

Representations of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Hungarian Political and Popular Writings between 1878 and 1908: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography

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Abstract

This selective annotated bibliography presents Hungarian texts published between 1878 and 1908 covering Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Austro-Hungarian occupation and annexation. It includes 100 entries of books, articles and pamphlets out of which 60 are annotated. The author categorizes the literature by broad themes such as political analyses and pamphlets, travel accounts, ethnographic/geographic studies and memoirs of the occupation campaign, historiographies, and country profiles, information booklets, and provide descriptive annotations of representative articles in each category.

Keywords: Bibliography, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, occupation, annexation

Introduction

The purpose of my research is to survey Hungarian-language publications on Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1908 to explore how the Hungarian part of the occupying forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy perceived and interpreted Bosnia and Herzegovina² and its people and what implications could be

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² Bosnia and Herzegovina refers to interchangeably and without contention throughout this introduction as Bosnia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

drawn from these discourses for decision-making processes. In my research I intend to analyse the Hungarian attitudes and collective imageries towards Bosnia and Herzegovina through a critical discussion of prevailing historical narratives in Hungarian books, journals, newspapers and pamphlets at the time of Habsburg occupation and annexation.

The present article contributes to the research with a list of annotated bibliography compiling a vast number of different sources that includes entries for 100 essays, articles, books and other types of sources. A number of titles dealing with Bosnia emerged right after the occupation though renewed interest emerged by the end of the era of Governor Benjamin Kallay at the turn of the 20th century and further more after the Annexation of Bosnia to the Habsburg Monarchy. In the first decades of the occupation not much interest and attention was shown towards Bosnia. It was considered by the general public to be an expensive and superfluous endeavour of the Monarchy. After 1908, however, a tangible shift to an imperialist discourse can be detected in the Hungarian writings on Bosnia.

Bosnia as an Austro-Hungarian 'colony' provides a particularly fertile ground for the persistence of stereotypes including a 'fault-line' between civilizations: between Christianity and Islam, between Occidental and Oriental, between Modern and pre-modern. Constituting a colonial discourse, the texts on Bosnia share a tendency to emphasise the civilizatory mission of Hungarians in the occupied territories.

Finally, this comprehensive bibliography includes a brief historical overview that may be helpful to provide readers with a general background of the Austro-Hungarian period of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Classification of sources

The bibliography presents Hungarian-language materials. As the official language for the common affairs of the Dualist Monarchy was German, books and articles written in German are more widely known than contemporary Hungarian texts unless they were translated for their popularity. The present bibliography suggests that the coverage of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Hungary extends far beyond the works written or translated to German, and that there had been a constant flow of publications that survey the happenings of the newly occupied territory at its various stages of development. The bibliography makes no claim to completeness, although an attempt has been made to offer a comprehensive coverage of Hungarian printed sources published on Bosnia under the Austro-Hungarian rule, using the holdings of the Hungarian National Széchenyi Library.

The majority of the items (more than 60%) in the bibliography are annotated (50 to 400 words per item) to provide a summary of their scope and contents.

Readers should not assume that a long annotation is an indication of a work's higher quality, rather, the need to fully describe it. The work lists items published between the occupation and annexation of Bosnia but some relevant texts from the 1920's are included as well.

Classification was not an easy task in compiling this bibliography due to the general nature of many works on the subject. In general, only book-length studies or individual publications and journal articles are included. Among the titles, 61 published as a book or booklet, while 39 appeared in journals, 18 are literary texts, 26 scientific in nature, 22 general or introductory, 14 are travelogues and 20 are political articles.

As far as the significance of the texts were concerned, besides valuable first-hand accounts and in-depth researches, there are several publications representing ephemeral value in popularization, often relying on second or third hand data with many containing profound errors and inaccuracies. Publications devoted to a highly specialized aspect of industry and finance, or a rather limited period of time are not included to the present bibliography. Though the contemporary daily newspapers extensively cover the occupation campaign and its corollaries, due to the limited frame of this study they are omitted.³

I reviewed Hungarian language texts addressing Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Habsburg period and divided them into four categories: political analyses and pamphlets (I.), travel accounts, ethnographic/geographic studies and memoirs of the occupation campaign and literary works (II.), historiographies of Bosnia (III.), and country profiles, information booklets, introductory presentations on a wide range of issues including economy, transportation, law and society (IV.). The present categorization is arbitrary and there are many texts where more categories would be applicable. Some of the publications – like the works of Janos Asboth or Adolf Strausz – are encyclopaedic in their approach while others are brief summaries of some pages. With these publications most of the authors intended to draw the Hungarian public attention to the neglected new provinces of the Monarchy. They urge Hungarians to participate more actively in the Bosnian common administration, promote education in Hungarian language, invest in Bosnia and run different kind of businesses and trade or simply pay a visit to the wonderful Oriental province etc.

For the first type of sources I reviewed political analyses and pamphlets. Mostly they represent the official interpretation of Bosnia and its people or highlighting the opposing opinions on the Bosnian policy of the Monarchy. The authors of the sub-genre of polemical pamphlets generally took sides in debates on a particular issue (emigration, education, agriculture, transportation, etc.), thus the nature of these sources are sometimes opinionated with stereotypes and prejudices. The memorandums of the Bosnian autonomy movement translated to Hungarian are included in this category.

³ Among the daily press which dedicate lengthy articles to Bosnia, the most significant titles are: Magyarország és a nagyvilág, Pesti Napló, Pesti Hírlap, Fővárosi Lapok, Vasárnapi Újság.

Travel accounts⁴ are representing the second category of the present bibliography. They can be considered as the most valuable sources of literature as they provide some fascinating insights not only into the images of other cultures and societies, but to the reflections of the authors and concerns of their own societies as well. Orientalism, picturesque and romance would dominate the vision of the travellers and their writings on Bosnia. However, they also include important factual details and valuable cultural insights. Travel accounts were published in popular magazines or scholarly periodicals while some of them separately in full-length books. The Hungarian travellers varied in their professional background from journalists, doctors, scholars, to amateur and professional artists. The most common itinerary for the Balkan trip was to enter Bosnia from the Southern Hungarian town of Pécs by train and travel through Bosanski Brod to Sarajevo then to Mostar and further to Dalmatia. After visiting the seaside, they usually travelled back to Zagreb where they took the train directly to Budapest. The Hungarians usually travelled in the company of their friends or group of colleagues, although the identities of the companions were generally omitted as it is usual in travel literature.

Bosnia was represented in the Hungarian travel accounts of the Habsburg era as a region between East and West not only geographically but culturally as well. In their orientalizing discourse the visitors are eager to notice all attributes belonging to the East such as the minarets and the Adhan (call for prayers) or the variety of embroidery and colour of Bosnian national costumes, with special attention to the veiling of Muslim women. The authors generally refer to Bosnian Muslims as Turks, sometimes as Mohammedans, or 'Mozlims of Slavic origin'. Naming Muslims as Turks indicates a person with Islam religion rather than national reference. On the other hand, the travellers are eager to discover the symbols of modernization and progress like factories, transport system, museums, etc. The travel narratives on Bosnia and Hercegovina provide fascinating descriptions of history, society and tourist attractions, but beyond the conventional themes they also contain personal perceptions that uniquely captures the moments of everyday Bosnian life. In these narratives scientific accounts of foreign locations are often combined with sentimental references to the affective reactions of the narrator to the scenes.

Closely connected to travel writings, titles of a distinct sub-category of military memoir literature are listed. They can be considered as a sub-genre of autobiography written by officers and soldiers who took part in the occupation campaign. These first-person point of view narratives are valuable sources not only for the detailed descriptions of the military operations but also provide unique pictures of the conquered land and its people. The memoirs were mediating warfare to

⁴ As a subcategory of travel literature, I consider exploring the ethnographic narratives. It is sometimes difficult to make clear distinction in their genre as they are close in nature to travel accounts based on personal observations on field-trips and travels across the region.

the reading public during and after the Bosnian campaign, understanding war as an romantic adventure.

As a third category the historical works about Bosnia are listed. A proliferation of historical texts on Bosnia occurred after the occupation with different scholarly values from academic works to popular histories. Renewed interest towards the history of Bosnia was concomitant to the intellectual attempt to master the new territories and to construct a legitimate imperialist discourse. Highlighting the role of Hungarian kings in Bosnia, the historiographies focussed mainly on the medieval history where Hungary appears to be a protector, defender and civilizer of the medieval Bosnia. It serves as justification and proof for the historical right on Bosnia and its annexation to the Monarchy, because from King Béla II. Hungarian kings usually received the title of the King of Rama, thus the Bosnian territories became part of the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen.

As a fourth category those writings are listed that as country profiles and primers provide general information on Bosnia or address certain aspects of the Bosnian legal system, economic conditions, or transport system. These sources are not apparently political in their nature, nevertheless, besides the given technical information they usually take part in political discourses.

A brief overview of the Austro-Hungarian Period of Bosnia

Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1878 in accordance with the terms of the 25th paragraph of the Berlin Treaty. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 was called together for the representatives of the major European powers and the Ottoman Empire to revise the Treaty of San Stefano that shared out the Balkan after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878. Austria-Hungary was granted the right to occupy and administer the fifty thousand square kilometre territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to station its forces and military garrisons to be positioned on the ten thousand square kilometre area of the Sandjak of Novi Pazar in order to provide a counterweight to Russian power in the Balkans. With the Balkan expansion the Habsburg Empire could extend its borders after a long period of time. However, under public law Bosnia and Herzegovina was still part of the Ottoman Empire as declared in the Novi Pazar Convention of April 1879: the Sultan retained the right of sovereignty in the occupied territories. Yet, the introduction of an Austro-Hungarian administration effectively ended the Turkish authority.

The first Austro-Hungarian troops, the 13th Corps led by General Joseph Philippovich von Philippsberg, Commanding General of the XIII Army Corps and commander-in-chief of all occupation forces, crossed the Southern borders on July 29. Initially the total strength of the occupation campaign consisted of

72, 713 men, 112 artillery pieces, and 13, 313 horses⁵ assigned to subdue 1.16 million inhabitants⁶. Weeks before the information reached Sarajevo that Bosnia had been awarded to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, an assembly was formed in Sarajevo (Peoples Council, *Narodni Odbor*) that organised and led the resistance movement of Muslim insurgents. The resistance forces consisted of regular Turkish units besides local population, mobilised around 90, 000 people at the time of the insurgence. The occupation, therefore, couldn't succeed peacefully as it was initially designed. On August 3, a troop of hussars of 144 men leading the way for the main column in the Bosna Valley, was ambushed near the town of Maglaj, and lost 47 men who were dead and missing. In reaction to this incident, General Philippovich ordered the implementation of martial law in the entire occupational territory. A second occupying force, the 18th Division of 20, 000 men under General Stjepan Jovanović, advanced out of Austrian Dalmatia along the Neretva. On 5 August the division captured Mostar, and three days after Stolac. On 13 August at Ravnice in Herzegovina more than 70 Hungarian officers and soldiers were killed in action.⁷

The number of Hungarians in the Austro-Hungarian Common Army was 232, 000 out of 800, 000. The Common Army in Bosnia lost 7700 military personnel including 5260 Hungarian soldiers⁸. In addition to these casualties, the high costs of military expedition (200 million crowns) and strong Turkophil sentiments increased the public dissent against the Hungarian Government and the foreign policy of Count Andrássy⁹.

