrillic part and that all signed in Cyrillic script." – *Bosanska vila*, no 3, 1906, 47. Besarović, Risto. *Iz kulturne prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine (1878-1918)*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1987.

<sup>37</sup> "The Serb literary club. A few literary forces founded in Sarajevo a Serb literary club. Its tasks are: 1. Stimulating literary activity by meeting, reading of works, commenting and critiquing; 2. Treating and preserving the clarity of the Serb language; 3. Spreading of literature to the people; 4. Spreading of literacy to the people; 5. Helping those authors who are in need. The club holds its meeting every 15 days, for now modestly and in small numbers, while it does not spread and turn into a Literary society. Good luck and with God's will." – *Bosanska vila*, no 8, 30. 4. 1906, 128.

<sup>38</sup> "On 20 June 1911 in Sarajevo an association of Bosnian journalists and authors was established. This association is very colourful and made up of differing elements. This unique heterogeneity, more than anything else, guarantees it a long and peaceful life. There are no famous authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the association, and the journalists are only known to the owners of the papers who give them salaries at the end of the month. It would be unusually interesting to find out what kind of force could turn these varying elements into a society." – *Bosanska vila*, no 11-12, 15. and 30. 6. 1911, 191; The first assembly of the Association was opened on 3 July 1911 by the vice-president of the union of the Sarajevo press Risto Radulović, who was then the editor of *Narod* and *Pregled*. – *Sarajevski list*, no 140, 17/30. 6. 1911, 3.

<sup>39</sup> The most important political papers were: *Srpska riječ* from Sarajevo (1905), *Narod* from Mostar, owned by Dr. Uroš Krulj, and edited by Risto Radulović (1907), *Otađina* from Banja



to the Habsburg bureaucratic centralism, considered as a threat to nationalizing the ethno-religious community.

In the attempt to keep Bosnia at peace, the Austro-Hungarian authorities attempted to stabilize the situation even during the 1880-ies. They wanted to balance the existing growing nationalisms by preventing all the mentioned tendencies which hindered the planned national policy of the Monarchy, and the conscious activities of the rising “*eighth power*” in the neighbourhood. Among the first undertaken measures was the equal distribution of concessions for the establishing of pro-regime oriented journals among the main national and confessional groups, with the aim of publicly promoting their loyalty. In the Serb case this was not completely successful. The good will gesture of the authorities shown towards the requests and complaints of the Serb population,<sup>40</sup> with the goal of achieving order after uprisings in 1882, was expressed in the giving of a concession to the publishing of a Cyrillic journal named *Javnost* (Eng. *Public*). However, this action did not achieve anything in regards to the “*domestic*” Serbs, and Jovan Vidić, a graduate of the Budapest Tekelijanum, was appointed as the editor of the first Serb paper *Prosvjeta* (Eng. *Enlightenment*).<sup>41</sup> This paper was short-lived (1885-1888), and its decline corresponded to the abdication of King Milan and the waning of the Serbian Austrophile policies which were connected to him, as well as to the proclamation of the freedom of the press with the Constitution of 1888 which brought intensified anti-Austrian tones to the public.

As an answer to these events across the Drina, the common minister of finances Kállay issued a confidential decree in 1889 turning the attention of the

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Luka, edited by Petar Kočić (1907), *Istina* (1913), the political and informative paper owned by Danilo Dimović and Dr. Milan Jojkić, *Dan* (1905), the political and informative paper published by the *Independent people's party in Bosnia and Herzegovina* and edited by Dr. Laza Dimitrijević.

- <sup>40</sup> During his third visit to Bosnia, “minister Kállay invited the most prominent Serbs through his agents, so that they could inform him of their wishes and hardships. They answered that the Serbs already presented him their wishes in 20 articles during his first visit to Bosnia, but that to the present day they do not know what came of this complaint. After that, all the assembled presented their numerous complaints.” Among the various complaints cited then was one which complained of a “lack of a Serb paper in Bosnia”. – Kruševac, Todor. “Vidićeva “Prosvjeta” 1885-1888”. in: *Glasnik arhivâ i Društva arhivskih radnika*, 1964-1965, IV-V. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1965., 212.
- <sup>41</sup> After an unsuccessful attempt to engage the Sarajevo Serb and future vice mayor Risto Đ. Besarović to become the editor of the proposed paper and after the concession had already been given, the authorities had to employ Vidić who worked as a teacher in Banja Luka from 1881 to 1883, and moved to Sarajevo afterwards. All that time Vidić was in conflict with the board of the Sarajevo church-school community, and they considered him to be “a sworn enemy of the whole of our population.” – Kruševac, T. (1965.), 209-228.

Provincial government to act more decisively towards individuals and the press who wrote against the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and against the Bosnian and Herzegovinian government, since this represented "foreplay" for the intensified activities on the field of agitation. Therefore, he ordered that the most suitable measures be undertaken which would root out any further attempts at agitation. Anonymous correspondents already set the stage for the expression of their political opinions from Bosnia and Herzegovina, by sending their contributions to papers in Vojvodina.<sup>42</sup> This brought about the prohibition of spreading and owning newspapers and literature, mostly from Serbia, but also from Croatia and Dalmatia. The Criminal law for Bosnia and Herzegovina defined the punishment for such offences in financial terms as 50 to 300 guildens, or as a prison sentence lasting from one to three months. However, this was often overreached in practice, and stiff measures were undertaken to prevent the importation of forbidden publications.<sup>43</sup> The first to be affected by this were literate and educated persons – teachers in Serb schools and young merchants who were considered to be associated with progressive groups outside of Bosnia, so their properties were often raided. The found issues of forbidden Serb papers were reason enough to expel their owners back to Serbia, and in the case of domestic Serbs, to send them to court with the accusation of high treason.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> "The illusion that the rise of the Serb national movement was exclusively a result of the agitation influences from Serbia was created because there was no possibility to express public opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the lack of freedom of press and prohibition of political organizing and manifestations, the attitudes of the opposition could not rise to the surface nor be fully manifested in the country. Therefore, it is not surprising that Serb opposition circles were looking for a way to make their social and political views available to the broader public. In the existing circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina this was only possible to achieve through press outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina." - Kraljačić T. (1987.), 118-119.

<sup>43</sup> "In order to prevent the import and distribution of prohibited papers, on 9 February 1886 the Provincial government issued an order according to which all transport companies were obliged to bring every shipment of papers sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina to the closest political and custom authorities who would have a look at it, and then forward it to the Provincial government for further inspection." - Kraljačić T. (1987.), 119,122. Almost twenty years later, the Law on press would additionally regulate in article 18 that: "... apart from the financial fine, it is also necessary to confiscate the copies of the discovered prohibited foreign papers". – Zakon o štampi za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (odobren Previšnjim riješenjem od 13. januara 1907). *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, dan proglašenja 2.marta 1907, god. 1907, 28.

<sup>44</sup> A part of them were "considered to be connected to Miletić's party in Vojvodina." - Malbaša, A. (1940.), 46. These means of government control became common and later even represented the usual procedure, and even for the monitoring of high school youth. It was especially active in 1912, when a number of them were denounced, apprehended and questioned in prisons. "It became a kind of legitimation for the national struggle. We were already used to house raids and arrests as every day occurrences." – Popović, C. (1969.), 22.

By vigilant monitoring, raiding, expelling of editors, summoning to court, preventive censures, confiscations of papers and books, the authorities attempted to suppress the editorial boards, “*the dens of high treason*”,<sup>45</sup> and at the same time to send a message to the public of how those who are opposed to the government will be treated. Evidently, the strength of these repressive measures towards those who in any way endangered the system was proportional to the hindrance that the institution/group/individual was guilty of, so it was necessary to instil obedience to the restless subjects in any way and method possible.

The year 1903 was in many ways a watershed and was also important in this case as well,<sup>46</sup> so that to 1914 the number of newspapers and journals increased,<sup>47</sup> and many social groups summoned the courage to influence public opinion and move it in the desired direction. Among these the political parties were most important, and with them their journals.<sup>48</sup> This journalistic vibrancy did not mean that preventive censure was softened,<sup>49</sup> that the freedom of press was in power and that the essential changes were made, because the political authorities still maintained significant influence in the control of information. So, for instance,

<sup>45</sup> “This was the time of confiscation of all opposition papers and all books of a more radical tone; the time of prosecution of Dr. J. Paču, Dr. Đ. Krasojević and priest Stjepo Tripković; the time when one poem or statement brought into question the whole existence, as was the case with Jovan Dučić, and when immature high school pupils were considered to be dangerous rebels, as was the case of Petar Kočić.” – *Bosanska vila*, no 1, 15. 1. 1912, 3.

<sup>46</sup> Until 1903, the following papers were published – three in Sarajevo: *Prosvjeta* (1885) “journal for public interest, popular economy and entertainment”, *Bosanska vila* (1887), “journal for entertainment, education and literature” and *Dabro-bosanski istočnik* (1887) “journal for ecclesiastical and educational needs of the Serb orthodox clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, and three in Mostar: *Zora* (1896), edited by Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović, *Srpski vjesnik* (1897) edited by Vladimir M. Radović and *Prijegled Male Biblioteke* (1902) edited by Risto Kisiće and Jovan Protić. – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 18.

<sup>47</sup> “In the time of Austrian rule Serbs initiated and published 40 papers, of which 37 were public and 3 secret.” – *ib*, 18.

<sup>48</sup> Apart from the political papers, others which were published were *Prosvjeta* (1907), “journal for popular enlightenment” owned by the Serb cultural society *Prosvjeta*, *Pregled* (1909), “journal for science and social life”, *Srpska škola* (1907), “pedagogical and literary journal”, published by the *Serb teachers' association for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, *Vjesnik* (1909), the official journal of the Serb Orthodox ecclesiastical and school authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Srpski sveštenik*, the paper of the Serb Orthodox clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1912).

<sup>49</sup> “The first edition of each issue was sent to be censored by the government in Sarajevo or to the local political authorities if they had the permission from the government ... The government, in fact, had the right to prohibit a publication without citing any reason.” – Pejanović, Đ. (1949.), 12.

among the first mentioned, already in 1894, and who were under the pressure of local police and political potentates, was the group of Serb intellectuals in Mostar, gathered around the first Serb calendar *Neretljanin*. In that instance, the editor Svetozar Ćorović complained that he was often prevented to work because of the imposed prohibitions.<sup>50</sup>

The state of "free approximation" of the local authorities lasted until the passing of the *Law on press for Bosnia and Herzegovina* with an imperial decree on 13 January 1907, whereby the procedure of press control was legalized. Most of the 46 articles of this Law, which began with the motto "*Press is free within the limits of the law*", concerned the determination of responsibility for the "*published paper*", covering of judicial expenses in the case of lawsuits, procedure of press control, the punishment and the determining the extent of financial and prison sanction of "*crime and offences, such as the distribution of published papers of offensive content*".<sup>51</sup> It is impossible not to notice that the Law (article 6) specifies that special papers, published along with the printed papers, are to be considered as their integral part "*if they are limited to the publishing of unexpected daily events of special significance or in the case of war and the news of its progress*". The Law in essence only legalized the actions of the responsible police and political authorities (village and town regional offices, the commissioner of the Government and the state attorney), which hinted at the greater authority and presence of the state in the creation of internal policy. The opposition newspapers were supposed to file for caution and seek a new editor in chief who was supposed to serve a prison sentence for his salary, since raids became commonplace.

The press suffered the biggest damage with the annexation crisis in 1908, and by then as the editors of *Srpska riječ* (Eng. *Serb word*) both Stijepo Kobasica<sup>52</sup> from Dubrovnik and Pera Taletov were expelled, the former in 1906 and the latter in April of 1908.<sup>53</sup> Đorđo Trifunović was sentenced to four months of

<sup>50</sup> "Just think of it – half of my works have been prohibited! And those were all works of quality authors, such as: Vlado Jovanović, Dr V. Bakić, S. Kosanović etc." – Ćorović, Svetozar. *Dokumentarna građa*. Muzej književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1972., 13. The calendar was published in 1893 under the title *Neretljanin*, "the big Serb illustrated calendar for the simple year of 1894 which has 365 days".

<sup>51</sup> *Zakon o štampi*, &43, 33, 1907.

<sup>52</sup> Stijepo Kobasica, the president of the Belgrade section of the *Yugoslav journalistic association* from 1925 to 1926, came from Sarajevo to Belgrade in 1907, where he became editor of *Srpska riječ*; after the war he was one of the editors of the radical paper *Samouprava* (1926) and journalist for the news agency Avala.

<sup>53</sup> Pera S. Taletov, who was the chief of administration of the *Srpska riječ* and the *Serb joint stock press*, "received an order from the local police today that he has to travel outside of the borders

solitary confinement, and Mirko Starčević was found guilty “for crimes and offences committed by press” and sentenced to five months of prison, but his sentence was overturned to a fine of 400 crowns.<sup>54</sup> In 1908, due to the heavy censures, the advertisements comprised most of the contents of certain issues of *Srpska riječ*, and in other instances, the columns were completely white and only the titles of the articles could be read, or just the front page of the paper.<sup>55</sup> Certain numbers which had a third of their contents struck out in white colour were also quite usual.<sup>56</sup>

At the beginning of 1909 two editors – Ostoja Jugović and Aleksandar Omčikus – were tried for publishing, or rather reprinting an interview of Miroslav Spalajković, the then minister of foreign affairs of Serbia, which initially appeared in *Pester Lloyd*, and then in the *Samouprava* from Belgrade, where he gave his opinion on the annexation.<sup>57</sup> Regardless of the presented evidence, Jugović was sentenced to a year of prison and was subsequently supposed to be expelled. After the reaction of the public, the indictment against Omčikus was withdrawn,<sup>58</sup> and Jugović’s sentence was decreased to six months of prison for “disturbing public peace and order”.<sup>59</sup> Such trials of the Austrian judicial system often caused the consternation of the public, but were also a reason to show professional solidarity. On this trial, the Sarajevo journal *Musavat* published a short comment: “We do not have any words on these sentences – because we are not

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of Bosnia and Herzegovina, accompanied by police officers.” – *Srpska riječ*, br. 81, 10/23 April/10 June 1908. *Petar Taletov* was shortly the president of the Serb journalist association in 1921, a correspondent of *Tribune* before the war and its editor after it, the editor of the radical paper *Novi život*, chief of politburo (1926) and the journalist of the *Avala* news agency.

<sup>54</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 151, 12/25. 7. 1908, no 191, 30. 8. 1908, 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 156, 18/31. 7. 1908; The second special issue number 199, on two sheets, was completely white along with the front page. – *Srpska riječ*, no 199, 10/23. 9. 1908.

<sup>56</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 211, 24. 9/7. 10. 1908, 1; no 212, 25. 9/8. 10. 1908; no 214, 6/19. 10. 1908, 2.

<sup>57</sup> According to *Srpska riječ* Spalajković, among other things, stated “that Serbia will not want the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina be pushed into any kind of calamity on the account of complications and battles ...” – *Srpska riječ*, no 8, 1909.

<sup>58</sup> In that interview, Spalajković claimed “that the annexation is not a completed act and that it did not seal the fate”. On this occasion “there was a storm in the Austrian and Hungarian press. Even *Pester Lloyd* published two articles proving that this sentence was unfounded. Apart from that, the parliaments also debated this sentence.” – Dimović, Danilo. *Iz mojih uspomena, Bosanska štampa za vreme aneksijske krize* - NUBiH, Odjeljenje rijetkih knjiga i rukopisa, Građa, dok.br. 870. In the “spontaneous farewell” Omčikus was followed by “a significant number of young Serbs and Croats” to the station from where he left Sarajevo in order to “finish his legal studies on one of the western universities.” – *Srpska riječ*, no 73, 3/16. 4. 1910, 3.

<sup>59</sup> “The editor in chief of *Srpska riječ* sentenced again” – *Srpska riječ*, no 29, 8/21. 2. 1909, 3.

allowed to have them".<sup>60</sup> The public reaction though rarely changed anything, and the editors continued to be prosecuted.<sup>61</sup>

Confiscations were another measure directed against the disobedient press, and by July of 1908 a number of 69 confiscations took place, and *Srpska riječ* experienced this on the day of the annexation.<sup>62</sup>

However, the people's tribune Petar Kočić and his associates were treated even worse, and were sentenced to solitary confinement because of the article *The Smell of Gunpowder* published in *Otadžbina* (Eng. *Homeland*) in Banja Luka, which proclaimed resistance to the annexation. This text was considered to be a reflection of the general feeling of the Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so the Austrian authorities reacted swiftly to it, with trials against the editorial board. Kočić spent the whole of 1908 condemned as a traitor in the prisons of Banja Luka and Tuzla, and the sentenced editorial board was transferred to Arad after this affair and the trial.<sup>63</sup> The editor Janković was sentenced to nine years of prison. This was *Otadžbina's* end in Banja Luka and this paper belongs to a group of journals which were prohibited, shut down, and then later own re-established after the proclamation of the Constitution and the opening of Parliament.<sup>64</sup>

In the beginning of 1909 *Srpska riječ* published an illustrative balance of the way that the *Law on press* affected them.

