

Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the Author. Copies by any process, either in full or part may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the Author and lodged in the Central European University Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instruction may not be made without the written permission of the Author.

**JUSTIFYING TERRITORIAL GAINS: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION OF
BOSNIA IN 1878**

By

Davor Pavičić

Submitted to

Central European University

History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Maciej Janowski

Second Reader: Professor András Gerő

Budapest, Hungary

2008

Abstract

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in 1878 was a unique case in history. A Catholic Empire taking over a predominantly Muslim province from a Muslim Empire. Given the circumstances, it was hard to convince the population of Austria-Hungary that this occupation is really worth the trouble. Soon after the occupation took place, an intensive propaganda campaign begun through books and media to justify and legitimize this new territorial acquisition. This thesis is analyzing the main trends in late 19th century Austrian books and 1878 Austrian newspapers, reconstructing the image of Bosnia and Bosnians in the late 19th century Austrian liberal mind and the arguments used to justify the occupation.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	3
1.1 Historical Context	6
1.2 Theoretical Considerations	12
2. APPROACHING THE 1878 OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA THROUGH THE EYES OF THE MONARCHY’S INTELLECTUALS	20
2.1 Kronprinzenwerk: the Habsburgs’ Perception of their New Territorial Acquisition ..	24
2.2 Austrian Intellectuals and the Occupation of Bosnia: Lazar Hellenbach	31
2.3 Benjamin Kállay: Justifying Occupation from the Hungarian Perspective	37
2.4 Conclusions	40
3. THE OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA IN 1878 AUSTRIAN MEDIA	42
3.1 Occupation of Bosnia in Austrian Dailies: Das Vaterland	43
3.2 Satirical Views on the Occupation: Der Floh and Die Bombe	52
3.3 Conclusions	58
4. CONCLUSION	60
5. Appendix 1 – A Bibliographical List of Primary Sources on the Topic	64
6. Appendix 2 – A Sample of Caricatures from <i>Der Floh</i> and <i>Die Bombe</i>	67
7. Bibliography	69

1. INTRODUCTION

“The Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary.” This simple sentence in Article 25 of the Berlin Treaty in 1878 has shaped the nature of international relations in Europe at the turn of the century. The Austro-Hungarian period of Bosnian history was definitely a turning point in the history of Bosnia.¹ After more than four centuries of Ottoman rule and Muslim administration, in 1878 Bosnia got under the rule of predominantly Catholic Austria-Hungary.

The answers to the question why an empire such as Austria-Hungary would want to rule one of the few predominantly Muslim provinces in the Balkans are numerous. The two most popular arguments for the Austro-Hungarian takeover of Bosnia are that it was to contain Serbia from spreading to the West or that Austria-Hungary wanted to use Bosnia's vast natural resources. Whichever point of view one takes the fact remains that in the short-run, internally, Austria-Hungary could not and did not gain much from occupying Bosnia. On the contrary, the investments Austria-Hungary made in the newly acquired province were far greater than the benefits. More than four centuries of Muslim rule created and embedded a political, economical, social and cultural environment virtually incompatible with the Habsburg style of governance. The worsening situation in Bosnia – uprisings throughout the 19th

¹ In order to simplify and to follow the example of other scholars who do the same, I will use the term “Bosnia” and the adjective “Bosnian” throughout the paper, referring to the both provinces (Bosnia and Herzegovina), unless specified otherwise.

century and the non-existence of a functioning market economy did not contribute to the appeal of the province.

However, a far more interesting and still quite an unexplored question is how could Austria-Hungary convince its own population that such vast investments and sacrifices are favorable for the Empire? And with several other states interested in getting hold of Bosnia, Austria-Hungary also faced the problem of how to persuade the Great Powers to let Austria-Hungary rule over the Ottoman province. Last but not least, how to justify occupation and annexation to the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the majority of which are Muslim and prefer to remain part of the Ottoman Empire; the second largest ethnic group being Serbs who would prefer to become part of the Orthodox Serbia and the third group – the Croats, who saw the incorporation of a greater number of South Slavs as an excuse for asking for more rights in Austria-Hungary. Additionally, incorporating such a great number of Slavs into the Monarchy sparked a series of debates and conflicts within the Austro-Hungarian public² and the takeover of Bosnia certainly did not help the Austro-Hungarian Empire contain the danger of pan-Slavic ambitions to create a third entity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire or break away from the Empire, the latter actually happening in 1918.

Considering the challenges listed above and the chronic lack of secondary literature on the topic, my paper will look into the means and arguments Austria-Hungary, particularly its elite, used to justify and legitimize its rule over Bosnia-

² Jelavich, Barbara. "History of the Balkans" Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1985. pp. 59-60.

Herzegovina, by looking at various publications, especially from the period immediately before and after the occupation in 1878 and annexation in 1908. Furthermore, this paper will explore the responses to these attempts of justification and legitimization of power coming from the Austro-Hungarian public, mainly through the analysis of newspaper articles and publications by intellectuals from various parts of Austria-Hungary in the same time period.

The most commonly used argument was the “civilizational mission” Austria-Hungary pursued in Bosnia, i.e. to bring order and culture into the province hindered economically and culturally for four centuries of Ottoman rule. However, the “civilizational mission” was often a cover for economic, strategic or political reasons or simply as a consolation for an empire which did not have any significant territorial expansions in a long time, compared to other European empires.

With the vast number of primary sources on the topic, it was crucial to narrow the scope of this thesis and to select the sources carefully, so they are representative, both in terms of quality and quantity. Due to the relatively short period of time available for research and my lack of knowledge of Hungarian, as well as the fact that the Hungarian side was already touched on several occasions,³ I decided to focus my research on Austria only. Since this is also a huge field with numerous sources available, I have taken samples I found to be representative, or included works which are not necessarily representative, but still needed to be included.

³ See for example: Arató, Endre. "Madjarsko javno mnjenje i Bosna i Hercegovina (1875-1878)." Vol. 3. In *Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 100-godišnjice ustanka u BiH, drugim balkanskim zemljama i istočnoj krizi 1875-1878*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti BiH, 1977.

In the appendix, I have attached a bibliographical list of primary sources on the topic. This list is based mainly on my research in the Szechenyi national library in Budapest and should not be considered as final, as there are certainly many other sources available in archives national libraries in the region. What I hope to have achieved with the analysis in the following chapters is to provide guidelines and ideas for further research in this quite big and unexplored field.

1.1 *Historical Context*

With the unification of German and Italian provinces in the early 1870s and the powerful Russian Empire located in the East, the only possible direction for the Austro-Hungarian expansion of territory and influence was the Southeast, i.e. the Balkan Peninsula, where the decaying Ottoman Empire was struggling to maintain its territorial integrity against Russia and the national awakening of the Balkan peoples. So the Balkans became a sort of a battleground between the three empires and the smaller Balkan nations. The coalitions and alliances among all of them shaped the map and the ideology of the Balkans, with the effects and consequences extending well throughout the 20th and into the 21st century.

With the Balkans being the focal point of interest for several empires, any tampering with the Balkans was being done at the expense of the Ottoman Empire's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Nowadays, the issue of how to deal with the

Ottoman Empire is known under the name 'the Eastern Question'. Macfie dates the Eastern Question between the end of the 18th century with the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the signing of the World War I peace treaty with Turkey in Lausanne in 1923.⁴

The importance of the Eastern Question to Austria-Hungary is best seen in the existence of a 'Balkanreferat', a special department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of dealing with the Eastern Question.⁵ In terms of ideology, in the 1850s Metternich's views prevailed – nothing should be done that could weaken the Ottoman Empire.⁶ The weaker the Ottoman Empire was the greater chances Russia had to control the Balkans, both by means of territorial expansion and having the Orthodox nations in the Balkans under its sphere of influence.

The revolutions of 1848, inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, changed the absolutist empires across Europe by bringing liberalism as one of the dominant political ideologies and made rulers more willing to compromise with the people. In the Austrian Empire, Hungarians used the revolution of 1848-49 to seek a more active role on the political scene in the Empire, asking for more autonomy. Even though the 1848-49 revolution ended disastrously for the Hungarians, it showed the Habsburgs they should deal more cautiously with other nationalities in the Empire.

⁴ Macfie, A L. *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*. New York: Longman, 1993., p. 1

⁵ For a list of prominent diplomats that worked in the 'Balkanreferat' see *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918. vol. 6*, edited by Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973., p. 57

⁶ *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918. vol. 6*, edited by Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch., p. 213

In the Austrian Empire, the period of twenty years after the revolution was dominated by a constant struggle between Austrians and Hungarians over constitutional reforms. Following a defeat against Prussia, in 1867 the weakened Habsburgs decided to settle with the Hungarians in order to preserve the Empire's integrity and stability. This 1867 settlement between Austrians and Hungarians is known under the name "Compromise" or its German equivalent "Ausgleich". After 1867, even though officially still a unified empire under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty, what used to be the Habsburg or the Austrian Empire turned into a dualist Austria-Hungary, where two ethnicities, Austrians and Hungarians, with often opposing views and ideas had an almost equal decision-making power. According to Taylor, dualism was "exclusively a 'compromise' between the Emperor and the Hungarians".⁷ What dualism created were two states unified in one empire. Both Austria and Hungary were in charge of dealing with their internal affairs, with the common ruler, foreign policy and military.

Since foreign policy was one of the few common things, there was only one foreign minister in Austria-Hungary. However, Franz Joseph himself claimed it was his foreign policy,⁸ since it was one of the rare fields where he could still exert absolutism after the Compromise in 1867. The foreign minister was therefore responsible only for mediation between Austrian and Hungarian foreign policy interests, which rarely coincided and for managing the foreign policy of the Empire from a more technical

⁷ Taylor, Alan J P. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918 : a history of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*. London: Penguin Books, 1990., p. 146

⁸ Bridge, F R. *The Habsburg monarchy among the great powers, 1815-1918*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990., p. 4

aspect, together with many military and financial advisors; Franz Joseph was the one giving his final consent.⁹

In terms of foreign policy and the Balkans, the most pressing issue for Austria-Hungary was Bosnia. The Ottoman province of Bosnia-Herzegovina was surrounded by Austria-Hungary and the quickest way to get to Dalmatia from the rest of Austria-Hungary was through Bosnia. Therefore, Bosnia had political, economic and strategic importance for Austria-Hungary. Bosnia and ideas about its occupation were in the heads of intellectuals and politicians of various ranks in the Empire since the 1850s,¹⁰ when the first suggestions appeared to occupy Bosnia in order to bring peace to the Empire's frontier region, whose economic potentials were hindered by the unstable political situation in the neighboring Ottoman province and frequent frontier raids.

Another argument for occupation, which appeared in 1856, was of military nature.¹¹ The region of Dalmatia was geographically isolated from the rest of the Empire and in case of an attack would be hard to defend. By occupying Bosnia, Austria-Hungary would have easier control over Dalmatia and could bring troops more easily and quickly there in case of an attack. However, nothing was done precisely because of the reason mentioned previously – not to weaken the already weak Ottoman Empire. The economic aspect of the possible occupation was plainly opportunistic. The province had vast resources, which an empire without colonies, such as Austria-Hungary certainly could use.

