

Empires from the Margins:
Bosnian Muslim Emigrants between the Ottoman Em-
pire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1878-1918

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Abstract

Empires from the Margins: Bosnian Muslim Emigrants between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1878-1918

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This dissertation focuses on the Bosnian Muslim return migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Austro-Hungarian occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918. The emigrants returned to Bosnia following their migration to Ottoman Empire. Initial emigration was a response to Austro-Hungarian policies and practices as conscription, land reform, and the marginalization of Islamic institutions and everyday life. In Ottoman territories, emigrants encountered unfavorable economic conditions and political instability. As a structural process, the decision of return shaped the political and economic milieu in the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia. The reintegration of returnees and how they navigated the complex Austro-Hungarian bureaucratic governance and the hardships of everyday life constitute the core of this dissertation. The context they returned to was a thoroughly transformed one with altered legal framework and property regime. Returnees sought to adapt to new context and played a key role in the reconstruction of Bosnian Muslim identity. This dissertation argues that return migration is not an occasional incident, but a constitutive element of migratory processes in the imperial contexts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Muslims in borderland regions established strategies to navigate imperial politics, religious identity, and the pressures of modernity. Returnees were transformative agents, and their impact in their communities were substantial. The study employs a wide range of primary sources which include archival records of seven different countries, as well as petitions and consular reports.

107000 words

Özet

Çeperden İmparatorluklar: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu Arasında Bosnalı Müslüman Göçmenler, 1878-1918

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Prof. Dr. M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Prof. Dr. Fikret Adanır, Tez Danışmanları

Bu tez, 1878-1918 yılları arasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Avusturya-Macaristan işgali altındaki Bosna-Hersek'e yapılan Bosnalı Müslüman geri dönüş göçüne odaklanmaktadır. Göçmenler Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na göç ettikten sonra Bosna'ya geri dönmüşlerdir. İlk göç, Avusturya-Macaristan'ın zorunlu askerlik, toprak reformu ve İslami kurumların ve gündelik hayatın marjinalleştirilmesi gibi politika ve uygulamalarına bir tepkiydi. Göçmenler Osmanlı topraklarında elverişsiz ekonomik koşullar ve siyasi istikrarsızlıkla karşılaşmışlardır. Yapısal bir süreç olarak geri dönüş kararı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Bosna'daki siyasi ve ekonomik ortamı şekillendirdi. Geri dönenlerin yeniden entegrasyonu ve karmaşık Avusturya-Macaristan bürokratik yönetimini ve gündelik hayatın zorluklarını nasıl aştıkları bu tezin özünü oluşturmaktadır. Döndükleri bağlam, yasal çerçevesi ve mülkiyet rejimi değişmiş, tamamen dönüşmüş bir bağlamdı. Geri dönenler yeni bağlama uyum sağlamaya çalışmış ve Bosnalı Müslüman kimliğinin yeniden inşasında kilit bir rol oynamışlardır. Bu tez, geri dönüş göçünün rastlantısal bir olay değil, 19. yüzyılın sonları ve 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki emperyal bağlamlarda göç süreçlerinin kurucu bir unsuru olduğunu savunmaktadır. Sınır bölgelerindeki Müslümanlar, imparatorluk politikaları, dini kimlik ve modernitenin baskıları arasında gezinmek için stratejiler oluşturdular. Geri dönenler dönüştürücü aktörlerdi ve kendi toplumları üzerindeki etkileri büyüktü. Bu çalışmada, yedi farklı ülkenin arşiv

kayıtlarının yanı sıra dilekçeler ve konsolosluk raporlarını da içeren çok çeşitli birincil kaynaklar kullanılmıştır.