The Austro-Hungarian Army was met with significant resistance from the local population, many hard battles were fought: having occupied Sarajevo there still had been vast territories under control of the insurgent troops in the region. Yet the occupation was secured in October of 1878, tensions and dissent remained high especially within the Muslim population, where they were losing

⁵ Tibor Balla, "A Magyar királyi honvédség és Bosznia-Hercegovina 1878. évi okkupációja" [The Hungarian Royal Army and the Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 2008.1-36. p. 7.

⁶ Out of the 1, 160, 000 inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina around 39% were Muslims, 43% Greek Orthodox and 18% Catholics. (László Bencze: *Bosznia és Hercegovina okkupációja 1878-ban*. [Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986) pp. 66-67.)

⁷ This massacre was claimed to be more tremendous than the siege in Maglaj by Géza Kenedy in his memoir (Magyar vér Boszniában [Hungarian blood in Bosnia] Budapest: Stádium, 1928 p. 16.). See Pál Leitner: *A ravniczei vérengzés, 1878. augusztus 13.* [Massacre in Ravnice, 13 August 1878]. Budapest: 1898. See more on the military campaign: László Bencze: *Bosznia és Hercegovina okkupációja 1878-ban*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), and László Bencze, Frank N. Schubert ed.: *The Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878*. (New York: Columbia University Press: 2005).

⁸ According to Csuday, the loss of Habsburg Army was 7418, among them 179 officers, 5006 soldiers and further 2233 died of injuries. (Csuday 1909)

⁹ Andrássy resigned in October 1879. (Szeghalmi 1909. p.61.)

their traditional privileged status based on their religion. The number of mobilized soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Army reached 270, 000 at the peak of the campaign on 20 August¹⁰. By 20 October 1878 the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was complete but the Bosnian opposition and resistance to the Austro-Hungarian rule persisted until 1882. The dissatisfactions were embodied in hundreds of petitions addressed to the Provincial Government in Sarajevo and to the Imperial Government in Vienna and two major uprisings and several protests were organised against the Austro-Hungarian authority.

The legal status of Bosnia in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was ambiguous. Between 1878 and 1908 they had been considered as subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. Only after 1908 did Bosnians formally become subjected to the rule of the Habsburg Empire until its end in 1918. The complex situation of citizenship was the consequence of the non-existence of an Austrian-Hungarian common citizenship¹¹. Since Bosnia and Herzegovina was administered as a separate territory, a *corpus separatum* by the common Ministry of Finance, none of the citizenship laws could be applied there. Thus, the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina were neither Austrian nor Hungarian citizens. Instead, they had the legal status of ‘members of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina’.

It was until 1908 that Vienna maintained the policy of the Joint Minister of Exterior Count Gyula Andrásy not to annex the occupied provinces, because that would provoke the Great Powers. However, with a continued rise of tensions caused by the popular idea of a Serb dominated Slavic nationalism, on 6th October 1908 Emperor Franz Joseph announced to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina his intention to fully annex the nation into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Treaty of Berlin was amended in April 1909, accepting the new status. Even though the Dual Monarchy compensated Turkey for its loss of territories, withdrew its troops from the Sandjak of Novi Pazar, the unilateral action of annexation caused severe international tensions among the Great Powers and threatened with a great war.

The Austro-Hungarian occupiers faced a challenging atmosphere in a country where peoples of different confessions had loyalties to wider groups beyond Bosnia: the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the bordering Croatia and Serbia and the Muslims to Istanbul. To prevent these influences from developing, the Monarchy tried successfully to seal off Bosnia from the anti Austro-Hungarian propaganda and control the relations of the religious communities with the outside world.¹² The Austro-Hungarian Joint Minister of Finance Benjamin

¹⁰ Bencze 1986: p. 155.

¹¹ There had been two separate citizenship laws, pertaining to lands under Austrian and Hungarian rule defined by the Austrian Civil Code of 1811 and the Law on Hungarian Citizenship from 1879.

¹² Robert Donia, *Islam under the Double-Eagle*: p. 17.

Kallay¹³, who governed Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1882 until his death in 1903, tried to create a territorially based “Bosnian nation” to counter the increasing Serbian and Croatian nationalisms that emerged through confessional loyalties and promoted the idea coined as “bošnjaštvo” (Bosnian-ness). The Bosnian Muslims who had traditionally been the dominant confession under the Ottoman era and held key positions in government, were deemed to be the core of the new Bosnian nation. However, their former economic and political privileges couldn’t be maintained in the modern state, which gave rise to conflicts and tensions with the social and cultural norms of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Furthermore, the Ottoman administrative structure kept in place, only gradually adjusted to the Monarchy’s system. In line with Kallay’s program the Monarchy attempted to set up a multicultural state among the various religions and ethnicities: Serbian Orthodox, Croat Catholics and Bosnian Muslims. By focusing on the Muslim question, the Monarchy aimed to prevent the formation of a large south Slav state in the Balkans, because the impact was deemed to be destabilizing for the still unconsolidated dualist system, where half of the Monarchy’s subjects were Slavs.

The Austro-Hungarian period marked a significant turning point in the Bosnian history. After four centuries of Muslim Ottoman rule, Bosnia was occupied by a predominantly Catholic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The 40-year-period of Austro-Hungarian administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina succeeded to embark on a number of social and administrative reforms, which intended to make Bosnia and Herzegovina into a model colony. Although the region was successful economically, these changes were not enough for a sustainable ethnic cohesion to suppress the ethnic pressures from within, and from its various neighbours. The occupation of Bosnia can be interpreted variously – positively as a cultural mission of the Monarchy or as aim for cultural, economic and strategic gains, or negatively as a challenge of a huge Slavic population in the Empire with an additional one and a half million from the occupied regions. The Monarchy’s attitude towards Bosnia conceived as a civilizing mission shows similar approach to the colonial politics of the European empires. Bosnia was a close but unexplored territory for the neighbouring Austria-Hungary, whose predominantly Muslim population was viewed from the lens of a romantic orientalism.

¹³ The first two Minister of Finance to administer Bosnia held their office for relatively short term: Leopold Friedrich von Hoffmann to 1880 and Jozsef Szlavy from 1880 till 1882.

Bibliography

Political writings

1. *A bosnyák-hercegovinai tartományi tanács memoranduma katonai ügyekben. Előterjesztve a m. kir. Ministerelnök úr Ő nagyméltóságának Budapesten.* [Memorandum of the Provincial Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Military Affairs] Budapest 1912.

The Memorandum addresses the Hungarian Royal Ministry. It argues that the right of self-determination has to be applied, among others, in regards to the nation's military forces. The Proclamation of Annexation was perceived by the population of Bosnia as a promising sign that the regulation of Bosnian troops will be set constitutionally. The Defence Act of 1881 hasn't change significantly in the past 32 years. The author summarizes in 7 points how the Bosnian civil governance was subordinated to the strategic interests enforced by the military government. Bosnia's military expense is far bigger than its budget could afford. It was falsely assumed that this would be taken into consideration during the legislation process of the province. The Council of the province turns to both governments to put an end to this lawless situation and likewise to reinforce the sentiment of belonging to a cultural great power without being colonized. Their proposal consists of 5 points in which they claim more autonomy for the Council in decision-making processes regarding the regulations of the armed forces, they require equal share of the military budget with the Austro-Hungarian army, the post and telegraph office should be under the authority of the civil administration instead of under military control, and they request financial support for building the strategic railway line between Sarajevo and Trebinje. The Memorandum was signed by Šola Vojislav as the head of the Council.

2. ANDRÁSSY Gyula Bosznia okkupációjáról 1878 november 30-án, december 6-án, és 14-én tartott három beszéde. Wertheimer Ede bevezetésével. [On the Occupation of Bosnia – three speeches of Gyula Andrassy, with foreword by Ede Wertheimer] Franklin-társulat, Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1914. 132 p.
3. BÁN Zsigmond (Verus): *Az egyesült ellenzék és a boszniai occupatio.* [The Joint Opposition and the Bosnian Occupation] Nagyvárad: Hügel Ottó 1878. 54 p. Bán Zsigmond (1852-1906) was a journalist who participated in the Bosnian occupation campaign as a lieutenant. In his political pamphlet the author assumes that the occupation of Bosnia comes in handy for the oppositi-

on parties to blame the Government. Those fathers whose sons are mobilized in the Occupation Army would easily subscribe for the view that acquiring Bosnia is an adventurous and mistaken endeavour, thus would vote against the government that promotes it. The author refutes all arguments of the opposition propaganda related to the allegedly mistaken Bosnian policy and concludes that all their reasons are lacking the solid basement of evidences, hence merely reflecting their “political egoism”.

4. BOLGÁR Mihály (Volgai Uzubu): *Miért mentünk Boszniába és Hercegovinába?* [Why did we go to Bosnia and Herzegovina?] Budapest: Aigner, 1878, 71 p. Mihály Bolgár (1835-1879) was a Piarist priest and teacher of history, geography and literature. The aim of his article is to present the diverse public and political debates about the Bosnian occupation and against this backdrop prove the reasons of its inevitable necessity. He argues that owing to its historical and geographical conditions, Hungary is destined to promote the values of the Enlightenment and Christianity in the East. According to the author had the monarchy not taken to Bosnia, then the Russians or someone else would have done it. Sooner or later the Monarchy should have been ready to expel the conqueror and liberate the South Slavs from the Russians. The author expresses his wish for these nations to become independent as it is given by nature, to improve their own languages and education and to create freedom in modern sense. The author concludes the reasons and circumstances of the occupation in 6 points. First, the occupation was inevitable because the revolts in Herzegovina raised the numbers of emigrants to Hungary to 150, 000. Second, if the Monarchy wouldn't have been able to pacify the revolting provinces, Russia or Serbia would have capture them since the power of Turkey were exhausted. Third, it is in the prime interest of the Monarchy to make peace in the Balkan. Fourth, the Monarchy has to build strong alliances with the people of the Balkans, stronger than they could form with Russia. Fifth, in 1877 the Monarchy could avoid involvement in the Russo-Turkish war with the support of the European powers to prevent a world war; while staying away from the war also served the Monarchy's interests in the Balkans. Finally, Hungary would be financially and economically at the biggest risk if someone else would occupy and administer Bosnia, that would result in in serious disadvantages. The pamphlet aims to be a mirror for the opposition parties and press by providing the evidence of the inevitability of the Bosnian occupation.