⁹ *Idem.*, p. 7-9

¹⁰ *Idem.*, p. 112

¹¹ *Ibid.*

What I would argue to be the most important reason for a possible takeover of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the fear of the growing Pan-Slavism. Encouraged by the prevailing liberal ideology, the Slavs in the Balkans were asking for their right to self-determination and they were cooperating among each other to achieve these goals. This self-determination meant less territory and fewer resources for the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and a greater sphere of influence and more resources for the Russians, who were Slavs and Orthodox, therefore considered as allies by the Orthodox Slavs. Bridge argues that if Serbia or Montenegro got Bosnia, then Dalmatia and Croatia could easily fall prey to the South Slavs.¹² Therefore, setting grounds and plans for a possible occupation was a race with time and the South Slavs. However, Jelavich argues that dualism made Austria-Hungary temporarily weak and that Austria-Hungary needed to advocate maintenance of *status quo* in international affairs before being capable to pursue an active foreign policy.¹³

The major obstacle to a possible Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia was the Empire's nature of dualism, i.e. the opposing views on the occupation between Austrians and Hungarians. Bridge states that "to Franz Joseph himself, who had so far managed only to lose territories, the idea of acquiring a province naturally had its attractions."¹⁴ The Hungarian view on the matter was completely different. Having problems with Slavs in their part of the Empire, who, just like their neighbors in the Balkans were asking for their rights to self-determination, the last thing the

¹² Idem., p. 113

¹³ Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983., p. 110

¹⁴ Bridge, F R. *The Habsburg monarchy among the great powers, 1815-1918.*, p. 112

Hungarians wanted to see was more Slavs in the Monarchy, which would jeopardize the Hungarian position as the second most influential ethnic group and open the doors for trialism and possible secession of the Slavic parts of Austria-Hungary. However, recognizing the economic potentials of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Hungarians were in favor of “a limited [Austro-Hungarian] economic expansion southward.”¹⁵

Following a Russo-Turkish war in 1877, a peace treaty was concluded in San Stefano in March 1878, where the Russians decided to give a final blow to the decaying Ottoman Empire and take most of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. The response of the other European great powers was a congress in Berlin in June, where the great powers redrew the borders in the Balkans and gave a lot of the territories back to the Ottomans, while creating an autonomous Bulgaria and independent Serbia, Romania and Montenegro.

Under article XXV of the Berlin Treaty, convened in Berlin in July 1878, Austria-Hungary got the right to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina. Macfie argues that the Berlin Treaty was a success for Austria-Hungary, because “without firing a shot, they had succeeded in preventing a major expansion of Russian power and influence in the Balkans.”¹⁶ The occupation of Bosnia can be interpreted variously – as a success in terms of cultural, strategic and economic gains, and a source of problems in terms of a million and a half more Slavs in the Empire.

¹⁵ Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983., p. 110

¹⁶ Macfie, A L. *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*. New York: Longman, 1993., p. 45

However, the years which followed the Berlin Treaty proved to be the toughest and certainly the most productive and least explored ones in terms of justifying and legitimizing the occupation of Bosnia. The following chapters will analyze the Austrian public discourse regarding the occupation of Bosnia.

1.2 Theoretical Considerations

In order to analyze Austrian public discourse regarding the occupation of Bosnia in 1878, I will use mainly discourse analysis as a method. According to the *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, a precise and universal definition of the term “discourse analysis” does not exist, but it rather depends on the context and the science applying the method. However, the authors agree that discourse analysis always includes “anything beyond the sentence”, “language use” and “a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language.”¹⁷

I intend to follow these elements by analyzing the messages coming from a variety of primary sources from that period, identifying the ideology and views behind the written words and contextualizing the goals of the occupation in the broader setting of the Monarchy’s interests and position in the international arena. Given the variety of sources I will use, the approach will depend on the type of sources. For

¹⁷ Schiffrin, Deborah, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton, eds. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2001., p. 1

example, analysis of historical narratives produced in that time will show how occupation was justified through Bosnia's history, by identifying key events and processes that gave right to Austria-Hungary to occupy Bosnia.

These historical narratives usually served as an introduction to an analysis of the occupation, which in most cases served as a justification of the occupation to a wide audience of Monarchy's intellectuals. Some were published by intellectuals from various parts of the Monarchy. Others were published by the Monarchy, as, for example, a volume of *Kronprinzenwerk*¹⁸ dedicated to Bosnia, which gives an overview of Bosnia from numerous perspectives, but can also be considered as a tool of justification of occupation and as a source for analyzing the view Habsburgs had on their newly acquired province.

Media discourse analysis will show how occupation was justified to the people of the Monarchy, i.e. how public opinion about the occupation was shaped, since the main consumers and targets of media discourse were the people, both intellectuals and common literate people. What is important to note regarding the sources is what David Spurr calls "ambiguity in the relation between author and text", i.e. whose voice is the text representing, the individual writer, institutional authority or cultural ideology, or a combination of all three?¹⁹

¹⁸ "Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegowina." Vol. 22. Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1901.

¹⁹ Spurr, David. *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press, 1993., p. 11

Even though the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia was simply a territorial acquisition of another empire's province, the dualist nature of the Monarchy prevented a full integration of Bosnia into Austria-Hungary and created a special status for Bosnia within the Monarchy. The Monarchy's "civilizatory mission" in Bosnia, which is an attitude present in most primary sources on the subject, reveals an approach similar to the one other empires in Europe had towards their colonies at the same time. Even though the standard abuse of the colony's resources by the imperial core was mostly absent in the case of Bosnia, the colonial attitude was present in the public discourse, through various implicit and explicit hints of colonialism, and the fact that Bosnia was administered jointly between Austria and Hungary. Therefore, I will analyze the discourse regarding the occupation in terms of colonial discourse.

Bosnia, even though a neighboring province for centuries, was certainly an exotic and unexplored area for the inhabitants of Austria-Hungary. Bosnia's predominantly Muslim population and more than four centuries of Ottoman rule sparked interest for the inhabitants of Austria-Hungary. In the 19th century Western European minds the Muslim East was something exotic, interesting and inferior, an attitude which Edward Said calls "Orientalism".²⁰ Bosnian oriental legacy was often emphasized after the occupation. The best example for that is the participation of Bosnia in the Hungarian Millennium exhibition in 1896. A Croatian merchant, in his

²⁰ For a more detailed analysis of Orientalism, see Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. and Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their empire*. London: Penguin Books, 2001.

report on the exhibition, criticizes the overly Oriental look Bosnia got in the exhibition.²¹

David Spurr gives a very nice overview of colonial discourse in general in his book entitled *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*.²² Spurr identifies twelve rhetorical modes and he devotes a chapter of his book to each of these. Each of them refers to a certain perspective of viewing and analyzing colonial discourse. I intend to use Spurr's approach to studying and analyzing colonial discourse, however structured differently, since my research focuses on a specific case study, rather than on a general approach to colonial discourse.

Therefore, I will structure my thesis according to the types of sources, rather than on various rhetorical elements and I will look only those rhetorical modes that are applicable to the context of the occupation of Bosnia. As I mentioned before, discourse analysis requires a special approach depending on the context, and each type of sources uses a different method and has a specific audience. Therefore, each type of sources requires a different way of interpretation to show the arguments that all these types of sources have in common.

Spurr's rhetorical modes are the following: *Surveillance* (visual observation of the native people and their surroundings), *Appropriation* (taking over the territory as

²¹ Krešić, Milan. *Izvešće o milenijskoj izložbi kraljevine Ugarske i kod te prigode sudjelujuće Bosne i Hercegovine te kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije god. 1896*. Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1897., p. 176

²² Spurr, David. *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press, 1993.

one's own), *Aestheticization* (giving an aesthetic value to the usually poor colony), *Classification* (establishing a hierarchy between peoples), *Debasement* ("qualities assigned to the individual savage")²³, *Negation* (how to create something out of nothing), *Affirmation* (colonizers' self-idealization), *Idealization* ("idealizing the savage")²⁴, *Insubstantialization* (immaterial view on the colony), *Naturalization* ("representing the human in terms of natural species and natural phenomena")²⁵, *Eroticization* ("representing the colonized world as the feminine and [assigning] to subject nations those qualities conventionally assigned to the female body")²⁶ and *Resistance* (opposition to colonization by producers of colonial discourse).

Even though elements of all of these rhetorical modes could be traced in the public discourse regarding the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, I will put the emphasis of my research only on few of them, with occasional references to other when they are relevant for the specific type of sources or for a specific argument. The ones I see as most important are *Surveillance*, *Appropriation*, *Aestheticization*, *Debasement*, *Affirmation* and *Resistance*. *Surveillance* includes how the people and environment in Bosnia were described, people's physical appearance, clothes and mentality; and descriptions of Bosnian nature and architecture. *Appropriation* will most certainly be the most important one for my topic, as it will trace the arguments used for the occupation. *Aestheticization*, together with *Idealization* and *Debasement* to a certain extent, will show what Austro-Hungarians saw as beautiful in the

²³ Idem., p. 76

²⁴ Idem., p. 125

²⁵ Idem., p. 156

²⁶ Idem., p. 170

underdeveloped province. *Affirmation* will trace the Austro-Hungarian narcissism and overstressing the progress in Bosnia during the years of the Austro-Hungarian rule. *Resistance* will analyze those arguments that were against the occupation, which were also present in the Austro-Hungarian discourse.

Spurr claims that these rhetorical modes are not used consciously or intentionally, “they are part of the landscape in which relations of power manifest themselves.”²⁷ The same was the case with the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia. The specific discourse justifying the occupation was mostly a result of a need to justify this new, to a certain extent unexpected and in some cases unwanted, territorial gain. Even if the real motives behind the occupation were not just civilizational, the civilizational mission arguments certainly seemed as the most euphemistic and benevolent, and therefore the most appropriate for justifying the occupation to the Austro-Hungarian public and the other states.

Spurr lists several other notions worth mentioning for the context of the occupation of Bosnia. The first one is Jacques Derrida’s “anthropological war”. Derrida argues that anthropological war is “the essential confrontation that opens communication between peoples and cultures, even when that communication is not practiced under the banner of colonial or military oppression” and the discourse that results from the anthropological war imposes a “violence of the letter”²⁸, i.e.

²⁷ Idem., p. 3

²⁸ Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976., p.107. In Spurr, p. 4

subordinating the colony to the colonizers through the colonial discourse. Spurr argues that Derrida's anthropological war includes all sources of colonial discourse.²⁹

Another concept mentioned by Spurr is Georges Balandier's "colonial situation", including the domination of a foreign, more advanced, minority over an indigenous minority "in the name of a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority."³⁰ Balandier's concept of colonial situation fits perfectly with the civilizatory mission that the Habsburgs perceived to be practicing in Bosnia and the liberal views of Germans as being culturally and civilizationaly superior to others. Austria-Hungary, a catholic and an industrialized and culturally more advanced empire was ruling over a predominantly Muslim, agrarian and culturally hindered province. An important concept, related to the colonial situation, is the concept of "the savage other". Spurr argues that the colonizers also acknowledge the savage within them and assert authority over the savage within them and within the colonized peoples abroad, which reflects on the colonial discourse, leading to a confusion of identity "[...] under the burden of colonial authority".³¹

The Austro-Hungarian public discourse on the occupation of Bosnia in 1878 is therefore best interpreted as a complex web of several concepts within the colonial discourse analysis. Applying Spurr's rhetorical modes unquestionably highlights several important keywords in intellectual and government publications in late 19th and early 20th century Austria-Hungary, as well as in the media. My thesis will show

²⁹ Spurr, p. 5

³⁰ Idem., p. 6

³¹ Idem., p. 7

the presence of the civilizational mission perception of the occupation through concepts of Orientalism, anthropological war, colonial situation and the image of the other; all of them intertwined in various sources.

2. APPROACHING THE 1878 OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA THROUGH THE EYES OF THE MONARCHY'S INTELLECTUALS

One can approach the issue of the occupation of Bosnia in the eyes of the Monarchy's intellectuals based on several cleavages. The most obvious one is the pro- and against the occupation. However, this cleavage can also be viewed as Austria vs. Hungary, due to reasons which I will discuss in greater details later in this chapter and touch upon vaguely throughout the rest of the thesis. Even though this issue is not the central one for the scope of this thesis, it is necessary to explain and understand this difference in opinions. This is due to the fact that Austria and Hungary, despite the great autonomy each of them enjoyed within the borders of the Monarchy, did occupy and administer Bosnia together.