There were 316 hearings, trials and sentences proclaimed against our editors... Throughout the year there was not one single day in the solitary confinement cell of the regional court that at least one of our editors did not spend there, and not only to serve a sentence, but also during the hearings and investigations. Sometimes, three of them would be there at the same time. Financial fines nearly amount to 20.000 crowns. But, it was not only our editors who bore the brunt of this. Our correspondents and associates were also sentenced, whereas the police expelled the factors and administrators, and all of the members of our committee of directors in Sarajevo are still under inves-

<sup>60</sup> In order to express their shock, the editorial board of *Musavat*, in a text titled *Heavy indictment*, bolded the following part of the text: "and **Omčikus to a year of heavy (!!!) solitary confinement, after which he is to be expelled from these lands.**" (bold in the original text – remark S.D.) – *Musavat*, no 4, 18/31. 1. 1909.

<sup>61</sup> The editor Veljko Petrović Somborac was also sentenced in 1911. – Ćorović, Vladimir. *Odnosi između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku*. Biblioteka grada Beograda. Beograd, 1936., 185. (Serbian Cyrillic).

<sup>62</sup> "The first confiscation in the constitutional era!", *Srpska riječ*, no 212, 25. 9/8. 10. 1908.

<sup>63</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 81, 151, 152, 156, 157, 191, 199, 1908.

<sup>64</sup> Kruševac, T. (1960.), 423.

tigation, and were forced to come to court either as witnesses or as accused. And our attorney was sentenced to pay a thousand crowns in fines. In the last period we have stopped writing articles. We have limited ourselves just to presenting facts and reproducing assertions of certain statesmen.<sup>65</sup>

The editorial board stopped commenting political events, and contributions about those topics were merely reprinted from other papers, mostly from *Pokret* (Eng. *Movement*) published in Zagreb.<sup>66</sup> For example, at the beginning of 1909 they reproduced texts titled *War is ready for spring* or *Serb preparations for war*,<sup>67</sup> whereas the constitutional and parliamentary year of 1910, along with the visit of Franz Joseph, completely “*shut down*” political topics, but “*opened*” a new column titled *Dry depredations*, which chronicled various injustices caused to Serbs in all areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The pressure of the authorities on the Serb press caused reactions of support from journalist circles, in the extent which was possible. So in November of 1906 the *Serb journalist association* organized a meeting in Belgrade which condemned the action of the Bosnian government which expelled the journalist Stijepo Kobasica, the editor of *Srpska riječ*, from Sarajevo. The most attention drew the affair *The Smell of Gunpowder*, and moved by these events in Bosnia and Herzegovina the 8<sup>th</sup> Pan Slavic journalist congress, held in Ljubljana from 25 to 27 August, published a *Resolution about journalistic circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina* which expresses “*sympathies towards their kin, against the Germanic oppression of Yugoslavs, especially the Serbs ... where the political government of the land persecutes even today – as has happened in Banja Luka – journalists, members of the editorial board, even typographers, bringing them to court martial, citing orders about the press from the military occupation of 1878*”. The Congress expressed solidarity and called on “*the duty of all members of the organization of Slavic journalists to dedicate special attention to the Banja Luka affair; thus acting and influencing all political circles to introduce normal press circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that those accused and sentenced in Banja Luka be set free*”. This resolution was unanimously proclaimed in Ljubljana on 28 August 1908.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 16, 24. 1/6. 2. 1909, 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Pokret* was a daily paper of the *Croatian people's progressive party*, and was published from 1904 to 1910. Among the many of its editors were Milan Heimrl, Većeslav Vilder, Ivan Lorović, Đuro Šurmin etc. The work of *Pokret* was continued by *Hrvatski pokret*.

<sup>67</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 1, 25, 1909.

<sup>68</sup> *Srpska riječ*, no 191, 30.8/12, 9.1908, 3.

The material damage that the owners of Serb journals had to suffer through paying of judicial costs was somewhat lessened by the subscribers who gave voluntary contributions, which was not viewed positively by the authorities,<sup>69</sup> but the financial aid was also collected by the organized émigrés.<sup>70</sup>

Solidarity was mutual, and the Serb press continued to inform their readers about the political events in the neighbourhood which were close and connected to the political reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1909 a lot of space was given to the "high treason process" in Zagreb, but also to the support of Slavic brothers who were unjustly sentenced.<sup>71</sup>

The trials against the editors and journalists were only a part of those political processes organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina which were mostly aimed against the educated layers, carried out on the accusation of high treason, of which from the annexation until the outbreak of the First World War there were 148.<sup>72</sup> This number is also made up of those sentences carried out during the Balkan wars, which is a separate chapter which still awaits its historiographical treatment.

The amount of repression expressed in the clash between the authorities and the journalists, as a manifestation of national movements, was equal to the

<sup>69</sup> Contributions were sent by the citizens of Sarajevo, but also subscribers from whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The benefactors were named in the paper. – Javna zahvalnost. Dobrovoljni prilozi Srpskoj riječi. – *Srpska riječ*, br. 25, 1909. Kosta Popović, the priest and national representative in Derвента was sentenced to 300 K for collecting contributions for *Srpska riječ*. – *Srpska riječ*, no 26, 1909, 3.

<sup>70</sup> "The Serbs of Los Angeles collected 232 crowns for *Srpska riječ*." – *Srpska riječ*, no 28, 1909, 4. "The Serbs of Chicago for *Srpska riječ*." The texts name the financial amounts of the contributions. – *Srpska riječ*, no 59, 1909, 2.

<sup>71</sup> The statement of the Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina against the high treason process in Zagreb – 20 April/3 May 1909. – The signatories from Sarajevo were: Gligorije M. Jeftanović, Risto Hadži Damjanović, Dimović, V. Andrić, Čedomir Babić, Aleksandar Besarović, Vojislav Besarović, Risto Bujak, Niko Vasiljević, Dr. Dimitrije Vasić, Risto Vuletić, Vasilje Grđić, Jovan Jevtić, Stevo Kaluđerčić, Marko Katić, Jovan Kreštalica, Dr. Savo Ljubiratić, Milan Mandić, Mirko Manojlović, Milorad Milunić, Niko Mitričević, Uroš Misita, Risto Novokmet, Risto Obradović, Aleksandar Omčikus, Drago Pamučina, Jovo Pešut, Đorđe Petrović, Nikola Pijuković, Vladimir Popadić, Miloš Popara, Maksim Prnjatović, Savo Skarić – Zembilječ., Stijepo Srškić, Vuko Starčević, Glišo Stojkanović, Nikola Stojkanović, Kosta Travanj, Danilo Trebić, Mihajlo Trebić, Đuro Ternčić, Jovan T. Ukropina, Vlado Čabaković, Risto Šušić. Apart from the named citizens of Sarajevo, the text also names other signatories from the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who "send their honest greetings to our brothers on the indictment bench". – *Srpska riječ*, no 85, 1909, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Mikić 1999: Mikić, Đorđe. "Veleizdajnički procesi u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini", in: M. Ekmečić, Đ. Mikić, D. Živojinović, N. B. Popović, *Politički procesi Srbima u Bosni i Hercegovini 1914-1917*. Grafomark. Laktaši, 1996., 55. (Serbian Cyrillic).



amount of potential danger and damage to the authority of the government, its exponents, institutions of power, danger to the social and state order of the Monarchy. It was also equal to the amount of attractive force that the institutions, groups or individuals – in this case the Serb press – had for their national community in the eyes of the government. After all the peace-time efforts of the authorities to control it, and the general rehearsal with the Balkan wars, the Great war brought about the ending of one conflict which was unavoidable and which stripped bare the conflicted sides. The Austro-Hungarian policy towards the Serb population, its intellectual leadership and the Serb press during the First World War was just a continuation of the policy directed by the relation of the strengthening of the Serb national movement in the Monarchy. The day after the assassination, the demonstrations first destroyed the Serb presses and the offices of the editorial boards of Serb papers,<sup>73</sup> intellectuals who worked as journalists were taken hostage, tried in high treason hearings, but all of this could not contain the processes of Serb national integration and the creation of the Yugoslav state which was followed by the contemporaneous breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

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<sup>73</sup> Trišić, Đ. Nikola. *Sarajevski atentat u svijetlu bibliografskih podataka*. Veselin Masleša. Sarajevo, 1960., 9.

Sali Kadria

Institute of History – Albanological Studies Academy  
Tirana, Albania

## AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AND ALBANIAN RELATIONS DURING THE WORLD WAR I

**Abstract:** This article focused on the policy pursued by Austro-Hungary towards Albanians during 1916-1918. It observes carefully the disputes between “civil” and “military” authorities about the political status of Albania throughout the war. The author analyzes special attention of Austro-Hungaria to the cultural and administrative development of the Albanian population as well as their opposition to any national political movement of Albanian nationalists disagreeing with Vienna political platform.

**Keywords:** *Austro-Hungaria, Albania, relations, August von Kral, cultural and administrative development, Albanian nationalists.*

### Introduction

The period of Austria-Hungarian occupation in Albania has attracted the attention of Albanian scholars for a long time. Generally, in these studies, scientific research has been mainly focused on the negative consequences of this occupation. Austro-Hungarian politics has been often seen simply as “invasive” or as a penetration of a protector-state toward the Catholic population in Albania. This research paper will treat whether the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation had a negative or even positive impact on the development of the political and socio-cultural rights of Albanians. It deals with the question whether building a public administration under the control of the Austro-Hungarian authorities helped the Albanians in building nation-state during later years. The paper tends to deter-

mine the factors affecting the interests and bilateral relations. Also, it addresses the attitude of the Austro-Hungarian authorities to any national political movement of Albanians disagreeing with their political platform.

## A Prelude to the Austro-Hungarian and Albanian Relations until 1916

The Austro-Hungarian interest about Albania and Albanians began at the Berlin Congress in 1878 and it became more active from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Austro-Hungary was directly involved into the Albanian affair when the Serbian government demonstrated its hegemonic ambitions to Albanian Adriatic coast during the Balkan War I. These circumstances led the Austro-Hungarian government to protect Albanians and their territory. In effect, by protecting Albanian interests they were protecting their own interests too. However, after the Ottoman defeat in late October-November 1912, Albanians relied on Austro-Hungary as remaining great power on their path towards national independence and sovereignty. The efforts made by Albanian nationalists and the support of Austro-Hungarian diplomats led to the Albanian declaration of Independence. During the proceedings of the Ambassadorial Conference in London (1912-1913), Austria-Hungary as the power had strengthened its support for the national interests of the Albanians. At this conference, it presented a draft proposal for the Albanian state borders, which included most of the ethnic areas inhabited by Albanians.<sup>2</sup>

Austria-Hungary supported Prince Wilhelm von Wied during his six month period on the throne of Albania. At the beginning of August 1914, the Austro-Hungarian government asked Prince to declare war on Serbia in return to the loan funds and the support to Albania. Since Prince of Albania rejected this offer, the Austro-Hungarian government decided to withdraw the support to the Prince. Thus, left without the support in Albania and from the main international allies, on September 3, 1914, Prince Wilhelm von Wied decided to leave Albania. Consequently, from September 1914 to December 1915 the internal riots in Albania spread like a wild fire and as such were strategically exploited by the neighbouring states.

At the beginning of World War I, about two years after Albania's Independence Declaration, Albania encountered numerous political, economic and social

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<sup>1</sup> Prela Z. 1965. 147, 152.

<sup>2</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AQSH. F. 591. D. 2/1. Telegram of Foreign Affairs Minister Berchtold to the Austro-Hungarian representative in London, Vienna, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1912.

challenges. Emerging turmoil resulted in the change of political and diplomatic attitude of the Great Powers of the two combatant blocs, which hesitated to grant the independence and territorial integrity to the Albanian state in accordance with the decisions of the Ambassadors Conference in London in 1913. During the negotiations between Italy and Austria-Hungary on April 8, 1915, Rome demanded from Vienna the transfer of full Italian sovereignty over Vlora and its surroundings. Meanwhile, Italy continued negotiations with the Entente's governments. The readiness of the Entente's states to satisfy Italian imperial hegemony led to the signing of a secret agreement in London on April 26, 1915, which violated the independence and territorial integrity of Albania. With this document, the Great Britain, France and Russia managed to persuade Italy to abandon its neutrality to become part of this bloc<sup>3</sup>.

On October 14, 1915, Bulgaria declared the war on Serbia, fading alongside the Powers of the Austro-German Bloc. Located between the two armies, in front of the Austro-Hungarian army and behind the Bulgarian one, the Serbian army broke down within a short period of time. After this, the Montenegrin army was also defeated and eventually capitulated.<sup>4</sup> During the cold winter of 1915/1916, the Serbian army of about 220,000 soldiers, along with members of the government and the royal court, accompanied by tens of thousands of civilians, withdrew toward the Albanian Adriatic coast<sup>5</sup>. During their withdrawal, through the Albanian territories, Serb soldiers and civilians were not attacked by the Albanians.

## The Meeting of the Council of Ministers

On January 7, 1916 at the meeting of the Council of Ministers the Austro-Hungarian government discussed the issue of Albania. Should the Albanian state still exist was one of the major topics at the meeting. Based on the strategic interests, the Austro-Hungarian government attempted to create a land corridor along the Adriatic and Sanjak of the Pazari i Ri (Novi Pazar), which would continue all the way through the Albanian territory. Furthermore, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Istvan Burian von Rajecz, expressed the view that Austro-Hungary should turn the Albanian state into an effective protectorate, especially with regards to political, economic and administrative oversight as to ensure state's stability, growth

<sup>3</sup> History of the Albanian People, vol. III, edition of the Academy of Sciences of Albania], Tiranë: Toena, 2007, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Çami M. 1987. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Božić I, Čirković S, Ekmečić M, Dedijer V. 1973. 390-391.

and development. Such model was supposed to be similar to the Russian protectorate on Bulgaria after the victory for autonomy in 1878.<sup>6</sup> Burian argued that Albania as an autonomous state under the Austro-Hungarian protectorate would embark on the path of viable development. On the contrary, the failure of establishing an effective protectorate in Albania could easily result in the partition of Albania between Austro-Hungary and Greece<sup>7</sup>.

The military wing and the Austro-Hungarian generals were more prone towards the full invasion of Albania and they categorically opposed the creation of an independent or autonomous Albanian state in the form of the protectorate. According to them, the Italians, the Greeks and especially the Bulgarians, states that had pretensions on the Albanian Adriatic coast, rejected to give up voluntarily Albanian occupied territories. They were persistent not to allow the creation of an independent Albanian state even at the expense of the war<sup>8</sup>. These reasons influenced the Austrian-Hungarian Staff Army Chief, Conrad von Hötzendorf to object openly the creation of an independent Albanian state. He was arguing for entire removal of Albania from the Balkan political map. He argued that “for Albania we cannot even break out a war, nor we will break it”. According to him, Albanians did not have homogeneity regarding their language, origin, and religious beliefs. The country was divided and the separation of Albanians in Tosk and Gegë was an important argument that it is almost impossible to create an independent and united state of Albania<sup>9</sup>. He thought that the northern part of the Albanian state had to be annexed by Austro-Hungary, the southern by Greece of King Constantine and a part of Albania should be given to Bulgaria<sup>10</sup>. Most of the participants in this meeting supported the idea of preserving the Albanian state, but with a condition of placing the state under the Austro-Hungarian protectorate.

The meeting of the Council of Ministers also addressed the issue of Albanian borders, especially in the form of the Austro-Hungarian supervision. Thus, Albanian eastern border was defined by the agreement with Bulgaria. Although Burian supported the preservation of the Albanian state, he argued that the southern parts of Albania should belong to Greece. Consequently, on May 23, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian government had promised the Greek government that in the case of war neutrality Greeks will be permitted to take the territories of their sphere of

<sup>6</sup> ÖUA. 358-360, 372.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 359.

