

*Status of Ottoman Officials and Military Personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Austro-Hungarian Occupation of 1878**

Amila KASUMOVIĆ

Prof. Dr., Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

E-Mail: amila.kasumovic@ff.unsa.ba

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9463-0921

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Geliş Tarihi / Received: 29.12.2021 Kabul Tarihi / Accepted: 06.09.2022

ABSTRACT

KASUMOVIĆ, Amila, **Status of Ottoman Officials and Military Personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Austro-Hungarian Occupation of 1878**, CTAD, Year 18, Issue 36 (Fall 2022), pp. 571-601.

After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the Austro-Hungarian government, in an effort to appease the local, especially Muslim population, proclaimed that the existing customs and laws would be preserved, for the purpose of achieving a gradual social transformation, without major setbacks. This paper seeks to re-examine the promise the new government on the example of the status and later fate of former Ottoman officials and military personnel, who were mostly locals in the occupied territory. Unpublished archival sources, which can be used to reconstruct the basic direction of Austro-Hungarian administration in the

* The research presented in this article was financed by the grant of the Polish National Science Center: "Social Changes of the Muslim Communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria in the Second Half of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century: Comparative Studies" (2020/39/B/HS3/01717).

first years following the occupation, are used to show how former Ottoman officials, principally Muslims, were temporarily or permanently incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian administrative system in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: Ottoman officials, Ottoman soldiers, Ottoman Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary.

ÖZ

KASUMOVIĆ, Amila, **Bosna Hersek'teki Avusturya-Macaristan İşgali'nin (1878) Ardından Osmanlı Memurlarının ve Askeri Personelin Statüsü**, CTAD, Yıl 18, Sayı 36 (Güz 2022), pp. 571-601.

Bosna-Hersek'in 1878 yılındaki işgalinin ardından Avusturya-Macaristan Hükûmeti, bu topraklarda işgal öncesi yürürlükte olan kanunların ve âdetlerin korunacağı ilkesini ilan etmişlerdir. Monarşi'nin yetkilileri, bu tedbirle yerli nüfusun, özellikle Müslüman halkın, sakinleştirilmesini ve Bosna-Hersek'de toplumsal dönüşüm sürecinin tedrici ve sorunsuz bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmesini sağlamak istemişlerdir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Bosna-Hersek'te bulunan ve çoğunlukla oranın yerlisi olan eski Osmanlı memurlarının ve askerî personelin söz konusu işgalden sonraki durumlarını incelemek ve Avusturya-Macaristan yetkilerinin Bosna-Hersek'te yürürlükteki mevzuatla ilgili taahhütlerini yerine getirip getirmediğini ele almaktır. Bu makalede, işgalden sonraki dönemde Avusturya-Macaristan Hükûmeti tarafından uygulanan siyasete ilişkin değerli veriler içeren ve henüz yayımlanmamış arşiv kaynakları kullanılmıştır. Çalışma bulguları, Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu'nun, Bosna-Hersek'teki eski Osmanlı, çoğu Müslüman olan memurlarını kendi idari sistemine dahil etme biçimini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı memurları, Osmanlı askerleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Bosna-Hersek, Avusturya-Macaristan.

Introduction

By skilfully using the Great Eastern Crisis that had shaken the status of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, as well as Britain's fear of Russia's expansionist aspirations¹ confirmed by the Peace of San Stefano, Austria-Hungary succeeded in realizing part of its strategic plans at the Berlin Congress in the summer of 1878, having been given a mandate by the European powers

¹ Gerald David Clayton, *Britain and the Eastern Question—Missolonghi to Gallipoli*, University of London Press, London, 1971, p. 144; Robert J. Donia, *Islam pod Dvoglavim orlom: Muslimani Bosne i Hercegovine 1878.—1914.*, Zoro/Institut za historiju, Zagreb/Sarajevo, 2000, p. 23.

to occupy and manage the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.² Aware of the complexity of the situation in the area—especially of the resistance that was evident within the Muslim population,³ Austria-Hungary decided on a tactical strategy of gradually coaxing the Bosnian population to its side.

In that sense, the occupation was presented to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an act of charity,⁴ by which Austria-Hungary had attempted to rescue the former Ottoman province from anarchy, insecurity and social inequality, issues that stemmed from an unresolved agrarian problem. As the Muslim population was especially fearful of the arrival of a European, Christian power, Austro-Hungarian propaganda insisted that Bosnia and Herzegovina's existing customs and laws⁵ would, at least initially, be retained, which

² The fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina was determined by Article 25 of the Berlin Treaty, published in German and French in: *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, Wien 1880, p. 3. The Treaty of Berlin also guaranteed the right of Austria-Hungary to maintain garrisons and establish communications in the Novi Pazar Sanjak. Austro-Hungarian troops entered Sanjak in the fall of 1879. As per administration, the situation in Sanjak was different to that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the Austro-Hungarian representatives coexisted with the Ottoman representatives, and tried to establish a good communication. Tamara Scheer, "A Micro-Historical Experience in the Late Ottoman Balkans. The Case of Austria-Hungary in Sanjak Novi Pazar (1879-1908)", *War and Nationalism. The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*, Ed. M. Hakan Yavuz-Isa Blumi, The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2013, pp. 197-198, 203. General Suleiman Hakki Pasha cooperated with the Austro-Hungarian representatives very well. Tamara Scheer, "*Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut*": *Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novi-pazar (1879-1908)*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 2013, pp. 149-151.

³ Resistance was evident also with the Orthodox Christian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cathie Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015, p. 40. Ayşe Zişan Furat, *Değişen Saraybosna'da Eğitim. Avusturya-Macaristan Dönemi Eğitim Kurumları 1878-1918*, Kayıhan, İstanbul, 2021, p. 10.

⁴ "Proclamation an die Bewohner von Bosnien und der Hercegovina", *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, Wien 1880, Band I, 3-4.

⁵ "Eure Gesetze und Einrichtungen sollen nicht willkürlich umgestossen, Eure Sitten und Gebräuche sollen geschont werden." Proclamation, *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, Wien 1880, 4. The Convention of April 1879 between the Ottoman Empire and Austro-Hungary guaranteed the right of the sultan's sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the convention had avoided the issue of the Ottoman representation in the occupied province. Austrians would not have permitted an Ottoman governor, and the Ottoman Empire would not have sent its consul there since that would have threatened sultan's sovereignty. Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, *Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, 1878-1914*, PhD Thesis Dissertation, Columbia University, 2013, pp. 42-43.

demonstrated an intention to implement a gradual transformation of Bosnia's society, without forceful change.⁶

Officials employed in the Austro-Hungarian administration played a significant role in the gradual transformation of Bosnia's society. Although they had been given the very important role of mediating between the local population and the administrative bodies of Austria-Hungary, it wasn't until the early 21st century that we see a particular study in historiography focusing on the status, role and activities of Austro-Hungarian officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷ The topic was but mentioned, without excessive detail, as part of broader research on the establishment and character of the Austro-Hungarian government after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878,⁸ where the issue of a trans-imperial exchange of human resources was neglected. In other words, the fate of the former Ottoman officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the establishment of Austro-Hungarian rule was presented only through a few fleeting claims that they had mostly left the country after the occupation, and that only a small number of the Ottoman officials were incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian administrative system.

The aim of this study is to observe which Ottoman officials left the occupied territory, and how Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire

⁶ This position was also officially stated, almost a year after the occupation. Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance, 1879, No. 2046 (Joint Ministry of Finance–Provincial Government, 28 May 1879). Cf. *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Herzegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, Wien 1880, 36.