Another one, which is the central focus of my thesis, is the cleavage regarding the motives of the occupation. These can be viewed as political/economical vs. cultural arguments for the occupation. The latter cleavage has quite a few dimensions, which were manifested in several ways, and it falls really well into the liberalist and Orientalist approach towards the occupation. It includes arguments whether the occupation of Bosnia was something imposed by other Great Powers with the Berlin Treaty or something that Austria-Hungary really needed or wanted.

The second half of the 19th century was the era of liberalism throughout Europe. The Habsburg Monarchy, being a multicultural imperial entity, led by the

German-speaking Habsburg dynasty, was no different. What liberalism meant in the late 19th century was the overthrow of the old feudal aristocratic system in favor of a constitutional monarchy and the creation of a secular state. What is particularly interesting about liberalism in the context of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in 1878 is the role of the Germans in the Monarchy. Carl Schorske, in his famous classic *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, defines the role of Germans in the Austrian liberalism as “tutor[s] and teacher[s] to bring up the subject peoples, rather than keep them ignorant bondsmen as the feudal had done.”³²

This definition fits in well with the civilizatory mission arguments for the occupation of Bosnia, brought up by most of the intellectuals who wrote about the occupation at the time. Schorske also quotes one of the prominent liberals of the 1860s, J. N. Berger, who said in 1861 that “Germans in Austria should not strive for political hegemony, but for cultural hegemony among the peoples of Austria. They should carry culture to the East, transmit the propaganda of German intellection, German science, German humanism.”³³ Therefore, in accordance with the liberal agenda and the belief in the cultural supremacy of the German nation, the occupation of Bosnia did not serve exclusively the purpose of expansion of the sphere of political and economical power of the Monarchy, but also went along the lines of spreading the supreme German culture to the somewhat exotic population of Bosnia, whose

³² Schorske, Carl. *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: politics and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992., p. 117

³³ Ibid.

intellectual and cultural development was hampered by more than four centuries of the peculiar Ottoman feudal rule.

Given the fact that Bosnia had a sizeable Muslim population and that it was administered by a Muslim Ottoman Empire for over four centuries added to its romanticist appeal. Even though being right on the border with the Habsburg Monarchy for centuries, the Muslim province was something exotic and unexplored in the eyes of the Monarchy's intellectuals. Since all other major European states at the time had colonies around the globe and the Habsburg Monarchy had none, the occupation of Bosnia was also a sort of a reassurance to the Austria-Hungary that it indeed is on track with the other European empires. There was no more need to travel to other empires' colonies or to the Ottoman Empire to get the feeling of the Oriental culture; the Oriental way of life was something now an integral part of one of the Monarchy's provinces.

In the 19th century Western European minds the Muslim East was something exotic, interesting and inferior, which Edward Said calls "Orientalism". According to Said, the Orient, or the East was invented by the Europeans, "and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."³⁴ Orientalism, or dealing with the East, for Said is sparked by the fact that the roots of the modern Western civilization and culture come from the East and that the ancient and medieval Eastern civilizations had helped to create the

³⁴ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979., p. 1

Western civilization as we know it, but still, the Orient had developed in a completely different way and had become a complete opposite of the West.³⁵

The slow, but sure dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, starting with the Greek war of independence in the 1820s, was giving a feeling of sweet revenge to most Europeans, in whose mind there was an image of the ferocious Ottoman, trying to conquer and Islamize Europe in the previous centuries. Therefore, the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was in a way a victory over Islam and a chance for revenge for the Ottoman conquests and the Crusades. Said sees this and the cultural and geographical adjacency of Islam to Europe as a provocation for the Westerners.³⁶ Even though they did manage to subdue numerous Muslims around the globe, there was a Muslim Empire right on the border with the West, subduing many Christians, albeit Orthodox ones.

Combining Austrian liberalism and Said's Orientalism, one can understand more easily how the Monarchy's intellectuals at the time felt about the occupation of Bosnia, why Bosnia was interesting for them and how they viewed it. During my research in the Szechenyi national library, I have examined many books published between 1870s and the beginning of World War I on the topic of Bosnia's history and position in the late 19th and early 20th century. Due to the repetitiveness of arguments in them and the lack of a practice of quoting their sources, I have decided to take just a sample of these publications for analyzing the intellectuals' perceptions on Bosnia

³⁵ Idem., 1-2

³⁶ Idem., 74

and include a bibliographical list of sources available in Appendix 1. What is interesting about these texts is not the general description of Bosnia from various perspectives, but rather the way the authors of these texts see Bosnia, how they interpreted and imagined their new province's history and present, how they justified the occupation through the historical and present conditions in Bosnia and the differences in arguments based on the time of writing and the ethnicity and political involvement of the authors.

2.1 *Kronprinzenwerk: the Habsburgs' Perception of their New Territorial Acquisition*

The *Kronprinzenwerk*, or *Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Image), is a 24 volume encyclopedia, published under the protectorate of the Crown Prince Rudolf between 1885 and 1902 in German and Hungarian. Each of the volumes was dedicated to one of the Monarchy's provinces and contained detailed narrative descriptions of each province from the perspectives of various sciences – geography; flora and fauna; descriptions of cities, towns and villages; archaeology; history; ethnology; literature; architecture; agriculture, economy and industry. The 22nd volume was dedicated to

Bosnia and Herzegovina and published in Vienna in 1901 as a quite detailed survey of Bosnian past and present, based on the categories listed above.³⁷

Since *Kronprinzenwerk* was an official imperial publication, written by various scientists and academicians selected by the Habsburgs, one can easily argue that *Kronprinzenwerk* reflects the Habsburg view on each of their provinces and the ethnicities inhabiting a certain province. The particularity of Bosnia, as I mentioned previously, is that it was in a way the Habsburgs' only colony, with a significant Muslim population and a four centuries Ottoman legacy, embedded in each segment of the life of the province and its population.

What is interesting in *Kronprinzenwerk* regarding the image of Bosnia, as in all other publications on the same matter, is the creation of an explicit distinction between Bosnia and the rest of the Monarchy. In the chapter on the geographical description of the province, the river Sava, which is the northern border between Bosnia and Croatia even today, and up until 1878 used to be the border between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, is described as "the border between the Balkan Peninsula and the rest of Europe."³⁸ With "the rest of Europe", the Habsburgs are acknowledging that Bosnia is an integral part Europe and are appropriating Bosnia as their own and as European. However, the same sentence continues with defining the river Sava as also being the border "between East and West", which establishes a clear border between cultures and civilizations, and explicitly acknowledges that

³⁷ "Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegowina." Vol. 22. Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1901.

³⁸ Idem., 39

Bosnia, still after twenty-three years of Austro-Hungarian occupation, is in fact part of the Oriental culture, as compared to the rest of the Monarchy, which belongs to the West. Continuing about the river Sava, the author of the chapter states that Sava is “the doorstep of the Orient” and how such a contrast between civilizations on two sides of the river is unique in the world.³⁹ It is interesting how in one sentence Bosnia is referred to as part of the West and part of the East.

Another peculiarity in *Kronprinzenwerk* regards the references to the population. According to the author, the population of Bosnia stems from the “ancient Illyrian inhabitants, mixed with the Ottoman Turks.”⁴⁰ In my view, negating the predominant Slavic composition of Bosnia’s population was done in order to deny the arguments made by those who were against the occupation, because they saw it as an influx of approximately 1.5 million Slavs into the Monarchy already in trouble with the growing Slavic nationalisms, who were looking to the occupation of Bosnia as a tool for converting the dualist state into a trialist one.

Even the references to the ethnic affiliations of the population were avoided by referring to each of the three main ethnic groups according to their religion. So, in Habsburg minds, throughout *Kronprinzenwerk*, the Bosnian Muslims are referred to as “Mohammedaner”, Croats are referred to as Catholics, while Serbs are referred to as “orientalisch-Orthodoxen Christen” (oriental Orthodox Christians). In this way, it seems as if there is one Bosnian nation, consisting of three religions, and at least in

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Idem., 4

theory, none of the three groups could be connected to any other neighboring nation. This was done in order to contain the nationalist and irredentist propaganda coming from the Croats and Serbians. The Habsburgs came up with a concept of *bošnjaštvo*, claiming that there is one Bosnian nation, consisting of three religions – Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic.⁴¹

Even though the general tone of *Kronprinzenwerk* does not seem to have a negative or superior stance towards Muslims, there is one important passage, which gives a valid reason to believe that Habsburgs indeed regarded their role in Bosnia as bringers of culture and civilization, especially to the Muslims. When talking about new opportunities for the population of Bosnia after 1878, the author says that after the occupation many Bosnian young people went to study at universities all around the Monarchy, “including some Muslims.”⁴² This small addition to the sentence implies an Orientalist approach the Habsburgs had towards the Bosnian Muslims and a subliminal trace of paternalism, in accordance with the liberalist view on the role of the Germans in the Monarchy.

This religious division of the population makes sense also in the light of the political and diplomatic affairs at the time. Given the fact that Orthodox Churches are in fact ethnic autocephalous religious communities and that Austria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbia were at the constant verge of an armed conflict at the time, referring to the Orthodox population of Bosnia as “oriental Orthodox”, rather than

⁴¹ Friedman, Francine. *The Bosnian Muslims : denial of a nation.*, p. 64

⁴² "Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegowina." Vol. 22. Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1901., p. 4

Serbian Orthodox, was a subliminal message to Serbia that it should not appropriate the Orthodox population of Bosnia, since this Orthodox population does not belong to Serbia, but was in my opinion considered rather as a supranational Orthodox religious community. I would argue that this was opening the possibility for a possible future creation of a Bosnian Orthodox Church, once the final status of Bosnia is resolved.

The justification of the occupation itself was done in the chapter on history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, written by Ludwig von Thallóczy, a Hungarian historian and a member of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia. After a rather dry and factual historical narrative on the history of Bosnia, Thallóczy's description of 19th century Bosnian history, up to the occupation in 1878 is rich with interpretations of events, which made it logical and favorable for Bosnia to become part of the Monarchy.

According to Thallóczy, the Habsburgs were aware of the influences other states had in Bosnia, and the Emperor himself had a special interest in Bosnia, especially for the well-being of Catholics, whom he wanted to help realize that the Catholic Austria is their best and only ally.⁴³ Thallóczy claims that already in the early 19th century the Habsburgs and the Monarchy were aware “they have to seek [fulfillment of] their political mission in the east.”⁴⁴ However, he does not define this political mission. Looking at the text and the context from today's perspective, the Habsburgs were aware in 1901 that the only way of expansion of their territory or

⁴³ Idem., 266-267

⁴⁴ Idem., 267

sphere of influence was southeastwards, i.e. to the Balkans, where newly formed states and the decaying Ottoman Empire were easy to influence, if the Russian factor was neutralized. Furthermore, when looking at the above quote from the perspective of the previously discussed liberalism and Orientalism, one can see hints of the Habsburgs' civilizational mission in Bosnia.

However, it is a fact that before the 1870s, the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia was a mere wish and suggestion of certain people and not a determined state policy. In order to evade this claim, Thallóczy put the blame on the pre-dualism crisis of government in the Habsburg Monarchy, and he claims that the Monarchy could pursue a firm and effective foreign policy in the East only after the 1867 Compromise.⁴⁵ I would argue that by making such claims Thallóczy is plainly justifying the occupation as not only a coincidental effect of the Berlin Congress, but as a realization of a long-term Monarchy's strategy to expand into the Balkans. Up until 1866, the Monarchy was more preoccupied with its rivalry with Prussia over who is going to lead the unified German state. However, when these plans failed, this is when the newly (re)formed Austria-Hungary turned to the Balkans actively.