<sup>8</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH. Vj. 26-17-1727. Secret instruction of the Austro-Hungarian Army Command Chief to the Command of 19<sup>th</sup> military Corps, Teschen, April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>9</sup> ÖUA. 372, 380.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, 371-372, 376-381.

interest in Albania. As an exchange of this concession, Burian proposed that the Albanian state should be compensated with the northern areas inhabited by ethnic Albanians, territories previously annexed by Serbia and Montenegro in 1913. With this step, he intended to attract the sympathy of the majority of Albanians, to weaken Serbian and Montenegrin position and to keep Greece as the key ally of the Austro-German bloc<sup>11</sup>. However, Burian's proposal did not find support from the attendees at the meeting. Under these circumstances, the Austro-Hungarian government accepted and maintained the borders of the Albanian autonomous state of 1913, but under the protectorate. The Austro-Hungarian government's position on the Albanian issue remained unchanged until the end of the war. For this reason, Austro-Hungarian authorities opposed any national political movement of Albanians disagreeing with their political platform<sup>12</sup>.

## Austro-Hungarian and Albanian Relations (1916–1918)

On January 23, 1916, Austro-Hungarian armies entered the outskirts of Shkodra by taking control of fortified places<sup>13</sup>. Prior to entering Albania, the Austro-Hungarians issued an announcement stating that they came to Albania as friends of Albanians to expel Serbs and Italians. Therefore, they called on all Albanians to support their presence and role in Albania. On January 28, 1916, an Albanian political group consisting of influential personalities in the country, such as Preng Bibë Doda, Seit Pasha, Fejzi Alizoti, Luigj Gurakuqi and Aqif Pasha Elbasani, made an announcement, asking the Albanians to welcome Austrian forces as liberators. They articulated an idea that Austro-Hungary defended the Albanian question at the London Ambassadors Conference and its forces liberated Albanians from their Serbian-Montenegrin occupation.

Senior Austro-Hungarian military leaders were concerned about the advancement of Bulgarian forces in the eastern part of Albanian-inhabited areas as well as their efforts to experiment with the formation of an Albanian government with no influential Albanian political elites. The Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs urged its representative in Sofia to forward the clear message to the Bulgarian government that Austro-Hungary “the same as before, was adhered to the viewpoint to create an autonomous Albania, preferably based on its ethnic

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 362-363, 367, 370-371.

<sup>12</sup> Çami M. 1987. 256.

<sup>13</sup> “Austrija n’Shkoder”, [Austria in Shkoder], at *Besa Shqiptare* [“Albanian sworn oath” newspaper], No. 7, Shkodër, January 1916, p. 1; Nikaj P. Ndoc. 1917. 212.

borders”<sup>14</sup>. Due to Bulgarian pressure, the Austro-Hungarian troops managed to occupy Albania from Shkodra to the Vjosa River in Central Southern Albania within a short time.

Well-known Austro-Hungarian diplomat D. Thurn recommended the Foreign Affairs Minister to send General Counsel August Ritter von Kral to Albania, arguing that he was one of the best experts in the Albanian affairs<sup>15</sup>. After taking over the administrative position in Albania, A. Kral requested the Austro-Hungarian government to implement a project he had devised for Albania. The essence of this project was based on modern and a “common administrative” system of governance. He also proposed the establishment of a “Second instance” Albanian Administrative Council in Shkodra. The central Albanian administration in Shkodra under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Superior Command in Albania was based on three main directorates: the General Directorate of Finance, the General Directorate of Education and the General Directorate of Justice<sup>16</sup>. He argued that the country had to be administratively divided into three bezirke (Districts) and an appeal court.

The Austro-Hungarian authorities gave Albanians political and socio-cultural rights, including the Albanian national flag, the use of Albanian language in administration and the appointment of Albanian officials. However, the most remarkable achievement was the establishment of a centralized administration system in Albania. The administration in all the ethnic Albanian regions under the Austro-Hungarian authority was comprised of Albanian officials. Local administration employees were subjected to quality selection criteria. The main criterion for hiring public officials was the educational level and their ability to write and read the Albanian language fluently<sup>17</sup>. During this period, the Albanian administration had a standardized model on how to formulate and present official documents<sup>18</sup>. Building a regular public administration under Austro-Hungarian control helped the Albanians in later years to build a nation-state based on the

<sup>14</sup> HHSStA. PA. A. at AIH. Vj. 26-7- 737. Ciphred and very reserved telegram of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Austro-Hungarian representative in Sofia, Tarnovski, Vienna, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-18- 1816. Telegram no. 107 of Count Thurn to Count Staphan von Burian, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1916.

<sup>16</sup> Alizoti F. 2012. 101-102.

<sup>17</sup> AQSH, F. 271, D. 8, fl. 5. Letter from the General Directorate of Finance to the Finance Office in Elbasan, Shkodër, November 2<sup>nd</sup> 1917.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, F. 235, D. 11, fl. 1. Letter from the General Directorate of Finance to the Finance Office in Kruja, Shkodra, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1916.

Western model. Consequently, the positive influence that Austro-Hungary has done during the years of its presence in Albania contributed towards the strengthening of Albanian sovereignty and a common national conscience.

In February 1916, the Albanian nationalists introduced an idea of organizing a national congress. This convention made the following decisions: 1. To invite the Albania's Prince of German descent Wilhelm von Wied to Albania's throne; 2. To form a national government of Albania. Ahmet Zogu, who became one of the most popular political figures in Albania in the 1920s-1930s, was one of the main protagonists of these ideas. In the course of developing national project Ahmet Zogu and other nationalists hoped that since the Austro-Hungarian government had supported Prince Wied, it would not refuse to restore it back to the throne of Albania<sup>19</sup>. Also, Albanian nationalists thought that with the formation of the national government, the Austro-Hungarian authorities would accept it as the only governing authority of Albania<sup>20</sup>. In spite of what was expected, the Consul General, Kral, called on the Austro-Hungarian troops command in Albania to "order the ban on congress, taking into account the curfew state and the order to ban the political meetings". General Kral doubted that this initiative of Albanian nationalists was only aimed at Albania's independence but on the contrary it aimed at hegemonic unification of all ethnic Albanians<sup>21</sup>. These initiatives of the Albanian nationalists contradicted the political platform of the Austro-Hungarian government.

In March 1916, the Austro-Hungarian authority announced a new administrative arrangement, according to which the territory of Albania was divided into four districts. These administrative districts were placed under the command of the Austro-Hungarian Army. On April 1, 1916, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian troops in Albania, Ignaz Trollmann, announced the deployment of military administration to occupied territories in Albania<sup>22</sup>. Military leaders urged Albanian nationalists to abandon any political initiative for Albania, as the country was under the military occupation. This move shook the foundations of the Albanian and Austria-Hungarian relations<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH. Vj. 26-6-620. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Shkodra, March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1916.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-18-1850. Annex to the report no. 16 / pol. of the Imperial and Royal Command Station in Elbasan, Shkodra, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1916.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-6-635. Cypher telegram of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Shkodra, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>22</sup> Nosi L. 2007. 253-254.

<sup>23</sup> Swire J. 2005. 216.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs functionaries and the command chiefs of the Austro-Hungarian Army arrived at a “modus vivendi” with regards to the future of the Albanian question. Both sides agreed “to suspend plans for the establishment of an occupation administration in Albania”. The interim civilian administration of the occupied territory of Albania would remain under the military command. They also decided that the Consul General Kral should be charged with the duty of the Civil Commissar for transferring the command of the Austro-Hungarian Army in Albania to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The purpose of the Austro-Hungarian military administration in Albania was to achieve two main objectives. To carry out diplomatic, political, administrative and civil activities in the favor of the country to win the sympathy of Albanians and at the same time not to hurt the feelings of Slavic people within its territories<sup>24</sup>.

Austria-Hungary paid special attention to the cultural development of the Albanian population. Officials from the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs thought that the development of the Albanian language was of primary importance and that is why significant support was extended to the publishing of books and the Albanian press. This Ministry took over the subsidies of several newspapers in Albanian, such as the “Vëllazënjia” (Brotherhood) published in Vienna and “Post of Albania” published in Shkodër. For instance, the Foreign Affairs Ministry with the help of the military command distributed to the Albanians about 300 copies of the “Vëllazënjia” newspaper<sup>25</sup>.

During the school year of 1916/1917, the Austro-Hungarian authorities made primary school education compulsory for children 7 to 12 years old. In 1917 in Albania there were 224 primary schools opened<sup>26</sup>. Then, 84 Albanian boys and girls were sent to study at Austria-Hungarian universities<sup>27</sup>. In 1917, a course for

<sup>24</sup> Vlora S. 2013. 163.

<sup>25</sup> HHSStA. PA. A. at AIH, Vj. 26-20- 2012. Letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Austro-Hungarian Consul Kral in Shkodra, Vienna, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1916; Ibidem, Vj. 26-19-1973. Letter of A. Rappaport to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna, September 29<sup>th</sup> 1916.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-1-108. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul, Kral on the Education of Albania in April 1917, Shkodra, June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917; “Lajme vendit. Kshilli shkolluer i Shkoders” [Country News. School Council of Shkodra] at *Posta e Shqypniës* [“Post of Albania” newspaper], No. 33. Shkodër. March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1917. p. 3-4; “Kumtim. Detyra e të ndjekunit të shkollës. Drejtorija e Arsimit të Shkodrës, nr. 713/1” [Proclamation No. 713/1. The task of attending the school. Directorate of Education in Shkodra], at *Posta e Shqypniës* [“Post of Albania” newspaper], No. 78, Shkodër, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1918, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> “Djelmt shqyptarë n’Kadetenxhule” [Albanian guys in military schools], at *Posta e Shqypniës* [“Post of Albania” newspaper], No. 79, Shkodër, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1917, p. 3; “Lajme vendit. Zansa shqyptarë n’Monarkië” [Country News. Albanian students in Monarchy], at *Posta e Shqypniës* [“Post of Albania” newspaper], nr. 87, Shkodër, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917, p. 3.

reserve officers was opened in Shkodër for 80 young Albanians. After finishing this school, 46 of them were sent to military high schools in Austria-Hungary to be purposefully trained as military officers. This group of military officers constituted an important contingent for running Albanian military formations while a part of them was engaged in civil services<sup>28</sup>.

Another achievement in the field of education was the establishment of primary schools in Albanian-inhabited territories in Montenegro and Kosovo. At the proposal of the Civilian Commissioner August Ritter von Kral and with the consent of the Supreme Military Command, an “Albanian Literary Commission” was established in Shkodra, which was in charge of laying down the foundations of a standardized Albanian language. The Commission was also in charge of monitoring literary usage of language, spelling, and word creation as well as publishing and proofreading books and textbooks in Albanian language<sup>29</sup>. The Commission decided that the standardized Albanian language should be based on the dialect of Elbasan, which was a city in the Central Albania.

Civilian leaders at the Command of Corps XIX in Albania argued that the best approach for strengthening the Austrian influence in Albania was through socio-economic change and development. There was the need for the improvement of the economic conditions of the Albanian population in general and of the common people in the rural areas in particular. They felt that economic development would bring about the modernization of Albania’s social life. Kral was of the opinion that economic development could be achieved through the investment of Austro-Hungarian companies, the presence of banks with their capital for the establishment of the bank in Albania, the purchase of real estate by Austro-Hungarian citizens and the use of raw materials of this country by the Austrian industry<sup>30</sup>.

Albanian relations with Austro-Hungarian military authorities remained relatively good. At the beginning of the occupation, Albania’s population had big expectations from the Austro-Hungarian regime. Since Austro-Hungary was a developed country the similar model was expected to be introduced in Albania. However, soon after the occupation these and similar expectations began to fade away. The Austro-Hungarian administration not only began to be called “bad” but on the contrary “it was worse than the administration of Turkey”. Albanians

<sup>28</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH. Vj. 27-10-1013. Secret report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1917.

<sup>29</sup> Gurakuqi K. 1941. 15; Elsie R. 1997. 285.

<sup>30</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH, Vj. 26-7-755. Secret report of General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which contains the economic proposals that the Command of 19<sup>th</sup> Corps addresses to the Command of the Army, Shkodra, May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1916.

were constructively critical towards the Austro-Hungarian administration. They argued that: the Austro-Hungarian administration was bureaucratic, slow and ineffective; there was no harmonious relationship between local administrations; there was no equal treatment of income among the country's administrative districts; and the way of the disarmament process of the Albanians, created a bad impression among Albanians<sup>31</sup>. In addition, some other factors included forcible housing of Austro-Hungarian soldiers in Albanian homes, the ruthless military punishment of the army against Albanian population groups, the forceful containment of domestic products or their purchase with banknotes, and not in precious coins by the Austrian authorities were actions that did not match the mentality of the Albanians of that time. When the Austro-Hungarian troops entered Albania, a high price rise of food products was noted, which hampered the economic situation of Albanians<sup>32</sup>.

The Austro-Hungarian diplomats thought that "the responsibility for the excitement of Albanians had to fall on the military authorities" in Albania<sup>33</sup>. They estimated that the best way for military troops to increase their influence was to "be led by the same pro-Albanian principles as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", relying on the ability and co-operation offered by the Consul Kral<sup>34</sup>. Meanwhile, the High command of Austro-Hungarian army was of the opinion that the creation of "the unity of Albania" through the establishment of Austrian patronage was of no political significance as the country was occupied by four states that had different purposes regarding the future of Albania<sup>35</sup>.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared themselves against the military operations that were undertaken in July 1916 in a northern province of Albania. The military command in Albania had engaged in these operations, Albanian troops from the Catholic district of Mirdita. Of these military actions, around 100 Albanians were killed while the Albanian Catholic forces used this case to commit acts of robbery against residents of the neighbouring province belonging to

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-19-1921. Relation no. 75 on the situation in the Central Albania from the Imperial and Royal Command Office in Elbasan, Elbasan, June 3, 1916.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-17-1794. Secret letter of the Consul Kral to the Consul General A. Rappaport at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Shkodra, September 29, 1916.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-19-1936. Order no. 2313 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to D. Thurn, Vienna, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-11-1187. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-4- 437. Report of D. Thurn to Baron I. von Burian, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Teschen, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

the Muslims<sup>36</sup>. Austro-Hungarian troops were accused of infidelity by Albanians after executing nearly 27 Albanian captives, who were alleged for attempting to escape along the way to Shkodër city<sup>37</sup>. However, the Austro-Hungarian military executives also executed four Albanian officers in Fier, accusing them as enemy collaborators. The truth was that they had contradicted Austro-Hungarian officers on how to handle Albanian volunteer forces<sup>38</sup>. Terror exercised by the Austro-Hungarian army in Albania sparked “a cooling against the Monarchy” to Albanian nationalists. Among them circulated the opinion that the Austro-Hungarian army had killed the innocent Albanian people. With these actions, the army was turning Albanians from an allied nation of dualist monarchy, to its determined opponent.

In August 1916, the aggravation of relations between Albanians and Austro-Hungarian army forces reached the boiling point. According to the estimates of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry “if no rapid measures are taken, it is necessary to calculate the possibility that Albanians will rise up against us and take the side of our enemies”. The chiefs of this department considered that the main causes were related to the negative statements of military officers. The military administration continued to adhere to the view that Albania was an occupied enemy country and not a friendly country; the military authorities in Albania continued to look despised by the national and religious peculiarities of the Albanian population<sup>39</sup>.

The heads of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested the Army General Staff to replace the commander of the Austro-Hungarian forces in Albania and to expand the competencies of the civilian commissar in Albania. Military commanders stated that “the beautiful words of Albanians should not be trusted, as many of them are now with us now, only we have the power”<sup>40</sup>. In fact, after September 1916, the Consul General, Kral, expanded his field of action in Albania, becoming the main leader of the political, financial, justice and education

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-17-1797. Secret report of General Consul Kral to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Baron Burian, Shkodra, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-11-1195. Report very reserved of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Austro-Hungarian representative D. Thurn, Vienna, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-17-1193. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-19-1937. Very reserved letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to its representative F. Wiesner at the Austro-Hungarian Army Chief Headquarters in Teschen, Vienna, August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-11-1200. Report of Army 19<sup>th</sup> Corps command, signed by feldmarschall I. Trollmann, Shkodra, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

administration. His goal was to establish the Civilian Administration in Albania as an independent body from the country's military administration<sup>41</sup>.

The officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary argued for much more proactive policy in Albania. According to them, national feelings had to be strengthened among Albanians. The support of the national interests of Albanians aimed to maintain their sympathy for Austria-Hungary, so that the Albanians would not go to the side of Entente bloc, and especially Italy<sup>42</sup>. In a report written by General Consul, Kral, for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was stated that ensuring the friendship and support of the Albanians was of great importance for the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The departure of Austro-Hungary from the Albanians in the Balkans would enable Italy to implement the irredentism recipe in Albania through the Italo-Albanians in Calabria and Sicily. The abandonment of a friendly foreign policy with the Albanians built for years meant for the Austrian diplomatic authorities to abandon an old road without being still sure of the possibility of moving to a new road<sup>43</sup>.