⁷ Tomasz Jacek Lis, "Službenici u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878.–1918.", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 2020, pp. 629–656; Tomasz Jacek Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie w latach 1878–1918*, Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków, 2020; Amila Kasumović, "Dobro došli u koloniju, Eldorado ili nešto treće! Useljavanje u Bosnu i Hercegovinu u prvim godinama nakon okupacije 1878.", *Nacije i migracije—Studije iz bosanskohercegovačke historiografije*, Ed. Amir Duranović, UMHIS, Sarajevo, 2019, pp. 25–69; Amila Kasumović, "Sultanov, carev i kraljev službenik: Činovnička karijera Muhameda ef. Kadića", *Radovi (Historija, Historija umjetnosti, arheologija)*, Vol. 5, 2018, pp. 257–269.

⁸ Hamdija Kapidžić, *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1958; Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918*, Muzej grada Sarajeva, Sarajevo, 1960; Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Sarajevo u doba okupacije Bosne 1878", *Izabrana djela IV, Prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, Ed. Avdo Sućeska/Enes Pelidija, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1991, pp. 73–169; Tomislav Kraljačić, "Struktura administracije u Bosni i Hercegovini u razdoblju Kalajevе uprave, *Jugoslavenski historijski časopis*, No. 1–4, 1978, pp. 215–222; Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882–1903)*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1987; Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914.*, Magistrat i Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2007; Karl Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegovina 1878. Der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt aM, 2003.

negotiated their transfer to Istanbul. Through the archival sources, it also seeks to present the fate of the remaining Ottoman officials and military personnel, mostly Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were destined to become part of the new, European-oriented administrative body. The paper also analyses the issue of severance pay and pensions for Ottoman officials and military personnel, guaranteed by the Austro-Hungarian government, an issue so far discussed without particular detail in historiography.

Approach of the Austro-Hungarian Government towards Ottoman Officials during and immediately after the Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Even before the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, various studies were conducted in the Monarchy aimed at familiarising the political monarchical structures with the nature of the Ottoman rule in the Vilayet of Bosnia, as well as with the functioning of its administrative and police system.⁹ A very extensive document on the political distribution and administration of the country was compiled under the title: *Politische Eintheilung und Verwaltung Bosnien's und der Herzegovina unter der Ottomanischen Herrschaft*, and many travel writers also provided detailed information on the issue in their travelogues on Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰ Even before the Berlin Congress, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Gyula Andrásy, asked Consul Vasić, based in Sarajevo, to compile and send him a list of the most prominent figures in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹ Although the motive for Andrásy's actions was not clearly stated, it can be assumed that Austro-Hungarian political establishment was preparing for the occupation and trying to connect with the local population, especially the political elites, who could help facilitate the occupation.

⁹ Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegovina 1878. Der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie*, p. 56. The Ottoman administrative division of the country was inherited from the Ottomans: the country was divided into *mutesarifluks* (counties) and *kajmakats* (districts). Eugen Sladović pl. Sladoevički, *Upravna nauka i upravno parvo Bosne i Herzegovine*, Sarajevo, 1916, p. 100.

¹⁰ This document was published in: Berislav Gavranović, *Bosna i Herzegovina u doba austrougarske okupacije do 1878. god.*, ANU BiH, Vol. XVIII, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 51. The list of travel literature written on Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule is endless. As an illustration, I will mention one: Amand Freih. v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Bosnien, das Land und seine Bewohner*, Verlag von L. C. Zamarski, Wien, 1878.

¹¹ No. 197 Vasić–Andrásy, 12 July 1878. Gavranović, *Bosna i Herzegovina u doba austrougarske okupacije*, pp. 186-187.

Still, when the emperor decided ahead of the impending occupation to entrust Benjamin Kállay with the task of organising and managing the administration in the future occupied territory, Kállay refused, as he believed that his own memorandum on the necessity to prepare the occupation in an administrative sense, should be seriously considered. As such preparation was not carried out, Kállay refused to participate in the efforts of setting up the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it was not until 1882 that he assumed the function of the Joint Minister of Finance, and with it the administration in the occupied territory.¹²

The data that the occupation was not designed in administrative terms is extremely important, as it provides an insight to the extent of improvisation that existed in the establishment of power during the occupation of the country,¹³ as well as the commitment of political circles in Austria-Hungary to initially establish a military power, which would in part also rely on the involvement of Ottoman officials and military personnel based in the country.¹⁴

Such a strategy was visible immediately after the Austro-Hungarian troops crossed the Sava River near Slavonski Brod on 29 July 1878.¹⁵ On this occasion, an officer of the General Staff set out to negotiate with Ottoman officials and officers in the town of Turski Brod.¹⁶ He offered them an opportunity to keep their current positions and continue working within an administration that would be supervised by Austro-Hungarian troops. Most Ottoman officials and

¹² Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882–1903)*, p. 431. It was only with his arrival that the civilian and the military administration were clearly separated. Tomislav Kraljačić, „Struktura administracije u Bosni i Hercegovini u razdoblju Kalajeve uprave”, p. 216.

¹³ Improvisations in the establishment of the government are also evidenced by articles in Croatian newspapers, which claimed that the post and telegraph services did not initially even have desks on which to put their machines. *Branislav*, 11 Sept 1878, no. 32, p. 2. Pinson labels the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina as “institutional tinkering” and is of the opinion that not much serious effort was put in in order to bring the administration in line with the *k. u. k.* practice standards. Mark Pinson, “The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918”, *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Ed. Mark Pinson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 84-128.

¹⁴ Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878. Der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie*, p. 53. In Sarajevo, power was controlled by the Second Army Command, and in Mostar by the 18th Divisional Command. Eduard Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Herzegowina*, Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegowina, Wien, 1889, p. 109.

¹⁵ More on the military aspect of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina available in László Bencze, *The Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878*. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, 2005.

¹⁶ Today known as: Bosanski Brod.

officers accepted this proposal, and thus the continuity of administrative affairs was maintained. A similar scenario happened in what was then Turska Kostajnica.¹⁷ Although no data exist on the reasons why the Ottoman officials and military accepted the offer to work in the new administration, it can be assumed that those were the local, lower-ranking individuals, who simply tried to survive an exceptionally turbulent moment.

Only one list has been preserved in the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, containing the names of all individuals admitted to service for Austria-Hungary in the Zvornik district. The list mentions the names (and surnames) of 20 civil servants, 17 of whom were Muslim. They were hired temporarily, with the possibility that other former Ottoman officials could be called upon during the tithe survey, so as to facilitate matters for the new government. It is also important to note that the entire *zapti* platoon (the gendarmerie),¹⁸ headed by Osman Aga Mulazim, which numbered 21 men, was admitted to Austro-Hungarian service, i.e., to the gendarmerie detachments.¹⁹

The decision on their permanent engagement in the new administration in the country was planned for later, when every one of these civilians was to be individually assessed as a possible official.²⁰

With regard to the Ottoman officers of Bosnian descent, who were also willing to join the Austro-Hungarian troops in the Zvornik and Tuzla areas, there was some hesitation, as they were not educated in the European manner, and did not speak German. However, the governor of Bosnia, Wilhelm von Württemberg, believed that they should not be left to their own devices, as this would have a negative political impact on the Austro-Hungarian rule in the country. Therefore, his proposal was to admit those people to lower positions

¹⁷ *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, Verlag von Eduard Hölzel, Wien 1878, pp. 22, 24. This way of establishing Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina is also noted by Eduard Eichler, a lawyer working in the state administration, as seen in *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Hercegovina*, p. 110. Turska Kostajnica is today known as Bosanska Kostajnica.

¹⁸ The *zaptis* were guards, members of the gendarmerie (gendarmes), keepers of public order.