5. *Bosznia és Hercegovina iszlám lakosságának emlékirata a magas delegációk valamint az Országgyűlés tagjaihoz.* [Memorandum of the Muslim Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Members of the High Delegations and Parliament] Budapest: 1902, 80 p.

6. *Bosznia és Herzegovina Muzulmán lakosságának emlékirata a közösügyek tárgyalására kiküldött Magyar országos bizottság tagjaihoz.* [Memorandum of the Muslim Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Members of the Hungarian Committee Responsible for the Common Affairs] Budapest: 1906, 52 p.
7. CSEH Károly (Háromszéki): *Tájékoztató adatok a Bosznia és Herzegovinában elfoglalt álláspont s politikai helyzetünk iránt.* (Reference Datas on our Position towards Bosnia and on our Political Status) Budapest: Atheneum, 1879, 55 p. The political pamphlet of Károly Cseh (1838-1894) published under the pseudonym Háromszéki explores the debates on the Bosnian occupation. The author summarizes the opposing arguments to the occupation in three points. Firstly, with the new territory the Monarchy gained a large Slavic population who are generally hostile towards Hungarians. Secondly, occupying Ottoman territories could damage Hungary's good relations with Turkey; furthermore a declining Ottoman Empire would threaten Hungarian statehood. Thirdly, the administration of the newly acquired territories is too expensive and not sustainable. The author convincingly argues that all three theses are false. Firstly, it is safer to keep the hostile Slavic groups inside our realm than outside, secondly, the Turkish Empire has already been declining and Bosnia was a lost cause for Turkey that could have been annexed by Serbia without the Habsburg Monarchy and thirdly, though modernising the backward new provinces imposes considerable expense on the Monarchy by time these efforts will be compensated. The author argues that the occupation was not an option but considering the circumstances, it was inevitable. The second part of the pamphlet deals with the Eastern politics of the Monarchy and other interior issues that the Government has to face concluding that the Government is effectively handling all challenges.
8. EJURY Gyula: *Bosznia s Herzegovina occupatiója: a magyar képviselőháznak ajánlva I-II.* [The Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dedicated to the Hungarian Chamber of Representatives] Pozsony: Westungarische Grenzboten Ny., 1878, 21 p. Gyula Ejury (1851-1885) was a lawyer. His two-volume short booklets deal with the international environment where the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had taken place. He stresses in his long discussion on the power politics of 1870's that the Austro-Hungarian Empire should give up its balancing strategy and take a side against Russia and not against Turkey. The author concludes that if the Monarchy doesn't want to be destroyed by pan-Germanism nor by pan-Russism, it has to engage in an active anti-Russian foreign policy. According to Ejury, the Monarchy has to cease the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, form a defensive and offensive alliance with Turkey, and wage war with Russia. The purpose of the second volume written one month later is to provide a more detailed argument of Ejury's

program since the first remained without proper response in the Chamber of Representatives. The guideline for a foreign policy as the author stated in his first volume are derived from political necessities and securing the existence of Hungary and the whole Monarchy as a great power which is inevitable for the European balance of power and for permanent peace. The conclusion given in the booklet is reinforcing the previous goals of the author, adding that all parties should subscribe univocally to the present foreign policy program.

9. GRATZ Gusztáv: „Bosznia Kállay halála korában.” [Bosnia at the Time of Kallay’s Death] *Huszedik Század*, 1. (1904), pp. 372-391.
Gusztáv Gratz (1875-1946) was a politician, a correspondent member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was a representative in the National Assembly from 1906. In 1917 he was appointed Minister of Finance, and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1921. In his article Gratz explores the state of Bosnia in 1903. According to the author the studies written about Bosnia were heavily biased representing it as the most prosperous country in the world. It became common to portray the achievements of the Monarchy in Bosnia as a successful example for colonial policy. From 1896 voices of the unsatisfied population have reached Budapest: Bosnians from all religious groups presented their grievances in memorandums. When it comes to the number of unsatisfied peoples, Kallay admits in 1903 that strictly speaking everyone is unsatisfied in Bosnia. The author gives an overview of the merits of Austro-Hungarian occupation and then the list of weaknesses follows. The ‘model state’ designed by Kallay couldn’t achieve the expected leap of modernization in a short period of time as if Kallay had intended to raise a man from a newborn in 24 hours (p. 377). The political backwardness with a new rising asymmetry is addressed: the newly educated population became aware of being politically paralysed by the absolutistic governance that led to huge dissatisfaction. The public administration with a widespread spy system is discussed depicting case studies to illustrate the system at work, followed by analysis on confessional and economic affairs. The author concludes with a short sketch of the new policy Kallay’s successor, Istvan Burian indicating that positive changes in the governance of Bosnia can be expected.
10. HALÁSZ Gejza: *Halász Gejza a ráczekevi kerület képviselőjének az országgyűlésen 1882. tartott beszéde: a bosnyák politikáról.* [Speech on Bosnian Politics Delivered by Gejza Halasz, Representative of Raczeve in the Parliament] Budapest: Atheneum, 1882, 7 p.
11. KÁLLAY Béni (M.N.): “A mohamedánság helyzete Boszniában.” [Position of Mohammedans in Bosnia] Budapest: Franklin 1900, 123 p. Offprint from *Budapesti Szemle*, 103:285 (1900), pp. 399-481.

The pseudonym N. M. was claimed to represent Benjamin Kallay who as an acting governor of the occupied provinces preferred to hide his authorship¹⁴. The aim of the author was to sum up the successes of modernization and reforms implemented in a Mohammedan country in 22 years of Western administration. Starting with a review of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a lengthy chapter dedicated to the Ottoman period. The signs of erosion of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia are highlighted in order to justify the beneficial act of the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Considering the occupation, the author notes that Austria had never had reservations against Mohammedans, and the Mohammedans of Bosnia are treated exceptionally by the ‘Mohammedanophil’ Monarchy in the Balkans. The effects of reforms implemented by the Austro-Hungarian administration among Mohammedans are discussed regarding educational reforms, regulations of *waqf* (Islamic Endowment) and other properties. The author lists the crucial points of dissatisfaction raised by the Mohammedan delegation to the Emperor in 1895: the agrarian question, the management of waqfs, favouring Christians in debates with the peasants, and the complaint of the forests being nationalized and taken from the people. All points are refuted. The author then presents the debate over forced conversions and mass emigration of the Mohammedans. The author concludes that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has done the utmost to maintain the Mohammedan population of Bosnia in their privileges and power, nevertheless primarily established a legal system based on equal rights of confessions.

12. KIRÁLYFI, Árpád: “Az annectált tartományok népe” [The Population of the Annexed Provinces] *Budapesti Szemle*, 136:383 (1908), pp. 298-305.
The article examines the state of the Bosnian society after the annexation. The Monarchy aimed to develop constitutionalism in Bosnia but failed in its effort due to the deficiency of state building process under the present composition of the population. There are no common political and cultural goals connecting the different elements. The three groups form strictly segregated social layers: the Mohammedans are landowners, the Orthodox Serbs control the industry and trade, and the Catholic Croats mainly have intellectual professions. The author concludes that the tensions could be only resolved by applying an intermediary group in the Bosnian society. For this mission the author suggests the Hungarian people who could settle into Bosnia instead of migrating to the United States.
13. KIRÁLYFI Árpád: „Bosznia szerepe kivándorlási politikánkban”. [The Role of Bosnia in Our Emigration Policy] *Budapesti Szemle*, 134:378 (1908), pp. 350-373.

¹⁴ According to Imre Rész, the author of the article is Lajos Thälöczy.

In his article the author argues that the best support for those who intend to emigrate from Hungary is to facilitate their settlement in the newly acquired province of the Monarchy. The sparsely populated Bosnia waits for the new colonies of investors and skilful workers to enhance the level of modernization with their knowledge. It is the responsibility of the government to attractively present our neighbouring province to the people who still have a negative image of Bosnia as a “half-savage country of Eastern fairy-tales” (p. 355). The second part of the article discusses the state of Hungarian emigration to the United States and concludes that all hardships that characterise the emigration to America are non-existent in Bosnia where the peoples show strong sympathy with Hungarians. Furthermore, migration from Southern-Hungary to Croatia should be directed to Bosnia. The third part of the article explores the necessary measures of “colonizing” Bosnia and concludes that Hungary has to occupy Bosnia economically because that is the key to cope with the great powers in the Balkans.

14. KRCSMÁRIK János: „A bosnyák mohammedánok kivándorlása.” [Emigration of Bosnian Muslims] *Budapesti Szemle*, 70:184 (1892) pp. 121-130. Figures of the number of Bosnian Muslims migrating to Turkey are usually exaggerated proving an evidence for the Russian propaganda for the bad governance of Bosnia by the Monarchy. Nevertheless, the emigration of Bosnian Muslims shows much higher numbers than any other population movement in the Monarchy. The Mohammedans are historically the most powerful element of the Bosnian society: owning the majority of lands and living in the cities. The Monarchy has to draw special attention to them and Benjamin Kallay the governor of the occupied territories is a “good friend” of the Mohammedans. Hugo Kutschera is also a pro-Mohammedan Turkophil orientalist who plays influential role as civil adlatus. The author encounters the disadvantages the Mohammedans had to suffer after the occupation to identify the reasons for their emigration. First, the industry that was based on Oriental products had to adjust to the European taste and style. To maintain their household in their previous style, the Mohammedans would need extra budget because the products from furniture to clothing are not available in an easy reach as it was under the Ottoman era. Second, a modern European non-confessional education system was introduced where not only the religious studies were excluded but Arabic and Turkish language as well, that transmitted the culture for the Mohammedans. In their view, this is an act of Christianising mission. As a compromise the Government left the confessional education system in its previous form and even supported it financially. As a third reason for the mass emigration, the author mentions that the Mohammedan elite were unable to adapt to the new regime. Their ancestors were living in the Ottoman Empire and though they are grateful

for the new developments of their country, they are excluded from their own affairs. The Mohammedans notice that other confessional communities could easily adjust to the Christian Monarchy, while they became stranger in their own country. Sharing the same values, the Mohammedan Turkey could be an option for them and for their family where their way of life could be maintained. The role of the government is to gradually reach progress in the occupied province building on its own historical traditions.