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To my dear son Ali Bora

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Introduction

It is said that the human story has been linked to the phenomenon of migration itself since the earliest known periods of history. Modern academia, from anthropologists to historians, sociologists to political scientists, have sought ways to address the phenomenon of migration in a multidimensional way, even after the specialization of the sciences. Such a broad and deep understanding of the phenomenon of migration stems from its interconnectedness with the human story, in other words, with the very adventure of being human. Research narratives emphasizing state-centered migration define the macro-age and its modern expansions, which started with major changes resulting in the creation of the modern state, mostly. There are, yet, also approaches that stress the personal, ethical, and human sides of migration. From an epistemological standpoint, subject-centered lens study of migration provides an alternative—or perhaps a counterpoint from state-centered narratives. This method draws attention to the need of correcting a flaw in the epistemology and technique of social sciences.

Against the narrative of “human masses” perceived as passive actors on the borders of empires (i.e. states), this thesis leans on individuals and communities of individuals who directly affect the migration politics of empires, who have agency, who have their own subjectivities, and who have the ability to influence and transform structures. In other words, this thesis is based on a subject-centered narrative of migration, using petitions, complaint docu-

ments, and official texts meticulously gathered from numerous archives. It aims to identify patterns of “return” among individuals with specific identities, names, regions, and attitudes, rather than treating migration as a phenomenon driven solely by faceless masses. The main motivation behind this approach is to understand how individual stories and their connections to migration—a complex issue laden with political, social, economic, and cultural dimensions—can reshape states and structures through a process of negotiation. Moreover, it highlights how these technologies of subjectivity serve as crucial forces in constructing, influencing, and designing overarching categories such as identity and class, including even fundamental class distinctions.

The historical context examined in this thesis aligns with periods when empires were powerful and effectively integrated with modern state institutions, as well as times of dissolution, degradation, or degeneration of these empires. When analyzed from a state-centered perspective, human communities appear as the subjects—if not the objects—of states' and empires' policies regarding resettlement, displacement, and forced removal in the realm of migration politics. However, it is notable that “migrants,” who are the direct subjects of these policies, are often treated as a sub-category. This study, in contrast, adopts an alternative historiographical approach by taking a subject-centered position. It focuses on the negotiation techniques employed by individuals, specifically migrants, who actively construct their political existence by negotiating their persistent identities against public authorities and legal structures. Thus, the agency of migrants is in the focus. At a time when Bosnia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire due to *de facto* occupation following the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, “Empires from the Margins: Bosnian Muslim Migrants between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, 1878-1918” aims to explore the experiences of Bosnian Muslims with migration and settlement, focusing particularly on how these experiences functioned as a form of mobilization within the framework of imperial socio-political policies. While the migration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire involved a two-way movement, with a considerable number choosing to return to the Austro-Hungarian Empire after their initial settlement, approaching a “circular” understanding that enhances the subject-centered

approach comes in handy in this context. As an alternative to studies that deal with the migration phenomenon in a “one-way” orientation, this study, which relies on the concept of “migration cycle”, proposes that the phenomenon of return should be considered as a cyclical, repeatable, never-ending process. More precisely, it tries to make a contribution to the pantheon of studies that have this suggestion in the context of the Bosnian case. From the 1880s to 1918, about a third of Bosnian Muslim exiles who had lived elsewhere returned to Bosnia.

By juxtaposing and analyzing the different methods of migratory experience in both directions, it is feasible to question certain well-established concepts in the field of late Ottoman studies on demography, population movements, and migration. The imperial policies concerning population exchanges, coerced migrations, and transnational/religious relations are viewed as a direct outcome of territorial loss. These policies are described within the context of the firmly established concept of a “homeland” in Turkish nationalist historiography. In addition, the inclination towards nationalism in defining the geography of migration based on nation-states leads to a distorted understanding of settlement policies, mobility, and integration. According to the dominant historiography, until recently, imperial institutions and the processes of migration and adaptation to new surroundings after resettlement were portrayed positively. It was portrayed as imperial institutions, served as a benevolent facilitator rather than an aggressive bureaucratic machine aimed at manipulating the population. It was narrated as the integration of migrants into the existing environment, was successfully achieved without significant difficulties. Both Ottoman Anatolia and Austro-Hungarian Bosnia were viewed as administrative constructs, overlooking the migrants' experiences in these regions concerning their ability to adapt to the geography, their knowledge of the topography, and their flexibility within the created spaces.