Coming to the occupation itself, Thallóczy states that the occupation came true based on the "trust of the European powers" and that it "closed the history of Bosnia, of a country, which was always fluctuating between East and West and had now permanently joined the latter."⁴⁶ This is another way of appropriating Bosnia - trying to

⁴⁵ Idem., 276

⁴⁶ Ibid.

prove that Bosnia was never completely Oriental and stressing that with the occupation Bosnia finally came permanently under the full Western sphere of influence, i.e. into the civilized world. By “closing the history of Bosnia”, the Habsburgs showed their determination to provide a future for Bosnia, one in accordance with Western ideas. By claiming that Bosnia became part of the Habsburg domains based on the trust of other European great powers, the Habsburgs are trying to prove that, despite the recent crises, Austria-Hungary is now definitely part of the European Concert, a European system of Great Powers, who trust Austria-Hungary enough to give it the right to administer one of the most chaotic provinces on the continent.

Despite the general descriptive nature of *Kronprinzenwerk*, one can definitely find traces of the liberalist and Orientalist approach the Habsburgs had towards Bosnia and its occupation, based on certain phrases and sometimes unnecessary additions to sentences. *Kronprinzenwerk* is putting an emphasis on the fact that Bosnia is now (West) European, that it is experiencing its first contacts with modern civilization and that the Habsburgs are the bringers of culture and civilization into the province. However, since the volume was published in 1901, it reflects a view based on a relatively successful “westernization” of Bosnia. The following sections will analyze other publications on Bosnia from the turn of the century, mainly non-official ones.

2.2 *Austrian Intellectuals and the Occupation of Bosnia: Lazar Hellenbach*

An often present image and motive of the occupation in the works of the Austrian intellectuals is the civilizatory mission. They consider the Ottoman Empire as civilizationally inferior to Austria-Hungary, and they see the crisis in the Ottoman Empire, the national awakenings and the inability of the Ottomans to deal with it successfully as a chance for Austria-Hungary to spread its cultural influence in the Balkans. Those authors writing in the late 19th and early 20th century were bragging with all the cultural, economical and political improvements in Bosnia during the period of the Austro-Hungarian rule.

For Leo Smolle in 1909, the thirty years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia were “a period of internal order and external peace”⁴⁷ and “an achieved cultural mission.”⁴⁸ A 1910 travel guide for the whole Monarchy states that as of 1878, Bosnia is “fully Europeized”, stressing the fact that Bosnia is culturally far more advanced than other Balkan provinces, which are still under the Muslim administration.⁴⁹ This is one of the typical examples of Orientalism one can find in writings from that time. An authorless 1886 book titled *Bosnien als Neuösterreich* (“Bosnia as New Austria”),

⁴⁷ Smolle, Leo. *Die neuen Reichslande Oesterreich-Ungarns: Bosnien und die Herzegowina*. Graz: Verlagsbuchhandlung Styria, 1909., p. ix

⁴⁸ Idem., x

⁴⁹ *Österreich-Ungarn: Bosnien und Herzegowina*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1910., p. 251

which is a summary of several other publications on Bosnia, is talking openly about the Monarchy's civilizational mission in Bosnia and how the Muslims are not appreciating the Austrian efforts.⁵⁰

One of the first books on the occupation appeared already in 1878, right after the occupation took place. It was Lazar Hellenbach's, *Die Occupation Bosniens und deren Folgen* (The Occupation of Bosnia and its Consequences). I would argue that this book represents the typical view Austrian intellectuals at the time had towards Bosnia, albeit in a rather chaotic way. Hellenbach, an Austrian philosopher, is connecting the occupation with the national awakenings in the Balkans, stressing the fact that the Ottoman Empire was at a lower degree of civilization than Austria-Hungary and was therefore unable to preserve its territorial integrity. In an analysis of another Hellenbach's book, *Insel Mellonta*, Ulrich Bach states that Hellenbach was in a way a liberalist-socialist globalist, because he believed in "a general brotherhood of all men regardless of race, religion and gender."⁵¹ As regards Hellenbach's view on other ethnicities, Bach claims that even though Hellenbach's writings did have a purpose of combating stereotypes, Hellenbach is endorsing these stereotypes at the same time.⁵² According to Bach, Hellenbach in his novel *Insel Mellonta*, describing an island utopian society is implying "a possible Habsburg *Sonderweg*, colonialism

⁵⁰ *Bosnien als Neuösterreich*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1886., p. iii

⁵¹ Bach, Ulrich. "A Colonial-Utopian Dream: Lazar von Hellenbach's Insel Mellonta (1883)." *Kakania revisited* (June 15, 2005). <<http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/UBach1.pdf>>, p. 2

⁵² Idem., 3

without overseas colonies.”⁵³ Such Hellenbach’s view was certainly influenced by the political situation in the Monarchy, i.e. the occupation of Bosnia.

All of Bach’s remarks on Hellenbach’s views are confirmed in *Die Occupation Bosniens und deren Folgen*. Hellenbach is viewing the Ottoman Empire from the Austro-Hungarian perspective and comparing the two empires constantly, stressing the Austro-Hungarian superiority in all fields. According to Hellenbach, Turkey was not at the same cultural level as Austria. Hellenbach sees one reason for that in the fact that there was no official language in the Ottoman Empire. German was the unifying language of the people in Austria-Hungary, while the population of the Ottoman Empire was largely uneducated and there was no official government effort to impose a single language on all peoples,⁵⁴ which hindered the possible cooperation and a sense of unity among its citizens.

Hellenbach also claims that Romanians, Serbs and Greeks already got rid of the “Turkish cultural mission [...] and even though they are still not an example of a civilization, they have a being worth of humanity, as the rest of their brothers.”⁵⁵ This is his way of expressing appropriation of the newly formed Balkan states by the Western civilization and the brotherhood of all men. However, this brotherhood is somewhat Orwellian, in the famous *Animal Farm* style “All men are equal, but some are more equal than the others”. For Hellenbach, the “brotherhood” is the brotherhood

⁵³ Idem., 18

⁵⁴ Hellenbach, Lazar. *Die Occupation Bosniens und deren Folgen*. Vienna: J.C. Fischer und Comp, 1878., p. 4

⁵⁵ Idem., 5

of the Western peoples, and since he finds the Ottoman Empire to be culturally inferior to Austria-Hungary, Hellenbach thinks that the successor states in the Balkans are entering the Western brotherhood by accepting Western values and by being subdued under the Western sphere of influence.

The author is putting the blame for the resistance made by the Bosnian population on the indifference of the Austrian statesmen throughout the 19th century, which is a cause for the decline of Austria's popularity among the Bosnian Slavs.⁵⁶ This is a similar method Thallóczy used in *Kronprinzenwerk* to justify this sudden Austrian interest for the Balkans. Just instead of blaming the political crisis in the Monarchy, Hellenbach is honestly and openly stating that the Monarchy did not care much about Bosnia until a bit before the occupation, because "occupying Bosnia was an imperative for Austria, if it wanted to preserve the [Adriatic] seaside."⁵⁷ Therefore, by occupying Bosnia, Austria was having a cultural and a political benefit – a safe seaside and the re-joining of Bosnians to the Western civilization.

Not denying the population of Bosnia the right to a national awakening, Hellenbach states that the process of national awakening was not destroyed by the occupation, but that this national awakening could also be used for Austria's benefit. He believes that the pan-Slavic idea is in accordance with natural laws, and that annexation is the only way for these South Slavs to unify and develop, within the

⁵⁶ Idem., 6

⁵⁷ Ibid.

boundaries of the advanced Austria-Hungary.⁵⁸ This is exactly what the Hungarians feared – a South Slavic collective and unified national awakening on the territory of what Hungary regarded as rightfully hers. One can also attribute Hellenbach's pan-Slavophilia to the competition between Austria and Hungary for dominance in the Monarchy. The Austrians supported the Slavs to weaken the Hungarians, while the Hungarians feared that more Slavs in the Monarchy would weaken the position of the Hungarians.

Hellenbach was also a strong supporter of the annexation of Bosnia already in 1878. Due to the resistance by the local Muslim population, Hellenbach claims that Bosnia was not occupied, but conquered.⁵⁹ And to Hellenbach, as long as the Sultan is the official sovereign of Bosnia, Bosnian problems cannot be solved and “the status quo remains”, so Bosnia should be annexed at all costs.⁶⁰

For Hellenbach, the effect of the occupation should be the unification of the Monarchy's south Slavs. However, he is undermining the Serbian interests. Being a newly independent state, Serbia posed a problem to Austria-Hungary. This is where Hellenbach's ideas are slightly controversial, because he says that “the insurgents and the principality of Serbia can be crushed, but only the national idea can conquer the land.”⁶¹ These insurgents are Bosnian Muslims, and Bosnian Serbs gravitated

⁵⁸ Idem., 7

⁵⁹ Idem., 13

⁶⁰ Idem., 15

⁶¹ Idem., 18

towards Belgrade, so it is not quite clear who does Hellenbach envisage under “the national idea” besides the Catholics.

Hellenbach's enthusiasm with the occupation of Bosnia is understandable, given the fact that he wrote a whole book on it right after it took place, and given his liberal views. However, he is often contradicting his own ideology. In theory, his ideas on the unification of the south Slavs under the cultural influence of the Habsburgs seem reasonable. However, Hellenbach was influenced by the politics of the time and he is not clearly defining the Slavic “national idea”, since it is obvious from the text that he was anti-Serbian. This is in line with Bach's view that even though Hellenbach was trying to fight against prejudices, his writings are full of them.

As one can see, the position of the Austrian intellectuals as regards the occupation of Bosnia is very close to the Habsburgs' one – all in line with the ideas of liberalism and Orientalism. However, the differences are based on the dates of publication. While texts written immediately after the occupation mainly discuss the role Bosnia could or should have in the Habsburg Monarchy, those written around the period of the annexation in 1908, stress the success of the Austrian civilizatory mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the overall progress achieved on all fields. They view this success as a justification for the occupation and legitimization for the annexation of Bosnia.

2.3 *Benjamin Kállay: Justifying Occupation from the Hungarian Perspective*

The most difficult task was to justify the occupation in Hungary. In a very good analysis of the Hungarian public opinion and Bosnia in the late 1870s, Endre Arató states that the Hungarian public opinion about Bosnia was strongly polarized as of spring 1877, with the overall majority being against the occupation. The main arguments were the prevention of the South Slavic unity, an overall positive attitude towards the Ottoman Empire in Hungary and the fact that the occupation was seen as benefitting Austria and destabilizing Hungary, by incorporating more South Slavs into the Monarchy, i.e. into Hungary, already overwhelmed with the Slavic national awakening(s).⁶²

However, the position of the Hungarian government and the Hungarian public were in opposition. Andrassy, the minister of foreign affairs, and Tisza, the leader of the government were vigorous defenders of the Monarchy's right to occupy Bosnia. According to Arató, members of the Hungarian government believed that by occupying Bosnia, Austria-Hungary is actually helping the Ottoman Empire, by spreading Russia's available maneuvering space for subduing the Slavs under its sphere of influence.⁶³ They also believed that pan-Slavism could be dealt with easier if Bosnia was part of the Monarchy. Tisza once said: "Bosnia is the nest of pan-

⁶² Arató, Endre. "Mađarsko javno mnjenje i Bosna i Hercegovina (1875-1878)." Vol. 3. In *Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 100-godišnjice ustanka u BiH, drugim balkanskim zemljama i istočnoj krizi 1875-1878*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti BiH, 1977., p. 27

⁶³ Ibid.

Slavism and therefore we should occupy it to prevent it from becoming the welding furnace of pan-Slavism.”⁶⁴

Benjamin Kállay, a Hungarian and the imperial Minister of Finance and administrator of Bosnia from 1882 until 1903, published a book in 1900 – *Die Lage der Mohammedaner in Bosnien: von einem Ungarn* (“The Position of Muslims in Bosnia: by a Hungarian”). As contrasted to the others, Kállay is pointing out already in the beginning that Bosnia, “an oriental world”, is different from the West. However, Kállay does not think Bosnia is an alien world to the West,⁶⁵ implying a more pragmatic and less idealistic stand towards the occupation, when compared to, for example, Hellenbach. This is most likely due to Kállay’s interest and experience in the Balkans.