15. PORR Ede: *Bosznia és Hercegovina belsejében. Tártyilagós elmélkedések a Kállay féle kormányművészetről és az osztrák közigazgatási hivatalnokok 22 éves önkényes működésének eredményéről.* By: Bosnyák Ugron. [Inside Bosnia and Herzegovina. Objective Reflections on the Art of Governance by Kallay and on the Results of Arbitrary Activities of the Austrian Public Administration Officers] Budapest: Kosmos Műintézet, 1900, 62 p.

The author of this book was the director of Trieste banking and trading firm Morpurgo and Parente. Each year after the annual session of the Sabor (Assembly), lots of brochures are published on the recent developments of Bosnian economy and agriculture. However, according to the author, the progresses in industry and forestry are not documented properly in these accounts. The author invites his audience for a fascinating excursion to the occupied territories with strong intention to experience the achievements of Kallay's governance in Bosnia. The cost of a journey to 'our sole colony' is not demanding as Kallay looks after all Hungarians visiting Bosnia with a 'Hungarian hospitality'. The author gives a detailed account about all industrial sites and spectacles he identifies travelling by train from Bosna Brod to Sarajevo. The first chapter examines the industry and trade of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the second deals with forestry followed by the third chapter focussing on the agriculture and the conditions of land cultivation in farms. The author brings personal stories of families he met during his travel to prove that many of the peasants had better and more prosperous life before the occupation. The fourth chapter gives an account on the transport system and architecture and the fifth discusses religious, educational and domestic affairs. The final chapter deals with the controversial results of the governance of Kallay enumerating the grievances and dissatisfactions of each religious group of Bosnia. The author concludes that the cultural mission of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Bosnia couldn't achieve better results than in any other provinces. In his view, all the peoples of Bosnia unanimously oppose the absolutistic government of Kallay as it is clearly expressed in the petitions of different Serb and Mohammedan delegations to Vienna and Budapest.

16. SOMOGYI Euthym: „A bosnyák-hercegovinai gyarmat”. [The Colony of Bosnia-Herzegovina] *Budapesti Szemle*, 136:384 (1908) pp. 335-342.

The author argues against the popular idea that considers Bosnia as a Hungarian colony. He criticizes the studies of Árpád Királyfi¹⁵ with falsely identifying Bosnia as an Austro-Hungarian colony because there is no legal foundation of treating Bosnia as such. Királyfi's conclusion is based on his restricted knowledge about the provinces where in his views no signs of development can be detected in the past 30 years. Somogyi refutes this allegation with figures and concludes that Hungarian mass emigration has no place in Bosnia. On the one hand, the idea of building Hungarian colonies in Bosnia was late after 1905 when the Government declared its settlement policies terminated. On the other hand, the local population can't be expected to be satisfied with a mass Hungarian colony in their own land and would easily unite against the newcomers. Hungary has lost its chance to fulfil the program of Andrassy and Kallay and to occupy Bosnia not just militarily but nationally as well.

17. SZATHMÁRY György: "Bosnyákország" [Bosniakland] *Budapesti Szemle*, 13:25 (1877) pp. 76-99.

György Szathmáry (1845-1898) was a lawyer, notary and a minister counsellor. The revolts in Hercegovina drew the public's attention to 'Bosniakland' and inspired the author to write about the past and present of Bosnia. The author argues that the impending and inevitable changes in the south-eastern neighbourhood will have significant effects on Hungary. He lists all possible options for remapping the Balkans. This is followed by the history of Bosnia highlighting the era of Hungarian kingdoms. The author demonstrates with historical examples the dangerous consequences of Bosnia being ruled by a hostile power: after the Battle of Mohács all Turkish invasions to the West came from Bosnia. The emergence of a larger South Slavic State would be a grave threat to Hungary because the same Slavic elements live in the Hungarian side of the Sava River.

The historical review is followed by a summary of geographical, ethnographical, religious, political and economic affairs of the province. Examining the confessional divisions, the author argues that the figures of different religious communities are balanced (placing the Catholics and Muslims on one side with opposing the Orthodoxies). He notes that the Mohammedan element owns the wealth and the land. The author expresses his worries that the annexation of this backward region to Hungary would not only result a financial disaster but also an ethnic one because Hungary would gain 600, 000 orthodox who are in a permanent state of revolt and would consider Beograd their centre rather than Budapest. With an annexation the state of Muslims would become questionable. The author assumes that Muslims who are not Turks but ethnic Slavs but converted to Islam in order to keep their privileges would con-

¹⁵ KIRÁLYFI Árpád: Bosznia szerepe kivándorlási politikánkban, *Budapesti Szemle* 1908 and *Az annektált tartományok népe*

vert back to Christianity after the annexation. However, if (?)their privileges couldn't be maintained any more that possibly would lead to further revolts. Thus the author came to the conclusion that the Catholic element should be empowered by providing education for the Franciscans in Hungarian monasteries. Discussion on the geography of Bosnia and state of trade follows with the conclusion that annexing Bosnia is not desirable for Hungary due to the difficulties and financial burdens it requires but it is still far more better than being occupied by a hostile power. The article concludes that Hungary should express more political and commercial concerns towards Bosnia without violating the Turkish integrity over the region.

18. *Kállay és Bosznia-Herczegovina. Válasz a Budapesti Szemle tanulmánycikkére.* Írta egy travniki mohamedán. [Kállay and Bosnia-Herzegovina. A Reply to the Article of Budapesti Szemle. Written by a Mohammedan from Travnik] Budapest: Europa, 1900, 35 p.

This article is one of the most fascinating political pamphlets with strong and rhetorically powerful arguments against the Kállay regime. This source is only available in Hungarian and German, which indicate the possibility that the author was not a Mohammedan from Travnik, but rather a Hungarian from Budapest who was committed to the Bosniak cause after meeting the Bosnian delegation to Hungary in 1900. The pamphlet discusses four issues that constitute the goals of the Bosnian Muslim autonomy movement and is harshly contradicting to the statements of the article written by Kállay (under a pseudonym n. m.) on the state of Bosnian Mohammedans. The first goal of Bosnian Muslims is to obtain religious autonomy in order to establish reforms in their school system. As a second goal, they call for ending the forced Catholicism, and as a third point they demand for the abandonmentall kinds of Croatian propaganda as they hate everything Croatian. The fourth point asks for respect of their own traditions and customs, and to enjoy equal rights.

19. WERTHEIMER Ede: „Kállay Béni kiadatlan emlékirata Bosznia annexiójáról” (Budapest 1877. 04. 10) [Unpublished Memorandum of Benjamin Kállay on the Annexation of Bosnia published by Ede Wertheimer] *Történeti Szemle*, 1914, pp. 257-266.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy can be only sustained on the basis of dynastic principles. According to Benjamin Kállay, the annexation of Bosnia would already take place with its occupation. The memorandum deals with the administration and governance of the new provinces summarizing the main issues in eight points. Bosnia should be governed by Austro-Hungary by a joint ministry. This centralist stage would be provisional until Bosnia would develop from the present barbaric phase to a civilization because in its current state of affairs, it cannot be integrated to the Austro-Hungarian constitutional system.

(I.) The provincial government should be civil instead of military and the armed forces of Bosnia have to be integrated into the Austro-Hungarian army. (II.) Intime, the present insufficient and weak Turkish administration will be reformed building on the local traditions and practises in regards to the transformation of economy, finance and legal system. (III.) The tension between Islam and Christianity can be turned to an advantage. The Muslims formed the ruling class that changed with the annexation, yet, Kallay emphasises, their leading role has to be maintained in order to counterweight the pan-Slavist approaches. Their rights and privileges thus have to be equal to the Christians. The vakuf properties have to be preserved. The questions of kmet redemption should be solved by giving lands to the kmets but a compensation to their former landlord should be guaranteed. (IV.) The next chapter deals with the Christian confessions arguing that the Catholics should be secretly supported because they won't embrace the pan-Slavist ideology. According to Kallay, the Mohammedans will gradually leave their faith and convert to Catholicism. (V.) Taxing system should be based on money instead of crops and should be equal for the entire population. (VI.) Due to the tensions between the Mohammedans and Christians, the justice system should not be introduced ubiquitously but the Mohammedans should be left with their own justice system based on the Quran in their own affairs. However, between the Mohammedans and Christians the common justice system has to be applied. This exception for the Mohammedans won't last for long as they will soon reach the civilization phase and leave their old religion behind. (VII.) After the annexation a larger number of Austro-Hungarian troops should stay in the country in order to avoid an over concentrated Bosnian army, and to give the opportunity for veterans to gain land in Bosnia for their services. Finally, Kallay briefly overviews the administrative system governed by a joint minister and four councillors. The author concludes that investing in Bosnia would heavily burden the budget of the Monarchy, and it should be gradually implemented in lines with the natural development of the country to slowly elevate Bosnia into the civilized world.

20. THALLÓCZY Lajos: „Kállay Béni emlékezete.” [In Memoriam Benjamin Kallay] *Budapesti Szemle*, 138:390 (1909) pp. 321-358.

Thallóczy provides a short overview on Kallay's family background, education and career. He then discusses his achievements as the consul of the Monarchy in Beograd. In Hungary, Kallay was either unknown or misunderstood or as he used to say: “his successes were observed with a Turanic apathy”. The Austrians never fully accepted his governance in Bosnia as he was not Austrian. According to the author, the Bosnian public opinions were more negative than affirmative towards the policy of Kallay and during his governance it began to show signs of uproar. Kallay aimed and succeeded to create a strong state in Bosnia. A detailed portrayal on Kallay's outlook and personality is also provided.

Travel writings and ethnographies

21. ASBÓTH János: *Bosznia és Herzegovina. Uti rajzok és tanulmányok I-II*. [Bosnia and Herzegovina. Travel Images and Studies] Budapest: Pallas Kiadó 1887, I. p. 275, II. p. 222, ill. with statistic tables and bibliography
 Janos Asboth (1845-1911) was a writer, journalist, ethnologist and politician. He had travelled to the occupied Bosnia several times between 1882 and 1885 in the company of Benjamin Kallay as his personal secretary. His motivation of research in Bosnia was twofold; on the one hand, his personal impressions of the land and on the other hand, political motifs were driving him in his scholarly efforts. He was seeking to prove the sustainability and validity of occupation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The two-volume work was published in 1887 and it was soon translated to both English and German providing the author with international acknowledgement¹⁶. His all-encompassing volumes are the most valuable sources of archaeology, history, ethnography, folklore and everyday life of Bosnia. The reader gets a corporate image of the people: their villages, homes, education, occupations, art, skills, folklore, weddings, feasts, religious observances, magic rites, joys and sorrows—all following a thematic sequence.
22. ASBÓTH János: “Egy francia utas Boszniáról”. [A French Traveller on Bosnia] *Budapesti Szemle*, 34:78 (1883) pp. 386-399.
 A sharp critical analysis of the writing of vicomte de Caix de Saint-Aymour on Bosnia published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* under the title “La Bosnie et L’Herzegovine, Apres L’Occupation Austro-Hongroise” (Jan-Feb. 1883). Asbóth notices that the unknown French writer’s Slavophil attitude goes in hand with a strong antipathy towards the Turks and Hungarians. The author blames the French traveller for his shallow analysis on the peoples of Bosnia and corrects the inaccuracies and mistakes of his discussion on agriculture and land-ownership. Furthermore, Asbóth summarizes the political thoughts of the French text stressing that its conclusion is the outcome of a strong distrust for Germany and fuelled by the Pan-Slavist propaganda.