This study deals with three fundamental historiographical questions. First, it departs from debates that frame the migration of Bosnian Muslims into the Ottoman Empire as a one-way movement. Instead, this research shows that this migration took place at the junction of two empires and it was not following a linear trajectory, rather it was a circular and continuous

movement that transcended the lifespan of empires. This proposal of a circular understanding, which develops from the subject-centered perspective mentioned above, is based on the idea that the phenomenon of “return” is a never-ending and continuous phenomenon. Secondly, this study differs from migration narratives that characterize migration as a one-sided movement. Unlike studies on Muslim migration to the Ottoman Empire, which analyze the process as an imperial tool, my study contextualizes the movement of Bosnian Muslims within the socio-political and historical dynamics of the two empires. In other words, I analyze the changing political and ideological attitudes of the imperial authorities in both the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian contexts, arguing that these changing attitudes are as much linked to the patterns of negotiation of the communities of people (communities of individual and particular migrant individuals) that are “migrated” by the phenomenon of migration as they are linked to the coercive and facilitating factors that develop through the interaction between the empires. These assumptions are questioned by acknowledging the migrants' experiences and evaluating their petitions to both the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman authorities. To assess these qualitative documents within the research framework, mapping tools, including geographic information systems (GIS), are utilized alongside the comparative quantification of both existing and newly generated datasets. The introduction of geography and its depiction by migrants and imperial authority illustrates the structural boundaries of Bosnian migration. In the quest for new frameworks for documenting transnational migration histories, an original range of analytical questions is suggested as an alternative to the nationally oriented ones. The analysis of these technical aids and qualitative archive sources is basically performed in alignment with the primary epistemic ground of exposing migrant subjectivity.

The political and historical conditions that shaped migrants' intentions, decisions, and abilities to migrate or stay also shed light on the political culture and social conditions that evolved in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian contexts in the late nineteenth century. This research focuses on the role of Ottoman bureaucratic authorities such as ulama, sheikhs, state officials, and public intellectuals in complicating assumptions about the

modern empire and elements of modern governance while grappling with large numbers of migrants in transnational contexts. The term “complication” here has nothing to do with an emphasis on the elusiveness of the subject/phenomenon. This research examines how the representational, differentiated, and policy-making orientations within each context can be comprehended through a broader analysis. The premises of ‘complexification’ are acknowledged as a theoretical framework that perceives the return context of migration as a cyclical and perpetual process rather than a linear and unidirectional inquiry. The Ottoman archives (*Dâhiliye Nezâreti Muhâcirîn Komisyonu* and other fonds) are used in this study, with Ottoman/Bosnian Muslims’ journals, private correspondence, *risales* (pamphlets), *salnames*, petitions, reports, and other important materials concerning migration in late nineteenth-century Bosnia-Herzegovina being examined. This inquiry is situated within a distinctive historical context that illustrates the political and social legacies of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian. This research involves a unique historical situation that reflects the political and social legacies of both the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empires.

The conjuncture that emerged after the 1878 Berlin Treaty created a major migration problematic in the Balkans, where the rivalry between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, which had entered the last fifty years of their lives, was the most visible and fierce. The Ottoman Empire, which first briefly discouraged and then encouraged the migration of the Muslim population in the region to Anatolia (between 1878 and 1880), and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which believed that it could only preserve the fragile structure of the region by maintaining a tripartite structure (Bosnian Muslims, Orthodox Serbs, and Catholic Croats), fought fiercely for forty years over both migration from the Balkans to Anatolia and back to the Balkans from Anatolia.