On December 9, 1916, an important meeting was held between the Austro-Hungarian Army Staff Chiefs and the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Austro-Hungarian Army Staff Headquarter. The meeting projected the conclusion that the Austro-Hungarian government should order its army in Albania to declare to the Albanian people that it was in favor of "its autonomy in the future". However, the military chiefs opposed the idea of enlargement of the functions of the civilian commissar, Kral, equating his position with those of civilian commissars in the neighbouring countries<sup>44</sup>.

## Austro-Hungarian's policy towards religions in Albania

The Austro-Hungarian occupation authorities in Albania followed a moderate policy towards multi-religious population. In July 1916, a *fetva* (religious document of the Muslim religion) issued by Sheikh-Ul-Islam in Istanbul, required that

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-11-1193. Telegram of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-16-1653. Personal letter of Baron Alexander von Musulin to F. von Wiesner, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-2-255. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-12-1216. Report of A. Rappaport to the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral in Shkodra, Vienna, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

all Muslim Albanians, based on patriotic and religious sentiments should obey the military and civilian Austro-Hungarian authorities<sup>45</sup>. The military command of the 19<sup>th</sup> Corps ordered that the forces of the Albanian militia that comprised of Albanians of Muslim faith should be located in the provinces with Muslim population, while the Catholic ones in the provinces with population of Catholics. This was done in order to avoid any possible religious incidents and clashes<sup>46</sup>.

Despite the moderate attitude of Austro-Hungarian authorities, the Albanians of the Muslim faith perceived and felt that Austro-Hungarian authorities favored Catholic Albanians. They feared that Muslim Albanians could become a depressed element in Albania. Indeed, in spite of any disconnected case of support for Catholics, the administration of the Dual Monarchy had learned lessons from the events of 1914 in Albania. It was clear that any government, which wished to harvest continuous victories and gain the confidence of the local population, or at least of its majority, should be absolutely impartial, honest, and fair and treat all parties equally<sup>47</sup>. On the contrary, if one step was taken to favor one of the religious beliefs in the country, it could have fatal consequences for Albania's political direction by Austria-Hungary.

During the fall of 1916, the Muslim population of Shkodra made demonstrations against the Austro-Hungarian military authorities for exclusively supporting the Albanian Catholics. The demonstrators were questioning arrests of Muslims by the monarchy troops<sup>48</sup>. During this period, the rivalry between the Catholic and Muslim population of the city of Shkodra was ignited. In fostering inter-religious rivalry among the Albanians, there was the Turkish propaganda, which was run by the Ottoman military commission and a number of traders. Propagandists said that "Albania should be declared as independent principedom in a short period of time" presided over by a Turkish prince, alluding to Burhanedin, a Prince from Ottoman dynasty. This propaganda found support and it took roots, especially among craftsmen and traders who intended to cancel the compulsory measures applied by the Austro-Hungarian administration for their products

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-15-1555. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-9-934. A secret and very urgent letter of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Army Staff Command Headquarter, Teschen, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-9-925. Very reserved report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to Foreign Affairs minister, Otokar Czernin, Shkodra, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-18-1802. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

and goods<sup>49</sup>. Austro-Hungarian authorities feared that Muslim Albanians could become part of a Pan-Islamic propaganda, which aimed at uniting all Muslims against the Catholic element<sup>50</sup>.

There were several incidents that affected religious harmony between the inhabitants of Shkodra city. Establishing the foundation stone of a Catholic church near Buna (Bojana) River in Shkodra affected the Catholics and Muslims relations in this city. Consul Kral said that it was not right that “for the pleasure of Catholics” the military authorities allowed the beginning of the construction of new churches in Shkodër, Berat and Elbasan, while the construction work on damaged mosques for Muslim residents had not yet begun. Moreover, he accused military authorities for permitting the site of church building to be settled in the vicinity of the mosques or on the *waqf* property; actually the cities with small Catholic population. Actions of this nature were expected to fuel the dissatisfaction of the Muslim population<sup>51</sup>.

The headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian Army based in Shkodra called for the inclusion of Mufti Head Office within the “Reis-ul-Ulema of Sarajevo” as well as to invite Bosnian *imams* to Albania. The military authorities thought that among the Albanian Muslim population “for a long time, there were signs of dissatisfaction and distrust ahead of the sovereignty of our authorities”<sup>52</sup>. Consul Kral opposed this proposal and demanded an appointment of an Albanian Head Mufti in the Albanian territories under the occupation of Austria-Hungary after the approval of Sheikh-ul-Islam in Istanbul<sup>53</sup>. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Burian, supported the position of Consul Kral against the military project. Austro-Hungarian diplomats stated that the religious community in Albania had to be treated as completely and permanently independent of the Ottoman Empire. However, the Viennese government did not support the idea of appointing a local Head Mufti, since it was not in the interests of Austro-Hungary and Albania<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-5-529. Very reserved report of Anton von Storck to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Baden, December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-9-926. Annex to the report no. 193 / Pol. of the Command of Shkodra Bezirk, Shkodër, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-7-789. Very confidential report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-1-173. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, August 11<sup>st</sup>, 1916.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 26-1-173. Ciphred telegram of the Foreign Minister, I. Burian to the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral in Shkodra, Vienna, August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1916.

The most serious inter-religious incident occurred on March 1, 1918 in the city of Shkodra. At the door of the main mosque of Shkodra city, a dead pig was found whose blood had been splashed at the doorstep. After this provocative act, the Council of the Mufti Office said that “the Muslim population, even in the case of the worst excesses in the future, will use the defence means that respond to civilization”. At the same time, they stated that “if the perpetrators will not be punished severely...the Muslim population will consider this act as a testimony that their sacred religious rights do not enjoy protection...”<sup>55</sup>. Military executives hindered Consul Kral’s inquiries to identify the culprits of the incident at the mosque of Shkodra city. They stated that “the direction of the work in Albania was in the hands of the chief of the army and not of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs”. The deterrence of investigative actions occurred because military officers had a profound disdain for Albanians and especially for Muslim Albanians. A part of Austro-Hungarian officers dreamed of returning Muslim Albanians to the Christian faith.

The Catholic Albanians expected much more from the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Albania, because of shared religious beliefs. They expressed uneasiness when the Consul Kral during the exercise of his duty protected the interests of the Muslim Albanians. Catholic Albanians complained that the Austro-Hungarian civil administration preferred more the Albanian Muslim element. Because of the previous collaboration with the Italians, the leader of the Catholic province of Mirdita, Preng Bibë Doda, was not preferred among the authorities of the Austro-Hungarian military administration<sup>56</sup>. The difficult economic situation and the removal of Preng Bibë Dodë from the task of the kajmekam in Puka province, irritated residents of the province of Mirdita who opposed the Austro-Hungarian administration. Seeing the gap that existed in relations between civil and military authorities, Catholic Albanians sent a petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna against the civilian commissar August Ritter von Kral. They complained that there was a preference for Muslim Albanians in appointments to the local administration. They accused the civil authorities of having opened 134 schools in Central Albania, mostly inhabited by Muslims, while in “Northern Albania nothing was done yet”. The Civil Commissar, Kral, was accused of not paying due attention to the Catholic clergy and of not cooperating with them. For these reasons, the complaint ended, “the [Catholic] clergy is losing its influence and prestige, to great disadvantage of religion and of the Monarchy”<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-7-794. Article of the monthly magazine “Our Lady of Shkodra, Light of Albania”, July 1918, written by the Mufti Head Vehbi Dibra, Shkodra, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1918.

<sup>56</sup> Alizoti F. 2012. 104.

<sup>57</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH, Vj. 27-8- 852. Letter no. 113 of the Austro-Hungarian General Command in Shkodra to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1917.



The civilian authorities of the administration in Albania argued that the Catholic clergy exaggerated the situation. They were proudly displaying some sense of victory over Muslim Albanians. At the same time, Albanian Muslim clerics felt insulted because if during the previous official visits, state authorities gave priority to the Muslim clergy after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the priority had passed over to the Catholic clergy. In Albanian festive occasions, Austro-Hungarian officials went to the Catholic Cathedral earlier and then visited the mosque. In order to avoid possible disputes between the two religious faiths regarding the priority, the Austro-Hungarian military authorities decided that in case of official expectations, "the clergy of all faiths would appear before the commander of the corps". However, in the first case, this kind of ceremony caused a tempest of anger among the Catholic bishops, as these authorities had to give up from the common official receptions<sup>58</sup>.

On January 28, 1917, the high commander in Albania announced the Proclamation stating that Austro-Hungary had always tried to preserve the entirety of Albania. The military authorities promised Albanians that once the right conditions were created, Austro-Hungary plan to give up self-government to Albanians<sup>59</sup>. According to the Proclamation, Austro-Hungary would fully respect the religion, language, rights and customs of the Albanian people. It would give to Albanians a regular administration, which would guarantee the security of the people, the honor and their property. The leaders of the Austro-Hungarian state expected the progress of the Albanian nation. Most of the Albanian population hosted this proclamation with indifference, but it paved the way for the national propaganda activity of Albanian patriots<sup>60</sup>. In 1917, an Albanian delegation went to Vienna to urge the Austro-Hungarian Emperor to grant autonomy, but the situation remained unchanged<sup>61</sup>.

Clashes between "civil" and "military" authorities continued throughout the war. In early 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked to expand the powers of the civilian commissar, according to the Belgrade model<sup>62</sup>. August Ritter

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-7-789. Very confidential report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 27-8-819. Ciphered telegram of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1917; Swire J. 2005. 218.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem Vj. 27-6-610. Raport of the Bezirk Command V. E. V, (Feldmarschall Braun) to the Command of 19<sup>th</sup> Corps, Tirana, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

<sup>61</sup> Swire J. 2005. 218.

<sup>62</sup> HHStA. PA. A. at AIH, Vj. 28-6-647, Statement on the issue of establishing a general military government in Albania, January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

von Kral presented two proposals. First, he requested that the provincial civilian commissar should lead all civil administration and his post to be separated from the duties charged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Secondly, if his military superiors did not accept this proposal, then he suggested “to cut off the entire administration of Albania from Corps command and depend exclusively on civilian bodies under the direction and responsibility of the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs”<sup>63</sup>. Since the military authorities proposed his deployment under the military authorities in Albania, the General Consul, Kral, demanded his resignation of the provincial civilian commissar which he had held until then<sup>64</sup>, but this request was not accepted by his superiors.

Albanians urged the Austro-Hungarian government to take over Albania’s defence and “to strive for the establishment of the natural ethnographic boundaries of Albania”<sup>65</sup>. Between the command of Austro-Hungarian troops in Albania and the civilian commissar, Kral, continued to have deep divergences. For this reason, at the end of September 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and military commanders agreed to split the post to the Provincial Civilian Commissar in Albania by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Baron Gyula Bornemisza was assigned to the office of the General Consul, while Kral remained in that of the Civilian Commissar<sup>66</sup>.

These changes in the way of administration of the country were realized in the conditions of the withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian troops from Albania. Taking into account the general state of the country, it was decided that the Austro-Hungarian troops would be withdrawn from a part of Albania to the Shkodër - Pejë (Peć) line. At the end of September 1918, the background administration began to quench. The Austro-Hungarian families of high official serving in Albania as well as some senior Albanian military officials were asked if they wanted to retreat from Albania. On October 1, 1918, German and Austrian forces were ordered to withdraw northward from Macedonia, while the main representatives of the Austro-Hungarian administration remained in Shkodër<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-2-231. Chief of Military Staff report - Chief of General Staff addressed to Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Burian von Rajecz, A. O. K, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-2-256. Report of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-4-492. Cyphered telegram of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Shkodra, February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-2-228. Cyphered telegram of the Foreign Affairs Minister, I. Burian to the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Baron Bornemisza, Vienna, September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, Vj. 28-2-222. Cyphered telegram of Foreign Affairs Ministry to Consul Lejhanec in Shkodra as well as to Count Trautmansdorff in Baden, Vienna, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

Most Albanians held an indifferent attitude towards withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian troops. Only the Albanian nationalists group and the middle class of the country began to express regret. The poorer strata of the Albanian society welcomed their departure, because the harsh measures of the Austro-Hungarian military authorities had created dissatisfaction among them<sup>68</sup>. On October 9, 1918, Albania's territories were temporarily included within the General Government of Montenegro. With the withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian troops from Albania, Montenegrin troops entered in Shkodra on October 30, 1918 under the command of Colonel G. Ristić<sup>69</sup>.

## Conclusions

1. During 1916-1918, the Austro-Hungarian government decided to keep Albania as an autonomous state under its protectorate. An Albanian nationalist group articulated an idea that Austro-Hungary defended the Albanian question.
2. In general, the relations between Austro-Hungarian military authorities and Albanians remained relatively good throughout the war. However, soon after the occupation the Albanians' expectations began to fade away gradually.
3. The Austro-Hungarian diplomat August Ritter von Kral played an important role in Albania during 1916-1918. He established the central Albanian administration based in Shkodra under the control of the Austro-Hungarian authorities.
4. The Austro-Hungarian authorities gave Albanians political and socio-cultural rights. Building a regular public administration under Austro-Hungarian control helped the Albanians in later years to build a nation-state based on the Western model.
5. The Austro-Hungarian authorities applied a moderate attitude towards multi-religious population in Albania.
6. The Albanian nationalists group and the middle class of the country expressed regret towards withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian troops, but the poorer strata of the Albanian society held an indifferent attitude or welcomed their departure, because the harsh measures of the Austro-Hungarian military authorities had created dissatisfaction among them.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem. Vj. 28-8-816. Telegram of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul Kral to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shkodra, October 8, 1918.

<sup>69</sup> Alizoti F. 2012. 107.

# ČLANCI

HISTORIJSKA DEMOGRAFIJA



Muhidin Pelesić

University of Sarajevo – Institute for history  
Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## ISELJAVANJE BOŠNJAKA IZ DRUŠTVA-MATICE U DRUŠTVO-UTOČIŠTA

(Imena i brojevi)

**Apstrakt:** Studija je zamišljena i realizirana tako da ponudi varijaciju na temu povezivanja historiografije sa historijskom demografijom. Povezivanje ovih znanosti, njihovih vrijednosti i metodologija, rezultirat će formiranjem integralnog, naprednog sistema istraživanja, posebno manje poznatih i historijski kompliciranih demografskih problema. Ostvarenjem ovog cilja obje znanosti biće na dobitku: historiografija će posebno dobiti razvojni poticaj kroz memoriranje novih iskustava unutar demografske historije, kao legitimnog dijela proširenog i poboljšanog sistema historiografskih znanosti. Integriranje spomenutih znanosti i njihovih derivata na realizaciji zahtjevnih projekata bitno poboljšava kvalitete i trajnost rezultata istraživanja, njihovu znanstvenu i društvenu primjenjivost. To je tek uvod u provjere razvojnih mogućnosti Nove napredne historiografije (Nnh) u jednom segmentu inter-regionalnih, evroazijskih, migracija Bošnjaka u Osmansko carstvo za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije i uprave nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom.

**Gljučne riječi:** *Bošnjački muhadžiri, iseljenici, Bosna i Hercegovina, bosanski jezik u društvu-matici i društvu-utočištu, Osmansko carstvo, Austro-Ugarska, bajke o brojevima: milionmanije, efekat migracijske pračke*

**Abstract:** The study has been conceived and implemented in a manner that will create variations on linking historiography and historical demography. Linking these two sciences, as well as their values and

methodology, will result in the formation of an integral and advanced system of research, especially in the case of lesser known and historically complex demographic issues. With the fulfilment of this goal, both sciences will have certain benefits: historiography will now feature a development incentive through acquiring and obtaining new experiences within the demographic history, as a legitimate part of an expanded and improved system of historiographic sciences. Integrating the aforementioned sciences and their derivatives during the implementation of demanding projects will greatly improve the quality and durability of research, their scientific and social applicability. This is only an introduction in testing development opportunities of the New Advanced Historiography (NAH) in one segment dealing with the inter-regional and Euroasian migration of Bosniaks in the Ottoman Empire during the Austro-Hungarian occupation and governance of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Keywords:** *Bosnian Muhajiruns, emigrants, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian language in society in the country of origin and the country of asylum, Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian, Misunderstanding the data: million mania, the effect slippery slope of the migration*

## Pristup temi

Sve ljudske osobine teku čovjekom, od srca do uma, dvosmjerno sabirući u nje-mu ličnu i historiju njegove zajednice koje, skupa, upija jedinstvena, zajednička, historija čovječanstva. Povjerenje u vlastitu ljudskost uzdiže i pojedince i zajednice u neslućene visine plemenitosti i znanja. Sumnja u ljudskost, na drugoj strani, unižava i pojedince i zajednice i poništava njihove vrijednosti do krajnjih atavističkih sebičnosti, strahova, bestidnog neznanja i inada. Kada se dođe do te ivice, počinju unutarnji i vanjski sukobi, zločini, razaranja, progoni.