¹⁶ The work was translated first to German (*Bosnien und die Herzegovina: Reisebilder und Studien*, Wien: A. Hölder, 1888. xii, iv, 488 p. ill.) and to English in 1890 under the title: *An official tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina: with an account of the history, antiquities, agrarian conditions, religion, ethnology, folk lore, and social life of the people*. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, xx, 494 p. ill.) The translations were strongly supported by Benjamin Kallay who, after Thallóczy’s failure to write an all-encompassing history of Bosnia, took a publicist’s approach to create a separate, multi-confessional Bosnian identity by providing Bosnians with an empirical history separate from that of the Serbs and Croats. (See: Donia 2007: *The Proximate Colony. Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule. Kakanien Revisited* p. 5. <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/rdonia1.pdf>)

23. EÖTTEVÉNYI Nagy Olivér: *Bosnyák Földön*, [On Bosniak Land] Moson-magyaróvár: Mosonvármegye Könyvnyomdája, 1911, 130 p.

Olivér Eöttevényi (1871-1945) was a lawyer and author of a number of political and legal books. The aim of his book is to draw attention to the Bosnian affairs that were generally neglected among Hungarians. Eöttevényi blames the Hungarians for failing to take the economic advantage that emerged with the occupation and annexation of Bosnia. Hungary's historical right over Bosnia could have been transformed to an active right with the occupation. The book is based on the author's lectures delivered in Frankfurt, Leipzig and elsewhere about his Bosnian experiences. He quotes Kállay warning that if Hungarians wouldn't support this nation soon, someone else would enjoy their friendship. The first and second chapters present the state of the Ottoman Empire before and after the occupation and annexation. The third chapter discusses the history of Bosnia and Hercegovina, highlighting the reign of Hungarian kings over Bosnia. The fourth chapter deals with the territorial and religious affairs of the annexed provinces, discussing the constitutional law of 1910, the fifth chapter provides a detailed description on the public administration system in Bosnia after the occupation, and also deals with Islam and the Sharia law among the Muslims of Bosnia. The sixth chapter analyses the state of economy in Bosnia and the chances for Hungarian investments. The closing chapter explores Hungary's historical right on Bosnia and attempt to prove that since there is no Bosniak or Austro-Hungarian citizenship, the most successful solution would be to give Hungarian citizenship to the inhabitants of the annexed territory. Finally Eöttevényi sets the task of Hungarians encouraging his nation to raise the still dormant spirit of Hungarian imperialism and make it real. The Slavs cannot be transformed to Hungarians but they can become true adherents of the Hungarian imperialist thought.

24. HORVÁTH János: *Keresztény és mohammedán bosnyák*. A bosnyák okkupáció alkalmával szerzett tapasztalatai alapján írta Horváth János. [Christian and Mohammedan Bosniak. Based on the author's experiences on the Bosnian occupation] Offprint from the *Sopron*. Sopron: Reichard u. Litfass, 1879, 48 p.

The author gives a first-hand account on the Christian and Mohammedan Bosnians. The comparative description of the two groups is based on his own observations during the occupation campaign. The author makes a distinction between the "real Turks" who are available only in a small number in Bosnia and the "fake Turks" who are the Mohammedan Bosniaks. (p. 4) He has a very negative opinion about both Bosnian Christians and Mohammedans describing them as lazy people. A biased historical account is given on the conversion of Bosniaks to Islam under the Ottoman Empire. The author argues that the

basis of resistance against the Austro-Hungarians was that the Mohammedans didn't want to give up their power to exploit their peasants. Then the author turns his attention to the Bosnian peoples describing their outlook, housing, clothing and foods and the structure of their society. The author concludes that there is much to do in the fertile land of Bosnia urging the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to fulfil its mission to civilize the new territories.

25. KRAJNYÁK Edvárd: „Tanulmányi út Dalmáciába és Boszniába” [Study Tour to Dalmatia and Bosnia] *Értekezések, A Pozsonyi Királyi Katholikus Főgymnasium értesítője*. Pozsony 1897, pp. 14-21.
A fascinating summary of a 13-day group tour to Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Bosnia written by the teacher who arranged the excursion for the students of the Catholic Gymnasium of Pozsony. This makes for lively reading based on the author's reflections on the geographical and cultural spectacles the group visited.
26. KRCSMÁRIK János: “Keleti benyomások I-II.” [Eastern Impressions I-II.] *Budapesti Szemle*, 92:252 (1897) pp. 448-458. and *Budapesti Szemle*, 92:251 (1897) pp. 161-169.
27. NICOLICS Sándor: Turistáskodás Bosznia-Hercegovinában. [Being a Tourist in Bosnia and Herzegovina] *Turisták Lapja*, 17. (1905) pp. 11-23. ill.
The article presents an account of the author's excursions to the mountains of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His intention is to eliminate the negative stereotypes and prejudices that strongly persist towards Bosnia in Hungary. The short essay convincingly demonstrates that the nature of Bosnia is a real tourist attraction.
28. SOLYMOSSY Sándor: Úti rajzok. Képek Boszniából, Horvátországból és Dalmáciából. [Travel Pictures and Images from Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia] Budapest: Pesti Ny. Rt., 1901, 244 p. ill.
Sándor Solymossy (1864-1945) was an ethnologist, university professor and member of the Hungarian Scientific Academy. The travelogue of Solymossy provides a fascinating reading on his travel experiences and adventures in Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia. The author seeks to explore what lies behind the term East/Orient and where it begins. Solymossy's approach is clearly romantic, representing Bosnia as a part of the legendary Orient. He and his companions trying to exhaust all adventures appear to the 'bohemian' travellers during their journey.
29. STRAUSZ Adolf: *Bosnyák föld és népe, I. Bosznia története és néprajzi leírása. II. Bosznia és Hercegovina politikai, gazdasági és földrajzi leírása* [Bosniak Land and its People. I. History and Ethnographic Description of Bosnia and

II. Political, Economic and Geographic Description of Bosnia and Herzegovina] Budapest: Tettey N. és társa 1881, 1883, 301 p. + 240 p.

This well-researched and substantially documented two-volume work presents an insightful survey on Bosnia. This is one of the most comprehensive works on the life and history of Bosnia and Herzegovina based on extensive wanderings of the author throughout the country. Strausz was a war correspondent during the occupation campaign and the subsequent revolts in 1882.

30. SZÁDECZKY Lajos: *Útazás Dalmácia, Hercegovina és Boszniában.* [Travelling to Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Bosnia] Kolozsvár: Gámán Ny. 1911. 19 p. Offprint of the *Erdély* 1911.

A lively travel account based on the author's journey from Kolozsvár (Transylvania) to Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Bosnia accompanied by three of his doctor colleagues. Their travel was supported by the Bosnian Government who took great care of their tourists.

31. THALLÓCZY Lajos: *Bosnyák és szerb élet- és nemzedékrajzi tanulmányok.* [Bosnian and Serb Biographical and Genealogical Studies] Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1909, xii, 559 p. ill.coats of arms, genealogical tables.

32. TONELLI Sándor: *Útmutató a Bosnyák Tanulmányi kirándulás számára.* [Guideline for study tour to Bosnia] Budapest: Bercsényi Ny., 1909, 29 p. Tonelli's brief guideline for study tours is a summary of essential information of geography and inhabitants of Bosnia, its history, administration, railway system, industry, and trade. A descriptive survey of Sarajevo and its surroundings is given with further information about the itinerary to Ragusa via Mostar.

33. VÉRTESI Károly: *A zombori felső kereskedelmi iskola tanulmányútja 1902 június-július: Bosnyákország, Hercegovina, Montenegró, Dalmát partvidék.* [Study Tour of the Trade School of Zombor in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia in June-July 1902] Budapest: Athenaeum, 1903, 56 p. Károly Vértesi (1843-1917) was a lawyer and author of a number of travelogues and a local patriot of Zombor (Vojvodina). His classical travel account on the one-month and 2000 kilometre long trip in the Balkans, offers fascinating personal observations while he travelled with 33 students and teachers of the trade high school of Zombor. The booklet includes 40 photographs shot on the spot. They travel to the region "where East meets West, where religions, morals, customs and clothing merge, because even though our destination is in the South, we are travelling to an Eastern country." (p.8) Travelling through Bosnia from Bosna Brod to Sarajevo by train, a detailed

description is given on the sights seen from the railway. The second chapter is dedicated to Sarajevo and Ilidže where the group visits all historical and cultural sights. From Sarajevo they travel by train to Mostar where they stay overnight to visit Blagaj and the Spring of Bunja River the next day. The excursion continues to Gravoza and Raguz (VI. Chapter), Montenegro (VII. Chapter), the Dalmatian coast (VIII. Chapter), and through Fiume and Zagreb back home (IX. Chapter).

34. XÁNTUS Gábor: *Tanulmányút az okkupált tartományokban*. Miskolc [Study Tour in the Occupied Territories] Miskolc: Wagner-Szelényi Ny, 1898, 84 p. Gabor Xantus was a teacher of geography and history in the Catholic Gymnasium of Miskolc. In 1897 he travelled to Bosnia and Herzegovina and further to Dalmatia with the students and professors of the Geology Department of University of Budapest. Professor Lajos Lóczy arranged the field trip. From Budapest they travelled to Pécs and through Eszék (Osijek), their train reached Bosna Brod (Bosanski Brod). Readers not only get a fascinating description of the land the author travelled through but also his reflections are revealed. The group devotes two days to sightseeing in Sarajevo, where a detailed account of the peoples of Sarajevo is also provided besides the descriptions of sights visited (tobacco factory, Museum on the Ferhadija street, Catholic Cathedral, Gymnasium, Baščaršija, Begova džamija, Town Hall, Fortress, Bendbaši garden). Visiting the Town Hall the author reveals his impressions about the people of Bosnia. He observed that people are not satisfied with the results of the occupation and they hate Austrians. Many of them carry weapons even though it is forbidden, and they suffer silently. All these tensions are well hidden beneath the surface and can delude an average traveller. Xantus assumes that the regime prohibits any deep research to be carried out on the real life of the people of Bosnia (p. 32.). Looking down from the Fortress, the author expresses his emotions about the miraculous view of Sarajevo but also mentions its vulnerability as the fabulous city can be so easily destroyed totally within one hour from the place he stands. Overwhelmed by this troubling thought he wants to get far from the fortress soon. The group could meet local people in the Bendbaši garden. Readers are provided with the image of “indolent men” who sit in cafes, drink coffee and smoke nargila (water-pipe) staring vacantly without talking a word with each other. The author observes the “interesting and beautiful” ceremony of calling to prayer by the muezzin. The group makes a one day excursion to the Trebević Mountain. Next day approaching Jajce and its surroundings the study trip continues through Mostar to Dalmatia.

