

# **RELIGIOUS TAXONOMY FROM THE OTTOMANS TO THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIANS: CONTINUITY AND/OR RUPTURE?**

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to underline the continuity and rupture between the official taxonomy used in the collection of population data during the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian administrations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the nineteenth century. In order to achieve this goal, the results of the population censuses of the time are analyzed. Comparison of the official taxonomy used for collecting data for understanding the composition of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society under the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rules shows that they both focused on the division of society based on religion. The official designations/categories, defining ethno-religious belonging in population censuses conducted by the Austro-Hungarian administration between 1879 and 1895, are almost the same as those used by the Ottoman State right before the end of its rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). This work shows that the taxonomy used for religious designations remained almost the same despite the changes in the rule and administration. The taxonomy in use was in line with the religious taxonomy of the *Millet System*. Hence, it is possible to talk about a continuity and acceptance of the Ottoman organization of society based on religion by the Austro-Hungarian rule. Another significant finding of this research is the absence of the ethnic identity, hence ethnic categories, in the taxonomy of all population censuses conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hence, it would be wrong to refer to an ethnic division of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society recognized by either the Ottoman or the Austro-Hungarian state in the nineteenth century, although it is commonly mentioned in today's political discourse and scholarly discussions.

**Keywords:** *Population census, religious taxonomy, Austro-Hungarian administration, Ottoman administration, Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

## 1. Introduction

The state governs by classification and it is the taxonomy used in population censuses that determines how the population is to be classified. In this regard, the state power is taxonomic/ classificatory, in addition to its military, economic and political characteristics. The census taxonomy is political and it changes over time due to changes in power. “Each power has its own taxonomy according to its political history, present situation and future strategy, and according to the character of the identity/identities (ethnicity, religion, language, race, origin) of its population.” (Dundar, 2014, p. 136). This article tests this expectation over the taxonomy used in the collection of population data regarding the ethno-religious identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The switch in rule from Ottoman Empire to Austro-Hungarian Empire over Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took place following the Congress of Berlin (13 June–13 July 1878), creates a natural expectation regarding a change in the taxonomy used for ethno-religious identities.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the comparison of the taxonomy used by the Ottomans immediately before the change of rule with the one used by the Austro-Hungarians immediately after, prove the opposite: We observe continuity rather than rupture despite the change in rule. The taxonomy used by the Ottomans for ethno-religious organization of the society consisted of the categories of Muslim (*İslâm*), Orthodox (*Rum*), Catholic (*Latin*), Jew (*Yahûdi*) and Roma (*Kıbtî*). The first four categories, which refer to the religious identity, derive from the Ottoman *Millet* System; the organization of the society in line with *Millets* (religious communities representing the Peoples of the Book).<sup>2</sup> The later category, the Roma (*Kıbtî*),

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<sup>1</sup> The Congress of Berlin was organized to reorganize the states in the Balkan Peninsula after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, which the Russian Empire won against the Ottoman Empire. Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Serbia, Romania and Montenegro were represented at the meeting. According to article 25 of the resulting Treaty of Berlin signed between Great Britain and Ireland, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 13 July 1878, Vilayet of Bosnia remained under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire but the Austro-Hungarian Empire was granted the authority to occupy it indefinitely and to take on its military defense and civil administration. In addition, the Austro-Hungarian Empire received the right to indefinitely occupy strategic posts in the Sanjak of Novi Pazar (Imamovic, 2006; Carmichael, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Beginning with the reign of Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1451-81), non-Muslims were socially and administratively organized into three officially recognized *millets* (Greek Orthodox, Armenians and Jews), which were almost independent with regard to their own religious affairs. Millet system was based

sets an exception as an ethnic one.<sup>3</sup> When we look at the taxonomy used by the Austro-Hungarians, we see exactly the same categories with slightly differing designations with the only exception of the category of the Roma (*Kıbtî*), which disappears.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Population data collected under the Ottoman Rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Nineteenth Century

The main interest of the Ottoman population censuses conducted during and in the aftermath of the *Tanzimat* period moved from taxes, land and potential soldiers to total number of population and its socio-economic profile. First two general population censuses started in 1831 and 1844 but they were not finalized and in both of them, only the male population was counted. In addition to the focus on taxation, the main purpose of the 1831 population census was to estimate the arm potential of the Empire after the abolishment of the Janissaries in 1826. The results of the 1831 population census are available only partially for certain regions. The original documents of the 1844 censuses are still missing. The 1885 and 1907 censuses of the late Ottoman period were the most significant and detailed ones: They provide information about the distribution of the population according to age, gender, civil status, ethno-religious characteristics, occupation and place of birth. (Behar, 1996, pp. xviii-xix)

The first type of the primary sources to be exploited in this work is the Ottoman yearbooks (*Salnâme*). The provincial yearbooks, which began publication after those of the State, aimed at improving the relationship between the central and local administrations and public, in addition to informing the latter. The first Ottoman provincial yearbook was published in Bosnia in 1866 which points to the significance of Bosnia for the Ottoman State. Gazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo has the largest available collection of yearbooks of Bosnia: 24 volumes starting with 1867 and ending with 1894.<sup>5</sup> Between the

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on the Muslim doctrine, which required political and religious toleration of 'Peoples of the Book' (*Ehlü'l-kitâb*) as fellow believers in the One God and it offered separate religious, civil jurisdictions and legal systems for each of the Ottoman Empire's major religious communities (*millets*). Although this organization of society was referred to as the *Millet System*, it was never an actual system but instead, evolved out of series of ad hoc responses to complex situations and problems (Kenanoğlu, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> The Roma (Muslim or non-Muslim) were often registered separately by the Ottomans.

<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the Austro-Hungarian administration did not continue with the Ottoman tradition of paying special attention to the Roma.