Slom otpora u bosanskohercegovačko-austrougarskom ratu 1878. godine, okupacija zemlje i, ovdje posebno posmatrano, iseljavanje Bošnjaka uzrokovali su u historiji tog i susjednih naroda ogromne promjene, čije se posljedice i danas osjećaju na balkanskom potkontinentu. Historiografija nije ostavila dovoljno kvalitetnih rezultata istraživanja ove teme. Može se kazati, da su preduzeta mjerenja i sondiranja historiografskog terena i da još traje kopanje temelja spomenute tematske zgrade u historiografskom megalopolisu. Nije nevažnim ni neprimijećenim na evroazijskom prostoru, tada niti danas, ocijenjeno iseljavanje Bošnjaka. Radi se o malom, ali čvrstom, za svoju zemlju do krajnjih granica izdržljivosti povezanom narodu. Takav, kakav je bio, dao je Osmanskom carstvu u četiri i po

stoljeća veliki broj graditelja i čuvara: učenjaka, umjetnika, državnika, vojnika.<sup>1</sup> I još više ljudi koji su svojim radom na zemlji, u zanatstvu, graditeljstvu, trgovini i u drugim važnim poslovima davali opskrbu naprijed spomenutima. Bez njihovog rada i truda, zajednica i njeni uglednici ne bi ni nastali ni opstali. Njihova imena i rodovi manje su isticali u historiografiji, ali nisu nepoznati ni zaboravljeni. Sačuvani dokumenti čuvaju priče i o njihovim životima. Kao svaki narod na svijetu, Bošnjaci su ostavili svoje tragove u historiji zemlje porijekla i u zemljama iseljeništa. Kao svi narodi svijeta, Bošnjaci čuvaju naslijeđe vlastitog identiteta u zemlji porijekla i iza njenog horizonta.

## Neka od prvih, od zaborava sačuvanih, imena iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine

Dijelove okvira teme koju će predstaviti ovim radom, autor je prepoznao u dva publicirana teksta,<sup>2</sup> ali tek poslije istraživanja jednog, ranije nepoznatog, arhivskog fonda.<sup>3</sup> Osmanski “činovnici, oficiri i vojnici” bili su u velikoj neizvjesnosti šta će biti sa njima poslije austrougarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine. U to vrijeme, oktobra 1878. godine, “došao je u Bosnu turski pukovnik Omer-beg, da sredi neka pitanja oko povratka Osmanlija”.<sup>4</sup> To nije bilo lahko organizirati u uvjetima grubih austrougarskih “netaktičnosti i okrutnosti okupacijske vojske, vojnih vlasti i dijela najodgovornijih osoba”. Za vrijeme uprave generala Filipovića

<sup>1</sup> Dr Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti. Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine*; isti autor, *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Turskoj Carevini*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1986 (navedeni naslovi publicirani su u jednoj knjizi); Dr Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima (Biobibliografija)*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Rade Petrović, “Pokret otpora protiv austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini” u: *Naučni skup Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini [Sarajevo, 23. i 24. oktobra 1978]*. Zbornik radova, Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga XLIII, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Knjiga 8, Sarajevo 1979, 15-69; Edin Radušić, “Uspostavljanje austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini prema izvještajima britanskog konzulata u Sarajevu” u: *Međunarodna konferencija Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878-1918. održana u Sarajevu, 30. i 31. marta 2009*, Zbornik radova, Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 2011, 33-53.

<sup>3</sup> Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (dalje: HAS), Zbirka Varia [1829-1963], (dalje: ZV). Činjenice su se poklopile i umrežile još 2011. godine. Autor ih je evidentirao i arhivirao, nastavljajući druga istraživanja. Tako je ovaj tekst sedam godina čekao priliku i vrijeme da bude napisan i publiciran.

<sup>4</sup> R. Petrović, navedeno djelo, 66.



ukidane su osmanske upravne i sudske institucije, osmanski zvaničnici tjerani su sa njihovih pozicija. To je posebno bila praksa u Bosni. Nasuprot Filipovićevom primjeru, general Jovanović je, sprovodeći smjenu osmanske vlasti, zadržao u Hercegovini osmanske institucije i činovnike. Nisu koordinirano osnivane nove institucije, da zamijene one koje su bile nabrzinu ukidane. Nebriga i nemar za posljedice neregularnosti bili su, prema britanskom konzulu u Sarajevu Edwardu Freemanu, “prateća pojava” Filipovićeve uprave. Kao da su svi odahnuli, kada je Filipović napustio Bosnu. U velikom dijelu okupirane zemlje bio je prekinut kontinuitet vlasti. Ni krajem te, okupacijske, godine pridošli austrougarski civilni činovnici nisu uspijevali da se snađu u plimi nevolja i problema. Austrougarske vojne vlasti nisu im nimalo olakšale posao. Uništavani su arhivi. Čak, prema izvještaju britanskog konzula, “nakon što su odmah po okupaciji Sarajeva svi turski vladini arhivski dokumenti prodati pod stari papir, sada (civilni austrougarski činovnici – op. M.P.) nemaju ništa da im bude uputa u njihovim obavezama”. Općenito, muslimani su osjećali nesigurnost u uvjetima njihove potpune izloženosti na milost novim vlastima, čak i kada se postupanje prema njima počelo postepeno normalizirati.<sup>5</sup>

Sačuvana arhiva, iz prve polovine oktobra 1878. godine, pruža dragocjene podatke o prvim zvaničnim muslimanskim iseljenicima iz okupirane Bosne i Hercegovine. Radi se o molbama upućenim generalu Filipoviću i “General Komandi” za pomoć i intervenciju kod iseljavanja u Osmansko carstvo. Dokumenti pripadaju rukopisnoj arhivskoj građi i svjedoče, između ostalog, o tadašnjim oblicima svakodnevne upotrebe bosanskog jezika. Zbog toga će, osim zbog njihovog tematskog sadržaja, ovi dokumenti biti iscrpnije citirani. Neki od pisara i službenika bili su manje ili više pismeni i slično suosjećajni prema patnji tražilaca pomoći i prava na iseljavanje, što čitaoci lahko mogu zapaziti i prepoznati.

Prvu od ovih pronađenih molbi poslale su supruge dvojice osmanskih kolasa (podmajora), jednog bimbaše (majora) i dvojice juzbaša (kapetana) 1. bataljona. Prema službenom uvodu u spomenuti dokument, koji je napisan ćirilicom, one su molile, da im “se dade pripomoć jer ide zima, a one su s nejakom djecom(...) bez ikakvih sredstava, jer su im muževi kao otomanski oficiri, internirani. Nevolja ovih žena je vrlo dirljivo opisana”, komentirao je nepoznati službenik. Iz dokumenta, pisanim latiničnim krasnopisom, doznajemo, da su sve ove žene bile iz “strani(h) pokra(j)ina(...)i u tuđoj zemlji i među nemilosrdnim tuđinstvom nalazeći se žalostne(...)ne imajući utjehe”. U strahu “na predvečeriju crne zime (podvučeno u tekstu – op. M.P.) (...)manjka i hljeb svagdašnji(...)sve ono drugo što je(...)nuženo svakoj i najsiromašnijoj porodici(...) Dakle nalazeće se mi brez

<sup>5</sup> E. Radušić, navedeno djelo, 40-44, 46.

kuće naše, brez ogrijeva a navlastito brez novaca(...)u ovoj nevolji dočekali teže i žalosnije(...)i da Bog sakloni(...)nevina naša djeca skapaju od gladi!” Očito savjetovane od pisara, koji im je zapisao molbu, nesretne žene su najponiznije “smireno proseći da u ime Boga i Milostivoga Cesara i Kralja našega Franc Josipa I uzevši u(...)kritični naš položaj putem milostinje nama i našoj sirotoj djeci(...)smilujete se kojekakvu novčanu pripomoć, tako da bi mogle s našim nejakim(...)živu glavu iznijeti ostajući u podpunoj nadi a kroz to(...)stignut, hoće Milostivoga Cesara amnestija (podvučeno u tekstu – op. M.P.) po kojoj će se na bolje obrnuti naše življenje”.

U dodatku molbe je imenik članova porodica, “koje se nalaze u Sarajevu”, peterice osmanskih oficira “internirani(h) u Austro Ugarske Pokrajine”

(...)1. Said-Age Kolasa /pod Majora/(...)ima, Aiša žena i jedno dijete(...) 2. Mahmud Efendije Bimbaše(...)Šerifa žena, matimu i dvoje djeteti(...) 3. Hamdi Beg, Kolas, pod Major(...)ima, Murada žena i troje djeteti(...) 4. Omer Aga, Juzbaši(...)ima: Nazu ženu i jedno dijete(...) 5. Osman Beg. Juzbaši p. Kapitan(...)ima Mejra žena i troje djeteti”.

Naglašeno je, da je to “Najponiznija Molbenica” kojom se spomenute žene nadaju “da putem milostinje dade im se koja pripomoć u novcu za moć živjeti”.<sup>6</sup>

Druga molba napisana je prema istom obrascu. Ovdje je priložen “imenik četiri familije internirani(h) častnika turske vojske koje se sada nalaze u Sarajevu(...) 1. Abdula(h) Ef. Tabor Imam 1. Bataljona lovaca ima: Nefa žena i dvoje djet svega(...) 2. Emrula(h) Tufekčij.(a), puškar (oružar – op. M.P.) 1. Bataljona(...)ima: Atiju, Mater i dijete svega 3 čeljadi, 3. Mehmed Tufekčij. pušk. 1. reg. 1. Batalj, ima: Rukija žena i dvoje djet(...) 4. Smaila Tufekčij pušk. 1. tabora redife ima: Mejra žena i jedno dijete”. I ovom molbom očekivalo se od generala Filipovića da “odobri pripomoć, da se prehrane” jer “nemaju nikakvih sredstava za život”. Očevidno, isti gore spomenuti službenik koji je pisao ćirilicom, komentirao je: “Vrlo dirljiva molba”.<sup>7</sup>

Nešto drukčiji i, također, težak bio je slučaj grupe izbjeglica “iz Lovče u Bugarskoj” koji su još za “tursko-ruskoga rata ima već godina i pol dana izbjegli u Selanik-Istambol i još kojekuda tumarasmo i doprijesmo do ove zemlje dok ima već 3 mjeseca da stanujemo u Sarajevu. Zažalivši naše sirotno stanje i uzevši(...) teški naš položaj turska bivša vlada(...)nam po pol oka (jedna oka težila je 1,283 kg – op. M.P.) hljeba na dan i na svaku glavu koje(...)samo jedan mjesec jerbo zateče pobuna i zauzeće ove zemlje(...)u koji čas nam bi prekinuto davanje(...)

<sup>6</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-47. Sarajevo 7.10.1878.

<sup>7</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-48. Sarajevo 8.10.1878.

Veoma dobro je poznato(...)tužno naše prebivanje u tuđinstvu nepoznajući jezika, neimajući kuće nit kućišta, neimajući novaca, podpora nit ruka pomoći(...)nam nije nikako moguće ovdje nadalje baviti se niti moći živjeti, pak prisiljeni tim glavnim uzrocima(...)odlučismo poći u Istambol(...)i na siromaški(...)neimajući mi(...)putni trošak(...)utičemo se koljenopriklono(...)u ime milostinje(...)nam koju mu drago pripomoć novčanu kojom bi mogli preduzeti odlučeno putovanje za Istambol". Molba je bila upućena u ime "16 čeljadi u 4 familije", kako slijedi: "1. Eder Beg (sa) sinovima: Ali i Mehmed, kćeri: Ilhma i Illčet(...) 2. Ahmet Efendi - , matimu Hatidja, sestra Alzdejan(...) 3. Osman-, ženamu Ilajša-, kći Šefkad(...) 4. Mustafa-, ženamu Abiba, sin: Mehmed, kćeri: Zelija i Zohra". Na kraju je navedeno, da je Eder-begu izdat pasoš na osnovu usmenog "izvještaja g. kajmakama fojničkoga".<sup>8</sup>

Nurija, supruga interniranog tobdžijskog mulazima (artiljerijskog poručnika) Ahmeda, "imajući dvoje djece, i dve neviste; a nema odaklena tu familiju izraniti, želila bi otići kod rodbinu u Carigradu sa svom familijom. Umoljava Visokoslavna vlast, da blagoizvoli odobriti putni trošak za svu familiju, i putni list za otići tamo u Carigradu".<sup>9</sup> Slično njoj, "Fejzulah Fehim, carskoturski kapetan redifne (rezervne – op. M.P.) vojske rodnom iz Prištine" molio je za pomoć i pasoš da, zajedno sa svojom ženom, napusti Bosnu i "preko Metković-Dubrovnik" otputuju "za Drač u Albaniju, odakle mi je rodnom žena i familija(...) prijatelji i pak isti lako će mi pomoći i familiju odpraviti za Monastir (Bitola u Makedoniji – op. M.P.) a ja ću za Istambol". Ovaj osmanski oficir molio je od generala "Filipovića preporuku" da njega i suprugu preveze brod austrijskog Lloyd.<sup>10</sup> "Carsko-turski" oficiri nekadašnjeg "I tabora sarajevske žandarmerije" Sulejman Jakubović iz Hercegovine i Smajil (na kraju dokumenta spominje se kao Ismail) Jakirić iz Glamoča zamolili su "kojekakvu novčanu pripomoć za moći otputovati i Istambul i dotični pasoš" jer su im obustavljena ranija primanja. Osjećali su se "kao smeteni" i nisu znali "kud kamo okrenuti se". Kao vojnici nisu mogli prihvatiti svakakav posao, "pa u ovoj pometnji neimajući novaca" odlučili su se otputovati u Istanbul i tamo potražiti novu priliku za preživljavanje.<sup>11</sup> I na kraju je slučaj Vehbi-efendije, bivšeg osmanskog kajmakama "pri prošloj turskoj vladi neimajući jezika bosanskog nit na čemu ovdje živjeti neotložno odlučijo sam poći za Istambol potražiti onamo uhljebljenije(...)stajati brez službe i plaće morao sam mučno živjeti(...)neimam na čemu uzdržat(...)put

<sup>8</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-49, Sarajevo 10.10.1878.

<sup>9</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-50, Sarajevo 11.10.1878.

<sup>10</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-51, Sarajevo 12.10.1878.

<sup>11</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-53, Sarajevo 14.10.1878.

trošak i neimajući kud kamo utičem se(...)gen. Filippovića i najučtivije molim da(...)blagoizvoli odrediti mi koju sumu novaca, i uime putnog troška do Istambola i koje ako ima(...)molim(...)pasoš".<sup>12</sup>

Bili su to vidljivi znakovi nestanka osmanske Bosne. Osmanlije, uključujući među njih i režimske Bošnjake, koje su na Zapadu stereotipno posmatrali kao sirove, divlje, neobrazovane, bezosjećajne klipane, učtivo su molili sirove, bahate, nemarne i, uglavnom, u poznavanje Istoka neupućene austrougarske vojne i civilne dužnosnike, za pravo na pomoć i iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Cilj ovog odjeljka studije jeste: spasiti od zaborava 1878. godine zabilježena imena nekih od prvih muslimanskih iseljenika iz tek okupirane Bosne i Hercegovine. Praćenje tragova njihovih i drugih iseljeničkih priča pripada posebnoj temi i drugačijim istraživanjima.

## Iseljeničke milionmanije: ponornice bajki o velikim brojevima malobrojnih naroda

Temeljna snaga svake nacije jeste u matičnom društvu, na domicilnoj teritoriji, makar na jednom njenom dijelu dovoljnom za opstanak i mogućnost, zbog objektivnih teških okolnosti, određene mjere usporenog razvoja, do boljih prilika. Iseljeničtvo je dopunska snaga, koju razumne politike zrelih i odlučnih nacija tretiraju sa poštovanjem. One grade mostove suradnje između društava-matica i društava-utočišta koja su iseljenici, silom prilika, izabrali za svoj novi dom. Tako društva-matice pomažu sebi, svojim iseljenicima i njihovim društvima-utočištima.