¹⁹ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 936. This information is confirmed by the reports of the Russian consul in Sarajevo. Ibrahim Tepić, "Uspostavljanje austrougarske okupacione vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini u izvještajima ruskog konzulata u Sarajevu (1879–1880)", *Prilozi*, XXIII, 24, 1988, p. 113. Edhem Mulabdić, a Bosnian writer and contemporary, testifies about the enlisting of officials into the Austro-Hungarian administration in Maglaj. He wrote the following about the event: "... at the general amazement of our people, all the old officials from the previous Turkish administration were appointed to this administration (Austro-Hungarian)". Adin Ljuca, *Maglaj na tragovima prošlosti*, Općina grada Maglaja, Prag, 1999, p. 300.

²⁰ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 936.

within the civil administration, especially to the sectors that would be engaged in future road construction.²¹ The Ministry of War was convinced that the issue of former Ottoman officers and their further engagement could be resolved only when complete data was available, especially concerning the exact number of men.²²

The challenge of establishing Austro-Hungarian rule in larger places in the country, such as Sarajevo and Mostar, was all the greater, given that the atmosphere in these towns towards the end of the Ottoman rule had reached a melting point. The revolt of the local population against the Ottoman officials resulted in the persecution of the latter from Sarajevo, and the murder of the most prominent representatives of the Ottoman government in Mostar.²³ The continuity of the administration had been called into question. General Josip Filipović was aware of this when he entered Sarajevo. Arriving at the administrative residence known as Konak,²⁴ he instantly met with several Ottoman officials and *zapti* officers, and decided to immediately establish the City Magistrate, a body vitally important for functioning of the city. In addition to the local people who were members of the City Magistrate (seven Muslims, five Orthodox Christians, four Catholics and one Jew), these former Ottoman officials also continued to work in the Magistrate: medical doctor Josef Kötschet, veterinarian Ali Riza Kreševljaković, surveyor Huršid Efendi Terezinski, and clerk Ibrahim Dizdar.²⁵ General Filipović's interest was to engage the said individuals since they had held important positions in the city

²¹ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 159 (Second Army Command–Ministry of War, 30 December 1878)

²² *Idem*.

²³ Mihovil Mandić, *Povijest okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1910, pp. 42, 60. In addition to the above-mentioned outbursts of violence, the murder of an Ottoman military commander in Livno is also recorded in *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, pp. 33, 51. The importance of the role of high-ranking Ottoman officials in the country, especially in relation to the local population, was regularly noted by British consuls in their reports. Cf. Edin Radušić, *Bosna i Hercegovina u britanskoj politici od 1857. do 1878. godine—Od branitelja i zaštitnika do tužjoca i sudje*, Institut za historiju, Sarajevo, 2013, pp. 211–212. Martin Đurđević, who was, at the time, an Ottoman administrative officer at a mutesarifluk office, described a dramatic atmosphere in Mostar. Hannes Grandits, *The End of Ottoman Rule in Bosnia. Conflicting Agencies and Imperial Appropriations*, Routledge, New York, 2022, pp. 291–292.

²⁴ Built during the time of Topal Şerif Osman Pasha, who headed the Bosnian eyalet/vilayet from 1861 to 1869.

²⁵ Kreševljaković, “Sarajevo u doba okupacije”, pp. 116–125. Fra Grga Martić, *Zapamćenja (1829.–1878.)*, Knjižara Jugoslavenske akademije, Zagreb, 1906, pp. 102–104. The magistrate was not presented in the best way in Croatian press. *Branislav*, 20 October 1878, no. 49, p. 3.

administration for several years and were well acquainted with customs and mentality of the local population.

However, the British consul in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Edward Freeman, who witnessed the entry of Austro-Hungarian troops into Sarajevo, was very negative about General Filipović's approach to organising the new administration. He resented his negligence in preserving the Ottoman archives, and destroying the documents left by the Ottoman government.²⁶

Unlike Filipović, Freeman believed that General Stjepan Jovanović, who was in charge of the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Herzegovina, had established power in Mostar much more efficiently. Namely, General Jovanović was well acquainted with the Ottoman administrative system, and sought to keep Ottoman officials in the new administration. With this approach, one of the key institutions, the *Kreis* Court in Mostar, continued working without interruption, with a new judge assigned to it from the Monarchy,²⁷ so that representatives of the old and new authorities were able to cooperate and exchange experiences.

All this leads to a conclusion that the statement made in the official publication of the Provincial Government from 1906 that the Ottoman officials "left the country in scores" during the occupation was only partially correct.²⁸ In fact, the top-ranking Ottoman officials of foreign origin were leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina,²⁹ as well as those Ottoman officials and soldiers who had compromised themselves during the occupation, having joined the ranks of the dissatisfied Muslim population who had decided to put up a resistance to

²⁶ Edin Radušić, "Uspostavljanje austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini prema izvještajima britanskog konzulata u Sarajevu", *Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878–1918*, Ed. Zijad Šehić, Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2011, 42. By the end of 1878, Filipović had been summoned back from Bosnia and Herzegovina due to numerous objections to his way of governing. Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia 1878–1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p. 32.

²⁷ Radušić, "Uspostavljanje austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini", 44. Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, pp. 109–110.

²⁸ *Izještaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zemaljska štamparija, Zagreb, 1906, p. 25.

²⁹ They left testimonies on seeing the entrance of the Austro-Hungarian troops to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ferik Seyyid Ahmed Hafiz criticised in a report the behaviour of Austro-Hungarian troops during the occupation. Similar reports were also presented by other Ottoman officials and officers. Amzi-Erdogdular, *ibid.*, pp. 36–37. The Ottoman Empire attempted to report to the western powers about the activities of Austro-Hungarian troops upon the entrance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Several reports by the Ottoman embassies were published. *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Bosna Hersek*, Ed. H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu-Sebahattin Bayram-Mümin Yıldıztaş, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı), Istanbul, 2009, pp. 70–77.

Austro-Hungarian occupation.³⁰ However, a significant number of Ottoman officials, who were not of Bosnian descent, were still in the country, and the modalities of their repatriation had to be considered,³¹ just as was necessary to repatriate the nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina discharged from the Ottoman army, who were still stationed on the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

In order to arrange the relocation of the remaining Ottoman officials and their families, a special envoy of the Porta, lieutenant colonel Omer Bey, arrived in Bosnia in October 1878.³² Then there existed a possibility to cover the travel expenses of Ottoman officials from funds set aside for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The allocated funds, which would later be reimbursed from provincial funds, were meant to cover the costs of the trip of Ottoman officials and military personnel to Trieste or Dubrovnik, where the Ottoman consulates were located, while the rest of the trip would be financed by the Ottoman government.³³ From a letter from the Joint Ministry of Finance to the Provincial Government in Sarajevo in early 1879, we can conclude that the return of the Ottoman officials and military personnel to the Ottoman Empire was agreed via Dalmatia, in direct communication with the Ottoman General Consulate in Dubrovnik.³⁴ In fact, all those individuals returning to their

³⁰ Historians have generally claimed that Ottoman officials of foreign origin left Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that very few of the local officials ended up in the Austro-Hungarian administration. Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegovina 1878. Der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie*, p. 53. Amzi-Erdoğdular, *Afterlife of Empire: Muslim Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina*, p. 60. Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom 1878–1918*, p. 235. The situation was much more complex in practice. There were foreign Ottoman officials who had not left the country on time, there were local people who had withdrawn with the Ottomans, but there were also local officials who had at least temporarily joined the new administration.

³¹ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878, no. 21 (Ministry of Law–Andrássy, 20 September 1878. The letter was prompted by a question coming from General Filipović).