The epistemic alternativity emphasized in this study can be articulated as follows: Four principal arguments are analyzed in their most thematic form. The initial argument posits that migration acts as a stimulus for economic progress. Although religion, specifically Islam, serves as a macro-narrative framework that might shape migratory patterns, the predominant motivat-

ing reason remains economic. Focus is placed on economic desires, arguing that the concept of 'religious commitment' has been overstated in migration studies within the Ottoman setting. While religious commitment and the impact of the theological framework are significant elements, the archival materials analyzed in this research reveal that economic concerns predominantly drive decision-making. While doing that a class-based perspective is posited as a methodology. This research further aims to emphasize the importance of class based approaches. Religious affiliation can significantly influence the migration choices of economically disadvantaged individuals or groups, while wealthier migrants often leverage migration as an opportunity amid inter-imperial conflict. The phenomena of wealth expansion via territory acquisition are not fully comprehended without an economic study that includes a class perspective. The second argument questions the conventional migration literature, which depicts migration as a liner process. Migration is viewed as a cyclical phenomenon, necessitating a processual study that considers its various dynamics and determinants. The prevailing literature, critically analyzed in this thesis, often depicts migration to Anatolia as a fundamental aspect of nationalist ideology. This thesis suggests an alternate strategy by acknowledging the cyclical nature of migration and its multifaceted contexts. The primary contribution of this thesis is to illustrate that migration transcends a simply geopolitical movement or phenomena. Although real actors are involved, research examining migration from this realism perspective are limited. The geopolitical perspective offers a structure-centered academic narrative, although archival materials and historical data indicate that this dominant narrative is subject to question. The third argument offers, again, a deviation from conventional methodologies that analyze migration from Balkans to Anatolia predominantly as a geopolitical event.

This approach emphasizes negotiation strategies, the politicization of marginalized groups, and the development of narratives centered around individuals that emerge from this process. This contribution is vital for enhancing the economic aspect of migration, as outlined in the first argument, and for understanding its cyclical nature, as discussed in the second argument.

The fourth and final point posits that the population policies of the two empires over the past fifty years cannot be comprehensively understood without recognizing migration as a multifaceted and interrelated phenomenon. This argument enhances the existing literature on imperial studies by synthesizing the viewpoints articulated in the initial three arguments and advocating for a population policy framework. This research underscores that states are cognizant of the subjectivities identified in this thesis, extending beyond conventional analyses of state population strategies as instruments of governance. In summary, whereas structure-centered academic literature offers substantial content, the empires analyzed—central to this study—exhibit an understanding of the legal and political identities of migrating individuals and groups, influenced by public discourse.

This multidimensional and complex problematic can only be understood by considering a wide range of sources. For this reason, the thesis draws a comprehensive picture based on 7 different archival sources, as will be seen through the related chapters. The archives used can be categorized in the following order after many years of research: Ottoman Archives (BOA); Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine-Sarajevo [Federal Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina]; Gazi Husrev Begova Biblioteka [Gazi Husrev Bey Library]; Istorijski Arhiv Sarajevo [Sarajevo Historical Archive]; Austrian Archives (Osterreich Nationalstaatsarchiv-Haus Hof); French Archives (Ministère Des Affaires Etrangères, Archives Diplomatiques), British Archives (Public Record Office-National Archive London).

In addition to their singular importance, the comparative importance of these archives is crucial for the arguments of this thesis. Working with the documents of only one or two archives would not have been sufficient to support the arguments put forward in the thesis. Therefore, the technique of multi-archivalism, which I pursued at the cost of enduring arduous and financially challenging research processes, was a necessity not only to ensure the diversity of archival documents, but also for the holistic approach that the mutual and cross-reading of these documents would provide. The mere statistical and technical analysis of such a macro project would have taken a long time, and the comparative analysis of these documents presented serious life challenges. However, this pattern of multi-archival research was nec-