Formuliranje i propagiranje bajki o velikim, preuveličanim, brojevima pripadnika nekih balkanskih nacija u istočnoj i zapadnoj dijaspori (ili u objema) kreira propagandnu maglu političko-interesne stvarnosti. To je alarm koji svjedoči o namjeri cjeline, ili dijela vođstva pojedine nacionalne, ili vjerske, zajednice u poduhvatu instaliranja dodatnog elementa osiguranja zbog realne, ili manipulirane, predstave o opasnosti po njen opstanak. U osnovi, iseljeničke milionmanije su pogodna sredstva za nacionalne/nacionalističke budnice i uspavanke, zavisno od historijskog trenutka i ofanzivnih ili defanzivnih potreba i namjera aktuelnih vlasti i njihovih ideologija. Kako je na, krizama i ratovima, uzdrmanom Balkanu i Bliskom istoku prečesto interes dominirajuća ideologija – realistični pesimizam je domicilni ekvivalent umjerenom optimizmu u nekom drugom, mirnijem i sretnijem, dijelu svijeta.

<sup>12</sup> HAS, kut. 1, ZV-54, Sarajevo 15.10.1878.

Radi se o proizvodnji iluzija sigurnosti unutar malih nacija, koje žive u su-  
sjedstvu, također, malih ili tek nešto brojnijih nacija koje se, isto tako, hrane i  
brane vlastitim iseljeničkim milionmanijama. Tu su, u sklop nacionalističkih ide-  
ologija, dodati mitovi o drevnom porijeklu, blistavim postignućima srednjovje-  
kovnih državnosti, porazima, osujećenom historijskom napretku i propaganda,  
navodne, misije da se, u vlastitu korist, uništi ili potčini prisutnost drugih religija,  
da se pasiviziraju i nacionaliziraju preostali dijelovi brojčano manjih, susjednih,  
nacija i prisvoje njihove teritorije i resursi. Kada tome dodamo vanjske faktore,  
od dekadentnih, operetnih do zaista ozbiljnih i opasnih velikih i srednje velikih  
sila, dobijemo hladnim interesima i vrelin emocijama natopljene požare kriza i  
ratova koji, u dužem trajanju, funkcioniraju kao destruktivni sistem, otvoren za  
sve veći broj učesnika. Bio je to kratki opis tek nekih od aksioma za definiranje  
formula izračuna efekata historija Balkana i Bliskog istoka, u drevnim interregi-  
onalnim, kolonijalnim interkontinentalnim i u modernim, globalnim odnosima.

Površno čitanje historija Balkana i Bliskog istoka navodi na zaključak, da  
tamo, navodno, ništa nije nemoguće i da je, gotovo, sve moguće. Problemi Bal-  
kana i Bliskog istoka često nastaju i razvijaju se zapadnije i istočnije od tih regija;  
na Balkanu i na Bliskom istoku oni se dešavaju i eskaliraju. Historijska glavnic  
odlazi iz tih regija kojima ostaje otplata duga i kamata. Cijena je veliko, sistem-  
sko, zaostajanje: demografsko, ekonomsko, političko, kulturno. Razvojne kom-  
ponente krizama i ratovima pogođenih društava, često većeg dijela spomenutih  
regija, gube korak sa vlastitim potrebama i ne doprinose ni sebi, niti širem okru-  
ženju koliko bi, realno, u mirnijem okruženju, to mogli biti u stanju. Demograf-  
sko opadanje jednog naroda, utiče, ne samo, na njegovo destabiliziranje, kao i  
njegove matične zemlje, nego, najmanje, i na susjedne zemlje i tamošnje narode.  
To dokazuje iseljavanje Bošnjaka.

U hronologiji spominjanja broja iseljenika, odmah poslije austrougarske  
okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, postoje različita tumačenja istih podataka, čak  
i onih sadržanih u istim dokumentima. R. Petrović se u svome radu pozvao na  
izvještaj britanskog konzula od 7.12.1878. godine, prema kojem ovaj zna za “oko  
50.000 Bosanaca koji kreću prema Carigradu”.<sup>13</sup> Trideset i dvije godine poslije  
Petrovića, E. Radušić je drugačije tumačio istu Freemanovu depešu. Prema nje-  
mu, britanski konzul “komentirajući vijest o planiranoj emigraciji 50.000 lju-  
di(...)jiznosi mišljenje da je broj iseljenika o kojem se priča mnogo preuveličan”.  
Radušić je zastupao stav, da je “loš tretman muslimana u prvim mjesecima na-  
kon okupacije”, jednim dijelom, uticao “i na iseljavanje muslimana u Tursku”.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> R. Petrović, navedeno djelo, 65.

<sup>14</sup> E. Radušić, navedeno djelo, 48.

Dvije godine prije Petrovića, Skender Rizaj publicirao je svoju interpretaciju spomenutog britanskog izvještaja: “50.000 duša iz Bosne je krenulo za Istanbul”. Otad je, izgleda, započeto korištenje ovog broja kao, navodne, činjenice koja se *desila*. U stvarnosti, radilo se o *mogućnosti* sa kojom se, očevidno, računalo da bi se, u tom obimu, *mogla desiti*. Rizaj se, u istom radu, pozvao na jedan francuski izvor od 3.1.1879. godine, o kome je informaciju preuzeo preko Bilâla N. Šimšira, da se “u Makedoniji (...) nalazi 50-60.000 porodica muhadžira, što iz Bugarske, a što iz Bosne i Hercegovine, koji ne žele da pređu u Anadoliju, već se nadaju da će se vratiti sa oružjem u ruci na svoja ognjišta”.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Skender Rizaj, “O migracionim kretanjima na Balkanu (1877-1879)” u: *Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 100-godišnjice ustanaka u Bosni i Hercegovini, drugim balkanskim zemljama i istočnoj krizi 1875-1878. godine. (Tom II), [Sarajevo – Ilidža, 1-3. oktobra 1975.]*. Zbornik radova, Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga XXX, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Knjiga 4, Sarajevo 1977, 194.

Već drugo stoljeće traju nepoznanice o brojevima, posebno bošnjačkih, iseljenika iz balkanskih zemalja. Zadnje dvije decenije prisutna je repeticija poznatoga uz dodatke, iz toga izvedenih invalidnih domišljanja. To su posljedice masovne montaže tekstova bez uvida u dostupne arhivske fondove, koji su bitni temelji za historiografsko rekonstruiranje historijske stvarnosti. Repeticijom velikog broja tuđih znanstvenih rezultata (citatomanijom), spojenih i maskiranih u, navodno, novi rad ne stiže se dobra znanstvena reputacija. To je balon tranzicijske sapunice. Znanost i zajednica nemaju koristi od takvog pristupa. Glavni gubitnik je javnost, uskraćena za edukaciju činjenicama i razvojno-poticaјnim, pristupačnim metodima njihove javne, znanstvene provjerljivosti.

Sve brojnije kompilacije postale su, na žalost, tolerirana vrsta plagijata. Ta parazitska publicistička podvrsta, koja odavno destruiira i ponižava domaću i regionalne historiografije, egzistira na istraživanjima drugih. *Autori* kompilacija nemaju originalne kreativne potencijale. Oni su, ustvari, montažeri njihovih ličnih fatamorgana, koje iluzionistički prenose dijelu povodljive, tematski ranjive, publike. Njihovo prisustvo u javnosti svjedoči o znanstvenom i kulturnom застоju, čak nazadovanju, prije svega, akademske, medijske, a onda, i cjeline društvene zajednice.

Znanstvenici istražuju zbog sebe, radeći u korist čovječanstva. Njihov se učinak razmatra omjerima pokušaja, promašaja i uspjeha, uz strogu analizu kvaliteta znanstvenog i društvenog dometa originalnih doprinosa autorskog rada. Sve drugo je interesna, klijentelistička, propaganda osrednjosti koja izbjegava dijalog, debatu i boji se kritike. Zato su osrednjost i njen, nerazvijeniji, rođak ispodprosječnost agresivno prisutni kod lobiranja u kuloarima i u javnim, autopropagandnim nastupima u kontroliranom okruženju. Tranzicijska akademska anomalija eskalirala je u patološki oblik, koji je sada teško odstraniti iz zahvaćenih dijelova akademske zajednice. Historičari u tranzicijskim društvima moraju dovršiti veliki poduhvat modernizacije historiografije. Prema ovom autoru, glavni cilj je transformacija historiografije u napredniji, važniji i korisniji dio znanstvenih temelja čovječanstva. To će, posljedično, blagotvorno uticati i na druge znanosti koje koriste rezultate historiografskog rada. Znanstveni i društveni problemi će se efikasnije rješavati i neće se nastaviti gomilati. (Autorov lični historiografski arhiv - Sarajevo [ALHA], Fondovi: Rukopisi, Studija u progresu “Muhadžiri i iseljenici”; Nova napredna historiografija – eksperimentalna, teorijska, primijenjena [Nnh])

Radimo sa onim čime raspolažemo: dijelovima sačuvanih i dostupnih arhivskih fondova, zvaničnim statistikama, procjenama, svjedočenjima iseljenika, publiciranim radovima zainteresiranih suvremenika. Posebna područja predstavljaju stručna i popularna literatura, puna suprotstavljenih mišljenja i tematskih konstrukcija. Međutim, i u ovako ograničenom izvoru provjerljivih informacija, vijesti i činjenica vidljiv je njihov kvantitativni i kvalitativni porast. To je, posebno, važno zbog povećanih mogućnosti usporedbe i kontekstualizacije sadržaja i značenja u povezivanju hemisfere znanstveno poznatog sa hemisferom manje poznatog, koja je u procesu istraživanja, provjere i valorizacije. O ovom dijelu rada pokazaćemo neke od novih načina razmatranja dimenzija poznatog i *poznatog*, u odnosu na političko-publicističke fantazije.

Prošlo je dosta vremena, otkada se, u znanstvenoj literaturi, posumnjalo u namjere nastanka i sadržaj austrougarske povjerljive arhive o iseljavanju domaćeg stanovništva iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Pro domo klasificirani dokumenti nisu bili namijenjeni javnosti. V. Bogičević je primijetio, da su držani u tajnosti zbog moguće štete po interese Austro-Ugarske u domaćoj i inozemnoj javnosti.<sup>16</sup> Međutim, on i nastavljači nisu ozbiljno uzimali u obzir, da je osnovna svrha takvih dokumenata da se koriste i cirkuliraju u instituciji nastanka. Izlazak sadržaja tih dokumenata u javnost nije bio planiran. Povjerljivi dokumenti korišteni su za interno informiranje i educiranje činovnika i za njihovu upotrebu u formuliranju i vođenju povjerljivih poslova austrougarske uprave. Kao takve, nije ih moguće zanemarivati, niti umanjivati njihov značaj.

Na drugoj strani, znanost je imala sličan problem sa prihvatanjem ili neprihvatanjem vrijednosti osmanskih popisa, statistika i dokumenata, koji su, također, bili namijenjeni za internu upotrebu. Pošto, kao ni austrougarski, nisu bili namijenjeni publiciranju, danas se smatra da su, sadržajno, osmanski dokumenti većinom izbjegli negativne propagandne uticaje. Kao vlast na svojoj teritoriji, osmanska država “je jedina bila u prilici da prebroji muškarce”. Zbog toga se mnogi historičari sve “više oslanjaju na cifre koje pružaju osmanski popisi”, za državajući slobodu autorskog tumačenja.<sup>17</sup>

To je, svakako, značajan napredak, u odnosu na ranije više prisutnu odbojnost prema korištenju osmanskih statistika. Šta god ko mislio o tim carstvima, bez austrougarskih i osmanskih dokumenata velika tema balkanskih, regionalnih

<sup>16</sup> Vojislav Bogičević, “Emigracije muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878.-1918. god.,” *Historijski zbornik*, Povijesno društvo Hrvatske/Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1950, br. 1-4, 175-176.

<sup>17</sup> Fransoa Žoržon, “Poslednji trzaji (1878-1908)” u: *Istorija Osmanskog carstva (pr. Rober Mantran)*, Clio, Beograd, 2002, 656.

i interregionalnih, migracija bila bi nepovezan skup lokalnih, provincijskih, još više antagoniziranih historiografija.

Prema službenim austrougarskim izvještajima, od 1878. do 1918. godine, iz Bosne i Hercegovine iselio se 61.141 musliman. Prvih pet godina okupacije nije vođena iseljenička statistika, a vlasti su u izvještaju za 1905. godinu označile svoje evidencije kao “prilično pouzdane”. Uspoređujući broj muslimana iz vremena okupacije sa njihovim brojem na popisu stanovništva iz 1910. godine; zatim uspoređujući “za navedeno razdoblje prirast muslimana sa prirastom stanovništva ostalih konfesija”, Bogičević je tvrdio, da je njihov “prirast(...)bio za 122.522 lica manji, koliko bi otprilike otpalo na emigraciju”. Istražujući dalje, zaključio je, da je broj muslimanskih “iseljenika morao premašiti i 150.000”.<sup>18</sup> M. Hadžijahić se, u osnovi, složio sa Bogičevićem, smatrajući da je stvarni broj iseljenih muslimana oko 150.000.<sup>19</sup> Đ. Pejanović je prihvatio Bogičevićev način demografskih računica, ali je mislio da se kako piše, Muslimana, od 1878. do 1914. godine, iselilo “oko 140.000 duša”.<sup>20</sup> A. Feifalik je zaključio, da se između 1881. i 1912. godine iz Bosne i Hercegovine iselio “63.471 Musliman”. Ovoj temi pridružio se I. Hadžibegović držeći, da je “najrealnija pretpostavka” prema kojoj se “broj iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine kretao između 120 i 130.000 osoba”. Bogičevićeve i Pejanovićeve procjene smatrao je pretjeranim ali

<sup>18</sup> V. Bogičević, navedeno djelo, 181-182.

Na 181. strani pogrešno je naveden broj od “ukupno 61.114 lica”. Radilo se o pogrešnom zbiru ili o štamparskoj grešci. Tako se ova greška, nekoliko generacija, neopažena provlačila kroz historiografsku i drugu literaturu.

Izvan sumnje je, da je broj iseljenika (muslimana, pravoslavni i drugih) bio veći od njihovog zbira iz službenih austrougarskih izvještaja. Kako vidimo, dijelovi hronologije austrougarske uprave Bosnom i Hercegovinom uopće nisu bili tematski dokumentirani. Ne možemo rekonstruirati ni bjekstva, niti ilegalno iseljavanje posebno muslimanskih, kao ni pravoslavni stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine.

<sup>19</sup> Muhamed Hadžijahić, Uz prilog prof. Vojislava Bogičevića, *Historijski zbornik*, ostalo kao u napomeni 16, 191.

N. Malcolm pogrešno navodi, da M. Hadžijahić “inzistira na broju 300.000” iseljenika. Usput kazano, Malcolm piše: “Čini se da bi mnogo vjerodostojniji bio broj od oko 100.000 osoba, ali je i opet riječ o pukom nagađanju”. On podsjeća, “da se nisu iseljavali samo muslimani”. U Srbiju se iseljavalo pravoslavno stanovništvo. (Noel Malcolm, *Povijest Bosne kratki pregled*, Erasmus Gilda/Novi Liber/Dani, Zagreb-Sarajevo 1995, 191, vidjeti napomene 13 i 15).

U stvarnosti, M. Hadžijahić je napisao: “Mnogo se inače pretjerivalo u broju ovih naših iseljenika (spominjao se dapače broj od 300.000, jamačno dvostruk od stvarnog broja)”. (M. Hadžijahić, navedeno djelo, 191)

<sup>20</sup> Đorđe Pejanović, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, Srpska akademija nauka, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga CCXXIX, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, Nova serija, Knjiga 12, Beograd, 1955, 43, 50.



je, mehanički, prihvatio pogrešan Bogićevićev zbir iseljenih muslimana.<sup>21</sup> Prema dosad navedenim stavovima spomenutih autora, broj od 122.522 iseljena Bošnjaka, u vrijeme austrougarske uprave, izgleda kao umjerena procjena.

Istraživanje i posredno zaključivanje nastaviće se na primjeru učešća Bošnjaka u balkanskim ratovima, 1912.-1913. godine, u sastavu Istočne i Zapadne osmanske armije. Austrougarske vlasti su procijenile, da je “na frontu oko 20.000 bosanskohercegovačkih iseljenika”. U dvije spomenute armije borilo se 285.000 osmanskih vojnika. Udio Bošnjaka bio je značajan. Vojni historičar P. Tomac publicirao je podatke o broju stanovnika Osmanskog carstva: “Evropska Turska imala je 1912. nešto preko 6 miliona stanovnika od kojih 2 miliona muslimana. Azijska Turska imala je 17 miliona., gde je muslimanski elemenat bio u velikoj većini, ali Turaka je bilo samo 7 miliona”.<sup>22</sup>

Ako broj od 20.000 mobiliziranih i vojno angažiranih Bošnjaka posmatramo kao model gotovo potpune mobilizacije vojno sposobnog muškog stanovništva (što tada nije bio slučaj), broj ukupne bošnjačke populacije, kao dijela osmanske mobilizacijske baze, možda je bio veći od procijenjenih 122.522 do 150.000. To je, također, moguće čak ako su osmanske vojne vlasti mobilizirale dio odraslijih dječaka i zdravijih staraca da rade u komori, na utvrđivanju položaja i u drugim pomoćnim službama.