<sup>5</sup> Gazi Husrev Beg Library, which is a public library in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina founded in 1537, is part of a larger complex with Gazi Husrevbeg Medresa. It holds one of the most important collections of Islamic

years 1866 and 1883, it was titled as “*Bosna Vilâyet Sâlnâmesi*” (the yearbook of the Province of Bosnia) and between 1884 and 1894 as “*Bosna ve Hersek Vilâyet Sâlnâmesi*” (the yearbook of the Province of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

We owe the yearbooks published in the Ottoman provinces to the promulgation of the Provincial Law (*Vilâyet Nizamnamesi*) in 1867 with which provinces became the first-order administrative divisions of the later empire and were divided into sandjaks, kazas, nahiyes and villages. We see an increase in the number of yearbooks of the provinces after the establishment of the new administrative system. They are invaluable sources because of the variety of information they provide in the various categories such as administrative structures, commercial activities, natural resources, institutions of education, military, and population. This work focuses on the data provided by the last but not least of these items, the population. Below is the data for Muslim and non-Muslim male population in seven sandjaks in the Province of Bosnia provided by 1870 yearbook:

Number of male population	Sarajevo	Zvornik	Travnik	Bihać	Novi Pazar	Banja Luka	Hersek	Total
Muslim ( <i>İslâm</i> )	35.118	63.661	43.487	45.186	52.626	29.902	39.472	309.522
Orthodox ( <i>Rum</i> )	18.343	46.767	25.095	37.117	30.575	44.923	23.492	296.312
Catholic ( <i>Latin</i> )	8747	11.663	23.161	2098	---	14.426	18.289	78.384
Jew ( <i>Yahûdi</i> )	959	126	157	---	40	23	0	1.305
Roma ( <i>Kıbtî</i> )	677	1964	658	400	742	589	676	5.706
Total	63.914	124.181	92.558	84.801	83.983	89.863	81.929	612.229

Table 1: Ethno-religious division of male population in seven sandjaks in Vilayet (Province) of Bosnia (1870)<sup>6</sup>

According to the distribution above, non-Muslim male population was divided into the ethno-religious categories of Orthodox, Latin, Jew, Roma; whereas the Muslim male population was depicted as one unified category. This is a division mainly based on religion with the only exception of the ethnic category of *Kıbtî* (Roma). This division is actually representative of the

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manuscripts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including many originally donated by Gazi Husrev-beg, in addition to a sizable number of books, journals, newspapers, documents and photographs.

<sup>6</sup> This table is reproduced as an extraction of the part ‘Number of male population’ (*Aded i tibâriyle nüfus-u zükâr*) from the table entitled ‘The register of the total sum of the male population, annual tax revenues, plow and breed animals, kinds and amounts of agricultural produce in seven sancaks in Vilayet [of Bosnia]’ (*Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna 1287 Hicrî/1870*, pp. 144-149). Religious taxonomy-including the category of *Kıbtî* (Roma)-used in all tables reproduced in this work is written in the exact same way as they are written in the original sources.

aforementioned *Millet* System, the Ottoman organization of society in line with religion.

### 3. The population censuses conducted under the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878-1918)

Four population censuses were conducted during the Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879, 1885, 1895 and 1910.<sup>7</sup> The first census was conducted on June 16, 1879, a year after the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the presence of two previous censuses conducted in 1879 and 1885, the main motivation for the conduct of population censuses immediately following the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina is explained for the first time in the Introduction of the official publication of the results of the population census of 1895. The very first sentence of the introduction, setting the grounds for the Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina, underlines the priorities of the new administration: “When Austria-Hungary, in execution of the mandate given by the Berlin Congress, took over the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the main task to be solved was to bring the principles of a modern administration to practical development, while following the particular conditions of the country as closely as possible.”<sup>8</sup> This explanation places the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and administration in a neutral position in regard to their rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina: Simply fulfilling a task delivered by the international community.

The quotation above also explains the need for the implementation of “the principles of a modern administration” in practice, considering the particular conditions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a natural consequence of

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<sup>7</sup> This article, covering the population censuses conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the second half of the nineteenth century, will focus on the 1879, 1885 and 1895 population censuses. The 1910 census is not included in this research as it was conducted after the Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908, after which Bosnia and Herzegovina was no longer a part of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>8</sup> (1896). *HAUPTRESULTATE DER VOLKSZÄHLUNG IN BOSNIEN UND DER HERZEGOVINA VOM 22. APRIL 1895, NEBST ANGABEN ÜBER TERRITORIALE EINTHEILUNG, ÖFFENTLICHE ANSTALTEN UND MINERALQUELLEN ZUSAMMENGESTELLT VOM STATISTISCHEN DEPARTEMENT DER LANDESREGIERUNG MIT EINER ÜBERSICHTSKARTE*. [Main Results of the Population Census in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 22, 1895 (with information on territorial division, public institutions and mineral sources compiled by the Statistics Department of the State Government with an overview map)] (p. iii). Sarajevo: State Publishing House. This publication is registered in the Library of Austro-Hungarian Archives in Sarajevo with the inventory number 3131 and signature number V-271/1895. It will be referred to as Main Results in citations in the text.

the aforementioned mandate. The conduct of a population census, immediately following the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is explained as an urgent need of the Austro-Hungarian administration to execute its mandate: “One of the first concerns of the administration, therefore, must be to know the number of the people entrusted to it, as well as their classification and distribution in accordance with various relevant points of view, [and this] can only be achieved through a proper census” (Main Results, 1896, p. iii). This quotation also implies the absence of population data necessary for the Austro-Hungarian administration at the time.

The already available population data collected by the former ruler over the Bosnian and Herzegovinian territory, the Ottoman Empire, was deemed as not useable by the Austro-Hungarian administration, due to two main reasons: 1. Lack of information regarding the principles based on which the population data were collected (Main Results, 1896, p. iii) 2. Unreliability of the collected population data due to the changes in the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottoman rule.<sup>9</sup> This explanation actually involves a criticism of the former Ottoman administration over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Based on the reasons shared above, the first census to be conducted by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1879 was considered as the beginning of a possible scientific study of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina “...as no accurate and reliable data on the population of the countries was available prior to the year of 1879; where the information was partly based on very incomplete censuses, partly on mere estimates” (Main results, 1896, pp. xiii). Hence, a scientific representation of the growth of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was only possible after the census of 1879 “... because only in these surveys, the knowledge of their organization, as well as their presumed accuracy and reliability, allows for a judgment to be made as to how far and under which circumstances it is permissible to draw conclusions from their results” (Main Results, 1896, pp. xiv-xv). All these statements are situating the Austro-Hungarian administration as the initiator of the scientific approach to the population studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The main difference introduced by the population censuses conducted during the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the conscription of the female parties, which had its difficulties when it came to the Muslim population. It was not a custom among the Muslims to register the girls after birth or to report the female family members during the conscription (Main Results, 1896, p. xxix). Due to these complications, which were related with the position of Muslim women in society, women were not counted in the population censuses conducted during the Ottoman rule. The only way to

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<sup>9</sup> The changes in the status of the Sanjak of Novi Pazar and the borders between Herzegovina and Montenegro in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in fluctuations in the estimates for overall population of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Main Results, 1896, pp. xiii-xiv).

collect accurate and reliable data regarding the existing female population was to give the census officers the authority to conduct the conscription in the households, which was avoided to respect the Muslims (Main Results, 1896, p. xx).