³² Hamdija Kreševljaković, “Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije (1878–1918)”, *Izabrana djela IV, Prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, Ed. Avdo Sućeska/Enes Pelidija, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1991, p. 174. Cf. Rade Petrović, “Pokret otpora protiv austrougarske okupacije 1878, godine u Bosni i Hercegovini”, *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Ed. Milorad Ekmečić, ANU BiH, Sarajevo, 1979, p. 66.

³³ *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, p. 44.

³⁴ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 277 (Joint Ministry–Provincial Government, 4 February 1879).

homeland via Dalmatia were obliged to contact the Ottoman General Consulate in Dubrovnik.³⁵

In December 1878, the question arose of the fate of the Bosnian soldiers who served in the Ottoman army and had found themselves on the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The Embassy of Austria-Hungary in Istanbul had received inquiries about the possibility of these people withdrawing from the Ottoman army and returning to their homeland.³⁶ However, before the Joint Ministry and the Provincial Government could agree on the issue, newspapers in the Monarchy had written about the withdrawal of Bosnian soldiers from the Ottoman army, which called for an official statement from the Governor of Bosnia Württemberg.³⁷

What transpired is that the soldiers had been discharged *en masse* from the Ottoman troops and that they appeared at the border (Bosnia and Herzegovina), in groups between 10 to 200 people, without any adequate documents other than their letters of discharge,³⁸ without any prior agreement between the officials of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire³⁹. A solution for these identification documents was found by authorizing *k. u. k.* Embassy in Istanbul to issue identification documents to discharged soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and, possibly, to accept their passports, if they had any.⁴⁰ Although the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary to Istanbul, Count Ferenc Zichy, spoke with representatives of the Ottoman authorities and sought to determine the exact number of discharged soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, he never succeeded. It was only certain that there were about 500 to

³⁵ *HLAS, City Government*, 1879, no. 481 (Joint Ministry of Finance–Provincial Government).

³⁶ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 19 (Zichy–Andrássy, 20 December 1878).

³⁷ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 44 (A telegram addressed to the Governor of Bosnia dated 4 January 1879).

³⁸ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 105 (Telegram sent by the General Command in Sarajevo to Vienna, 7 January 1879).

³⁹ I found only a short verbal note addressed to the Ottoman ambassador from the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, which problematizes the issue of travel documents for soldiers native to Bosnia and Herzegovina and discharged from the Ottoman army. *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 205 (Verbal note to the Ambassador of the Ottoman Empire, dated 23 January 1879).

⁴⁰ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 362 (Instruction to the Provincial Government, Vienna, 22 February 1879).

600 people like this in Istanbul alone, while there were no data for the areas of Thessaloniki and Gallipoli. The estimates went as high as 2,000 people.⁴¹

And while the discharged soldiers returning to their homeland posed a threat to the security of the occupied areas, the Austro-Hungarian government struggled with the burning issue of bureaucracy. Namely, as early as September 1878, a narrative began to form that the adopted Ottoman officials, who were mostly of domestic origin, were in fact incapable and could not be employed within a modern administration such as Austro-Hungarians. This served as an excuse for General Filipović to insist on importing officials from Croatia.⁴²

At the 19th session of the Commission for the Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Budapest in November 1878, Croatia's Ban Mažuranić stated that Ottoman officials were unusable in the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they did not fit into the matrices of an administration organised under European standards.⁴³

This opinion was also generated systematically through press published in the Monarchy, but also through officials of the Provincial Government in Sarajevo,⁴⁴ and in historiography, it was just copied uncritically from the sources of Austrian provenance. At this point, it should be emphasised that the vision of the organisation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as developed by General Filipović, was not to the liking of the government in Vienna, and did not apply to the entire occupied area. For example, in September 1878, General Jovanović asked for only three officials from the Monarchy⁴⁵ for the territory of Herzegovina, because the government was

⁴¹ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 362 (Attached letter: Zichy-Andrássy, 31 October 1878).

⁴² Croatian newspapers wrote in August 1878 about the need for officials to go to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dragutin Pavličević, "Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i njegov odjek u Banskjoj Hrvatskoj", *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Herzegovini*, Ed. Milorad Ekmečić, Sarajevo, 1979, p. 272.

⁴³ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878/79, no. 420. Commission for the Affairs of BiH, 19th session (Budapest, 17 November 1878). The stated position on the incompetence of Ottoman officials did not prevent Austria-Hungary from offering a pledge to the Ottoman Empire in the April Convention of 1879, to recruit Ottoman officials or local people to its service (Article 1). *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Herzegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, 859. Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, pp. 141-142.

⁴⁵ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878/79, no. 420. Commission for BiH Affairs, First Session (Vienna, 25 September 1878).

maintained continuously owing to his efforts to keep the existing Ottoman officials as part of the bureaucratic system.

In addition, as Sharia law continued to apply in the country to familial, marital and inheritance issues of the Muslim population, the Austro-Hungarian administration had to count on the local Ottoman Muslim officials familiar with the field of the Sharia law, who were mostly appointed to the positions of qadis and waqf officers.⁴⁶

The only objection to engaging the qadis was that they could not perform other legal tasks in the county districts which counted as courts, as well as in the *Kreis* courts, which was the intention of the Austro-Hungarian government in the beginning. Over time, it was determined that the qadis were not experts in legal matters that went beyond the scope of the Sharia law and that such issues were to be dealt with exclusively by court officials from different parts of the Monarchy. The qadis were to focus exclusively on the Sharia law.⁴⁷ Another problem with the qadis was not necessarily about their capabilities; rather, it was the issue of their loyalty to the new administration. Such was the case of, for example, a qadi from Livno, who was considered extremely capable, yet unreliable.⁴⁸

We should not ignore the fact that the city administration consisted mostly of local employees,⁴⁹ as well as that there were Ottoman officials who spent almost 40 years in Austro-Hungarian administration, and were often seen as disciplined, qualified and able to perform the assigned tasks.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Izvjestaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine (1906)*, p. 26. Cf. Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, p.141.

⁴⁷ *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1880, box 3, code I/3, no. 313 (Provincial Government–Joint Ministry, 6 February 1880); box 4, code I-22, (*Kreis* of Donja Tuzla–Provincial Government, 25 June 1880). Cf. Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, pp. 141–142.

⁴⁸ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 3534 (Joint Ministry of Finance–Provincial Government, 21 July 1879). Cf. Amila Kasumović, “Djelatnost konzulata u Bosni i Hercegovini u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije 1878-1881, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, No. 43, Sarajevo, 2014, p. 245.

⁴⁹ *HAS, City Government*, 1879, no. 3958 (Tax Office of the City Government–motion to employ the former Ottoman tax collector Salih Aga Brekalo). *HAS*, 1880, no. 7202 (Provincial Financial Directorate – City Government regarding documents that Evrak Mudir, i.e., archivist Mustafa effendi Hasanbegović was supposed to look for in the Vilayet Archives).

⁵⁰ Amila Kasumović, “Sultanov, carev i kraljev službenik: činovnička karijera Muhameda ef. Kadića”, pp. 257–271. There are similar examples, and I will list just a few: Numan Efendi Alajbegović (a qadi in Vlasenica, Fojnica, Mostar and Ljubuški from 1879 to 1894), Mustafa Hilmi Efendi Dubinović (a qadi in Gradačac, Konjic, Travnik, Donja Tuzla, Brčko, and at the

Finally, it can be concluded that the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina opted for a gradual transformation of the society in order to avoid the disturbance of the local population, and was thus initially forced to retain some of the Ottoman officials, as well as to rely on the existing legislation that would later be replaced. As no systematic statistics were kept, it is difficult to say how many former officials and military personnel were temporarily employed in Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That number is certainly higher than previously believed by historiographers, as can be seen in the example of the Zvornik district, or in the areas where the establishment of the administration was under General Jovanović's care.