He spoke fluently most of the Balkan languages, and had been appointed to several high positions in Serbia and Bulgaria in the 1860s and 1870s. Therefore the lack of Orientalism in Kállay’s writing. Also, Kállay is not a typical Hungarian, when it comes to viewing the occupation of Bosnia, even though the title of his book implies he will share the views of his fellow countrymen on the occupation. Due to his objective perspective on the occupation and his achievements as administrator of Bosnia, I have decided to include him in this analysis, despite of his nationality, as he was a high-ranking government official.

⁶⁴ Idem., 48

⁶⁵ Kállay, Benjamin. *Die Lage der Mohammedaner in Bosnien: von einem Ungarn*. Vienna: K. u K. Hof- und Universitäts- Buchdrucker, 1900., p. 3

Kállay blames the Ottomans for losing Bosnia. In his view, the Ottoman Empire could have crushed the uprisings and bring order into the province. However, it had failed to do so, and this failure resulted in the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia.⁶⁶ Therefore, for Kállay, the mission in Bosnia was “to establish order, there where there was none.”⁶⁷ Kállay sees two possible ways of doing that. The first one is to follow the examples of the newly formed Balkan states, which subdued their Muslims as a revenge for several centuries of oppression. The second one is cooperation and education, justified in Kállay’s eyes by the Islamic legal tradition and the Ottoman practice several centuries ago that “who has the force, has the power”.⁶⁸

It is the latter method, which Kállay advocated both in theory and in practice, in accordance with the liberalist ideas. And it is the same set of policies, which Kállay praises in his book. Austria-Hungary, according to Kállay, had full respect and provided maximum support to the Muslim population and their religious and legal practices, unlike the Balkan states, which persecuted their Muslims vigorously.⁶⁹ However, it is not just the Muslims, whose rights were fully respected. Kállay claims that the new regime is better, because it guarantees equal rights for all,⁷⁰ as opposed to the Ottoman and newly formed Balkan ones, where there was a clearly established hierarchy, based on religion mainly, which was equated with nationality. He is praising the July 27 1878 proclamation about the occupation and its promises of “equality

⁶⁶ Idem., 43

⁶⁷ Idem., 44

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Idem., 47

⁷⁰ Idem., 46

before the law, safety of life and property, and respect for religion and customs” as “the maximum the new sovereign could possibly say.”⁷¹

However, in 1900, when Kállay published the book, the Monarchy’s mission in Bosnia was far from over, and Kállay is fully aware of that. He thinks the job was too complicated to have been achieved in 22 years, given the distrust the local population had in the new administration and the cultural differences between the Monarchy and the province.⁷² Kállay himself shows signs of pessimism in the end result, by asking in the conclusion if what the Monarchy is doing in Sarajevo “the work of Sisyphus.”⁷³ One of the problems he sees is the nature of the occupation, i.e. the fact that the Sultan is still officially the sovereign of Bosnia, hinting that the annexation of Bosnia might be the best possible solution. However, putting liberalism aside, Kállay believes that the only thing the Bosnian question needs in 1900 is “an objective assessment.”⁷⁴

2.4 Conclusions

As the previous sections of this chapter and the bibliographical list in Appendix 1 show, the questions of why occupy Bosnia and what to do with Bosnia were on the minds of most intellectuals at the time. The liberal tradition of thinking at the time implied a civilizatory mission, in accordance with the view of Germans as carriers of

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Idem., 85

⁷³ Idem., 126

⁷⁴ Ibid.

culture and civilization to the Southeast, since it was the only possible way of territorial and cultural expansion for the Habsburgs. The three case studies I included in the previous sections are all from different backgrounds and show a typical 19th century liberal view on the Orient – one is a Habsburg official source, one is a typical Austrian 19th century liberal source and the last one is by a high-ranked government official, who was at the same time a Hungarian national (however, not as explicitly anti-Austrian as other Hungarians at the time).

All three case studies also showed various approaches to the same topic: *Kronprinzenwerk* reflects a Habsburg view on Bosnia, and since the Habsburgs had to keep the public opinion (especially from the population of Bosnia) on their side, they had to be careful what to include and how to include it. Hellenbach was writing for an Austrian audience, was not an official in the Monarchy and could therefore be freer in his writing. Therefore a slightly radical view on the population of Bosnia can be seen in his work. Hellenbach also wrote his book immediately in 1878, so his views reflect a kind of an initial excitement about the occupation of a predominantly Muslim province. Kállay on the other hand is an odd mixture of the two. He was the administrator of Bosnia at the time he wrote his book, so he also had to be very careful on what he was writing. His pragmatism also relates to his previous experience with the Balkans – therefore a more objective and less passionate view on the occupation.

3. THE OCCUPATION OF BOSNIA IN 1878 AUSTRIAN MEDIA

Even though not as elaborate as the publications discussed in the previous chapter, the Monarchy's newspapers did their part of the job in justifying the occupation of Bosnia. Their role was mostly in providing the people of the Monarchy with a daily dose of mostly factual news on how the occupation is going, what are the obstacles to be overcome and occasionally trying to influence the public opinion in line with the newspaper's political orientation and considering the lack of full freedom of press in the Monarchy. The major difference between the publications discussed in the previous chapter and newspapers is in the fact that the intellectuals wrote their books after Bosnia was conquered and, to put it in lay words, they already knew how the occupation ended. Journalists, on the other side, only had events from the previous day, which they had to combine with the context of the earlier events, in order to report what had happened.

Given the vast number of newspapers being published all over the Monarchy every day, I found it necessary to limit my research only to certain newspapers and only to a certain time frame. Initially I wanted to analyze the *Wiener Zeitung*, as it was the official imperial newspaper. However, I found that these provided only official facts and quotes from other newspapers, without almost any analysis and interpretation of events, besides the formal, official and patriotic style of writing. I have chosen *Das Vaterland* instead. *Das Vaterland* was a Christian-Social Viennese daily newspaper,

whose editorials were often abundant with opinions about the occupation. Two rather peculiar sources I used are *Der Floh* [The Flea] and *Die Bombe* [The Bomb]. The two were Austrian satirical weeklies, and their main task was to give a mocking side of the events that happened throughout the week. Even though they are not serious, their content actually reveals more about the motives of the occupation and the perception about Bosnia than the dry, factual “serious” dailies.

Regarding the time frame I took as a sample, I found July and August 1878 to be the most appropriate for the scope of my thesis in case of the dailies, and until the end of the year in case of weeklies. However, I found July and August to be the most fruitful in terms of writing about Bosnia. Since the Berlin Congress ended on July 13 1878, the period immediately after the Congress seemed to be the most appropriate, because it is a short time span, full of events, from the end of the Berlin Congress, through the invasion of Bosnia, ending with the conquering of Bosnia’s capital – Sarajevo.

3.1 Occupation of Bosnia in Austrian Dailies: *Das Vaterland*

The beginning of *Das Vaterland's*⁷⁵ justification of the occupation of Bosnia was on the last day of the Berlin Congress, July 13, when it was already more than obvious that Austria-Hungary will occupy Bosnia. *Das Vaterland* managed to do that

⁷⁵ “Homeland”

without mentioning directly the occupation. In an article “Monks in Bosnia”⁷⁶, written in Zagreb several weeks before, the author is discussing the role of Franciscan monks in Bosnia. The role of these monks as missionaries of Catholicism is undisputable for the anonymous author. However, a more interesting role he sees is Franciscan monks as “missionaries of Christian love to all those in need, regardless of their religion.”⁷⁷

What is interesting about this article is not the description of what these monks are doing in Bosnia, but rather the fact that it was published on the day when the Berlin Congress ended, and is therefore in a way setting ground for the upcoming occupation of Bosnia. The Franciscan monks are referred to as missionaries, i.e. in charge of spreading Catholicism in a non-Muslim province. However, the author stresses more their role of spreading Catholic principles, rather than the Catholic faith. In a Muslim-administered province, where three major religions co-exist and all of them have been in conflict for centuries before, the Catholics are presented as the ones helping everyone, without asking for religious affiliations first. This is the role the Habsburgs imagined for themselves in Bosnia, as carriers of progress for all, without making any ethnic or religious distinctions.

The period of intensive reporting about the events in Bosnia started three days later, on July 16, and lasted until the end of August. In this period, rather dry narrative reports were published daily on the movements of the imperial army in Bosnia,

⁷⁶ “Die Trappisten in Bosnien.” *Das Vaterland*, 13 July 1878, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

together with quotes from other newspapers, mainly from the Monarchy, and their views on the occupation. In addition to those, quite often editorials were commenting on these events. What I saw as interesting in *Das Vaterland* and other newspapers I looked into were the three phases when the view about the occupation shifted. I dated the first phase from mid to end July, the period of initial excitement with the occupation and preparations for what everyone in the Monarchy thought will be simply a routine entrance of the imperial army into Bosnia. The second phase starts on July 29, when the imperial army met resistance from the local Muslim insurgents and when doubts on whether it was all really worth it arose. The last phase started on August 21, a day after the Monarchy's troops entered Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. I would like to point out that these dates are not fixed. The two dates I mentioned earlier were historical events around which one can notice a turning point in the newspapers' writing.

July 16 edition of *Das Vaterland* reports on calming of the "excitement" in Bosnia, that the insurgents will subdue to the Austrians and how the population is awaiting with joy the soon arrival of the imperial troops.⁷⁸ This is a typical example of what I defined as the first phase and these are the phrases most commonly found in the official reports from Bosnia up until the imperial troops entered Bosnia on July 29 and met with resistance.

⁷⁸ *Das Vaterland*. 16 July 1878, p. 2

On July 17, an editorial reveals certain problems.⁷⁹ However, these do not relate to the short-term period, but to the Monarchy's mission in Bosnia. The author admits that Austria is on "tough grounds" in the Balkans and says that the occupation is "a small piece of work",⁸⁰ which the Monarchy got from the [Berlin] Congress.⁸¹ According to the author, the Austrian mission is to protect the Catholics, a task that will be hard to fulfill because of the Muslims, who will most likely not subdue so easily to Catholic rule. Another interesting claim put forward by the author is that "Bosnia is the westernmost Islamic place."⁸² It is not clear how he imagined the West, but this claim could be considered as having two meanings. One is purely geographical. The other defines West in terms of civilization and implies that Bosnia is now part of the West.

July 18 and 19 were dedicated to the analysis a Hungarian newspaper *Pester Lloyd*, and two opinion pieces published there about the occupation, more specifically on posing questions how Bosnia will be integrated into the dualist Austria-Hungary and its constitution. What is surprising for the Austrians is the overall negative stand on the occupation on July 18.⁸³ However, the next day, the Hungarians managed to find few positive sides to the occupation,⁸⁴ which pleasantly surprised the journalists of *Das Vaterland*. However, the Austrian journalists were still confused with this presentation of opposite views and said that "Pester Lloyd does not know itself, what

⁷⁹ *Das Vaterland*. 17 July 1878, p. 1

⁸⁰ In German: "kleines Stück Arbeit"

⁸¹ *Das Vaterland*. 17 July 1878, p. 1

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ *Das Vaterland*. 18 July 1878, p. 3

⁸⁴ *Das Vaterland*. 19 July 1878, p. 2

it writes.”⁸⁵ This is one typical example of a cleavage between Austria and Hungary, regarding the occupation.

The week preceding the entering of the imperial forces into Bosnia was dedicated to reporting on the preparations for the *de facto* occupation. Besides general description every day in a section specially dedicated to the military movements⁸⁶ – which division is located where on the border in preparation for entering Bosnia, *Das Vaterland* also states that the Monarchy will “restore and maintain order, which was destroyed [by the careless policies] of the Ottoman Empire.”⁸⁷ Several days later, *Das Vaterland* reports on the mood in Sarajevo about the occupation. “The people of Sarajevo are accepting the idea that the occupation is a reality.”⁸⁸ Both statements served as moral boosters and to discredit those, who were against the occupation.