### 3.1. The Population Census of 1879

The population census of 1879, which was conducted to meet the aforementioned needs of the new administration, was “not so much intended to give exhaustive information about certain phenomena of national or economic life; instead the main emphasis was based on collecting material that contains as many facts as possible” (Main Results, 1896, p. iv). Quite a number of heterogeneous operations were carried out simultaneously with the population census; such as the conscription of livestock and the collection of economic, social, political and historical data in order to determine, reorganize (in case of need) and enlist the localities.<sup>10</sup> The general principles of the census of 1879, formulated by the State Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, received approval from the Imperial Council on March 28, 1879 (Main Results, 1896, p. iii).<sup>11</sup>

The immediate action taken to conduct the census was to number all buildings intended for human dwelling throughout the country in accordance with the order No. 4547/pol. of the regulation issued by the State Government on April 4, 1879.<sup>12</sup> The number plaques were attached in consecutive order by `locality` (*Ortschaft*). Signs carrying the name of the locality, in addition to the municipality affiliation (*Gemeindezugehörigkeit*) and the political division (*politische Einteilung*), were placed at the beginning and end of each group of houses. The related organs of the district offices or the commanders of the military station were responsible for the implementation of these measures with the help of the community leaders and the local elders. July 15, 1879 was set as the deadline for the numbering process (Main Results, 1896, p. iv).

Two different forms were used for gathering data for the census in 1879: The first one was called the `house list` (*Hausliste*) and it was prepared to acquire data about the `legal population` (*rechtliche Bevölkerung*); the ones whose home belongs to a locality. This form involved categories for confession, gender, marital status and type of residence. The data on age and occupation was collected only for male population, with only the following types of

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<sup>10</sup> Locality (*Ortschaft*) was defined as “a group of houses that ‘already existed under a special name as a locality’” (Main Results, 1896, p. iv). Each locality is affiliated with a certain municipality, which belongs to a certain district (*bezirk*) and each district belongs to a county (*kreis*) (Main Results, 1896, p. viii).

<sup>11</sup> The State Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be referred to as the State Government in the rest of the article.

<sup>12</sup> Solitary buildings, forest huts and temporarily uninhabited houses were to be numbered as well (Main Results, 1896, pp. iii-iv).

occupation counted: clerics, civil servants, teachers and paramedics, landowners, house owners and retirement pension owners (*Rentenbesitzer*), serfs (*Grundholden*), manufacturers, dealers and tradesmen, and unskilled workers (day laborers and servants). Women, children and male parties above the age of 16 with other occupations were counted under an additional general category (Main Results, 1896, p. iv).

The second type of form was called the `locality list` (*Ortschaftslisten*) and were designed for `foreigners` (*die Fremden*); civilians whose home did not belong to a particular locality.<sup>13</sup> This formulaire involved the exact same categories as the first one. The only difference between the two formulaire was regarding the recording of the acquired data: The data to be recorded regarding age, confession and occupation was to be written in words in the locality list, whereas it was to be indicated by a line in the house list. In addition, the locality list had a column for “*Heimatszuständigkeit*” (political division affiliated at the time of birth) (Main Results, 1896, p. v).

An additional form that needed to be filled in for each locality was titled “descriptions of localities” (*Ortschaftsbeschreibungen*). They contained a number of questions inquiring about various conditions in individual localities: a. commercial situation (sawmills, factories, breweries, distilleries, fruit mills and lime kilns), b. mineral resources (data on quarries, existing minerals – especially ores, coal and salt – hot springs, mineral springs and acidulous springs), c. agricultural conditions (tobacco growing and vineyards), d. school system, e. the existence of cult buildings (churches, monasteries, mosques, synagogues), f. other buildings (state and municipal buildings, barracks with details on their capacity, castles/forts, ruins and monuments), g. other sites. Livestock registers were also to be filled in for each locality (Main Results, 1896, p. v).

Counting commissions, established of the head of the district, the station commander or their deputies, the mayor of the related municipality, one script and two confidants from each place to be conscripted, were responsible for data collection for the census. Several but no more than five counting commissions were to be set up in each district. In addition, it was obligatory for the pastors of all confessions and gendarmerie-corps to participate in the count. A period of one month has been granted for data collection with the reference date of July 15, 1879 (Main Results, 1896, p. v).

The census organs were instructed to respect the customs and habits of the population in general, especially Muslims. The response from the Muslim side in return is narrated as positive and facilitating the conduct of the census: “Since the existing confessional characteristics were taken into account already in how questions will be asked, the behavior of the population was almost

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<sup>13</sup> The title “tables of foreigners” (*Fremdentabellen*) is also used for formulaire for foreigners (Main Results, 1896, p. iv).



everywhere completely calm: in many cases even a certain pleasing sympathy was shown towards the data collection” (Main Results, 1896, pp. v-vi). The tendency of the local male population in some parts of the country, especially those of the younger age groups, to leave the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina temporarily in order to avoid being counted was observed. As precautionary measures, related authorities were instructed to deal individually with such cases when it came to the issuing of foreign passports and/or border crossing certificates. Nevertheless, quite a few number of residents were recorded as absent at the first count (Main Results, 1896, p. vi). This tendency of the young male population can be related to their reservation regarding army service.

In order to process the data collected through the population census, a separate census office was opened in Sarajevo by the end of August in 1879. The office consisted of a senior official of the State Government as chairman, an official from the accounting-department, and the necessary number of temporary assistants. The activities of these people were essentially limited to collecting and counting the registration forms, compiling sub-totals for each location and then using them to prepare overviews for the municipalities and the districts (Main Results, 1896, p. vi).

### **3.1. a. The Results of the 1879 Population Census**

The results of the population census of 1879 were published in both German and Bosnian under the title *Ortschafts und Bevölkerungs – Statistik von Bosnien und Hercegovina/Štatistika Mjesta i Pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine* (Statistics of the Places and Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1880. The fact that the results were published in German as well can be interpreted as underlining the significance of the results of the census for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was published as the official edition by the Imperial and Royal Government Printing House (*K. u. k. Regierungsdruckereic/C. i kr. Vladina tiskarna*) in Sarajevo.<sup>14</sup> It consists of 177 pages followed by an Appendix. An introduction informing the public regarding how the census was prepared and conducted is missing. Nevertheless, the relevant information is provided in the Introduction of the aforementioned official publication of the results of the population census of 1895 (Main Results, 1896, pp. iii-vi). *Statistics of the Places and Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina* consists of three main parts listed below, followed by Corrections and Appendix:

1. Main Overview of the Political Division of the Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Haupt-Uebersicht der politischen Eintheilung von Bosnien und der*

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<sup>14</sup> The expression *Kaiserlich und Königlich* (Imperial and Royal), abbreviated as *k. u. k.*, was used to refer to the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary from 1867 to 1918 (Stourzh, 2011).