U četrdeset godina (1878.-1918.), “prema službenim osmanskim statistika-ma” Balkansko poluostrvo napustio je milion i po iseljenika. Također, veliki broj iseljenika ilegalno je prešao preko osmanske granice.<sup>23</sup> Drugi istraživač potvrđuje tu brojnu migraciju “sa Balkanskog poluostrva u Anadoliju”, jedino što je posma-

<sup>21</sup> Dr Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1980, 120, 133.

<sup>22</sup> Đ. Pejanović, navedeno djelo, 43; Petar Tomac, *Ratovi i armije XIX veka*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Beograd, 1968, 749, 751-752; Tomislav Kraljačić, “Povratak muslimanskih iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u toku Prvog balkanskog rata”, u: *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina (Materijali s naučnog skupa Migracioni procesi i Bosna i Hercegovina od ranog srednjeg vijeka do najnovijih dana – njihov uticaj i posljedice na demografska kretanja i promjene u našoj zemlji, održanog u Sarajevu 26. i 27. oktobra 1989. godine)*, Zbornik radova, Institut za istoriju/Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa, Sarajevo, 1990, 152.

Prvi opći popis stanovništva, uključujući i žene, otpočeo je 1881. i završen je 1893. godine. Zbog propusta, broj stanovnika Osmanskog carstva procijenjen je na 17.400.000. Neki historičari misle, da je broj stanovnika Carstva bio između 19 i 20 miliona. Drugi popis bio je izvršen 1905. i 1906. godine. Osmansko carstvo imalo je tada 20.800.000 stanovnika. (F. Žoržon, navedeno djelo, 655)

<sup>23</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, “Građanska prava muslimana Balkana”, u: *Muslimani Balkana: “Istočno pitanje” u XX. vijeku (pr. Fikret Karčić)*, Behram-begova medresa, Tuzla, 2001, 105.

tra od 1876. godine.<sup>24</sup> Specijalist za društvenu historiju i historijsku demografiju posmatra sudbinu balkanskih muslimana kao “statističku prezentaciju katastrofe”. U zemljama koje je osvojila Srbija, i naslijedila Jugoslavija, samo “46 % prijeratnih muslimana je ostalo”. Zaključio je: “U toku Prvog svjetskog rata(...) čija je grozna smrtnost zauvijek zapamćena na Zapadu, zaraćene strane su strašno patile, ali u toku rata stanovništvo Francuske je palo samo za 1 %, dok u Britaniji nije bilo opadanja broja stanovništva. Muslimani osmanlijske Evrope izgubili su 27 % stanovništva. To je, tvrdim, značajan gubitak i nije pretjerano to označiti kao katastrofu”.<sup>25</sup> Tu su, sigurno, uključeni i gubici bošnjačkih iseljenika.

Radi pronalaska mjernih jedinica i načina izračunavanja demografskih proporcija između bošnjačkih iseljenika i domaćeg stanovništva u turskom društvu-utočištu, pratićemo obnavljanje, kroz porast, njegovog stanovništva. Krajem 1938. godine u Turskoj Republici živjelo je “17.829.214 duša”. Bio je to porast stanovništva za oko tri miliona, u odnosu na 1928. godinu.<sup>26</sup> Prema statističkom godišnjaku za 1941./1942. godinu, štampanom u Ankari krajem 1943. godine, Turska Republika imala je 18.500.000 stanovnika. Navedeno je, da godišnje useli u Tursku “5-8.000 porodica sa 20-30.000 članova”. Oni su smatrani muhadžirima koji su dobijali državnu pomoć. Kako je navedeno, “kod zadnjeg popisa pučanstva u Turskoj bilo je muhadžira (rođenih u inozemstvu i doseljenih u Tursku) kako slijedi(...)iz Jugoslavije, u vil.(ajete) Izmir, Manisa, i Brusa i Istanbul 158.000”.<sup>27</sup> I onda, još podataka iz 1954. godine: “Po *Turskoj enciklopediji* (Türk Ansiklopedisi) broj Bošnjaka koji su se iselili u islamski Orijent, iznosi ravno 600.000 duša. Oni su se u tamošnjem stanovništvu utopili”.<sup>28</sup>

Za raspravu je koliko i kako su se Bošnjaci prilagodili životu na Bliskom istoku. Ovdje treba pronaći prihvatljiv, približan, omjer koliko je Bošnjaka od ovog, pretpostavljenog, broja, živjelo u Turskoj Republici a koliko u bliskoistočnim, arapskim, zemljama. Uzećemo pola miliona duša u Turskoj kao orijentalnu bošnjačku maticu. U istraživanjima sam nailazio na kolonije i grupe Bošnjaka u Siriji, Palestini, Saudijskoj Arabiji, Kuvajtu, drugim zemljama Zaljeva, Sudanu... Smatraćemo, makar privremeno, da ih je u arapskim zemljama bilo oko 100.000, mada mislimo da je to preuveličan broj.

<sup>24</sup> F. Žoržon, navedeno djelo, 657.

<sup>25</sup> Justin McCarthy, “Stanovništvo osmanlijske Evrope prije i poslije pada Carstva”, *Glasnik Rijaseta Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, septembar-oktobar 1999, br. 9-10, 982, 984.

<sup>26</sup> “Stanovništvo Turske”, *Muslimanska svijest*, br. 59, Sarajevo 2.5.1939, 4.

<sup>27</sup> HAS, Fond: Ostavština Šemsudina Sarajlića. Turska u brojkama, Zagreb 1944, kut. 6, f. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Smail Balić, “Bošnjaci u inostranstvu. Pustolovi, iseljenici, prognanici”, *Glasnik Rijaseta Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, maj-juni 1999, br. 5-6, 461.

Početakom 1950-ih godina Turska Republika imala je oko 20 miliona stanovnika.<sup>29</sup> Sada možemo ući u rizičnu operaciju pokušaja računanja omjera Bošnjaka prema ukupnom broju stanovnika Turske. Kada postavimo 500.000 Bošnjaka naspram 20 miliona, to je 2,5 % od ukupnog broja stanovnika turske države. Ako ostanemo kod tog procenta učešća Bošnjaka u stanovništvu Turske, možemo pratiti njihov mogući rast, prateći rast stanovništva države. Tako možemo, recimo, saznati približan broj Bošnjaka u Turskoj, u veoma kritičnoj 1993. godini po opstanak Bošnjaka i države Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>30</sup>

Nećemo dobiti preciznije podatke oslanjajući se na neke zvanične, čak interne, dokumente iz vremena jugoslavenske republike. U službenoj studiji o iseljenicima u Turskoj, iz prve polovine 1970-ih godina, piše: "Prema dosad poznatim zvaničnim podacima turske statistike o broju turskih državljana, koji su prilikom popisa stanovništva u Turskoj izjavili da su rođeni u Jugoslaviji, bilo je 1955. godine 121.219, a 1965. godine 240.469 naših iseljenika(...)Nije, međutim, poznato kako je glasilo pitanje na koje je dobijen odgovor o porijeklu. Pitanje se sigurno nije odnosilo na sve ranije doseljene porodice sa područja današnje SFR Jugoslavije". U tom zvaničnom dokumentu izrečena je ozbiljna sumnja u broj od 7 miliona iseljenika i njihovih potomaka svih nacionalnosti, sa jugoslavenskog područja (slavenskog, albanskog, turskog, čerkeskog porijekla), "ne samo u posljednjih stotinu godina nego i u ranijim vremenima". Autori studije smatrali su realnijim broj od 2 miliona iseljenika i njihovih potomaka. Turska je tada imala oko 35 miliona stanovnika, a u Istanbulu je, navodno, živjelo "oko 200.000 naših iseljenika i njihovih potomaka".<sup>31</sup> Podaci iz 1965. godine govorili su, da je u istanbulskoj regiji živjela 91.000 useljenika, rođena u Jugoslaviji.<sup>32</sup>

Početakom decembra 2015. godine, međunarodni televizijski medij prenio je vijest, da "turske vlasti koriste podatak, da u Turskoj danas živi između 6 i 10 miliona ljudi, porijeklom sa Balkana".<sup>33</sup> Medijima se prenose izjave najviših turskih

<sup>29</sup> *Savremena Turska*, Novinsko izdavačko preduzeće udruženja novinara Srbije, Beograd, bez godine izdanja, 49.

<sup>30</sup> *The Times Narodi Europe* (pr. Felipe Fernández-Armesto), Naklada Zadro, Zagreb, 1997, 234. Turska Republika imala je 1993. godine 57.700.000 stanovnika, od kojih su 98 % bili muslimani.

<sup>31</sup> *Naši iseljenici u Turskoj. Mogućnosti saradnje matica iseljenika u Jugoslaviji sa našim iseljenicima i njihovim potomcima u Turskoj*, Matica iseljenika Bosne i Hercegovine (za internu upotrebu), Sarajevo, oktobar 1974, 4-6, 27, 37-39.

<sup>32</sup> *Populations of the Middle East and North Africa. A Geographical Approach* (Edited by J.I. Clarke and W.B. Fisher), University of London Press Ltd, London, 1972, 64.

<sup>33</sup> Al Jazeera Balkans, Kontekst, 15:30 – 16:00, 6.12.2015.

zvaničnika, da Turska danas (sredinom 2018. godine) ima 80 miliona stanovnika. Zadržimo li kao konstantu 2,5 % učešća Bošnjaka u stanovništvu Turske Republike, dobićemo 2 miliona ljudi.<sup>34</sup> Pitanje je problem koji svako društvo, svaka nacija koja ima dijasporu, mora riješiti: Kako u zajedničkom dobru povezati ljude koji su otišli u društvo-utočište sa onima koji su ostali u društvu- matici?

## Kratki ogled o stanju balkanske demografske i historiografske statistike: aproksimacija = manipulacija

Živimo u dobu opće banalizacije stvarnosti. Ideologizacija i propaganda u nerazvijenom dijelu svijeta ozbiljno potkopavaju društvene temelje i minimiziraju humanističke vrijednosti. Humanističke znanosti su, također, postale posebno ciljane mete političkih i medijskih manipulacija u korist raznih vladinih i nevladinih interesnih, klijentelističkih struktura i njihovih mreža uticaja. Znanstvenici su dužni oduprijeti se formiranju manipulativnih iluzija o interesnoj stvarnosti. Agresivno potkopavanje društvenih vrijednosti utiče na smanjenje javnog interesa za ulogu znanosti. Manipulativna, svakodnevna proizvodnja informacija utiče da ih javnost, bez dovoljno gustih filtera provjere kvaliteta, zamijeni za, navodne, vijesti a njih, posljedično za, navodne, činjenice. Slično se, u sporijem ritmu sa dubljim i dugotrajnijim posljedicama, događa i u nesolidnim dijelovima akademskih zajednica. Kako ćete istraživati rijeku vremena, ako ne osjećate suzu koja vam teče niz obraz?

Kada idete isključivo tuđim tragovima, zalutaćete; prvo u znanosti, a onda izvan nje. Uvijek ćete doći na početak, ali ne svojih tragova. Osnovna svrha znanosti je tražiti nepoznato i provjeravati poznato/*poznato*. Tražiti, pronaći i istražiti nepoznanice i tajne u vlastitoj i univerzalnoj bazi podataka koji su od uvijek tu, u nama i oko nas. Biti znanstvenik – istraživač je bliže misiji nego svakodnevnom, rutinskom poslu. Onako kako se odnosite prema univerzalnom, hu-

<sup>34</sup> “Statistika je točan zbir krivih podataka”, moglo se čuti u jednoj humorističnoj seriji. (HRT 2, Bitange i princeze, ep. 15, sez. 3, 19:16 – 19:57, 22.10.2015.)

Površno gledajući na problem, dodatak humora u dramu i tragediju može uvjetovati nastanak nekog oblika farse ili tragikomedije. Autor smatra, da je i to razlog za nastavak istraživanja različitosti ljudskog ponašanja i publiciranja potvrđenih rezultata.

Potrebno je više se koncentrirati na **Efekat migracijske pračke**: Volja društva-matice mora opustiti ruku koja čvrsto drži pračku u položaju spremnom za izbačaj, otpuštanje, iseljenika iz domovine rođenja. Temeljne društvene promjene začinju se u umu svakog pojedinca, voljnog da učestvuje u njima.

manističkom, kodeksu vrijednosti, posljedično se odnosite i prema znanstvenim vrijednostima. Ako ih poštujuete, rezultati rada su značajniji, korisniji i trajniji. U suprotnom, to je samozadovoljna politička, medijska i kvaziznanstvena estrada: troslojni populizam.

Konkretno o brojevima: da bismo *dostigli* ranije spomenuti broj od 7 miliona, bošnjačke i druge iseljeničke muslimanske majke bi, najkasnije od polovine 19. stoljeća morale do danas rađati po 10-ero zdrave djece. Od tih, pretpostavljeno, desetero rođenih najmanje troje je umrlo u ranom djetinjstvu; troje ili četvero odraslijih i doraslih za udaju i pušku pokosile su epidemije, glad, pobune i ratovi. Neki od zadnjih spomenutih ostavili su iza sebe nejakom potomstvo, a drugi nisu imali vakta da ga steknu. To su faktori realnog usporavanja rasta populacije u turbulentnom 19-om i u razornoj prvoj polovini 20-og stoljeća na Balkanu i anadoljskoj evroazijskoj ćupriji. Sa nestankom ljudske biomase, nestajao je dio snage obnove i napretka zajednice. Društvo je nazadovalo, segmentirano, i kao cjelina. Čak, da su navedeni uzroci realnog smanjenja i usporavanja obnavljanja i rasta populacije nanijeli nešto manji gubitak, kod ono desetero rođene djece, do njihove biološki reproduktivne faze, gore spomenuti, izmaštani, broj od 7 miliona muslimanskih iseljenika i njihovih potomaka teško da bi bio dostignut. Ne smije se zaboraviti, da u moderno doba, naročito od druge polovine 20-og stoljeća, dolazi do postepenog usporavanja prirodnog priraštaja. To ima uzroke u postepenom rastu životnog standarda i, s tim u vezi, promjenom navika posebno u gradovima u matici i dijaspori; uprkos činjenici porasta kvaliteta zdravstvene službe koja je, potencijalno, omogućavala veći natalitet od mortaliteta.

Sumornih bajki o preuveličanim brojevima balkanskih naroda u dijaspori nisu ostali pošteđeni ni narodi-sugrađani niti narodi-susjedi Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sandžaku, Kosovu, Makedoniji, Albaniji... To je, kako izgleda, jedan od mehanizama samozaštite od potencijalnih prijetnji i strahova od "ponavljanja historije zla i genocida" nad vlastitom zajednicom i strahova od odmazde za učinjena zla drugim zajednicama. Taj *circulus vitiosus* imamo zahvaliti intelektualno besplodnoj nebrizi velikog broja znanstvenika i destruktivnom djelovanju bučne, nacionalističke, akademske manjine. Zbog toga je bitno usporen prodor znanstveno i moralno provjerenih činjenica o realnoj historiji balkanskih i bliskoistočnih naroda u javni prostor, prije svega u njihove školske sisteme. Broj nije samo znak bivšeg postojanja. Broj je potvrda života. Uvećavajući lažno brojeve ubijenih, ranjenih, unesrećenih, prognanih, iseljenih, poniženih rugamo se životu i čovječnosti. Umanjujući te brojeve ubijamo vlastitu ljudskost i postajemo čudovišta. To je zločin prema sebi.

## Putovanje bošnjačkih muhadžira, samih među armijama<sup>35\*</sup>

### Prolog

Stoljetno neprijateljstvo Beča i Istanbula dovelo ih je, postepeno, do modernog doba. U njemu su reorganizirana Austro-Ugarska i dijelom reformirano Osman-sko carstvo došli u položaj opadajućih regionalnih sila i nevoljnih saveznika. Poslije poraza u Prvom svjetskom ratu, na humusu tih pobijeđenih i otpisanih multikonfesionalnih i multinacionalnih carstava nastala je nova složena država – Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Opterećene historijskim naslijeđem, kulturno raznolike, iznutra korumpirane političke vlasti nisu bile u stanju pravedno i trajno rješavati ni socijalna niti nacionalna pitanja. Neki su u domaćim muslimanskim narodima, slavenskim i neslavenskim, vidjeli prijetnju i neželjeni ostatak srušenog Osmanskog carstva. Manje nego u vrijeme austrougarske uprave, Bošnjaci iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Sandžaka, Kosova i Makedonije opet su se počeli iseljavati. Ovo je samo jedna od brojnih neispričanih muhadžirskih historija u osmansko/turskom prevratničkom i revolucionarnom dobu. U njenom središtu su dva predstavnika bošnjačke familije, podijeljene različitim odanostima.