The first statement hints the mission of the Monarchy in Bosnia, albeit not the civilizational one, but rather supporting the claim stated on several occasions before that the occupation was a task and a mission requested by the Berlin Congress. The latter statement is interesting knowing what had happened afterwards, the resistance the imperial army met and a statement issued a month later that “Sarajevo was

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ As of July 29, military bulletins were published daily in a special section titled “Von der Occupationsarmee” (“From the Occupation Army”). These were mostly direct quotes from *Viennaer Abendpost* and since they contained strictly factual and quantitative information on the progress of occupation, I have decided not to include them in my analysis, unless they contained information relevant for the scope of this thesis

⁸⁷ *Das Vaterland*. 20 July 1878, p. 2

⁸⁸ *Das Vaterland*. 25 July 1878, p. 2

captured [...] after bloody street fighting.”⁸⁹ One can pose questions on whether this statement was plain naivety from the side of Austrians or part of a carefully planned public relations campaign to justify the occupation and calm those who were opposing it. In my opinion, it was a combination of both.

I would argue that the Austrians did approach the occupation with an overwhelming, even though often not explicitly stated, belief in Austria’s cultural and civilizational superiority over the Ottoman Empire, and the resistance they met surprised them. On the other side, they were certainly aware that Bosnian Muslims will not surrender that easily to Catholic rule, and needed arguments (true or false) to convince the population of the Monarchy that the population of Bosnia is awaiting Austria and its cultural and civilizational amenities with joy.

On July 28, an official “Austrian proclamation on the entrance of Austro-Hungarian troops into Bosnia and Herzegovina”⁹⁰ was published, targeting the population of Bosnia, assuring them that the Monarchy is occupying the provinces in good faith. The proclamation stated that Austria-Hungary is occupying Bosnia to restore peace and order, because:

[...] The Emperor and King could no longer remain a passive spectator of the violence and discord which reigned in the neighborhood of his provinces, any more than the poverty and misery which knocked at the door of his states.

⁸⁹ *Das Vaterland*. 21 August 1878, p. 1

⁹⁰ *Das Vaterland*. 28 July 1878, p. 1; for a full version in English, see: *Yugoslavia through documents: from its creation to its dissolution*, edited by Snezana Trifunovska. Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1994., vol. 1, p. 96

He has called the attention of the European states to your situation, and it has been unanimously decided in the Council of the People [the Berlin Congress] that Austria-Hungary shall give back to you the calm and prosperity of which you have been so long deprived.

His Majesty the Sultan, animated with the desire of providing for your welfare has decided to entrust you to the protection of his powerful friend the Emperor and King. The Imperial and Royal troops are therefore coming amongst you. They do not bring you war; they come on, the contrary, to give you back peace. [...] ⁹¹

This part of the proclamation stresses Austria's active involvement and interest in solving the problems in Bosnia and the fact it was published on the first page of *Das Vaterland* even though it was addressed to the population of Bosnia, shows that the Monarchy was determined to convince its own population as well in the good intentions behind the occupation.

Das Vaterland's response to the proclamation was that "[the occupation] brings a new period in history, a new era, which will hopefully bring more happiness." ⁹² They are also wondering what Austria-Hungary should do with its new territorial acquisition. They condemned the possible exploitation of Bosnia by the model of East Indian companies, a model they claimed most of the ruling politicians had. However, *Das Vaterland* does not propose any alternatives. The last quote also shows the colonial stance Austrian politicians had towards Bosnia. Even though it might have been on the minds of the politicians at the time, it was never fully applied in practice.

⁹¹ Trifunovska 97

⁹² *Das Vaterland*. 28 July 1878, p. 1

The following day, on July 29, *Das Vaterland* provides the full text of the speech that the military commander of the occupation, Josef Philippovich, gave to the soldiers before crossing the river Sava into Bosnia. Philippovich called the ongoing conflict in Bosnia as the “civil war, bringing Bosnian refugees into Austria-Hungary” and a “religious and racial struggle driven by fanaticism.”⁹³ According to Philippovich, the upcoming occupation will be a “tough mission”, however one “in the service of humanity and civilization.”⁹⁴ This statement reveals the civilizatory mission of the Monarchy in Bosnia.

The following days, as bad news from the front were coming, were dedicated to providing arguments for the occupation of Bosnia. On August 4 the occupation was justified as “an exchange for the lost Italian provinces” and as “the protection of [the Monarchy] and the rescue of the unfortunate peoples, which are its Balkan neighbors.”⁹⁵ On August 7, the economic side of the occupation was turned into highly favorable for the Monarchy, because Austria-Hungary in 1875 imported more from Bosnia than it exported into Bosnia. Therefore, “the integration of Bosnia into the Monarchy might improve the overall economic situation of the whole Monarchy.”⁹⁶ On August 14, the Ottoman Empire is referred to as “the dead man”, in an article of the same title.⁹⁷ According to the article, the Ottoman Empire is “not a sick man, but a dead man.” The article finds the terms of the Berlin Treaty more than favorable for the

⁹³ *Das Vaterland*. 29 July 1878, p. 1

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Das Vaterland*. 4 August 1878, p. 1

⁹⁶ “Volkswirtschaftliche Occupation Bosniens.” *Das Vaterland*. 7 August 1878, p. 1

⁹⁷ “Das ‘todte Mann’.” *Das Vaterland*. 14 August 1878, p. 1

Ottoman Empire, since none of the Great Powers cared much about the viability of the Ottoman Empire.

Another article on August 19 justified the occupation as the protection of the Monarchy from the growing influence of “Slavism”⁹⁸. According to the article, the Ottoman Empire was protecting Europe from Slavism. Now that the Ottoman Empire is collapsing, Europe needs a news protection, and the occupation could provide this needed protection, since “[the occupation] would separate Serbia and Montenegro and maintain Turkey in Europe.”⁹⁹ However, what the article failed to explain is how bringing a million and a half of Slavs into the Monarchy would help protect the Monarchy from the Slavs.

A sort of an overture into the above listed arguments for the occupation was an article “The Difficulties with the Occupation”, published on August 6,¹⁰⁰ preceded by reports on uprisings in Bosnia the day before.¹⁰¹ This article was the only one realizing and admitting that the occupation will not be as smooth as they initially thought. It is also the central text of what I defined as the second phase in the beginning. As the first phase was introducing the readers of *Das Vaterland* to the occupation, stressing how it will go on smooth, in the second phase the journalists of *Das Vaterland* realized things are not going as they thought it will be, so they focused

⁹⁸ In German: “Slavismus”

⁹⁹ “Der österreichisch-bosnische Damm gegen den Slavismus.” *Das Vaterland*. 19 August 1878, p. 1

¹⁰⁰ “Die Occupationschwierigkeiten.” *Das Vaterland*. 6 August 1878, p. 1

¹⁰¹ *Das Vaterland*. 5 August 1878, p. 2

more on justifying the occupation, i.e. convincing the readers that all the money spent and all the human losses have a meaning.

The final turning point in the writing of the period I examined was August 21; a day after Sarajevo was conquered. Conquering Bosnia's capital was of great importance for the Monarchy, because it basically meant that they conquered Bosnia. Conquering Sarajevo was presented as a great victory, and as winning the war; a victory which "gave peace to a beautiful, unlucky land, which could not find [peace] since the beginning of the Turkish occupation."¹⁰² Two days later, another justification of the occupation was made. According to the article, Bosnia was not conquered because of strategic reasons, but "to press the thumb to the eye of Slavism,"¹⁰³ i.e. to defeat Slavism.¹⁰⁴

3.2 Satirical Views on the Occupation: *Der Floh* and *Die Bombe*

Der Floh and *Die Bombe*, two satirical weeklies, coming out every Sunday, were the main sources of mock stories, funny poems and caricatures in the Monarchy, making fun of Austro-Hungarian and international politics. Even though it is hard to view them as "serious" sources of information regarding the occupation of Bosnia, they are nevertheless valuable as a kind of a "people's view" on the

¹⁰² *Das Vaterland*. 21 August 1878, p. 1

¹⁰³ "um den Slaventhum den Daumen aufs Auge zu drücken"

¹⁰⁴ *Das Vaterland*. 23 August 1878, p. 1

occupation, since these types of publications often look beyond and mock the official government propaganda and the intellectuals' views. Because these mock stories, poems and caricatures were written for the common people, journalists and editors had to adjust their content according to the public opinion, but still keeping in mind the imperial censorship policy. Therefore, the person of the Emperor and highest state officials were never mocked. On the other side, Monarchy's politicians and especially the population of Bosnia were not spared.

As with the other newspapers, I have initially taken as a sample issues published between June and December 1878. After going through them, I have come to the conclusion that the occupation of Bosnia was a hot topic in August and September, which also corresponds to the period when the occupation was discussed intensively in the daily newspapers as well. What is specific about the two weeklies is their approach towards the population of Bosnia, especially the Muslims. The Bosnian Muslims are always represented as barbarians and in a certain exotic and Orientalist manner – dressed in typical Muslim clothing and armed (this was the period of resistance against the occupation). They are also the main objects of mocking and sarcasm in these weeklies.

One can analyze the representation of the occupation of Bosnia in Austro-Hungarian satirical weeklies based on the several motives, which are present in these publications throughout the initial period of the occupation. Most of them are meant to show the lack of culture and civilization in Bosnia. The interesting thing is that only the Muslims were mocked; there is almost no mention of Catholics and Orthodox.

Besides the population of Bosnia being shown as wearing either traditional Muslim clothing or rags, another dominant motive in these is the pig. The way the pig was shown, mostly in caricatures, was definitely degrading towards the Muslims, since Muslims do not eat pork.¹⁰⁵

The first serious mention of the occupation of Bosnia was published on July 7, less than a week before the occupation was legalized at the Berlin Congress. In a mock article “Geographischer Zeitfaden für Bosnien”¹⁰⁶ [Geographic time thread for Bosnia], published in *Die Bombe*, the author compares the occupation of Bosnia with the story from the Bible about the prodigal son. The same as the son returned to his father, Bosnia is “returning” to the Monarchy. The author also falsely mentions that upon the return of the prodigal son the father slaughtered a pig to celebrate,¹⁰⁷ and suggests a similar party to be organized in Bosnia after the Austro-Hungarian forces cross the river Sava. Together with a statement that “pig breeding is the main industry in the province”, the author(s) of this mock article are clearly making fun of the predominantly Muslim population of the province.

Two weeks after the occupation, on July 28, *Der Floh*, published an article “Vom Occupationsschauplatz”¹⁰⁸ (From the Scene of the Occupation). The motive of the pig¹⁰⁹ is used again, but in a subtle and ambiguous manner. The occupation is

¹⁰⁵ See, for example *Der Floh*: 28 July 1878 (p. 3), 18 August 1878 (p. 1), 8 September 1878 (p. 8) and *Die Bombe* 7 July 1878 (p. 2)

¹⁰⁶ *Die Bombe*. 7 July 1878, p. 2

¹⁰⁷ In Luke 15:23 the father orders for a calf to be slaughtered, and not a pig

¹⁰⁸ *Der Floh*. 28 July 1878, p. 3

¹⁰⁹ “Schwein” in German

referred to as “Schweinerei” and the newly acquired territory as “Schwein”. In German, “Schweinerei” means “mess” and “Schwein haben”¹¹⁰ means “to be lucky”.