*Hercegovina/Glavni pregled političkoga razdielenia Bosne i Hercegovine*)<sup>15</sup>

2. Overview of the Counties (*Uebersicht des Kreises/Pregled okružja*)
3. Register of Places (*Ortsregister/Kazalo mjesta*)

The first part, as stated clearly in its title, Main Overview of the Political Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, provides an overview of the population data collected based on the administrative division of the country.<sup>16</sup> It summarizes the data presented on the basis of six counties, Sarajevo, Banjaluka, Bihač, Travnik, Zvornik (Tuzla Donlja), Mostar. This part starts with a tabular overview summarizing the census data provided for the aforementioned six counties and is followed by a remark about the reorganization of some of the administrative units.<sup>17</sup>

The second part provides the population data collected for each one of the six counties in a more detailed manner (Statistics, 1880, pp. 8-125). In this part, the population data collected from each county is organized in accordance with the name of the county, the district, the political branch; followed by the number of the communities, cities, suburbs, villages, markets, houses, flats, total population (female and male), and last but not least, the division of population according to religion.<sup>18</sup> The third part consists of an alphabetical index of the names of the localities in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the names of the districts and counties to which each individual locality belongs. This part is followed by a page of Corrections and Appendix, which involves two tables.

The first table is titled “The Country Livestock Chart as of June 15, 1879” and consists of a comprehensive recording of livestock in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>19</sup> The second table, titled “County Overview as of June 15, 1879”

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<sup>15</sup> In the German designation, `Bosnia and Herzegovina` is referred to as Bosnia and `the` Herzegovina. This usage of the name of the country is not standard but exercised occasionally.

<sup>16</sup> The term `Political Division` is used to refer to the administrative division.

<sup>17</sup> (1880). *Ortschafts und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und Hercegovina/Štatistika Mjesta i Pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine*. [Statistics of the Places and Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina] Official Edition (pp. 1-5). Sarajevo: Imperial and Royal Government Printing House. This publication is registered in the Library of Austro-Hungarian Archives in Sarajevo with the inventory number b.l. and signature number IV 671. It will be referred to as Statistics in citations in the text.

<sup>18</sup> See the following section for a detailed analysis of the religious taxonomy in use.

<sup>19</sup> A similar detailed listing of livestock in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also provided by the aforementioned 1870 yearbook of the Province of Bosnia and Herzegovina: See the `Number of animals` (*Aded i`tibâriyle Hayvanat*) section of the aforementioned table titled `The register of the total sum of the male population, annual tax revenues, plow and breed animals, kinds and amounts of agricultural produce in seven sancaks in Vilayet [of Bosnia]` (*Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna 1287 Hicrî/1870*, p. 147). The continuity in the

provides a tabular overview of the census results in accordance with districts and counties.

### 3.1. b. The religious taxonomy used in the population census of 1879

The table below provides the division of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to religion based on the counties. It is extracted from the summary review of the tabular depiction of the “Main Overview of the Political Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina” from the official published results of the population census of 1879 (Statistics, 1880, pp. 3-4). It provides the official designations/categories used for defining religious affiliation in the population census of 1879.

<i>Kreis</i>	<i>Mahomedaner</i> <sup>20</sup>	<i>griech.-oriental.</i>	<i>röm.-katholische</i>	<i>Israeliten</i>	<i>and.</i>
<i>Okružje</i>	<i>Muhamedance</i>	<i>grčko-iztočujak</i> <sup>21</sup>	<i>rimo-katolike</i> <sup>22</sup>	<i>izraličane</i> <sup>23</sup>	<i>Glaubensbekenner</i>
(County)	(Muslim)	(Eastern Orthodox)	(Catholic)	(Jew)	

practice of conscription of livestock from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian rule refers to the significance attributed to farm animals as an asset.

<sup>20</sup> The German designation of the term `Muslims` is misspelled as *Mahomedaner* in the aforementioned table titled `Main Overview of the Political Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina`: This is the only typo in the publication regarding the religious taxonomy. This may be interpreted as referring to the unfamiliarity of the parties preparing the publication with the category of Muslim in general. *Mohamedaner* is an outdated term synonym to the term Muslim, and means "follower of the teachings and practices of Muhammad". This term is considered as controversial in today`s world as it is criticized by Muslims for drawing a parallel between the positions of Jesus Christ in Christianity and that of Mohammed in Islam, who unlike Christ, is not to be worshipped. Retrieved April 10, 2022 from <https://www.duden.de/rechtsschreibung/Mohammedaner> (an online dictionary). In the English designation, this category will be referred to as Muslim in this work.

<sup>21</sup> *Griech.-oriental.* (full version *Griechisch-orientalisch*/Oriental Greek) is referred to as *grčko-iztočujak* (Greek Easterners) in its Bosnian designation. In the English designation, this category will be referred to as Orthodox in this work.

<sup>22</sup> This category in its both German (*röm.-katholische*) and Bosnian designation (*rimo-katolike*) refer to Roman Catholics and it will be referred to as Catholic in its English designation in this work.

<sup>23</sup> The German term *Israeliten* (Israelites in English and *izraličane* in Bosnian) is a name taken from the Bible and used (by Jews themselves as well) in place of the term `Jew` as the official category referring to people who follow Judaism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Senk, S. (Ed.) (2008): *Schülerduden Religion und Ethik. Das Fachlexikon von A–Z*. 2nd

					<i>slied. dr. vjeroizp.</i> <sup>24</sup> (Other)
Sarajevo	78,344	47,288	21,298	2216	63
Banjaluka	42,042	114,534	33,164	302	1
Bihać	82,305	89,256	5,078	77	-
Travnik	58243	66049	59681	431	-
Zvornik (D. Tuzla)	122,411	115,257	30,312	365	175
Mostar	65,268	64,377	59,858	35	10

Table 2. The division of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879 according to religion

According to the distribution above, Muslims are represented as a unique and a homogenous category, whereas non-Muslims were divided into the exact same categories used by the Ottomans to depict the religious division in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society with the only exception of the category of Roma (*Kıbtı*). (See Table 1 above). Comparing the population data provided by the aforementioned 1870 yearbook of Bosnia with the results of the 1879 population census conducted immediately after the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can see that they both focused on the division of the society based on religion. This observation points to an acceptance and respect of the *Millet* System, the Ottoman division of society based on religion, by the Austro-Hungarian rule and hence, continuity and consensus between the two rules in regard to the taxonomy to be used in the depiction of the composition of the society.