Salaries, Severance Pay, Benefits and Pensions for former Ottoman Officials/Military Personnel

The Ottoman officials were privy to a very turbulent historical turmoil in the vilayet of Bosnia during the Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1878). The administrative system became increasingly difficult to function, partly because of the activities of insurgent groups, and partly because of resistance from the local, even Muslim, population, especially in the summer of 1878.⁵¹

The paralysed Ottoman government was unable to pay salaries to its officials in the final months of its administration. This fact was pointed out by the Ottoman officials, who provisionally became a part of Austro-Hungarian administration after the occupation. They asked the new government to pay the arrears. One such case was recorded in Herzegovina, where, according to a report by the 18th Divisional Command in Mostar, Ottoman civilian officials had applied for their late salaries from the month of March (to September) 1878. The request was rejected on the pretext that no taxes had been collected in the country, and that there was a lack of funds to pay the arrears.⁵²

The Herzegovinian *zaptis* (gendarmes) made a similar request, but even then, the late wages could not be paid. Although General Filipović had rejected all

Supreme Sharia Court from 1878 to 1914), Mahmut/Muhamed Efendi Duračković (a clerk in Sarajevo from 1878 to 1907). See Hana Younis, *Biti kadija u kršćanskom carstvu. Rad i osoblje šerijatskih sudova u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878.–1914.*, Institut za historiju, Sarajevo, 2021

⁵¹ Aydın Babuna, "Österreich-Ungarn, die bosnisch-herzegowinischen Muslime und ihr Nationalismus", *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn 1878–1918. Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, Ed. Clemens Ruthner-Tamara Scheer, Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, Tübingen, 2018, 169.

⁵² *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878, no. 676 (Württemberg–Andrássy, 15 December 1878).

previous individual requests,⁵³ his successor Württemberg took a slightly different approach. He was himself aware of the situation in the country, which also determined the country's approach to the issue of payment of arrears to Ottoman officials and *zaptis*, but he believed that the issue should be revisited in the future.⁵⁴

At the same time, in September 1878, the issue of pensions for the Ottoman officials and officers, their widows and orphaned children was raised, as such pensions that had been provided to certain beneficiaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Ottoman government. After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, these recipients stopped receiving any funds, although the exact reason for this move by the Ottoman authorities was not provided. They then requested the payment of the denied pensions from officials of the Austro-Hungarian administration in their occupied area.⁵⁵ Such an example comes from Herzegovina again, where ten people (two military officials, and the widows and orphans of fallen Bosnian soldiers) requested the payment of pensions that had previously been awarded to them, in the amount of 1201.5 piastres⁵⁶ per month. Although these were not significant funds, Württemberg considered that the Provincial Government had no obligation towards these individuals, especially to take on the duty of providing pensions granted to them by another government.⁵⁷

He thought that he could only consider disbursing a kind of grant (assistance), but the final decision had to be made in Vienna. The position of the Joint Ministry on this issue was clear. All people who had until then received funds could be paid one-time grants from the funds intended for the occupation.⁵⁸

The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina was prepared to guarantee the payment of severance pay only to the Ottoman

⁵³ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878, no. 21 (Ministry of War–Andrássy, 20 September 1878).

⁵⁴ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878, no. 676 (Württemberg–Andrássy, 15 December 1878).

⁵⁵ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1878, no. 21 (Ministry of war–Andrássy, 20 September 1878).

⁵⁶ A small unit of currency, silver money.

⁵⁷ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 175 (Württemberg–Andrássy, 8 January 1879).

⁵⁸ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 175 (Attached letter: Württemberg–Andrássy, 8 January 1879). Usp. *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Heregovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, pp. 32, 383.

officials who had served at least temporarily and briefly in the administrative system established after 1878. The amount of this severance should have ranged from amounts equivalent to a one or a three-month salary, to the amount of an annual salary, which was to be applied only in exceptional cases.⁵⁹

There were occasional initiatives to offer some kind of assistance to Ottoman officials and military retirees in the later period as well. Such initiatives were recorded in 1887⁶⁰ and 1891,⁶¹ but no order of the Provincial Government or any official decision of the Joint Ministry of Finance was recorded on this. However, some issues were resolved internally, as a recommendation of the Provincial Government to lower-level authorities. In any case, the initiatives were successful in 1898,⁶² when funds began to be allocated from the provincial budget for a form of aid i.e., a pension,⁶³ to former Ottoman officials and military personnel, as well as to their widows and orphans.⁶⁴

Only a part of the archives has been preserved, in which the disbursement of the above benefits for the period between 1901 and 1906 can be

⁵⁹ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 3185 (Joint Ministry of Finance–Provincial Government, 9 July 1879). Cf. *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Herzegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, p. 50. The decision was implemented. Hasan Delić, a *zapti* officer in Livno, was awarded an annual allowance of 200 forints for his brief service in the gendarmerie. After his dismissal, he was left with no means, and was granted the said support, in instalments. *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 2079 (Attached letter: Provincial Government–Joint Ministry of Finance, 12 May 1879). There is the case of Ibrahim Vilić, who was also awarded 200 forints a year. At that time, the Joint Ministry of Finance emphasised that such types of “mercy pensions” could only be temporary, awarded for a period of one year. *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 1635 (Provincial Government–Joint Ministry of Finance, 20 April 1879).

⁶⁰ In 1887, the Provincial Government sent a letter to all lower administrative bodies to check whether there were former Ottoman officials or military personnel in their area eligible for pension. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1900, box 16, code 2-23, no. 11 343 (Prijeđor District Office–*Kreis* Banja Luka, 11 October 1900).

⁶¹ Eugen Sladović pl. Sladoevički, *Priručnik zakona i naredaba za upravnu službu u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1915, p. 131. Sladović is the only source of this information. Unfortunately, the author could not find the documents Sladović mentions in the Provincial Government fund in the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁶² This could not have happened earlier, considering that the issue of an allowance for widows and orphans was resolved by the Pension Amendment approved on 29 October 1896. *Izvjestaj o upravi BiH (1906)*, p. 30.

⁶³ *Gnadengehalt*—a pension awarded as a token of mercy and a form of assistance.

⁶⁴ *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1900, box 16, code 2-23, no. 17 616. That the grants were given to all for the first time in 1898 can be seen from the list attached in Document no. 176 657.

systematically studied. For the later period, there is no systematic data, probably due to the fact that these recipients were divided into the different branches of government, of which they were an integral part during the active service, and their names are listed in the data on assistance for a given branch i.e., not on the same list. Occasionally, new applications for a pension were sent subsequently to the Provincial Government by former Ottoman officials (or members of their families).⁶⁵

In order to better understand the Austro-Hungarian administrative discourse and the approach of the administrative structures towards the issue of assistance for former Ottoman officials and military personnel, the list of all the persons who were granted the Government assistance was in 1898 should be considered (Appendix: Table 1).⁶⁶

It is evident from the list that the right to assistance was given to former Ottoman officials and military personnel from all six districts in the country, with the exception of the *Kreis* of Banja Luka, where only one beneficiary of Government assistance was registered. However, the total number of beneficiaries for the entire area is extremely small, especially since this list includes former officials of both the Ottoman civil and military administrations. Since twenty years had passed between the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the time when the people listed were granted aid, it can be assumed that a significant number of former Ottoman officials and military personnel were either no longer alive or were incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian administration, or had emigrated to the Ottoman Empire territory.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ One such request came with a significant delay. At the XXXVI session of the Bosnian Diet, held 24 November, 1910, the case of Hafiz Karamehmedović from Gorica, in the district of Trebinje, was presented. Karamehmedović had been an Ottoman official for 29 years, and after the occupation in 1878, served only four months in the new administration, and was then dismissed. He sought a pension for his service from the Provincial Government. *Stenografski izvještaji o sjednicama bosansko-herc. Sabora, 1910/1911*, I zasjedanje, Svezak II (Od XXV. do LIII. sjednice), Sarajevo, 1911, 322. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1906, Box 11, Code 7-22/9, no. 1300 (District Office of Trebinje–Provincial Government, 10 March 1906). Mehmed Erkočević's widow asked for financial support because there was no one to support her.