### Prvi čin<sup>36</sup>

#### Poslovna prilika u ratno doba, pravac Eskišeher

U sjećanju Abdurahmana Mešića, bošnjačkog muhadžira iz Adapazara, 1920. bila je godina “najstrašnije faze” grčko-turskog rata.(v:... ) Oni koji, poput njega, nisu učestvovali u borbama morali su, prema njegovom svjedočenju, “pored svih opasnosti zarađivati svagdanji hljeb, a bilo nas je koji smo morali poslovno i putovati”. S tugom je uspoređivao ugođaj predratnih putovanja sa onima u “ratnoj i podivljaloj okolini”, gdje je vidio “vješanja, strijeljanja, pokolje”. Progonile su ga slike: “ispijena lica majki, koje su možda još jučer gledale pokolj svoje nejake

<sup>35</sup> \*Prva prezentacija novog historiografskog izraza, historiografskog teatra kao dijela, u apstrak-tu spomenute, Nnh-e publicirana je u formi historiografske tragedije: Muhidin Pelesić, “Boris na kraju puta ili Herojstvo usamljenika u gustom, previrućem procjepu vremena koji imenu-jemo čovjekovim životom”, *Historijska traganja*, Institut za istoriju, Sarajevo, 2010, br. 5, 245-261. Drugo uobličavanje ovog izraza je historiografska burleska, nastala 2017. godine, koja je dio teksta autorove disertacije. Ovo je treća realizacija historiografskog teatra, sada kao historiografske drame.

<sup>36</sup> Abdurahman Mešić, “U tuđem svijetu”, *Novi behar*, Sarajevo, 15. marta 1933, br. 18, 240-241.

dječice”. Izlažući i svoj život opasnosti, nastavio je putovanje vođen svojom mukom: “Raditi i živjeti se mora”. U to vrijeme bio je prekinut skoro svaki putnički i robni saobraćaj sa Istanbulom. Svega je nedostajalo. Ljudi su se odvikli “svakog luksuza”. Živjelo se “s onim, s čime je Bog obdario Malu Aziju”.

Mešić se bavio štampanjem dopisnica, novina, reklamnih materijala. Vladala je velika nestašica papira. Približavala se Nova godina. Ranije su kalendari dolazili iz Istanbula. Mešić je odlučio pokušati, da ih on štampa. Uspio je saznati, da se “u podrumu najveće radnje” nalazilo “nekoliko bala tankog papira, u kakav kod nas zamotavaju limunove i naranče”. Vlasnik je bio sretan riješiti se tog papira, zaboravljenog 20 godina poslije jedne neuspjele poslovne špekulacije. Mešić je odštampao novogodišnje kalendare. “Išli su kao halva”, sjećao se kasnije. Dobio je veliku narudžbu iz Eskišehera, koju je tamo otpremio željeznicom. Mešić se nadao skoroj naplati. “Eto čara”, nadao se. Ali, kalendari nisu stigli do Eskišehera. Naručilac je nekoliko puta reklamirao. Telefonske i telegrafske veze bile su pokidane zbog rata. Mešić je saznao broj teretnog vagona, kojim je otišla njegova roba. Odlučio je putovati vozom, raspitujući se na svim usputnim stanicama: “Gdje su kalendari zapeli?” Uz preporuku “komandanta ‘narodne vojske’ sjedoh u jedan teretni voz, koji je trebao ići do Eskišehera. U tom vagonu su bili konji, izbjeglice i vojnici”. Voz je išao “samo noću i to s najvećim oprezom, pošto je cijela ta pruga bila u ratnoj zoni”. Mešić nije pronašao spomenuti vagon, broj 12.674, “u kojem je”, kako je kazao, bio “moj tromjesečni trud i čar”. Put od Adapazara do Eskišehera, “koji normalno traje 10 sati prevalismo za šest dana”. Mešić je u Eskišeheru odsjeo kod svoga rođaka, koji se “već mjesecima tamo sklonio od rata i pokolja”. Odmah je izvijestio knjižara, koji je poručio kalendare, “da se nema čemu nadati”.

Brzo su osjetili, da je rat “postajao grozniji”. Grčka vojska osvojila je Biljedžik. Kada su shvatili, da se tu neće uspjeti održati, Grci “poklaše što se(...)živo zadesilo, grad iz temelja sruviše sa zemljom a sve mostove na pruži porušise. Vratise se na staru liniju”. Čuvši, da su “u Adapazar provalile pristaše sultana pod zapovjedništvom famoznog Čerkeza Anzavura<sup>37</sup>”, Mešić je morao produžiti svoj boravak u Eskišeheru. Iz toga je nastao zapis o njegovim zemljacima, koji su se ranije doselili u taj dio Turske, ili su se od ratne nevolje tamo sklonili: “U Eskišeheru je pored starih tamošnjih muhadžira bilo mnogo Bosanaca, koji su

<sup>37</sup> \*Čerkeski oficir, odan sultanu i osmanskim vlastima, Ahmed Anzavur borio se protiv turskih nacionalista, čije je sjedište bilo u Ankari. Mustafa Kemal, kasnije poznat kao Atatürk, predvodio je “borbu za nacionalnu neovisnost i civiliziranje zemlje prema zapadnom modelu”. (Andrew Mango, *Atatürk. Biografija utemeljitelja moderne Turske*, Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 2011, 265-273)

se iz raznih mjesta na vrijeme sami dali evakuirati, a bilo ih je kao i ja, koji su došli poslom, i nisu mogli natrag. Bez razlike zašto je tko tu, sastajali smo se svakodnevno u jednoj kafani, igrali žandara i tablaneta i razgovarali 'bosanskim' jezikom(...)Išli smo na pazar, na kojima vagonima pšenice leži nagomilano kao egipatske piramide, a da te otvorene gomile niko ne čuva(...)Eto tako su prolazili dani našeg drugog muhadžireta. Mi koji smo bili iz Adapazara, a koji smo slučajno morali boraviti u Eskišeheru svakodnevno smo kovali planove, kako da se vratimo u naš kraj. Bili smo ga se mnogo zaželjeli. To mjesto je više bosansko nego ičije drugo, jer u njemu ima preko dvije hiljade bosanskih domova. Tamo bakal Turčin u bijeljinskoj ili tatarskoj mahali zna naš 'bosanski jezik', tamo Tale svake večeri čita pjesmaricu s punim ličkim oduševljenjem, tamo smo se ipak osjećali kao da smo u Bosni. Kako se ne bi osjećali, kada tamo imade i naših pravih bosanskih šljivika, koje su naši iseljenici s najvećom pažnjom prenijeli, presadili i uzgojili”.

Devet Bošnjaka iz Adapazara pravilo je planove za povratak kući. Bojali su se, jer tamo je vladao “sultanov miljenik, grčki plaćenik i neprijatelj vladajućeg naroda Anzavur”. Mešić je tako stavio čitaocima do znanja, da je on bio pristalica turskih nacionalnih vlasti u Ankari. Jednog dana dobili su “radosnu ali nesigurnu vijest”, prema kojoj će “narodna vojska poduzeti ofanzivu i zauzeti Adapazar”. Spomenuta deveterica Bošnjaka brzo su se okupila i odmah krenula u Geyvu, tamo sačekati oslobođenje njihovog grada. Odatle su mogli za nekoliko sati stići pješke do Adapazara.

## Drugi čin<sup>38</sup>

### Pustolovni povratak kući, u Adapazar

Vozovi su saobraćali od Eskišehera do Biljedžika. Putnici su se vozili besplatno na svoj rizik, “metnuvši glavu u torbu”. Vozovi nisu imali vozni red: “kretali su kad se napune, a stajali svugdje, gdje je tko htio. Saobraćali su samo zato, da narod vidi da mašine hodaju i da se nema čega bojati. Mi smo ga prozvali voz strpljenja.” Od Biljedžika do Akhisara “pruga, mostovi i ceste” bili su razrušeni. Deveterica Bošnjaka prebacili su se do Akhisara anadolskim fijakerima “jajlija-ma” i pješke. Grad su ranije uništili Grci. Jedini stanovnici koje su zatekli u njemu bili su kahvedžija i njegova žena. Pobjegli su u šumu, hranili se “travom dok su Grci rušili, palili, potkivali ljude i klali”. Kada su se Grci povukli, vratili su se

<sup>38</sup> A. Mešić, navedeno djelo, 241-243.



u Akhisar i zatekli “svoje dvoje nejake dječice naprosto zaklane”. Saznavši da je pruga do Geyve ispravna, Bošnjaci su odlučili krenuti niz nju pješke.

Idući niz prugu, vidjeli su da za njima “dolazi jedan vagonet” (vjerovatno drezina). Bio je natovaren sanducima municije, na kojima je sjedio vojnik. Zamolili su ga da i njih poveze. Pristao je uz dva uvjeta: morali su uzbrdo gurati vagonet i kilometar prije Geyve sići sa drezine. U neko doba počela je padati jaka kiša. Padala je satima, ali Bošnjacima nije posebno smetala jer su grabili prema Adapazaru. Kada je bio najjači pljusak, “Miralembeg je pjevao ‘Zaplakala stara majka...’ i davao snage onima”, koji su bili na redu da guraju drezinu uzbrdo. Geyva je bila “veliko i moderno grčko selo” koje je “od strane Turaka bilo svađnjeno sa zemljom a stanovništvo je doživilo istu sudbinu, koju su doživili okolni turski gradovi od strane Grka”. Bile su sačuvane samo željeznička stanica i nekoliko drugih zgrada. Adapazarski Bošnjaci dobili su na raspolaganje jednu sobu u napuštenoj zgradi. Skupili su novac i kupili hasure, metlu, ibrik, čajluk i karte za igranje. Užasna vrućina uštedjela im je izdatak za pokrivače. Čekali su mjesec dana, da se “narodna vojska” pripremi za napad na Adapazar. Dobro su se slagali sa oficirima, pa kad je Bošnjacima nestalo novca “oni nas upisaše u vojnički spisak i tako smo svaki dan dobivali vojničku vrlo ukusnu hranu”.

Jednog dana zapovjednik je rekao, da ga zanima ko je iz Arifiye otputovao salonskim kolima u Adapazar. Dodao je, da bi nagradio onoga ko bi mu to uspio dojaviti. Mešić, koji se zaželio kuće i svoga posla, dobrovoljno se javio za taj rizični zadatak. Uvečer je krenuo. Kada je stigao do Arifiye, vidio je da je zaposjednuta Anzavurovim snagama. Obmanuo je čerkeske stražare, govoreći im da je došao nekim poslom iz Adapazara. Kada je ugledao jedna natovarena kola, pogodio se sa seljakom da ga tajno, sakrivenog ispod kukuruza, proveze do Adapazara. Tako je Mešić “još toga jutra nakon dvomjesečnog lutanja slatko zaspao u svom krevetu”. Poslije nekoliko sati na vrata mu je zakucao policajac i rekao, da se odmah javi kajmakamu. “Netko me je morao primjetiti i odmah dojaviti”, zaključio je Mešić.

Pred kajmakamovim uredom bila je velika gužva. Mešić je saznao da je kajmakam bio njegov bliži rođak, Hajrudin-beg. Abdurahman je razmišljao: “Dakle i jednog Mešića zapalo je, da makar privremeno zavlada i pokaže svoju silu(...)S jedne strane sam se veselio, da me taj rođak neće proganjati i poslati na vješala, a s druge strane sam ga žalio, što će se zamjeriti cijelom narodu, i Bošnjacima i Turkušama, jer je bio u službi Anzavura, koga je svak mrzio iz dna duše”. Pred podne Mešić se suočio sa kajmakamom. Prije toga bilo je izrečeno nekoliko smrtnih i drugih teških kazni. Hajrudin-beg se pravio da ne poznaje Abdurahmana. Bio je okružen teško naoružanim Čerkezima i Abazama. Jedan od njih vodio je zapisnik:

- Kako se zoveš?
- Abdurahman bin Hamza.
- Koliko ti je godina?
- Dvadeset.

- Protiv tebe je prijava da si veliki pristaša "kuvayi milije" (narodne vojske) i da si tamo među njima bio nekoliko mjeseci, te da si sinoć tajno došao u grad u svojstvu uhode. Šta veliš na to?"

Mešić se branio, da je strani državljanin, mada tada to nije bio. Objasnio je, da je bio poslom u Eskišeheru, da mu je zbog ratnih okolnosti trebalo toliko dugo vremena da se vrati kući. Hajrudin-beg, i dalje se praveći da ne poznaje Abdurahmana, upitao ga je, da li može ponuditi dokaz o svome stranom državljanstvu. Abdurahman je to potvrdio i data su mu tri sata da ga donese. Prije nego je krenuo, Abdurahman se zahvalio na turskom; Hajrudin-beg mu "tobože odgovori bosanski", samo kazavši: "Donesi kakvo bilo čage Allaha ismarladik". Mešić je od kuće donio austrougarski pasoš, kojim je njegova porodica iselila 1911. godine. Svi su se, opet, skupili oko stola iznad pasoša. Jedino je Hajrudin-beg "od tog groznog vijeća znao latinicu". Poslije, navodnog, detaljnog pregleda pasoša Hajrudin-beg je presudio: "Slobodni ste". Kasnije je Abdurahman Mešić povjerio javnosti: "Ne dao Bog da je tada u Turskoj bilo prezimena, Čerkezi i Abaze, koji su bili članovi vijeća odmah bi vidjeli da smo ja i njihov kajmekam rod i ne bi se tako lako obmanili s Hajrudinbeyovim trikom".

Sada je trebalo izvršiti zadatak, kojeg se Mešić prihvatio od zapovjednika narodne vojske. Saznao je ime Anzavurovog pomoćnika, koji je dva dana ranije doputovao u Adapazar. Pronašao je svog povjerljivog sugrađanina, kojega naziva "našeg Talu Ličanina", i poslao ga u Geyvu da odnese tu vijest. Ali, istu večer ušla je narodna vojska u Adapazar. "Naš Tale" vratio se s pola puta, osmerica adapazarskih Bošnjaka dođoše sutradan.

Svi su bili zadovoljni, "ali jedan je Bosanac stradao". Hajrudin-beg "je morao sa ženom i djecom bježati sa Anzavurovim i grčkim četama, a i sada se povlači i pati po Grčkoj(...)Žao mi ga je. Nije prispio natrag u Bosnu, a u Tursku ne smije. Meni je doduše mnogo valjao, ali je zato drugima škodio".

## Zaključak

Profesionalci su, također, ponekad skloni napraviti amaterske greške. U tome nema bitne razlike, da li ih je napravio neko u Sarajevu ili u Cambridgeu. U radu je dodirnuto nekoliko takvih slučajeva. Kada nedostaju provjerljive činjenice, istraživači se moraju suočiti sa varijacijama demografskih procjena. Ponuđeni su novi uvidi i načini približavanja saznanju o mogućem broju Bošnjaka, iseljenih u Osmansko carstvo i Tursku Republiku. Napravljen je solidan kvalitativni pomak u istraživanju ove teme. Ponuđeni rad je dio uvoda u znanstvena razmatranja, koja su u razvoju i uskoro slijede. Naprijed spomenuta imena i brojevi nisu ni razlozi, niti povodi, za samoljubivost i euforiju na jednoj i omrazu i frustraciju, na drugoj strani tematski zainteresirane regionalne javnosti. Oni su važni orijentiri u putovanju pojedinaca i zajednica kroz vrijeme koje im je poklonjeno.

## THE EMIGRATION OF BOSNIAKS FROM THE SOCIETY OF THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO THE COUNTRY OF ASYLUM

### Summary

Professionals are, like everyone else, prone to making amateur mistakes at certain moments. This can happen equally to someone from Sarajevo or Cambridge. In this paper, several these instances were inspected. When there is a case of the lack of verifiable facts, researchers have to deal with varying demographic estimates. New insights regarding the potential number of Bosniaks emigrating to the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic were supplied. There is a reliable qualitative shift in the research of this topic. The paper represents a part of the introduction of the scientific research which is currently being developed. Ensuing names and numbers are not the reasons, nor causes for self-love and euphoria on one, and hatred and frustration on the other side of that part of the regional public which is interested in this topic. They represent an important landmark of the individuals and communities who travel through time which is given to them.



Alma Felić

Nastavak teksta s 11. strane

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