### 3.2. The Population Census of 1885

The next census, conducted in 1885, followed the 1879 census rather closely in terms of its organizational structure, methodology, implementation and processing of the collected data, with the exception of the conscription of livestock. The regulations regarding this census were approved by the provisional decision of April 6, 1885 (Decree/Order of the High Joint Ministry

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edition. Dudenverlag: Mannheim. This category will be referred to as Jew in its English designation in this work.

<sup>24</sup> and. *Glaubensbekenner* in German and *slied. dr. vjeroizp.* in Bosnian, both translate as `followers of other confessions`, will be referred to as Other in its English designation in this work.

dated April 10, 1885, No. 2524/B.H.) and were contained in the order of the State Government of April 14, 1885, No. 8464/I. regarding the conduct of a general census in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the Appendices of this order, under the titles “briefing” and the “instruction” (Main Results, VI-VII). Based on the experience from the 1879 census, the duration reserved for the collection of the census data was extended from one month to three months. The counting organs were to start with the data collection on May 1, 1885 and to be completed by the end of the month of July, 1885 (Main Results, 1896, p. vii).

The forms to be used for the 1885 population census were designed to enter the data by drawing a line and the content was expanded to include data regarding the age of the male population, occupation and a listing of land tenures. Regarding the latter, the questions about the agricultural conditions in the country were formulated more precisely. Local (*Einheimische*) and foreign (*Fremde*) populations continued to be listed separately, as was the case in the census of 1879, with the introduction of the distinction of the resident population (*Wohnbevölkerung*) and temporarily present population (*zeitweilig anwesende Bevölkerung*). The category of citizenship, which was missing in the census of 1879, was added to the admission sheet in order to be able to count the foreign nationals (foreigners permanently settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina/*Fremde Staatsangehörige*). The forms used for the description of the localities were kept more or the less same as those used in 1879, with the exception of a few changes and extensions (Main Results, 1896, p. vii).

The census commissions, which were already established and worked well for the former census, were retained. Nevertheless, the composition of the commissions went through a few small changes, among which the most significant was that the heads of the districts or their deputies were no longer personally involved in counting (Main Results, VII). No detailed instruction was issued for the practical application of the established norms regarding the 1885 census and the political authorities were granted the necessary freedom of action to strive for the mode of conscription which appeared to be most suitable. As a result, no decision was made whether the census organs should have gone from house to house when recording the data, or whether they should have been empowered to record the population of the individual localities by assembling them at a certain point and counting them there. The flexibility given to the political authorities proved to be correct as the population behaved in a collaborative manner with a few exceptions. The success of the operation was accredited to the tactful approach of the officials involved (Main Results, 1896, pp. vii-viii).

The processing of the census data was carried out in a centralized manner by a census office which was activated by the State Government at the beginning of July 1885. This office, under the command of a Higher Official of the State Government with the help of 12 auditors, 76 accord writers, a number of casual laborers and servants, whose number were changing based on demand, finalized the work within 11 weeks. The work of the office was limited

to adding up entries into the individual columns printed in the survey form (Main Results, 1896, p. viii).

### 3.2. a. The results of the population census of 1885

The results of the 1885 population census were published with the title *Locality and Population Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the Census Results from May 1st, 1885* as an official edition of the State Printing House in Sarajevo in 1886.<sup>25</sup> This publication was in three languages, German, Bosnian and Serbian (Cyrillic). This publication, similar to the results of the census of 1879, failed to provide an introduction explaining the details of the preparation and the conduct of the census. Nevertheless, it presented a more detailed depiction of the people living in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time, which was reflected by the double size of the publication in comparison to the results of the 1879 population census.<sup>26</sup> Obviously, it was possible to put more time and effort into the preparation of the population census of 1885 in comparison to the former one. In addition, the analyses of the results of the census of 1879 contributed to the shaping of the preparation and the conduct of the population census of 1885.

The census data was presented in accordance with the division based on the six counties (*kreis/okružje*), Sarajevo, Banjaluka, Bihač, Dolnja-Tuzla, Travnik, Mostar, also used in the previous population census.<sup>27</sup> The population data belonging to each county was presented in two parts: The tabular presentation of the population data of the capital city (*stadt/grad*) of the county was followed by a more detailed tabular presentation of the county population data. The former consisted of the following categories:

1. Name of the county,
2. Name(s) of the district(s) city was divided into,
3. Name of the cadastral community the county and the districts of the city belonged to,
4. Number of houses and flats in each district of the city,
5. Division of the population according to gender (male and female),

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<sup>25</sup> (1886). *Haupt-Uebersicht der politischen Eintheilung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina. Glavni pregled političkoga razdielenja Bosne i Hercegovine* [Locality and Population Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the Census Results from May 1st]. Sarajevo: State Publishing House. This publication is registered in the Library of Austro-Hungarian Archives in Sarajevo with the inventory number 2307 and sign. br. V-200<sup>a</sup>. It will be referred to as *Locality* in citations in the text.

<sup>26</sup> The publication consists of 367 numbered pages and annexes. See the section below for a detailed description of the content of the publication.

<sup>27</sup> The only exception between the names of counties used for 1879 census and 1885 is that the name Dolnja-Tuzla was used in place of Zvornik.

6. Division of the population according to religion,<sup>28</sup>
7. Division of the population according to marital status (unmarried, married, widowed, divorced),
8. Division of the population according to occupation, acquisition or source of income,<sup>29</sup>
9. The number of people permanently settled in occupied area (Austria-Hungarian citizens and members of other countries).

Tables prepared for presenting the county population data provided a more detailed tabular presentation of the collected population data based on the categories listed below:

1. Name of the county,
2. Name of the district,
3. Name of the branch,
4. Name of the Municipality (Džemat),
5. Names of the cities, markets or villages,
6. Name of the cadastral community,
7. Number of city, market, village, house and flat,
8. Division of the population according to gender (male and female)
9. Division of the population according to religion,
10. Division of the population according to marital status (unmarried, married, widowed, divorced),
11. Division of the population according to occupation, acquisition or source of income,<sup>30</sup>
12. The number of people permanently settled in occupied area (Austria-Hungarian citizens and members of other countries).

The first part, consisting of 259 pages, was followed by a detailed index of the names of the places covered by the census of 1885 in alphabetical order (100 pages). The index presented the names of the districts, and the counties the places belonged to, in addition to the number of villages, Džemats, provisionally organized rural municipalities, provisionally constituted urban or market municipalities, cadastral communities and the numbers of the pages

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<sup>28</sup> See the following section for a detailed analysis of the religious taxonomy in use.