essary in order to blend this vital insistence behind the thesis with the academic/scholarly insistence that developed the ambitious macro-argument put forward in the thesis. To present this pattern in simplified themes to the researchers and to the reader in its most abstract (perhaps concrete) form is a challenging task in itself. For this reason, I have tried to present my analysis and contribution on the scale of the four arguments I have mentioned above. It is actually quite possible to increase these arguments, but in order to avoid distractions and to keep my research on track, I have taken these arguments as a guideline and tried to remain faithful to their frameworks as much as possible. The epistemic contribution that the thesis aims to make should be considered in coordination with the archival contribution. Without the limitations and constraints of the thesis, which deals with a material that can contribute both to migration studies more broadly and directly to scholars of the empires in question, the framework, which I have already been able to operate with considerable difficulty, would have fallen apart. For this reason, the archival documents that I have analyzed in the light of the suggestion that the phenomenon of repatriation should be treated as a cyclical, never-ending process should be regarded as a modest addition to the academic endeavor to incorporate the class perspective into migration studies.

The Long Journey Home: Scholarly Reflections on Migration and Return

Throughout history, migration has been an important part of the social, cultural and, of course, economic structure of societies and has kept this structure in constant transformation. Migration studies have largely focused on the forward movement of individuals or societies from one place to another. In this sense, the concept of return has not been sufficiently analyzed within the migration cycle and has been seen as an inevitable result of the migration movement. In the studies conducted so far, return has been presented only as a mobility, but its multidimensional structure has been neglected. Return as a phenomenon is a dynamic process that shapes the belonging, identities, social relations and economic roles of individuals and thus societies. Return does not only mean the spatial return of migrants to a place. It also involves efforts to re-establish their social ties and rebuild or try to rebuild their belonging. In terms of the change that comes with the decision to migrate, the experiences gained and the values created in the place of migration, individuals and societies seek to harmonize with the existing values and expectations of the society to which they return. The very act of making this decision and taking action shows the complexity of this process. This process of adaptation creates a transformation not only in the individual's own situation, but also in the cultural, economic and social structure of

the returned society. In this sense, this process is itself a process of restructuring.

The literature on return, while accurate, has mostly focused on economic reasons. It is assumed that individuals return because their economic situation deteriorates and unemployment increases. This simplistic and reductionist approach has ignored the social, psychological and cultural reasons behind individuals' decision to return. Recent migration studies have started to focus more on return and examine the broader effects of this process on individuals and societies. In this context, in the existing literature, the phenomenon of return is associated with the redefinition of belonging, the restructuring of economic situations and the reconstruction of social ties (individual-community). Considering these multi-layered experiences of individuals, the complexity of return becomes apparent. The experience, knowledge and economic accumulation gained in the place of migration can be transferred to the society of return. Of course, this transfer process may be limited by some adaptation problems and social acceptance. On the one hand, returning individuals try to preserve and develop their newly acquired experiences, and on the other hand, they are in the process of reintegration with the cultural values of the society they return to. The tension experienced in these situations raises questions about the belonging of migrants and returnees, while at the same time transforming the society to which they return.

In recent migration literature, the concept of return plays an important role in understanding these multi-layered transformations of individuals and thus societies. In other words, return is not only a physical movement of relocation, but also a process through which individuals' belonging is re-embodied and societies reshape their structures, especially economically. A detailed examination of the concept of return will enable us to make new theoretical inferences in migration studies. It is necessary to examine all this mobility as parts of a whole with the classification of “those who do not migrate and stay, those who migrate, those who settle and finally those who return”. Return is not only a return to the place of migration, but also a restructuring process that shapes the future of the individual and society.

Therefore, this chapter aims to provide an in-depth analysis of these approaches. Focusing on the concept of migration in its first subsection, it presents a discussion of migration to the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans and Caucasus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By analyzing the existing literature in depth, it tries to present the gaps through controversial points. In the second sub-section, a critique of studies on migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically during the Austro-Hungarian period, is presented. In the third sub-section, it discusses the concept of returnee itself in factual detail, looking for the literature's counterpart that these population movements are not unilateral. The last sub-section presents a critique of the studies on the return of Bosnian Muslims, although there are few studies.