Der Floh published another interesting word game on August 18. In an illustration on the front page,¹¹¹ colonel Philippovich, a Croatian who led the military side of the occupation, is shown as sweeping the insurgents, who are dressed in traditional Ottoman clothing, with a broom, and a caption below states: “Bombs and Grenades! I knew that I was coming to an awful mess, but I never thought I would find so much rubbish here!”¹¹² The two keywords here are “Saustall”, which can either mean mess or pigsty; and “Mist”, which can either mean rubbish or crap. These two examples from *Der Floh* and *Die Bombe* reveal two things – the Austrian perception of situation in Bosnia as complete chaos and Austrian belief in the supremacy of Christianity over Islam. The latter is especially important for understanding the Austrian civilizational mission in Bosnia, as the civilizational mission and the Christian supremacy were often stressed in these publications.

In terms of civilizational mission, *Der Floh* was focusing more on specific things Austrian found weird, funny or shocking with the population of Bosnia, while *Die Bombe* was more specific in expressing the lack of culture and civilization in the province. *Der Floh* mentions on several occasions the drinking problem in Bosnia, particularly with the plum brandy, or *šljivovica* – a strong drink without which even

¹¹⁰ Lit. “to have a pig”

¹¹¹ *Der Floh*. 18 August 1878, p. 1; see Appendix 2, Figure 2

¹¹² “Bomben und Granaten! Dass ich in einen Saustall komme, habe ich gewusst, aber ich habe nicht gedacht, dass ich so viel Mist hier finden werde!”

today social life in the Balkans is almost unimaginable. In July 1878, *šljivovica* is the main factor for the positive spirit of the Bosnian people,¹¹³ while in September, “those peoples that drink *šljivovica* will never be civilized.”¹¹⁴ The reason for this change of opinion in two months could lie in the disappointment with the resistance of the local population against the occupation.

As regards the population, an article in *Der Floh* calls Bosnia “the Illyrian Switzerland, because everyone is really friendly, but later they rob you.”¹¹⁵ Black humor was also used occasionally:

[In a Viennese café:]

[A]: Did you know that in Bosnia couples marry when they're 12 years old?!

[B]: I'm sure the municipality doesn't make a lot of money from marriage fees.

[A]: Why?!

[B]: Because children pay half price.¹¹⁶

Even though all of the above listed examples from *Der Floh* were not official positions as regards Bosnia and its population, but rather satirical pieces of journalism and literature, they still reveal a certain dose of skepticism and a feeling of cultural and civilizational superiority towards the newly acquired province and its people.

Die Bombe, on the other hand, approached the occupation of Bosnia with a dose of objectivity, but still keeping the mocking and satirical tone. The key word that

¹¹³ *Der Floh*. 28 July 1878, p. 3

¹¹⁴ *Der Floh*. 8 September 1878, p. 3

¹¹⁵ *Der Floh*. 18 August 1878, p. 3

¹¹⁶ *Der Floh*. 13 October 1878, p. 3

arises from analyzing *Die Bombe* in that period is “culture”, i.e. the lack of culture in Bosnia and the need to bring it to the population. Already two weeks after the occupation, on July 28, *Die Bombe* published an illustration of Philippovich gloriously entering Bosnia on his horse, and the description on the next page states that he was bringing culture.¹¹⁷ The September 8 front page also shows an illustration of Philippovich, this time spanking the Muslim insurgents, and the description says that he is teaching them culture.¹¹⁸ What is characteristic for all of the illustrations portraying the insurgents is that they are much shorter than the Austrians, implying a sense of superiority Austrians had towards the Bosnian Muslims.

Probably the best example of the civilizatory mission in the two satirical weeklies is an illustration on the last page of the September 8 issue of *Die Bombe*.¹¹⁹ The illustration portrays an Austrian officer trying to seduce a local Muslim girl. She says: “Oh no, sir, we Turkish [Muslim] women are faithful to our husbands until the grave.” to which he responds: “But this is why, my dear lady, we came to Bosnia, to *civilize* you.” The word *civilize* is even highlighted on the illustration. Even though a rather simple example on first sight, this illustration shows best the clash between the two civilizations – one traditional Muslim and one free of any moral constraints.

Another interesting example from *Die Bombe* shows a question posed by many in the Monarchy – was it really worth it? The October 13 issue of *Die Bombe* gives a general definition of occupation: “Fertilization of an unwelcoming country with human

¹¹⁷ *Die Bombe*. 28 July 1878, p. 1-2

¹¹⁸ *Die Bombe*. 8 September 1878, p. 1-2

¹¹⁹ *Idem.*, p. 8; see Appendix 2, Figure 1

blood and money – for cultural purposes.”¹²⁰ This definition has two sides – one is the costs and sacrifices, which the Monarchy had in order to occupy Bosnia, primarily human losses during the short period of resistance, and money, both in terms of supporting the fight against the insurgents and investments that needed to be made in Bosnia. The other side of the definition is the benefit, i.e. “culture”. However, the only ones who seemed to benefit from this rapid influx of Western civilization were the people of Bosnia, at the expense of the Monarchy. It is interesting how this issue came up so late. I would argue that the reason for this is that the initial enthusiasm with the occupation started to decline rapidly when it became obvious that the resistance will not be crushed in a matter of days and that a lot of investments will need to be made to “bring culture” to Bosnia.

3.3 Conclusions

What the newspaper analysis showed was a change of attitude towards the occupation as time passed, both in dailies and satirical weeklies. Starting with an initial excitement and belief in the supremacy of the Monarchy and its military power; through discussions of what to do with Bosnia; disappointment in the occupation after meeting resistance from the local insurgents and again excitement after conquering Sarajevo. The methods used to do this varied.

¹²⁰ *Die Bombe*. 13 October 1878, p. 2

Das Vaterland relied mainly on editorials and official bulletins. The topics of these editorials and articles published on the occupation of Bosnia coincided with the changes in attitude towards Bosnia. In the case of satirical weeklies, humor was their only method. Exaggerating facts, inflating numbers, making fun of Islam and Bosnian Muslims and using various keywords such as 'civilization' and 'culture' (and the lack of both in Bosnia) were present in every issue of both *Der Floh* and *Die Bombe* in the period I examined.

4. CONCLUSION

When analyzing such an issue as the justification of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, the most important thing to think about is the difference in sources, i.e. their types, intended audience and authors. An obvious difference between analyzing books and newspapers is in the temporal difference their authors had before submitting their writings for printing. Books are written usually after an event had already passed and at least the short-term consequences could be analyzed. Newspapers articles are often written in haste, especially in the case of daily newspapers. Therefore, the authors of books already know how a certain event finished, while journalists mostly depend on the context before they wrote their article and usually their intuition.

In terms of audience, 19th century political and historical books were written for a literate and educated audience, which was more demanding and critical than those who were only literate. Newspapers had a wider audience, who wanted information on what is happening in the Monarchy and beyond.

The authors, their political orientations and affiliations were the key factor in determining the style of writing. Throughout this thesis, one can easily note the differences among each of the chapters and sections, depending on who wrote them. *Kronprinzenwerk*, being an official Habsburg publication, had one tone; Hellenbach's writings reflected a typical 19th century liberal view and several hasty generalizations

made because he wrote the book in 1878; Kállay, being a Habsburg official and a Hungarian, with an extensive experience in the Balkans, gave a more objective and less enthusiastic view on the occupation. Since there was no practice to sign newspaper articles, they are all anonymous. However, one can still see a very clear difference between *Wiener Zeitung*, an official imperial newspaper providing facts only, and *Das Vaterland*, which was freer in terms of content and expressing opinion.

Only after getting into the research on the topic seriously have I realized the scope and possibilities for (further) research in this field. In terms of number of primary sources, the ones I used for this thesis represent just a tip of the iceberg. I selected those sources I found representative for the general way of thinking in that period, having in mind the limitations to the scope of an MA thesis. The major limitation, which shaped the nature of this thesis, is time, i.e. the lack of it, in order to conduct an extensive research on the topic. The other limitation was the language barrier. Initially I thought that it would be hard to analyze this topic without focusing on the sources in Hungarian. However, later I found that sources in German are abundant and I had to narrow the focus even more when analyzing only Austrian sources. Finally, I was dependant on sources available either in the Szechenyi national library in Budapest or in the online archive of Austrian newspapers (ANNO). Fortunately, both provided more than enough material.

Given the broad possible scope for research on this topic, there are numerous other options for further research, especially since not much had been done on this topic. Each of the sources listed in Appendix 1 or each of the newspapers that were

published at the time, as well as other sources on the topic, could be analyzed individually and in greater detail, based on the criteria I established throughout this thesis. Another interesting analysis would include the perception of the occupation, Bosnia and the population of Bosnia in various parts of the Monarchy, such as for example Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Vojvodina, Transylvania or Bosnia; as well as comparisons between various regions. Also, the issues of how the occupation was justified to other states through an analysis of diplomatic documents; or how the occupation was justified to the population of Bosnia, would complete the research on the topic.

Going outside of the territorial scope of the Monarchy, the analysis of public discourse in Serbia, Russia or the Ottoman Empire regarding the occupation of Bosnia would be of special relevance to the field. Analysis of regional historiographies throughout the 20th century could reveal how various regimes viewed the occupation of Bosnia. Another interesting analysis would be to trace the image of Bosnia before the occupation, i.e. throughout the 19th century, since for example Thallóczy in *Kronprinzenwerk* justified the occupation as a logical sequence of events in the 19th century and the continuous Habsburg concern for Bosnia. Only after all of the issues listed above are addressed in detail can one claim that the research on this topic is finished. However, it will take numerous scholarly papers, dissertations and books before this is all done.

The field of justifying occupations is very vast. Basically, any occupation that ever occurred needed some kind of a justification, the most obvious ones being Nazi

Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia and Austria, the US invasion of Iraq and the issue over Kosovo's final status. Therefore, the applicability of this model is almost unlimited. However, what makes the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia special are the motives with which the Austrians conquered Bosnia. Hitler annexed Czechoslovakia and Austria to include all the Germans in one state, the US invaded Iraq for political and economical benefits, and the question of appropriating Kosovo by Serbs and Albanians is so complex that it is almost impossible to summarize it in one sentence. Numerous other case-studies around the globe could also undergo similar analyses.

Given the vast number of sources and factors involved in this topic, as well as the analytical nature of this paper, it is hard to draw any major or innovative conclusions. What I proved throughout this paper is the liberal and Orientalist view Austrians had towards Bosnia and Bosnians and I managed to extract the elements present in the minds of other colonial great powers about their colonies in the minds of late 19th century Austrian intellectuals and officials.

Much had been written about Bosnia in the light of the recent war there, mainly focusing on the inter-ethnic struggles and hatred among the three communities and trying to find an answer in history to the question of why the war in the 1990s happened in the first place. Given the fact that the 1878 occupation of Bosnia is when the period of intensive nationalist propaganda began, one can easily wonder if article 25 of the Berlin Treaty and subsequent Habsburg efforts to pacify and "civilize" Bosnia could be to blame as well.

5. Appendix 1 – A Bibliographical List of Primary Sources on the Topic¹²¹

Baedeker, Karl. *Österreich-Ungarn nebst Bosnien und der Herzegowina*. Leipzig, 1907.

Beranek, Julius. *Die Helden unserer Armee im Jahre 1878. Erinnerungen an die Okkupation von Bosnien und der Herzegowina*. 1908.

Bogović, Emerich. *Zur bosnischen Frage*. Zagreb: Verlag von Leopold Hartman, 1880.

Bosna i Hercegovina na milenijskoj izložbi u Budimpešti godine 1896. Budapest: izložbeni ured bosansko-hercegovačke zemaljske vlade, 1896.

Bosnien als Neuösterreich. Vienna: Brockhaus, 1886.

Civil-Process-Ordnung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina. Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruck, 1883.

"Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegowina." Vol. 22. Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1901.

Du Nord. *Abriss der Geschichte von Bosnien und die Herzegovina von der Urzeit bis nach der Eroberung durch die Türken*. 1876.

Fabricius. *Die Annexion Bosniens und der Herzegowina*. 1908.