<sup>29</sup> The categories listed under the title `occupation, acquisition or source of income` are clergymen, officials (state, municipality and others), teachers, paramedics, landowners (Bega or Agas), free farmers, kmets, house and pension owners, manufacturers, dealers and tradesmen, unskilled workers, casual laborers and servants, other men over 16, other women and children.

<sup>30</sup> The categories listed under the title `occupation, acquisition or source of income` are clergymen, officials (state, municipality and others), teachers, paramedics, landowners (Bega or Agas), free farmers, kmets, house and pension owners, manufacturers, dealers and tradesmen, unskilled workers, casual laborers and servants, men over 16, women and children.

they were referred to in the publication. This index was followed by two large scale tables depicting the division of the population data into two countries for the first time, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia is represented by Sarajevo, Travnik, Bihać, Donja Tuzla and Banjaluka and Herzegovina is represented by Mostar.

The first table is titled “Country Overview of the Local Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as of May 1, 1885”. It involves the names of the counties, the names of the districts in each county, the number of cities, markets, villages, houses and flats in each district, number of the population according to gender (male and female) and total, a detailed list of the number of the male population in accordance with age: The male population was presented in age groups of 1 to 9, 10 to 20, 21 to 31, 32 to 49, 50 to 60 and over 60. The age groups 10 to 20 and 50 to 60 were enlisted on yearly basis. The division of the male population according to age was followed by the division of the population in accordance with religion, marital status and according to occupation, acquisition or source of income.

In addition, the tabular presentation of Country Overview involved the division of the male and female population separately according to residency: The main subcategories used were titled as “present” and “not present” (the former referring to local population present and the latter referring to local population absent in their respective districts/localities during the census). The local population “not present” was divided into subcategories of “in the country”, referring to Bosnia and Herzegovina, “in Austria-Hungary”, and “in other countries”. The foreigners permanently settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina were listed under the title “permanently settled in the occupied area” and presented in sub-groups of “Austria-Hungarian citizens” and “members of other states”. The second large scale table is titled “Population Overview of Cities in the Counties and the Localities in Districts in Bosnia and Herzegovina as of May 1, 1885”. In addition to the categories above (with the exception of the detailed listing of the number of the male population in accordance with age), the last columns represent the total population of the cities in countries and the localities in districts from most populated to the least.

These large scale tables are followed by two, double page tables titled:

1. Tabular overview of the surface area of the individual counties and districts (Locality, 1886, pp. 364-5),
2. Overview of the existing cadastral communities, džemats, constituted urban or market municipalities and provisionally organized rural municipalities (Locality, 1886, pp. 366-7),

The following large scale table is titled “Tabular Overview of the Average Population Density per Square Mile in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1885 population census”. The average population density is represented on the basis of the six counties and represents the districts and the



counties according to their average population density per square mile from the most populated to the least. This is followed by another two page tabular representation titled “Table about the ratio of Agas, free farmers and kmets to the adult male population from the census from the year 1885”. The tabular representations of the publication are finalized by two large scale tables. The first one represents the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1885 in percentages, divided in accordance with the categories of country, county and district. The percentages of the total population are shared in accordance with the categories of gender, the male population in accordance with age, and the overall population in accordance with religion, marital status and occupation. The last large scale table in is titled “Country Overview of the Description of Localities”. It consists of the categories of country, county, districts, number of houses, number of the local population, barracks, office or community buildings, monasteries (Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Tekiye), churches (Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic), mosques, synagogues, schools, state and communal, and confessional (Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Muslim, Jewish), castles, ruins, sawmills, factories, beer breweries, distilleries, grain mills, lime kilns, brick kilns, quarries, minerals (metal, coal, salt), mineral springs (warm springs, healing springs, acidulous springs), wine culture (yes/no), monuments or other memorials (yes/no).

The 1886 publication of the results of the population census 1885 also provides an overview of the public administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It provides the structure of the State Government in Sarajevo including its subordinate political and financial departments, judicial authorities, education institutions, mining, metallurgy, and railway operations, post and telegraph offices. This scheme is followed by three maps. The first map is titled “Overview Map of the Distribution of Religious Denominations in their Ratio of their Reciprocative Densities in Each District of Bosnia and Herzegovina”. It depicts the three major religious denominations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Mohamedaner* (Muslim), *Oriental. Orthodoxe* (Eastern Orthodox) and *Katholiken* (Catholic), according to their ratio of density in counties and districts in 1885.<sup>31</sup> Predominantly, Eastern Orthodox districts are represented on the map in three different categories in accordance with the ratio of the density of Muslims and Catholics:

1. Localities predominantly Eastern Orthodox with 20-40% representation of Muslims,
2. Localities predominantly Eastern Orthodox with 20-40% representation of Catholics,

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<sup>31</sup> Please see the section below for a more detailed description of the map and an elaborate discussion on the religious taxonomy used. The religious taxonomy used in this map will be compared with the religious taxonomy used in the tabular presentation of the religious division of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1885 (see Table 4 below).

3. Localities predominantly Eastern Orthodox with more than 20% representation of Muslims and 20% representation of Catholics.

Predominantly Muslim districts are represented on map in four different categories in accordance with the ratio of the density of Eastern Orthodox and Catholics:

1. Localities predominantly Muslim with 20-40% representation of Eastern Orthodox,
2. Localities predominantly Muslim with more than 40% representation of Eastern Orthodox,
3. Localities predominantly Muslim with 20-40% representation of Catholics,
4. Localities predominantly Muslim with around 20% representation of Eastern Orthodox and around 20% Catholics.

Predominantly, Catholic districts are represented on the map in three different categories in accordance with the ratio of the density of Muslims and Catholics:

1. Localities predominantly Catholic with 20-40% representation of Eastern Orthodox,
2. Localities predominantly Catholic with 20-40% representation of Muslims,
3. Localities predominantly Catholic with more than 20% representation of Eastern Orthodox and with 20% representation of Muslims.

The second map in the appendix provides an overview of the general population density per square mile in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Localities with residents up to 500, from 500 to 1000, from 1000 to 2000, from 2000 to 2500 and above 2500 are represented separately on the overview map.<sup>32</sup> The last map depicts the distribution of free farmers and kmets according to their reciprocative ratios in each district of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>33</sup> In this overview map, all the localities are divided into three categories: 1. Localities with equal number of kmets and free farmers, 2. Localities with kmets twice the number of free farmers, 3. Localities with kmets three times more than the number of free farmers.