§ 2.1 Discussing the Concept of Migration in the Light of Different Approaches

Engin Deniz Akarlı's master's thesis,¹ which has not been published as a book, draws some conclusions based on scattered and fragmented foreign reports, regional statistics, Ottoman official statistical publications such as the imperial *salnames* (*Devlet-i Aliye Salnameleri*), and censuses: Ottoman official sources on population are reliable sources of information for determining the size and composition of the population for the nineteenth-century Balkans and the Middle East. Relatedly, as the census data shows, the determinant of identity formation is not ethnicity but religious affiliation.

The turning point for late Ottoman demography and migration studies was, for better or worse, the publication in 1985 of Karpāt's eclectic study on the demography and social characteristics of late Ottoman society.² *Ottoman*

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- 1 Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the Nineteenth Century: Its Territorial, Racial and Religious Composition" (MA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1972).
 - 2 Kemal H. Karpāt, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

Population filled an important gap by compiling and classifying demographic data and expanding Akarlı's limited thesis in terms of its scope and the historical sources used. This was not a book that could be read from cover to cover following a continuous narrative in the traditional sense; two-thirds of the book consisted of statistical appendices. Until Karpat's publication, Stanford Shaw's article on censuses, census practices, and how they should be treated to get an idea of the Ottoman population and its composition was the only scholarly work,³ apart from an introduction by Enver Ziya Karal⁴ and a transcribed publication of the 1831 census and articles dealing with administrative aspects of demography or detailed analysis of specific censuses.⁵ Historical migration studies can be addressed for future studies by referring to two influential works, both contributions outside the small circle of Ottoman studies. One was a comparative study of the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire in terms of their immigration/migration policies and the resulting population movements from the perspective of two rival regional empires in the context of the Crimean War and its aftermath.⁶ Pinson then complemented his narrowly defined perspective on state policies as an extension of the war with a series of articles on Russian imperial migration policies in relation to the resettlement of Circassian immigrants as a buffer zone against the Russian threat and the emigration of Crimean Tatars and Russification.⁷ The other work, if any, was not a pure history of migration,

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- 3 Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, no. 3 (1978): 325-38, doi:10.2307/162768.
 - 4 Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı: 1831* (Ankara: T. C. BAŞvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943).
 - 5 Kemal H. Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, no. 3 (1978): 237-74; Fazıla Akbal, "1831 Tarihinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İdari Taksimat ve Nüfus," *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (1951): 617-28.
 - 6 Mark Pinson, "Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854-1866" (Harvard University, 1970).
 - 7 Mark Pinson, "Ottoman Colonization of the Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria, 1854-1862," in *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 25-29 Eylül 1970: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. II, II vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), 1040-58.

but a political history that was inevitably drawn to migration issues due to its territorial interest in Crimea and its transformation into a Russian territory. Outside the academic world, second/third generation migrants have produced a relatively rich body of work, producing local histories/memoirs that are unstructured but invaluable accounts of migration and exile stories. In contrast to this popular production, an empirical assessment on the migration and resettlement of Balkan Muslims based on Bilal Şimşir's extensive documentary compilation,⁸ which was Ahmet Cevat Eren's go-to resource for a long time was published by Faruk Kocacık in 1980.