⁶⁶ Those crossed out on the list will not be included in the analysis.

⁶⁷ Regarding the emigration process, especially concerning the Muslim population, it is difficult to give reliable data for the first years of Austro-Hungarian rule, since systematic statistical data on emigrants were only kept after 1883. It was possible to keep statistical records owing to the order of the Provincial Government that all future emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina should be carried out exclusively upon the submission of an application to the local government. *Izvještaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine (1906)*, p. 9. A thorough analysis of the issue of the emigration of Muslims to territories under the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries can be found in Justin McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878", *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina*.

The majority of 55 beneficiaries, the were directly entitled to this form of assistance from provincial funds; those were 38 individuals, which is 69.09% of the total number. They were predominantly disabled war veterans (28 out of 38 direct beneficiaries), which supports the claim that the Provincial Government sought to provide financial assistance to those who were particularly in a state of need, and who had no other sources of income. By deciding to ensure regular monthly assistance to them, the Provincial Government prevented the process of impoverishment of the former Ottoman military officials. The list contains a significantly smaller number of former officers, seals and clerks (10 out of 38). Former clerks were provided only two allowances, which may indicate that they were well integrated into the Austro-Hungarian bureaucratic system through sharia courts and activities within waqf commissions, while there were already doubts that the former military personnel could be successfully integrated into the imperial and regal troops.⁶⁸

The widows of former Ottoman officials in the civil and military administration were also recognised as a category for which government assistance was of paramount importance, as they had no opportunity to seek additional sources of income and had to care for children. 14 widows were on the list, while there were fewer orphans (2 out of 55 beneficiaries). It can be assumed that this is due to the fact that widows with children mostly sought help, given their age and the fact that, after the death of their husbands, they had become the carers of their families. In the event that they remarried, they would lose the aid, and the same would apply to female orphans—when they married, they would be left without the support.⁶⁹

Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, Ed. Mark Pinson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 54-84. Isa Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939, Migration in Post-Imperial World*, Bloomsbury, London/New Delhi/New York/Sydney, 2013. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, The University of Wisconsin, Madison/London, 1985. Safet Bandžović's *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 2006

⁶⁸ *Archives of BiH, Joint Ministry of Finance*, 1879, no. 159 (Second Army Command—Ministry of War, 30 December 1878).

⁶⁹ *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1906, box 11, code 7-3/19, no. 102 924. (Attached is a letter from the Mostar District Office to the Provincial Government dated 8 June 1906). It states that Fata Kovo was entitled to a pension in the monthly amount of 10 fl., but that she remarried on 19 May 1906, and thus lost the right to this type of assistance. A letter from the Mostar District Office, addressed to the Provincial Government, dated 10 October 1906 shows that Fata Kovo begged to keep her monthly pension because she and her new spouse were without funds. According to the recommendation of the City Magistrate, the application should have been rejected because the spouses were not in a state of need, and Fata Kovo's new spouse was able to

It should be emphasised that the majority of the monthly allowances were extremely modest, and only a few beneficiaries were awarded a slightly more significant amount, depending on the function they performed and the years spent in service. These were two officers, whose allowances amounted to 20 or more forints a month. Most grants were allocated to Muslims (53 out of 55), while only two non-Muslim widows were on the list.

Table 2 shows that the number of beneficiaries receiving the pension granted by the Provincial Government was steadily declining. The reason for such a situation lays in the fact that a certain number of beneficiaries had passed away,⁷⁰ and that their pension could not have been transferred to another person. One person was reported to have emigrated to the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ In any case, the total number of beneficiaries was modest—in 1906, it was only 47 in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷² Thus, the dispensing of pensions to such persons could not have presented a burden for the provincial budget, as they were allocated a maximum of 450 forints per month.

In conclusion, the Provincial Government did not feel obliged, at least not initially, to assume responsibility for the pensions of former Ottoman officials. However, ongoing initiatives to provide some assistance to these individuals were fruitful, and the government agreed to help the most vulnerable categories of former Ottoman officials and military personnel i.e., those who truly needed it. It turned out that the number of such officials was not large, and did not present a significant financial expenditure from provincial funds.

Conclusion

Article 25 of the 1878 Treaty of Berlin guaranteed the right of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to occupy and control the area of Bosnia and

pursue work. Table 1 shows that Fata was an orphan who was granted assistance by the Provincial Government, and that she used it for a full eight years.

⁷⁰ *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1906, box 11, code 7-3 Attached are two letters from the government commissioner for the City of Sarajevo sent to ZV, no. 5394, dated 30 Mar, and no. 7980, dated 3 May 1906, stating that two widows, pension beneficiaries, had died).

⁷¹ *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1903, box 14, code 2-24, no. 12 140 (District Office of the City of Mostar – Provincial Government, 12 November 1903). Alija Žderić emigrated in 1902, collecting his assistance for the last time in October. His allowance for the last two months of that year had been annulled.

⁷² The data for this table is based on reports from the fund of Provincial Government. Cf. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1901, box 18, code 2-31, no. 15 234. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1902, box 11, code 2-24, no. 415. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1903, box 14, code 2-24, no. 13 026 and 203 603. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1905, box 12, code 7-40, no. 10 755. *Archives of BiH, Provincial Government*, 1906, box 11, code 7-3, no. 44 640.

Herzegovina, then part of the Ottoman Empire. Entrance of Austro-Hungarian troops into the territory Sanjak with the aim of ensuring the interests of the Monarchy was also agreed. Results of the negotiations of the major powers at the Berlin Congress had disturbed the local population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially Muslims and Orthodox Christians, who organised in order to strongly resist the Austro-Hungarian occupation forces. Fully aware of the challenges in the new province, Austria-Hungary decided to keep the local population at bay by promising not to change the local laws and customs. The administration especially had to pay attention to the Muslim population, unfamiliar with life under a Christian ruler. Thus, administering Bosnia and Herzegovina was an issue to be meticulously considered. Although numerous preparations had been executed for that purpose, the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration, which was initially purely military in nature, faced a series of problems on the ground, one of the pivotal being the absence of an educated bureaucratic apparatus. In that sense, relying on officials from the previous, Ottoman administration was considered desirable, especially during the time when the Austro-Hungarian army was making its way into Bosnia and Herzegovina, conquering certain places and establishing government. High-ranking Ottoman officials in most cases left the country, either voluntarily or were forced out, while certain lower-ranking officials and members of the military, mostly Muslims, accepted the offer of the Austro-Hungarian administration to continue with their service and thus survive a very complex moment in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The number of Ottoman officials who had been, at least temporarily, incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian administration, is not possible to determine since no systematic records were kept. The said officials were particularly useful in solving the issues in the field of the Sharia law, since the Austro-Hungarian administration guaranteed Muslims the right to keep their customs and legal practices. In time, however, the work of the Ottoman officials met disapproval for their education was considered not to have been in the European spirit, hence, they were unable to meet the demands of a modern administration, as was the Austro-Hungarian. Such a narrative was especially promoted by high-ranking Austro-Hungarian officials in Sarajevo and Vienna, who considered that the administration of the occupied territories should consist of officials from different parts of the Monarchy. In spite of that, a number of local, former Ottoman officials, had completely adapted to the new administrative practices, resulting in their lasting service in the lower bodies of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of the former Ottoman officials and officers, including their families and orphans, had even become eligible to a form of assistance (pension) by the Austro-Hungarian administration in the late 19th/early 20th century. Their number was

inconsiderable, but it does show an important characteristic of the Austro-Hungarian administrative discourse, which is the desire to perceive the Muslim population as an ally to the Monarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the Provincial Government in Sarajevo did not consider itself obligated to ensure financial assistance for former officials of the Ottoman Empire, in time, an attitude prevailed that such people should not end up in a precarious financial situation, becoming thus a factor of discontent in an already complex and, according to the Austro-Hungarian administration, untrustworthy BiH society. Besides, those were small amounts that did not strain the budget of the administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