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<sup>32</sup> The second map is titled "Overview Map of the General Population Density per Square Mile of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

<sup>33</sup> The third map is titled "Overview Map of the Distribution of Free Farmers and Kmets according to their Reciprocative Ratio in each District of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

### 3.2.b. The religious taxonomy used in the population census of 1885

The table below shows the taxonomy used for division in accordance with religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the population census of 1885:

<b>Land</b>	<b>County</b>	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Eastern Orthodox</b>	<b>Catholic</b>	<b>Jew</b>	<b>Other</b>
<i>Land</i>	<i>Kreis</i>	<i>Mohamedaner</i>	<i>orient. Orthodoxe</i>	<i>römisch-katholisch</i>	<i>Israeliten</i>	<i>sonstige Religionsgenossen</i>
<i>Zemlja</i>	<i>Okružje</i>	<i>Muhamedanci</i> <sup>34</sup>	<i>istočno-pravoslavni</i>	<i>rimo-katolici</i>	<i>jevreji</i>	<i>pripadaju inim vjer.</i>
Bosna	Sarajevo	85297	57539	23296	462	57
	Banjaluka	60065	158800	45818	667	106
	Bihač	71130	80434	6502	151	7
	Donja-Tuzla	141218	132730	38590	1051	157
	Travnik	66975	73850	76554	717	76
Herzegovina	Mostar	52238	63466	71702	139	29
Total		492710	571250	265788	5805	538

Table 3: The division of population according to religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1885<sup>35</sup>

When we compare the religious taxonomy used in 1879 and 1885 population censuses, we can see that the categories are same with slight differences in the German and Bosnian designations of the category of Eastern

<sup>34</sup> The aforementioned typo with the German designation of the religious category of Muslim in the 1880 publication of the results of the 1879 population census is corrected in the publication of the results of the population census of 1885. The typo *Mahomedaner* is replaced with the German correct spelling of the term *Mohamedaner*. The slight differences in the writings of the same categories in German and Bosnian between the relevant publications of the population censuses are related with the grammar (cases) and they should not be considered as typo.

<sup>35</sup> Table 3 is reproduced from the aforementioned first table titled 'Country Overview of the Local Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as of May 1, 1885'. The religious taxonomy and the representative total numbers presented for each category are derived from the 'division of the population according to religion' section.

Orthodox and Bosnian designation of the category of Jew. The German designation for used when referring to Eastern Orthodox in 1879 population census; *Griech.-oriental.* (full version being *Griechisch-orientalisch*/Oriental Greek) is replaced with *orient. Orthodoxe* (Oriental Orthodox) in 1885 population census. The Bosnian designation for the category of Eastern Orthodox in 1879; *grčko-iztočujak* (Eastern Greeks) is replaced with *istočno-pravoslavni* (Eastern Orthodox) in 1885. The German designation for the category of Jew remaining same (*Israeliten*), the Bosnian designation *izraličane* (Israelites) in 1879 is replaced with *jevreji* (Jews) in 1885. When we compare the religious taxonomy used in the tabular presentation above with the religious taxonomy used in the aforementioned map depicting the three major religious denominations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Mohamedaner* (Muslim), *Oriental. Orthodoxe* (Eastern Orthodox) and *Katholiken* (Catholic), according to their ratio of density in counties and districts in 1885, we see consistency in the denomination of the categories in use.

### 3.3. The Population Census of 1895

The third census under Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina was conducted in April 22, 1895 due to “[T]he powerful prosperity of the two provinces [Bosnia and Herzegovina] and the increased needs of the political administration [which] soon made the census operation of 1885 appear as out of date and as no longer fully meeting the new requirements” (Main Results, VIII). 1895 was determined as the year for the population census in accordance with the almost universally accepted principle of repeating the census every ten years and April 22 was set as the deadline, the reference and the start date of the counting for which, one month was granted for the entire census to be conducted. This population census was combined with a livestock census since it had not been conducted since 1879, the first population census under Austro-Hungarian rule. The norms established for the organization and implementation of both the population and livestock censuses were contained in the order approved by the highest resolution of January 3, 1895 and in the Circular-decree published by the State Government on January 17, 1895 (No. 5709/St. D.). The newly established Statistics Department was held responsible for the preparation and conduct of the 1895 census in general (Main Results, 1896, pp. viii-xii).

The most significant innovation was the designation of the civil population present at the locality as the subjects of the population census, so that both the local and foreign population could have attended the conscription equally. Hence, the aforementioned separate form used for the foreigners, the locality list (*Ortschaftslisten*), in the former censuses was omitted, and only a single survey form, the house list (*Hausliste*), was used for all persons. A more extended form was used only in the state capital, Sarajevo, and other five county capitals, in order to collect the certain data required for the housing statistics (Main Results, 1896, p. ix). The district councils were instructed by the State Government to inform the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina about the nature

and the purpose of the census, with a special emphasis of its non-fiscal aim, as extensively as possible at all occasions, to facilitate the participation of as many people as possible and to have concrete results to follow (Main Results, 1896, p. x).

### **3.3.a. The results of the population census of 1895**

The aforementioned main results of the population census of 1895, compiled by the Statistics Department of the State Government, was published by the State Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina again in three languages; German, Bosnian and Serbian (Cyrillic) in 1896. In addition to the population data, it involved information about territorial division, public institutions and mineral resources. Consisting of 891 pages in total, it is the most extensive among the publications of the results of the population census during the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In its foreword, the main goals targeted with the publication of the results of the census of 1895 are shared as not only serving the Bosnian administration but also the parties who have interest over Bosnia and Herzegovina and hence, both inner and outer circles related: “The present work, with which the main results of the population census are made public, has a dual purpose. It should provide practical services to the Bosnian administration, meanwhile, satisfying the lively interest shown by the economic and other circles in the situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as far as it is possible on this occasion” (Main Results, Foreword).

This publication shares the population data again in tables but prefaces them with an extensive Introduction for the first time. The purpose and the function of the introduction is explained in the foreword as “provid[ing] a short overview of the prehistory [of the population censuses], the means and the aims of the census, as well as the main results, and on the other hand, inform[ing] other readers about the often peculiar local conditions, which seems absolutely necessary in order to understand the tables contained in the work themselves” (Main Results, 1896, Foreword). This introduction, which is missing in the previous publications of census results, provides the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context necessary for a better understanding of the population data shared. It is with this publication that we see the attribution of significance to the contextualization of the population data.

The introduction consists of three parts: The first part provides detailed information about the organization and conduct of all three population censuses conducted under the Austro-Hungarian rule. The second part provides an analysis of the main results of 1895 census based on the results of former censuses and the third part covers the final remarks. This introduction is followed by 20 tables providing a detailed profile of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in absolute and relative numbers. The population data, organized according to locality and shared in the next 587 pages, is followed by the alphabetical list of names of the localities and parts of

the localities. The publication continuing with Appendix, Corrections is finalized by an overview map of Bosnia and Herzegovina stating the localities with more than 1.000 inhabitants.