Memoires and Short Stories on the Occupation Campaign

35. ABONYI Árpád: *Bosnyák képek*. [Bosnian Images] Budapest: Athenaeum, 1893, 162 p.
36. ABONYI Árpád: *Bosnyák novellái: újabb sorozat*. [Bosnian Short Stories, New Series] Budapest: Athenaeum Ny., 1896, 167 p.
37. BOROS, Imre: *Boszniai levelek és karcolatok*. [Bosnian Letters and Sketches] Budapest, Légrády Testvérek, 1910. 187 p.
The book of Boros is divided into two parts. The first part consists of letters from a soldier serving in Bosnia in 1908 to his beloved fiancé (pp. 7-97) while the second part is a collection of short novels set up around the time of the Bosnian annexation (pp. 101-187).
38. FARKAS Emőd: *Boszniában*. [In Bosnia] Budapest: Márkus S. Ny., 1893, 142 p.
The book of Farkas consists of eleven short stories. The plots are staged in Bosnia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
39. FERENCZY József: *Bosznia felé, Visszaemlékezés a hadjárat élményeire*. [Towards Bosnia, Recollection of Experiences of the Campaign] Győr: Gross Testvérek, 1895, 117 p.
A lively reading on Ferenczy's own adventures of the occupation campaign who often found himself in conflict with his Captain. He got injured in a battle near Zavalje and sent back to Budapest in the early days of September.
40. KENEDI Géza: *Magyar vér Boszniában. Az 1878. évi bosznia-hercegovinai hadjárat félszázados évfordulójára*. [Hungarian Blood in Bosnia. For the Half-Century Anniversary of the Occupation Campaign in 1878] Budapest: Stádium Sajtóvállalat Rt., 1928, 246 p.
Géza Kenedi gives a first-hand account on the Bosnian campaign of 1878. His memories written after 50 years of the expedition provide very detailed portrayal of the state of the occupation forces and the antagonistic Mohammedan soldiers as well. Most interestingly, he dedicates one chapter to Islam (p. 175) as a theological basis reinforcing his observations of the Muslim soldiers. He quotes several verses from the Quran about war concluding that all 144 verses are talking about the perfect resignation to the will of God. He admits "it was good for them in the state of war and bad for us" (p. 176). The author also narrates stories about the honourable behaviour of Muslim prisoners of war with a clear admiration towards their behaviour. The last part of his book offers lively descriptions on characters of different personalities participating in the occupation war from both sides.

41. KENEDI Géza: *Tarka Péter a vitéz káplár szomorú története: a bosnyák háborúból elbeszéli egy kiszolgált baka*. [Sad Story of the Brave Corporal Péter Tarka: from the Bosnian War Narrated by a Veteran Soldier] Budapest: Méhner, 1886, 8 p.
Kenedi's short story narrates the rise and fall of the heroism of Corporal Péter Tarka during the occupation campaign. His sad destiny was the result of his adventurous nature to discover the Harem of Ali Mukhtarovič...
42. KENEDI Géza: *Lőporfüst az 1878-ik évi bosnyák háborúból*. [Smoke of Gunpowder of the Bosnian War of 1878] Budapest: Singer-Wolfner, 1904, 185 p.
43. KISS Emil: *Verekedés Boszniáért: az 1878-dik évi bosnyák háborúból*. [Fight for Bosnia, from the War in 1878] Dárda: Aradi Lajos Ny., 1912, 134 p.
Memories of Emil Kiss who served as a reserve corporal for one year in the Austro-Hungarian Army and was remobilized for the occupation campaign appointed as a warrant officer to the 52nd Infantry Regiment. The author presents a first-hand account on the operations of the campaign from 15th of July when the regiment left Pécs for Eszék until the arrival back to Pécs on 10 November. A detailed report on the battle for Sarajevo is provided with a valuable insight on the state of mind of the occupying forces.
44. LAKY Imre: *Bakáék Boszniában és egyéb történetek* [Soldiers in Bosnia and Other Stories] Budapest: Pátria Ny., 1901, 240+ iv. p.
Imre Laky (1865-1930) was a journalist who served 12 years in the 39th Infantry Regiment of the Austro-Hungarian Army, and then as a reservist he was commissioned as police inspector in 1898 in Budapest. His book is a collection of 17 short stories about his experiences and adventures as well as the stories of his companions in the occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak. The book provides a brilliant portrayal of various characters of infantrymen as well as the local population of the occupied territories.
45. LAKY Imre, VÁRADY Géza: *Novibazár: Szadzszak-Plevlje. Rajzok, elbeszélések és útleírások Törökország novibazári szadzszakjából az okkupációtól az annekszióig terjedő időből*. [Novi Pazar: Sandjak-Plevlje, Pictures, Stories and Travel Writings about the Novi-Pazar Sandjak of Turkey from the Occupation to the Annexation] Budapest: Pátria, 1912, 270 p.
Géza Várady served 12 years in the military garrisons of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak as an army chaplain. The book of short stories co-authored by Imre Laky provides delightful reading about the everyday life in the garrisons. The book divided to three parts: Novi Pazar 1878-1908 (pp.5-77), Plevlje I. (From Sarajevo to Plevlje, The Garrison, pp.77-128) and Plevlje II. (The Town of Plevlje, pp. 128-163) and the Turkish Camp (Walkings in the

Camp, pp.163-240). Some of the stories are taken from the previous book of Laky (see: no. 43) with little change. The book offers an excellent detailed account on Plevlje with its population and the surrounding Austro-Hungarian and Turkish garrisons.

46. LEITNER Pál: *A ravniczei vérengzés 1878. augusztus 13.* [The Massacre in Ravnice on 13 August 1878] Budapest: Pallas Rt. 1898, 16 p.
The booklet was published by a committee of veterans of the Austro-Hungarian Army twenty years after the occupation. It is a recollection of Pál Leitner a lance sergeant in the fifth company of the 32nd Infantry Regiment, about the surprise attack launched by insurgents at Ravnice (Hercegovina) that resulted in the death of 77 soldiers. Many of them served as reserve soldiers leaving a family behind. Among those who lost their life in the battle, due to lack of availability, only a photo of Ferencz Chalupszky a lance sergeant is provided. The committee of veterans organise a memorial day for the 20th anniversary of the combat in Ravnice.
47. MOLNÁR Elemér A. (A.M.E.): *Az ötödik század. (Régi negyvenhatos tiszti visszaemlékezései 1878-ra.)* [The Fifth Company, Memories of an officer of 1878] Szeged: Endrényi Imre Ny. Offprint of *Szegedi Híradó*, 265-267 (1911) 25. p.
The ex-officer describes the events of 14-16 August 1878 when the fifth company of 46th Infantry Regiment was ordered to attack thousand Bosnian insurgents at Han Bjelalovac.
48. SASVÁRI Ármin: *Bakalevelek a boszniai hadjárattól.* [Letters from a Soldier about the Bosnian Expedition] Budapest: Rautmann, 1879, 126 p.
49. SCHIEFNER Károly: *Emlékfüzet: a boszniai-hercegovinai okkupációs hadjárattal résztvevő 32-es bajtársak visszapillantása 1878-tól a mai napig.* [Memories of the Comrades of 32nd Regiment of the Bosnian Occupation Campaign from 1878 until Today] Budapest: Pallas, 1918, 32 p.
50. REDNITZ-SCHYTTTRA Ilona: *A boszniai háreméletből: rajzok.* [Pictures from the Bosnian Harem Life] Budapest: Atheneum, 1900, VIII. 172 p.
Based on her own Bosnian experiences, the author's short stories about the undiscovered Harem life in Bosnia provide delightful reading. She claims that her stories are based on reality as far as traditions and superstitions are concerned, only the names of characters are fictive. The book consists of essays that narrate the lives of Bosnian Muslim women and also provide valuable information on local customs and traditions.

51. TÁBORI Róbert: *A banyalukai vitézek: bosnyák história*. [Soldiers of Banja Luka: a Bosnian Story] Budapest: Méhner, 1891, 9 p.
An amazing short story about three Hungarian soldiers who survived a night raid of Bosnian insurgents in a watch-house near Banja Luka.
52. ZILAHY Ferenc: *Kecskeméttől Szarajevoig. Napló az 1878. évi boszniai hadjáratból*. Sajtó alá rendezte és értékelő adatokkal ellátta Vitálisné dr. Zilahy Lídia. [From Kecskemét to Sarajevo. Diary from the Bosnian Military Expedition. Edited by Lídia Zilahy] Szombathely: Oskar Kiadó, 2004, 168 p. ill. Ferenc Zilahy (1849-1922) was a traditional farmer in Kecskemét, Southern Hungary who served as a reserve warrant officer in the Mollinary regiment (the 38th K. u. K. infantry regiment) of the occupation forces. Zilahy's personal account on his experiences of the occupation campaign provides delightful reading. He kept a diary from the first manoeuvre in 14 May 1878 until they arrived home on 11 November. The diary is among the most important primary sources, not only for its valuable description of the military operations but as a first-hand account on ethnology, geography and local history of Bosnia. The most valuable contribution to the historiography of the Austro-Hungarian period is the personal tone and reflections of the author. It can be divided into the following chapters: entry to the troop and farewell, on the way to the Bosnian border, marching and battles until the siege of Sarajevo, experiences in Sarajevo and battles around Sarajevo, on the way back to Kecskemét. The original handmade diary contained 172 pages written by Ferenc Zilahy who took notes every day despite the hard conditions of war.