References

Archival Sources

Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH), Sarajevo

Joint Ministry of Finance—General Files

21/1878, 676/1878, 19/1879, 44/1879, 105/1879, 159/1879, 175/1879, 205/1879, 277/1879, 362/1879, 936/1879, 1635/1879, 2046/1879, 2079/1879, 3185/1879, 3534/1879.

Joint Ministry of Finance—Commission for the Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina (KBiH)

420/1878-79.

Provincial Government—General Files

313/1880, 10 167/1900, 17 616/1900, 15 234/1901, 415/1902, 12 140/1903, 13 026/1903, 203 603/1903, 10 755/1905, 1300/1906, 5394/1906, 7980/1906, 44 640/1906, 102 924/1906.

The Sarajevo Historical Archives (HLAS), Sarajevo

City Government

481/1879, 3598/1879, 7202/1880..

Official Publications

(1878) *Branislav*, 11 September, No. 32.

(1878) *Branislav*, 20 October, No. 49.

(1878) *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina*, Verlag von Eduard Hölzel, Wien.

(1880) *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880.*, Band I, Wien. (1906) *Izpyeštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zemaljska štamparija, Zagreb.

(2009) *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Bosna Hersek*, Ed. H. Yıldırım AĖANOĖLU - Sebahattin BAYRAM - Mümin YILDIZTAŞ, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı), İstanbul.

SLADOVIĆ PL. SLADOEVIĆKI Eugen (1915) *Priručnik zakona i naredaba za upravnu službu u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo.

----- (1916) *Upravna nauka i upravno pravo Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo.

(1911) *Stenografski izpyeštaji o sjednicama bosansko-herc. Sabora, 1910/1911, I zasjedanje, Svezak II (Od XXV. do LIII. sjednice)*, Sarajevo.

Books, Articles and Theses

AMZI-ERDOĖDULAR Leyla (2013) *Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, 1878-1914*, PhD Thesis Dissertation, Columbia University.

BABUNA Aydin (2018) Österreich-Ungarn, die bosnisch-herzegowinischen Muslime und ihr Nationalismus, *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn 1878–1918. Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, Ed. Clemens RUTHNER - Tamara SCHEER, Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, Tübingen, 2018, pp. 163–193.

BANDŽOVIĆ Safet (2006) *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo.

BENCZE László (2005) *The Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878*, Social Science Monographs, Boulder.

BLUMI Isa (2013) *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939. Migration in Post-Imperial World*, Bloomsbury, London/New Delhi/New York/Sydney.

CARMICHAEL Cathie (2015) *A Concise History of Bosnia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

CLAYTON Gerald David (1971) *Britain and the Eastern Question—Missolonghi to Gallipoli*, University of London Press, London.

DONIA Robert J. (2000) *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia And Herzegovina, 1878–1914*, Zoro/Institut za historiju, Zagreb/Sarajevo.

EICHLER Eduard (1889) *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Hercegovina*, Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina, Wien.

- FURAT Ayşe Zişan (2021) *Değişen Saraybosna'da Eğitim. Avusturya-Macaristan Dönemi Eğitim Kurumları 1878-1918*, Kayhan, Istanbul.
- GABRIEL Karl (2003) *Bosnien-Herzegovina 1878. Der Aufbau der Verwaltung unter FZM Herzog Wilhelm v. Württemberg und dessen Biographie*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt aM.
- GAVRANOVIĆ Berislav (1973) *Bosna i Hercegovina u doba austrougarske okupacije do 1878. god.*, ANU BiH, Knj. XVIII, Sarajevo.
- GRANDITS Hannes (2022) *The End of Ottoman Rule in Bosnia. Conflicting Agencies and Imperial Appropriations*, Routledge, New York.
- IMAMOVIĆ Mustafa (2007) *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914*, Magistrat i Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Sarajevo.
- KAPIDŽIĆ Hamdija (1958) *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo.
- KARPAT Kemal H. (1985) *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, The University of Wisconsin, Madison/London.
- KASUMOVIĆ Amila (2014) Djelatnost konzulata u Bosni i Hercegovini u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije 1878-1881, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, No. 43, pp. 237-251.
- (2018) Sultanov, carev i kraljev službenik: Činovnička karijera Muhameda ef. Kadića, *Radovi (Historija, Historija umjetnosti, arheologija)*, Vol. 5, pp. 257–269.
- (2019) Dobro došli u koloniju, Eldorado ili nešto treće! Useljavanje u Bosnu i Hercegovinu u prvim godinama nakon okupacije 1878, *Nacije i migracije – Studije iz bosanskohercegovačke historiografije*, Ed. Amir DURANOVIĆ, UMHIS, Sarajevo, 2019, pp. 25–69.
- KRALJAČIĆ Tomislav (1978) Struktura administracije u Bosni i Hercegovini u razdoblju Kalajeve uprave, *Jugoslavenski historijski časopis*, No. 1-4, pp. 215-222.
- (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo.
- KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ Hamdija (1991) Sarajevo u doba okupacije Bosne 1878, *Izabrana djela IV, Prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, Ed. Ed. Avdo SUĆESKA - Enes PELIDIJA, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, pp. 73–169.

- (1991) Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije (1878–1918), *Izabrana djela IV, Prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, Ed. Avdo SUČESKA - Enes PELIDIJA, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, pp. 169-329.
- KRUŠEVAC Todor (1960) *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*, Muzej grada Sarajeva, Sarajevo.
- LIS Tomasz Jacek (2020) *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie w latach 1878-1918*, WYDAWNICTWO KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA, Kraków.
- (2020) Službenici u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878.–1918, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 629–656.
- LJUČA Adin (1999) *Maglaj na tragovima prošlosti*, Općina grada Maglaja, Prag.
- MANDIĆ Mihovil (1910) *Povijest okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb.
- MARTIĆ Fra Grga (1906) *Zapamćenja (1829.–1878.)*, Knjižara Jugoslavenske akademije, Zagreb.
- MCCARTHY Justin (1994) Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878, *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Ed. Mark PINSON, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp. 54-84.
- OKEY Robin (2007) *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia 1878-1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- PAVLIČEVIĆ Dragutin (1979) Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i njegov odjek u Banskjoj, *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Ed. Milorad EKMEČIĆ, ANU BiH, Sarajevo, pp. 251-279.
- PETROVIĆ Rade (1979) Pokret otpora protiv austrougarske okupacije 1878, godine u Bosni i Hercegovini, *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Ed. Milorad Ekmečić, ANU BiH, Sarajevo, pp. 15-71.
- PINSON Mark (1994) The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918, *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Ed. Mark PINSON, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp. 84-128.
- RADUŠIĆ Edin (2011) Uspostavljanje austrougarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini prema izvještajima britanskog konzulata u Sarajevu, *Bosna i*

Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878–1918, Ed. Zijad ŠEHIĆ, Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, pp. 33-55.