### 3.3.b. The religious taxonomy used in the population census of 1895

The table below, showing the division of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society according to confessions in percentages based on the results of the census of 1895, depicts the religious taxonomy in use at the time.<sup>36</sup>

Counties	Muslims	Eastern Orthodox	Roman Catholic	Evangelical	Others	Christians in total	Jew	Other
	<i>Muhamedaner</i>	<i>orientalisch-orthodoxe</i>	<i>römisch-katholische</i>	<i>Evangelische</i>	<i>Andere</i>	<i>Christen überhaupt</i>	<i>Israeliten</i>	<i>Sonstige</i>
	<i>Muhamedovaca</i>	<i>istočno-pravoslavni</i>	<i>rino-katolika</i>	<i>Evangelika</i>	<i>Ostalih</i>	<i>Kršćana uopće</i>	<i>Jevreja</i>	<i>Drugih</i>
Christen/kršćana								
Sarajevo	49-09	31-96	16-70	0-16	0-03	48-85	2-06	00-00
Banjaluka	22-16	59-19	18-06	0-35	0-01	77-61	0-23	-
Bihać	42-62	52-72	4-54	0-01	0-00	57-27	0-11	-
D.Tuzla	43-39	42-02	13-68	0-50	0-03	56-23	0-38	0-00
Travnik	29-14	32-68	37-71	0-08	0-01	70-48	0-38	-
Mostar	25-57	34-12	40-18	0-03	0-00	74-33	0-10	0-00
BiH	34-99	42-94	21-31	0-23	0-01	64-49	0-52	0-00

Table 4: The division of the locally present civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1895, according to confessions in percentages.

When we compare the religious taxonomy used in the census of 1895 with the taxonomy used in the previous ones, we see introduction of further diversification into the group of Christians which used to consist of categories of Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic before: The category of Evangelicals (separated into the Augsburg and the Helvetian confessions) and the category of Others were added as subcategories. The Others subcategory consisted of the following confessions and number of followers stated in parenthesis: 1. *Griechisch-Unierte/ grčko-sjedinjena* (Greek Uniates/163), 2. *unierte Armenier/sjedinjena Armenca* (Uniates Armenians/3), 3. *Nazarener/nazarenca* (Nazarenes/63), 4. *Baptisten/baptista* (Baptists/20), 5. *Anglikaner; Ausserden* (Anglicans/2).<sup>37</sup> In addition, the Jews were counted based on the division into the Sephardic and the Ashkenazi. Despite the increase in the representation of

<sup>36</sup> This table is a reproduction of the Table VIII under “The categorization by confession” section of the Chapter III titled “Social categorization of the population according to confession and profession”, of Part II of the Introduction of the *Main Results of the Population Census in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 22, 1895*, p. xxviii.

<sup>37</sup> The followers of these confessions are still listed among the minority religious communities in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dobutović, 2012).

the variety of confession with Christians and Jews, Muslim category remained monolithic. Both the German and Bosnian designations used for the religious categories; Muslim, Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Jew and Other, remained the same as in 1885. It is also significant to note that the percentage of the Other category to the locally present civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1895 is depicted as 0. One possible explanation may be the newly introduced subcategories under Christians and the low number of parties without confession (12) (Main Results, 1896, p.xxxi).

#### 4. Conclusion

The table below lists the religious taxonomy used for collecting population data in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the rupture in the administration, from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian, there is a continuity regarding the religious taxonomy despite the slight changes in certain designations.

1870	<i>İslâm</i>	<i>Rum</i>	<i>Latin</i>			<i>Yahûdi</i>	<i>Kıbtî</i>
1879	<i>Mahomedaner</i> <i>Muhamedance</i>	<i>griech.-oriental.</i> <i>grčko-iztočujak</i>	<i>röm.-katholische</i> <i>rimo-katolike</i>			<i>Israeliten</i> <i>izraličane</i>	<i>and.</i> <i>Glaubensbekenner</i> <i>slied. dr.</i> <i>vjeroizp.</i>
1885	<i>Mohamedaner</i> <i>Muhamedanci</i>	<i>orient. Orthodoxe</i> <i>istočno-pravoslavni</i>	<i>römisch-katholisch</i> <i>rimo-katolici</i>			<i>Israeliten</i> <i>jevreji</i>	<i>sonstige Religionsgenossen</i> <i>pripadaju inim vjer.</i>
1895	<i>Muhamedaner</i> <i>Muhamedovaca</i>	<i>Christen/kršćana</i>				<i>Israeliten</i> <i>Jevreja</i>	<i>Sonstige</i> <i>Drugih</i>
		<i>orientalisch-orthodoxe</i> <i>istočno-pravoslavnih</i>	<i>römisch-katholische</i> <i>rimo-katolika</i>	<i>Evangelische</i> <i>Evangelika</i>	<i>Andere</i> <i>Ostalih</i>		

**Table 5:** Religious taxonomy used for collecting population data in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When we compare the taxonomy used for collecting data for understanding the composition of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society under the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rules, we can see that they both focused on the division of society based on religion. The main categories remain the same with the exception of *Kibiti*. The taxonomy in use was in line with the religious taxonomy of the *Millet System*. Hence, it is possible to talk about a continuity and acceptance of the Ottoman organization of society based on religion by the Austro-Hungarian rule. I observe this finding as not surprising as I consider the *Millet System* in line with the Bosnian spirit (*bosanski duh*), which can also be described as the embrace of tolerance and belief in a multi-faith society. Hence, I observe it as reasonable for the Austro-Hungarian Empire to sustain the inherited composition of the society.

I also consider the absence of the ethnic identity, hence ethnic categories, namely Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim), Serb (Bosnian Orthodox), and Croat (Bosnian Catholic) in the taxonomy of all population censuses conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century worthwhile. Introducing the ethnic categories into the taxonomy of the population censuses would be acknowledging the ethno-nationalist discussions of the time and hence, defeating their own *raison d'etre* for both Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. It is significant to note that the ethnic division was not yet acknowledged and implemented at state level in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the nineteenth century, despite its wide presence in the public sphere, daily politics, and literature. Hence, it would be wrong to refer to an ethnic division of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society recognized by either the Ottoman or the Austro-Hungarian state in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, referring to the composition of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society with ethnic division rather than religious one for the nineteenth century and even before is a pattern frequently repeating itself in today's political discourse and scholarly discussions.

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