Historical writings

53. ASBÓTH János: "A bosnyák bogumilek az Árpádok és Anjouk korában I.-II.". [Bosnian Bogumils in the Age of the Árpád and Anjou-dynasty] *Budapesti Szemle*, 41:97-99 (1885) pp. 25-52. and II. pp. 172-208.
54. ASBÓTH János: "Bosnyák bánok és királyok". [Bosnian Bans and Kings] *Budapesti Szemle*, 138:388-390 (1909) pp. 163-183.
55. ASBÓTH János: Az őslakók hatása a bosnyák faj kialakulására. [Impacts of the original settlers of Bosnia on the Bosnian population Lecture delivered for the Session of the Hungarian Scientific Academy on 11 Nov. 1901. MTA 1901.] In Pauer Imre ed.: *Értekezések a Történeti Tudományok köréből* (1900-1903) 11 p.
56. CSUDAY Jenő: *Bosznia és Hercegovina története. 91 képpel*. [History of Bosnia and Herzegovina with 91 pictures] Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1909, 22 p.

Jenő Csuday (1852-1938) was a historiographer and university professor. His illustrated book is a concise historical survey of Bosnia from the Illyric times to the Annexation of 1908. It was part of the series of Urania popularizing scientific lectures on various topics.

57. GEBÉ Andor: *Bosnyákország történelme a legrégebbi időktől a magyar fennhatóság alatt 1102-1527*. [History of Bosniakland from the Ancient Times to the Hungarian Realm 1102-1527] Ungvár: Unió Ny., 1908, 229 p.
58. HODINKA Antal: *Tanulmányok a bosnyák-djakovári püspökség történetéből*. [Studies in History of the Bosnian-Djakovar Episcopate] Budapest: Akadémia, 1898, 119 p.
59. KOMLÓSSY Ferencz: *Bosnia és Hercegovina története a legrégebbi időktől napjainkig*. [History of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Ancient Times to the Present] Nagyszombat: Winter Ny., 1882, X. 147 p.
Ferenc Komlóssy (1853-1915) was a writer who held the office of Canon of Esztergom, served as Prevost of Pozsony and also was an elected papal prelate. In the first part of his book, he provides a general overview on the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina highlighting the backwardness of infrastructure and transportation as well as the agriculture and the eastern characteristic of trade. A historical account of social relations, religion and education follows with particular emphasis on the Ottoman period. Throughout the text the hard measures against the rajah population are emphasised. According to the author, the Bosniak lords are secretly keeping their old Christian faith and converted to Islam only to preserve their privileges and lands (p. 115). The Ottoman reforms are described as sources of dissatisfaction that led to the popular revolt in Herzegovina. Violence against the Christian population of Bosnia ended with the Berlin Treaty and the Ottoman Empire was forced to adjust to the civilized Western powers.
60. KOMLÓSSY Ferenc: *Bosznia és Herczegovina jogviszonya Magyarországhoz a középkorban 1103-1528*. [Legal Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Hungary in the Middle Ages 1103-1528] Budapest: Pesti Könyvny., 1879, 106 p.
61. SZEGHALMY Gyula: *Bosznia-Hercegovina története a legrégebbi időktől napjainkig, különös tekintettel az annexióra*. [History of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Ancient Times to Present, with Special Focus to the Annexation] Békéscsaba: Tevan, 1909, 104 p.
This comprehensive history of Bosnia is divided into five parts. Chapter One consists of an overview from the ancient times to the age of Hungarian bans

(x-1254). Chapter Two covers the time between the Hungarian bans and the establishment of national kingdoms (1254-1353). Chapter Three is assigned to the era between the national kingdoms and the fall of Bosnia to the Ottoman Empire (1353-1463). Chapter Four deals with the history of the Ottoman Bosnia (1463-1878) and the final chapter explores the events led to the annexation of Bosnia to the Habsburg Empire (1878-1908). In his conclusion Szeghalmy points out that the annexation is the best possible solution not only for Europe but for the occupied territories as well, that is, Bosnia will both culturally and economically benefit from belonging to the Hungarian crown instead of suffering under the reign of either Serbia or Turkey.

62. THALLÓCZY Lajos: *Bosznia története* [History of Bosnia] Budapest: M. Kir. Államny. 1900, 94 p. Offprint from the volume *Az Osztrák Magyar Monarchia írásban is képen, Bosznia és Hercegovina*. [The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Word and Picture, Bosnia and Herzegovina]

Kallay with the consent of the Habsburg authorities set out to create a history of Bosnia-Herzegovina that distinguished that land and its people as much as possible from neighbouring South Slavs. In 1884, he appointed Lajos Thallóczy, to write a two-volume history of Bosnia-Herzegovina from ancient times to 1856. Thallóczy accepted this mission but soon became overwhelmed with the materials he collected in the archives. In 1894, his proposal of a monumental compilation of relevant documents in five volumes was rejected by Kallay who, faced with emerging Serb and Croat studies that included Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of their histories, was more interested in tangible results¹⁷. Though the magnum opus has never been completed, Thallóczy published several articles reporting the results of his scholarly inquiries, such as the *History of Bosnia* as a Chapter in the Bosnian volume of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Word and Picture. After a brief geological introduction, Thallóczy reviews the history of Bosnia from the age of Illyric tribes to the Berlin Treaty.

Country profiles, information pamphlets, introductory presentations

63. *Bosnyákország és a Hercegovina az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállításon*. Kiadja a boszniai kormány kiállítási irodája. [Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Millennial Exhibition in the year 1896. Published by the exhibition bureau of the Bosnian Government] Budapest 1896, 311 p.
64. GYŐRI Károly: "Az új Balkán" [The New Balkan] *Budapesti Szemle*, 136:384 (1908) pp. 343-364.

¹⁷ Donia 2007: p.5.

65. ERŐDI Béla: "Bosznia" *Földrajzi Közlemények*, 6 (1878) pp. 288-302, 321-336
 A country profile in two articles published right after the occupation. After a geographical introduction of Bosnia's mountains and rivers, the author notes that the road system of Bosnia is basically non-existent and the only way of travelling in the country is on horseback. Description of flora and fauna follows. The next part of the article explores the industry and trade of Bosnia. The second article begins with the inhabitants of Bosnia indicating that the exact number of the population is unknown. The article narrates the position of the confessional groups of Mohammedans, Orthodox and Catholics. The author refutes the common view that the Mohammedans, who still enjoy their historical privileges and preserved strong religiosity, would soon leave their faith with arrival of the Austro-Hungarian era because Bosnian Mohammedans are even more conservative and 'fanatical' than Turks. The next part of the article describes the education and culture in Bosnia. He mentions that among the many superstitions the most widespread is the belief in vampires. The next part of the article is a summary of the history of Bosnia followed by the list of the six administrative districts (sandjaks). This source gives a valuable snapshot on the state of Bosnia right before the Austro-Hungarian influence.
66. ERŐDI Béla: "Bosznia-Hercegovina", *Vasárnapi újság*, 25:30 (1878) pp. 471-475.
67. LAKATOS László: „Bosznia és Hercegovina”, *Huszdik Század*, 1 (1911) pp. 468-476.
 László Lakatos (1882-1944) was a bank clerk before embarking a career as a writer, journalist, and play writer. In his short essay on Bosnia and Herzegovina, the author highlights five topics of interest: the question of kmets and agrarian policy, the economic and cultural progress of the provinces, where he stresses the immense resistance of the peasants to progress and modernization, the absolutistic nature of public administration and its controversies in the 30 years of occupation, and finally the controversial functions of the Sabor as constitutional institution.
68. PÁL Alfréd: *Bosznia-Hercegovina politikai szervezete*. [The Political Organisation of Bosnia-Herzegovina] Budapest: Eggenberger-féle Könyvkiadóvállalat, 1913, 435 p.
 Alfréd Pál (1877-1934) was a lawyer, university professor and member of the Parliament. The book of Pál is based on considerable number of sources and covers comprehensively the legislating system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the introductory chapter, the author draws attention to the figure of the number of officials in the Bosnian administration, besides 3920 office men

with Austrian citizenship, 3043 Hungarian citizens serve in Bosnia, among them only 347 have Hungarian as mother tongue and others are Croatians and Serbs. The obvious reason for the low participation of Hungarians is the lack of their knowledge in the language of the province. The next theme deals with the right to govern Bosnia that is legally a condominium of Austria and Hungary. The political structure and the purview of political actors of Bosnia are exhaustively discussed in the book including the Provincial Assembly, the Sabor or the Common Ministry of Finance and the Provincial Government. The author furthermore presents the structure of public administration in Bosnia with detailed studies from state to local government organizations. The goal of the author with his exhaustively detailed survey is to serve as practical guideline for those who would be concerned with the Bosnian public administrative authorities.

69. PERL Mihály: *Bosznia-Herzegovina termékei*. [Products of Bosnia and Herzegovina] Újvidék, 1899, 40 p.
Mihály Perl was a chemical engineer and a teacher of trade in high school. After a brief introduction to the geography and history of Bosnia, the author presents his personal experiences in Bosnia where he worked as a chemist. His detailed observations of the traditions and lifestyle in Bosnia give a colourful image of the country. According to the author, Hungarians should have settled in Bosnia instead of migrating to the United States because in the new province it is cheaper and manageable to make a living. The second part of the book is an insightful analytical survey on the products of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (pp. 17-40)
70. PULSZKY Ágost: „Bosznia igazságügye”. [State of Justice in Bosnia] *Buda-pesti Szemle*, 61:158 (1890) pp. 304-324.
Ágost Pulszky (1846-1901) was a professor of law, a sociologist, and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Science as well as a member of the Hungarian parliament. The author experiences a great lack of concern for the Hungarian public whenever the question of Bosnia occurs. He claims that the reason for this ignorance is the lack of knowledge about these provinces. After 7 years of governing the provinces, Kallay prepared an overview on the state of justice system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pulszky's article summarizes the book published in 1889, entitled *Das Justizwesen Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, written by Eduárd Eichler, (Regierungsrath der Landesregierung in Serajevo. Herausgegeben von der Landesregierung für Bosnien und Herzegovina. Wien.) Before his review the author provides an overview of the unique history of Bosnian judicial system from the Ottoman era until date.