Fournier, August. *Wie wir zu Bosnien kamen. Eine historische Studie*. Vienna: 1909.

Hellenbach, Lazar. *Die Occupation Bosniens und deren Folgen*. Vienna: J.C. Fischer und Comp, 1878.

Hoernes, Moriz. *Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns im Wort und Bild: Bosnien und die Hercegovina*. Vol. 15. Vienna: Verlag von Karl Graef, 1889.

Hrvatska Bosna. Mi i "oni" tamo. 1907.

¹²¹ Publications in German and Croatian available in the Szechenyi national library in Budapest

Kállay, Benjamin. *Die Lage der Mohammedaner in Bosnien: von einem Ungarn*. Vienna: K. u K. Hof- und Universitäts- Buchdrucker, 1900.

Kállay und Bosnien-Herzegowina. Budapest: 1899.

Krešić, Milan. *Izvešće o milenijskoj izložbi kraljevine Ugarske i kod te prigode sudjelujuće Bosne i Hercegovine te kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije god. 1896*. Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1897.

Komlossy, Franz. *Das Rechtsverhältniss Bosniens und der Herzegowina zu Ungarn, mit bes. Rücksicht auf das Mittelalter*. Budapest: 1909.

Kroatien und dessen Beziehungen zu Bosnien. Von einem kroatischen Abgeordneten. Vienna: 1909.

Masaryk, Tomáš. *Der Agramer Hochverratsprozess und die Annexion von Bosnien und Herzegovina*. Vienna: 1909.

Michel, Robert. *Fahrten in den Reichslanden. Bilder und Skizzen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. Vienna and Leipzig: 1912.

Murro, Matthias. *Bericht über eine Reise zum Studium der Volksepik in Bosnien und Herzegowina im Jahre 1913*. Vienna: 1915.

Neufeld, C.A. *Illustrierter Führer durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina*. Vienna-Pest-Leipzig: 1903.

Österreich-Ungarn, Bosnien und Herzegowina. Vienna: 1910.

Österreich-Ungarn. Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, 1910.

Pauler, Julius. *Wie und wann kam Bosnien an Ungarn?*. Vienna: 1894.

Petrinjenis. *Bosnien und das kroatische Staatsrecht. Eine historisch-juridische Studie*. Zagreb: 1898.

Poppović, L. *Bosnien und Herzegovina*. Vienna: 1878.

Schmidt, Ferdinand. *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*. Leipzig: 1914.

Schneller, Hans. *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung von Bosnien und Herzegovina*. Leipzig: 1892.

Smolle, Leo. *Die neuen Reichslande Oesterreich-Ungarns: Bosnien und die Herzegowina*. Graz: Verlagsbuchhandlung Styria, 1909., p. ix

Spaits, Alexander. *Der Weg zum Berliner Kongress. Historische Entwicklung Bosniens und der Herzegowina bis zur Okkupation 1878*. Vienna-Leipzig: 1907.

Téglás, Gábor. *Wissenschaftliche Mittelungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*. Vienna: 1912.

Unsere Truppen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina. Vol. 1-3. Vienna-Leipzig: 1907-8.

6. Appendix 2 – A Sample of Caricatures from *Der Floh* and *Die Bombe*



Figure 1 - a caricature of an Austrian official hitting on a local Muslim girl with an explicit mention of the civilizational mission (*Die Bombe*. 8 September 1878, p. 1, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>)

X. JAHRGANG NR. 33.

Preis einer Nummer 15 kr. = 30 Pf. D. W.

WIEN, 18. AUGUST 1878.

Redaktion und Administration:
18, Tuchlauben Nr. 9.Expedition & Ankündigungsbureau:
1, Wollzeile Nr. 22.

Insertionspreis: 10 kr. 10 Pf. pro Monatliche-Zeile.
 Inserate stehen im Anstade: Herr Löffel,
 Müller & Co. in Paris, Remondet & Co. in
 Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt a. M. und
 Haack & Co. in London und in Hamburg und
 Frankfurt a. M.; Rudolf Moser und Deutsches
 Setzungs-Bureau „Lithograph“ in Berlin.

Abonnement für Österreich-Lagers:
 im Hauptort: Wollzeile 22, in allen
 Buchhandlungen und in allen Zeitungs-
 verschickungen, vorgelegt, mit Zusendung
 des Eins oder Versendung, in die Provinz
 3 kr. 10 Pf.

DER FLOH.

ERSCHEINT JEDEN SONNTAG.

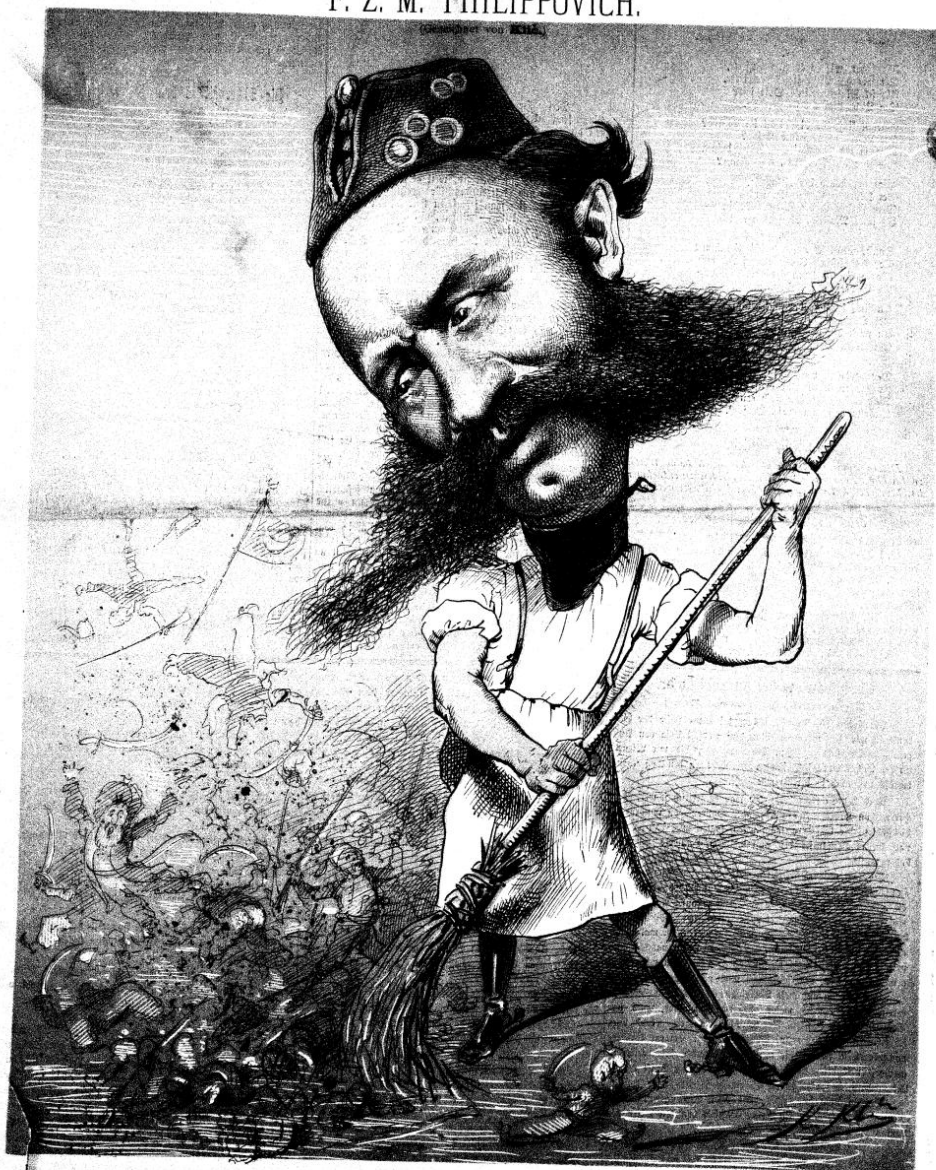
Abonnement für das Ausland:
 Bei den deutschen Verlegern: für Deutsch-
 land 2 kr. 10 Pf. für Frankreich, Italien,
 Schweiz, Belgien, England, Spanien,
 Portugal, Schweden, Norwegen, Russ-
 land, die Donaufürstenthümer und die
 Türkei 3 kr. für Amerika 5 kr. 10 Pf.

Commissionär in Leipzig
 Hermann Pries.

Bearbeiter werden nach ihrem Ersehen
 bezahlt.
 Manuscripte werden nicht zurückgeschickt.

Einzelne Nummer 15 kr.
 sowohl im Expeditions-Lager, Wollzeile 22,
 als auch in allen Buchhandlungen und
 Zeitungsversendungen.

F. Z. M. PHILIPPOVICH.



Bomben und Granaten! Daß ich in einen Saufall komme, habe ich gewußt, aber ich habe nicht gedacht, daß ich so viel Mist
 hier finden werde!

Figure 2 - a caricature of Philippovich sweeping the insurgents (*Der Floh*. 18 August 1878, p. 1,
<http://anno.onb.ac.at/>)

7. Bibliography

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their empire*. London: Penguin Books, 2001.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Schiffrin, Deborah, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton, eds. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2001.

Spurr, David. *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press, 1993.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Arató, Endre. "Madjarsko javno mnjenje i Bosna i Hercegovina (1875-1878)." Vol. 3. In *Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 100-godišnjice ustanka u BiH, drugim balkanskim zemljama i istočnoj krizi 1875-1878*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti BiH, 1977.

Bach, Ulrich. "A Colonial-Utopian Dream: Lazar von Hellenbach's Insel Mellonta (1883)." *Kakanien revisited* (June 15, 2005).
<<http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/UBach1.pdf>>

Bridge, F R. *From Sadowa to Sarajevo: The Foreign Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1866-1914*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918. Vol. 1-7. Edited by Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973.

Donia, Robert J. *Islam under the double eagle: the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Friedman, Francine. *The Bosnian Muslims: denial of a nation*. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1996.

Imamović, Mustafa. *Bosnia and Herzegovina: evolution of its political and legal institutions*, edited by Francine Friedman. Sarajevo, BiH: Magistrat, 2006.

Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Johnston, William M. *The Austrian mind : an intellectual and social history, 1848-1938*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1983.

Kann, Robert A. *A history of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1980.

Macfie, A L. *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*. New York: Longman, 1993.

Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia - A Short History*. London: Macmillan London Limited, 1994.

Pinson, Mark. *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina : their historic development from the Middle Ages to the dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Promitzer, Christian. "Whose is Bosnia? Post-Communist Historiographies in Bosnia and Herzegovina." (Re)writing history : historiography in Southeast Europe after socialism. Ed. Ulf Brunnbauer. Münster, Germany: Lit, 2004.

Schorske, Carl. *Fin-de-siecle Vienna: politics and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Williamson, Samuel R. *Austria-Hungary and the origins of the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1991.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bosnien als Neuösterreich. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1886.

Das Vaterland, July 1 – September 15 1878, <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/>>

Der Floh, July 1 – December 31 1878, <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/>>

Die Bombe, July 1 – December 31 1878, <<http://anno.onb.ac.at/>>

Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegowina. Vol. 22. Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1901.

Hellenbach, Lazar. *Die Occupation Bosniens und deren Folgen.* Vienna: J.C. Fischer und Comp, 1878.

Kállay, Benjamin. *Die Lage der Mohammedaner in Bosnien: von einem Ungarn.* Vienna: K. u K. Hof- und Universitäts- Buchdrucker, 1900.

Österreich-Ungarn: Bosnien und Herzegowina. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1910.

Smolle, Leo. *Die neuen Reichslande Oesterreich-Ungarns: Bosnien und die Herzegowina.* Graz: Verlagsbuchhandlung Styria, 1909., p. ix

Yugoslavia through documents: from its creation to its dissolution, edited by Snezana Trifunovska. Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1994.