----- (2013) *Bosna i Hercegovina u britanskoj politici od 1857. do 1878. godine—Od branitelja i zaštitnika do tužioca i sudije*, Institut za historiju, Sarajevo.

SCHEER Tamara (2013) A Micro-Historical Experience in the Late Ottoman Balkans. The Case of Austria-Hungary in Sanjak Novi Pazar (1879-1908), *War and Nationalism. The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*, Ed. M. Hakan YAVUZ- Isa BLUMI, The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 197-229.

----- (2013) *‘Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut’: Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novi-pazar (1879-1908)*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt.

SCHWEIGER-LERCHENFELD Amand Freih. v. (1878), *Bosnien, das Land und seine Bewohner*, Verlag von L. C. Zamarski, Wien.

TEPIĆ Ibrahim (1988) Uspostavljanje austrougarske okupacione vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini u izvještajima ruskog konzulata u Sarajevu (1879-1880), *Prilozi*, Vol. XXIII, No. 24, 1988, pp. 107–130.

YOUNIS Hana (2021) *Biti kadija u kršćanskom carstvu. Rad i osoblje šerijatskih sudova u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878.–1914.*, Institut za historiju, Sarajevo.

Appendix

No.	Name and Surname	Place	Amount of Monthly Benefit	Status
1.	Ana Dobljević	Sarajevo	5 fl.	Widow
2.	Fata Fazlić	Sarajevo	12 fl.	Widow of an officer
3.	Mejrema (no surname)	Sarajevo	3 fl.	Widow of an officer
4.	Atija (no surname)	Sarajevo	3 fl.	Widow of an officer
5.	Mustafa Aščerić	Sarajevo	10 fl.	Disabled war veteran
6.	Hasiba (no surname)	Sarajevo	2 fl.	Widow of an officer
7.	Rašid Kapetanović	Sarajevo	6 fl.	Child of a deceased officer
8.	Hadži Sulejman Brkić	Sarajevo	10 fl.	Former employee of a waqf (endowment) commission
9.	Mehmed Talundžić	Sarajevo	6 fl.	Former employee (place of work not specified)

10.	Hatidža Mostić	Sarajevo	15 fl.	Widow of a <i>zapti</i> officer
11.	Derviša (no surname)	Sarajevo	6 fl.	Widow of a clerk
12.	Mustafa Suljić	Kuliješ	10 fl.	Former officer
13.	Jaša (no surname)	Fojnica	4 fl.	Widow of a military imam
14.	Mustafa Bižno	Fojnica	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
15.	Alija Sušić	Ostružnica	4 fl.	Disabled war veteran
16.	Mustafa Sunja	Goražde	15 fl.	Former officer
17.	Murad Marevac	Marevo	4 fl.	Disabled war veteran
18.	Avdija Kadrić	Golubovići	6 fl.	Disabled war veteran
19.	Mujo Bando ⁷³	Knežina	10 fl.	Disabled war veteran
20.	Ibrahim Kovačević	Sladna	4 fl.	Disabled war veteran
21.	Hasan Bašić	Stjepan Polje	8 fl.	Disabled war veteran

⁷³ The name was subsequently crossed out.

22.	Husein Terinac	Turska Spionica	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
23.	Salih Topčagić	Gradačac	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
24.	Mustafa Hrkić	Maglaj	10 fl.	Former officer
25.	Hifzo Molić	Maglaj	8 fl.	Former officer
26.	Husein Bilić	Maglaj	8 fl.	Former officer
27.	Šaha (no surname)	Bijeljina	7 fl. 50 h.	Widow of a <i>zapti</i> officer
28.	Jakub Ahmetović	Krasanovići	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
29.	Omer Osmanović	Glogova	8 fl.	Disabled war veteran
30.	Osman Hasanović	Jagodnja	7 fl.	Disabled war veteran
31.	Husein Hralniovic (?)	Zvornik	4 fl.	Disabled war veteran
32.	Džuma Avdagić	Donja Tuzla	6 fl.	Widow of a <i>zapti</i>
33.	Fejzulah Mehmedović	Travnik	25 fl.	A <i>zapti</i> officer
34.	Mušaga Anadolac⁷⁴	Travnik	10 fl.	Former officer

⁷⁴ Crossed out.

35.	Hasiba Juzbašić	Travnik	10 fl.	Officer's widow
36.	Nurija Skopljak⁷⁵	Travnik	3 fl.	/
37.	Salih Keza	Travnik	8 fl.	Disabled war veteran
38.	Hasan Smajlović	Hašići	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
39.	Redžo Rektaš	Glamoč	8 fl.	Disabled war veteran
40.	Omer Bunić	Županjac	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
41.	Ibro Numbegović	Podhum	3 fl.	Disabled war veteran
42.	Omer Fejzić	Prozor	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
43.	Sulejman Šehić	Ripač	10 fl.	Disabled war veteran
44.	Mehmed Hajdarević	Hotinac	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
45.	Murad Mušić	Peći	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
46.	Salih Harbas⁷⁶	Bosanska	8 fl.	Disabled war

⁷⁵ Crossed out.

⁷⁶ Crossed out.

		Dubica		veteran
47.	Marija Martak	Banja Luka	10 fl.	Widow of a road worker
48.	Ibrahim ef. Fejzagić	Bjelimići	20 fl.	Former officer
49.	Salko Vladović	Gleđevići	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
50.	Osman and Fata Kovo	Mostar	5 fl.	Children of deceased employees
51.	Salih Koblica	Mostar	3 fl.	Disabled war veteran
52.	Fata Slipčević	Mostar	6 fl.	Mother of a fallen non-commissioned officer
53.	Alija Zderić	Mostar	4 fl.	A former <i>zapti</i>
54.	Zulfo Pala⁷⁷	Mostar	6 fl.	Disabled war veteran
55.	Đulsa Peco	Mostar	10 fl.	Widow of a <i>zapti</i>
56.	Paula Grabovac⁷⁸	Mostar	12 fl.	?

⁷⁷ Crossed out.

⁷⁸ Crossed out. Her father served as a foreman immediately after the occupation in 1878. She received a pension of 144 fl. per year after his death. She wanted to get married, but due to poverty could not afford “marriage vestures” and asked for a one-time allowance. Archives of BiH, Provincial Government, 1900, box 16, code 2-23, no. 10 167 (Mostar District Office–Provincial Government, 10 November 1899).

57.	Husein Kerić	Susječno	4 fl.	Disabled war veteran
58.	Zejna Bač	Nevesinje	10 fl.	Widow of a <i>zapti</i>
59.	Halil Redžić	Stolac	6 fl.	Disabled war veteran
60.	Mehmed Erkačević	Čičevo	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran
61.	Hasan Kurtagić	Bihovo	5 fl.	Disabled war veteran

Table 1 - (List of beneficiaries who were granted assistance by the Provincial Government for the first time)

Year	City of Sarajevo	<i>Kreis</i> of Sarajevo	<i>Kreis</i> of Mostar	<i>Kreis</i> of Travnik	<i>Kreis</i> of Tuzla	<i>Kreis</i> of Bihać	<i>Kreis</i> of Banja Luka	Total
1901	12	7	13	11	13	3	/	59
1902	10	8	12	11	11	3	/	55
1903	9	7	12	10	9	3	/	50
1904	9	7	10	7	9	3	/	45
1905	10	8	10	9	9	3	/	49
1906	10	7	10	9	8	3	/	47

Table 2 - Overview of the number of beneficiaries granted assistance, by *Kreis*, and for the city of Sarajevo (1901–1906)