71. STRAUSZ Adolf: *Bosznia és a Hercegovina gazdasági és néprajzi leírása a magyar iparosok részére* [Economic and Ethnographic Description of Bosnia and Herzegovina for Hungarian Tradesmen] Budapest: 1898, 96 p.
72. SZEBERÉNYI Lajos Zsigmond: "Bosznia és Hercegovina". *Huszadik Század*, 2 (1908) pp. 388-398.
Lajos Szeberényi (1859-1941) was a Lutheran dean and author of several religious and socio-political volumes. In his short summary the author presents the economic, social and educational situation and achievements of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the occupation. In his view the occupation brought a new world for these provinces being described as carrying rich historical past, nice countryside, inhabited by strong people. This new world was established not only by weapons but by culture as well. Szeberényi dedicates a lengthy paragraph for the religious groups of Bosnia with a special focus on the Mohammedans. He quotes the work of Osman Nuri Hadžić entitled *Islam i kultura* and the booklet of an anonymous author entitled *Muslimansko pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini* referring to the debate of modernization of Islamic religious thought. He views these publications as proofs for the success of intellectual reforms initiated by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. After reviewing the educational system, he turns his attention to the issue of kmets and agriculture. Writing in the year of annexation Szeberényi argues that despite the public desire for attaining a constitution, it is better to live under a stable absolutistic regime, where there is a hope for a peaceful constitutional transition than having an immature and obscure constitution. He concludes that at the time of writing Bosnia and Herzegovina has an unusual long period of 30 years of peace that brought an incredible progress to the country.
73. TÉGLÁS Gábor: „A bosnyák-hercegovinai országos museum.” [The State Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina] *Budapesti Szemle*, 76:202 (1893) pp. 139-144.
Gábor Téglás (1848-1916) was an archaeologist, teacher and director of a high school in Deva. The Provincial Museum in Sarajevo was founded in 1883, and by 1886 two halls were filled with collected items. During these years many research trips and field works were carried out with an increased enthusiasm to the countryside of Bosnia and Herzegovina that resulted significant increase of exhibits. The collection of the museum authentically illustrates the culture and industry of each historical period of Bosnia. The author presents a brief concise summary of each collection and concludes that the popular Bosnian Museum can be a role model for how the Hungarian collections in the countryside should be set up.
74. TELKES Simon: "Bosznia-Hercegovina lakóhelyei és népessége". [Domiciles and inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina] *Földrajzi Közlemények*, 17:10 (1889) pp. 579-583.

The first census in the occupied Bosnia under Benjamin Kallay was conducted on May 11885. The results published in a comprehensive volume entitled *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und der Herzegovina nach dem Volkstählungs-Ergebnisse vom 1.Mai 1885*¹⁸ are summarised by the author.

Law

75. BUZA László: Bosznia-Hercegovina államjogi helyzete s a bosnyák-hercegovinai tartomány illetőség. [Constitutional Law in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Provincial Citizenship] Budapest: Pfeifer, 1911, 26 p.
76. CSIGE VARGA Antal: *Bosznia és Hercegovina közoktatásügye* [Public Education Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina] Budapest: Stephaneum Ny., 1913, 20 p. The author briefly reviews the years from the Berlin Treaty to 1910. He declares that out of the budget of 80 million kronas, only 5 million were spent for education while 6 million went for military expenditure in 1910. An insightful survey on the education system of Bosnia between 1878 and 1910 is provided revealing the traditions and developments in the state and confessional schools. The concluding remarks of the author encourage Hungarians to get more involved in exercising their rights for defining the directions of the Bosnian cultural policy.
77. KIRÁLYFI Árpád: *A bosnyák-hercegovinai tartományi illetőség és követelményei; Concha Győző megnyitó beszédével.* [The Provincial Citizenship of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its Requirements, with foreword by Győző Concha] Budapest: Pfeifer F., 1911, 102 p.
78. KOMLÓSSY Ferenc: "A délszláv nő társadalmi állása". [The Social State of South-Slav Women] *Nagyszombati Hetilap* 1882.
79. LÁNCZY Leo - BALKÁNYI Kálmán: *Az iszlám jogállásának szabályozása Magyarországon. A Magyar-Bosnyák-Hercegovinai Gazdasági Központ felterjesztése a kormányhoz.* [Regulation of Legal Status of Islam in Hungary. Memorandum of the Hungarian and Bosnian Economic Centre to the Government] 1913. Budapest 27 p.
80. RÉZ Mihály: "Bosznia közjogi helyzete I-II". [Public Law in Bosnia I-II.] *Budapesti Szemle* 158:450 (1914)pp. 355-372. and II. *Budapesti Szemle* 159:451 (1914) pp. 66-80.

¹⁸ *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und der Herzegovina nach dem Volkstählungs-Ergebnisse vom 1.Mai 1885.* Amtliche Ausgabe. - *Statistika mjesta i ziteljstava Bosne i Hercegovine po popisu naroda od 1. maja 1885.* Sluzbeno izdanje. Sarajevo Landesdrukerei. Zemaljska stamparija, 1886. 362 p.

81. SZOKOLAY Kornél: “Képviseleti alkotmány Bosnyákországban I-II.” [Representational Constitution in Bosniakland I-II.] *Budapesti Szemle* 142:402 (1910) pp. 407-416. and II. *Budapesti Szemle* 143:403 (1910) pp. 5-24.
82. THALLÓCZY Lajos: *A bosnyák-hercegovinai „bég” címéről.* [On the Title of ‘Beg’ in Bosnia-Herzegovina] Budapest: Franklin Ny., 1915, 17 p.
83. TIHANYI Lajos: *Bosznia-Hercegovinát érintő viszonyaink jogi természetete* [Legal Nature of our Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina] Magyar jogászegyleti értekezések III. Budapest: Pfeifer F., 1911, 21 p.
The author suggests that the legal nature of Hungary’s relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be considered as a mere theoretical problem but has to be approached by its practical requirement without subordinating to daily political struggles. Tihanyi analytically examines the legal relations between Bosnia and Hungary and comes to the conclusion that Bosnia belongs to the Hungarian Crown and also to Austria. The new province gains a special status without an own sovereignty but governed as a common interest zone by Austria and Hungary.
84. TUSTER Ignác: *Déli tartományaink földje, népe és jövője. Értekezések a bosnyák jog és balkánológia köréből.* [The Land, The People and the Future of our Southern Provinces, Discussions on the themes of Bosniak Law and Balkanology] Debrecen: Csáthy F. Könyvkiadó, 1918, 29 p.
85. TUSTER Ignác: *Az iszlámhívők vallási intézményei Boszniában. Bosnyák jogi értekezés, III. füzet.* [Religious Institutions of Muslims in Bosnia, Legal Study of Bosnia] Debrecen: Csáthy F. Könyvkiadó, 1918, 32 p.
The author starts his study on Islamic religious law with ‘bismillahi-rahman-irrahimi el hamdu l’illahi rabbi’l alamin’ (In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, All the praises be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds) as the Muslims do. In his introduction the author points out that the Islamic law was a neglected field of law and in the Bosnian context, even more so due to language barriers. The author provides a brief summary of Islam, the sharia law and the qanun law followed by the analysis of the waquf-mearif affairs and the organisation of the Islamic Community in Bosnia.
86. TUSTER Ignác: *A muzulmán serriátbíróságok szervezete.* [Organisation of the Muslim Sharia Courts] Debrecen: Csáthy F. Könyvkiadó, 1923, 32 p.
87. TUSTER Ignác: *Tanulmányok a boszniai jogtörténet és közjog köréből.* [Studies on the Legal History and Common Law in Bosnia] Debrecen: Csáthy F. Könyvkiadó, 1918, 64 p.
The main objective of the author was to review the past and present of the suzerainty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Written in 1918 the author has a clearer view of

the events from 1878. In his opinion the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy should have gone further in Berlin than obtaining the right for occupying Bosnia to direct annexation with the consent of the great powers, but those politicians were “short-sighted” (p. 32.). The systematic study of Tuster presents the structure of government and public administration system of Bosnia with statistical data.

Economy and Transportation

88. BODÁNYI Ödön: “A doboj-tuzlai vasút I-II-III.” [The Railway of Doboj-Tuzla] *A Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye*, 26:7 (1892) pp. 225-227, 26:8 (1892) pp. 206-266, 26:9 (1892) pp. 295-302.
89. CZAKÓ Adolf: “Bosznia és Hercegovina építésügye az okkupáció kezdetétől 1887-ig I-II.” [Housing Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Beginning of Occupation until 1887] *A Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye*, 22:1 (1888) pp. 20-29, 22:2 (1888) pp. 81-89.
90. KREUTZER Béla: “Magyar állampolgárok Bosznia-Hercegovinában”. [Hungarian Citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 21:11 (1897) pp. 888-893.
91. KROLOPP Alfréd: *Bosznia-Hercegovina mezőgazdasági viszonyai, különös tekintettel a kincstári mezőgazdasági állomásokra és mintaparaszttgazdaságokra*. [Agrarian affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina with a Special Focus on the Agrarian Stations and Model Farms] Budapest: Pallas, 1904, 188 p.
This book explores the agrarian affairs of the occupied Bosnia, particularly those agricultural stations and model farms that were established between 1886 and 1893 by the Treasury. The first part of the book offers an introduction to the geography and population of Bosnia as well as a historical review on the development of agriculture. The second part of the book is dedicated to the survey on the four agricultural and the three fruit and wine growing stations of Bosnia-Herzegovina along with the model-farms attached to them.
92. LANDAUER Béla: “A boszniai agrárkérdés” [The Agrarian Question of Bosnia] *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 20:11 (1896) pp. 759-765.
93. LIPTHAY Sándor: “Bosznia és Hercegovina keskenyvágányú vasútai” I-II. [The Narrow-Gauge Railways of Bosnia and Herzegovina] *A Magyar Mérnök-és Építész-Egylet Közlönye*, 30:6 (1896) pp. 221-225, 30:7 (1896) pp. 257-265.
94. POLGÁR Iván: “Boszniai vasutunk iránya” [Direction of Our Bosnian Railways] *Katolikus Szemle*, 23:2 (1909) pp. 156-172.

95. STRAUSZ Adolf: "Közlekedési állapotok Boszniában" [Conditions of Transportation in Bosnia] *Nemzetgazdasági Szemle*, 8 (1883) pp. 54-62.
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Predstavljanja Bosne i Hercegovine u ugarskim političkim i javnim dokumentima između 1978. i 1908. godine: selektivna bibliografija s natuknicama
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Sažetak

Ova selektivna bibliografija s natuknicama predstavlja niz ugarskih tekstova objavljenih između 1878. i 1908. godine, pokrivajući historijski period u kojem je Bosna i Hercegovina anektirana i okupirana od strane Austro-Ugarske. Rad sadrži stotinu natuknica koje se odnose na knjige, članke i pamflete, od kojih su njih šezdeset s bilješkama. Autor razvrstava literaturu prema širokim temama poput političkih analiza i pamfleta, putopisa, etnografskih ili geografskih studija, memoara nastalih za vrijeme vojnog pohoda, historiografije, opisa zemlje i informativnih brošura, te nudi deskriptivne bilješke reprezentativnih članaka u svakoj kategoriji.

Ključne riječi: bibliografija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Austro-Ugarska monarhija, okupacija, aneksija