Kemal Karpat's work *Ottoman Population* at the fourth chapter titled "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century," was first published in 1983 under a similar title: "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline." Despite a significant disparity, which I will elucidate further, the fundamental framework remained unchanged between the two works. Karpat argues that the entire Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century may be comprehended by examining population movements and their impact on the political history of the empire. The primary attribute of these migrations is their primarily political nature, which is associated with the emergence of nationalism and the formation of nation-states in the Balkans.⁹ Hence, population migrations are either the catalyst or the outcome of the ethnic-religious makeup and the historical context of the Ottoman society. The second one, in comparison to the previous one, pertains to their direction: They involved large-scale immigrations without corresponding large-scale emigration movements; in simpler terms, they came to settle permanently. Hence, the examination of population migrations within the Ottoman state during the 19th century

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- 8 Bilal Şimşir's edited volumes were published between 1979-1989 in three volumes by Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü and republished by Türk Tarih Kurumu in 1989: Bilal N. Şimşir, ed., *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri: Belgeler = Emigrations Turques Des Balkans: Documents = Turkish Emigrations from the Balkans: Documents*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).
 - 9 Kemal H. Karpat, "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline," in *Contributions à l'histoire Économique et Sociale de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1983), 385.

necessitates the incorporation of appropriate concepts and methodologies that consider not only demographic factors, but also the cultural, religious, and ethnic context that influenced and shaped the trajectory of demographic shifts.

Having established the unique nature of the Ottoman case, the author argues that the principles and techniques of historical demography are not suitable for analyzing the population movements of the Ottoman Empire, especially migration. This is because European demographic studies focus on “stable” societies where economic factors primarily influence migration patterns. In the context of Ottoman Population, the term “cannot” is substituted with “should be used very carefully,” while the phrase “stable European societies” is omitted.¹⁰ It is very comprehensible that a scholar should engage in the process of revision repeatedly.¹¹ Karpāt’s hypothesis suggests that political, ideological, and cultural factors influenced population movements. The issue of “stability” is connected to his theory, which proposes the development of a “new” conservative-modern national identity. This identity is formed through the adoption of shared Islamic practices, which are embedded in the state’s laws, along with reactionary nationalism. According to Karpāt, this identity was a result of the smooth integration of Muslim immigrants, facilitated by the Ottoman state’s liberal immigration policy.¹² The Ottoman Anatolia was characterized as a “melting pot” in this regard. Was this society less stable compared to European society? Indeed, the reason behind this can be attributed to the non-Muslims and their representation of capitalist “encroachment.” According to Karpāt’s schema, non-Muslims are regarded as the capitalist sector of society that facilitated European colonial-

10 Ibid., 388. ; cf. Karpāt, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914*, 61.

11 He clearly repeats his intrust to European concepts and theories applied to Ottoman migration studies in his introduction to the Turkish translation, see Kemal H. Karpāt, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 32.

12 This condensed summary cannot do justice to Kemal Karpāt’s whole *oeuvre* which can be easily read as the unending pursuit to realize what he “outlined”, see Kemal H. Karpāt, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kuramsal Değişim ve Nüfus*, trans. Akile Zorlu Durukan and Kaan Durukan (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002).

ism. Due to the rapid and smooth assimilation of the large influx of Muslim immigrants, this particular group, which was already incorporated into the regional networks of the global capitalist system, progressively assimilated completely. By what means? Diffused emigrations and the transfers of people. There was no conflict, bloodshed and forced migrations?

Furthermore, Karpát proposes that the Ottoman state generated the most dependable sources for addressing inquiries regarding the composition, distribution, and magnitude of the Ottoman population during the nineteenth century. The remaining documents, authored by non-governmental organizations, foreigners, and others, should be disregarded entirely due to their lack of reliability stemming from nationalist motives to influence the findings.¹³ Karpát suggests that by employing statistical rectification procedures, Ottoman official statistics and censuses can be utilized to get a reliable and accurate representation of the Ottoman population. The *Ottoman Population* does not provide specific instances of application or engage in a methodological discourse in a comprehensive manner. While he acknowledges the historical background of Ottoman censuses and *salnames*, he uncritically accepts the outcomes generated by the state bureaucracy without scrutinizing the political and ideological foundations.¹⁴ This absence of critical perspective is aligned with the aforementioned attitude towards the non-Muslim people in relation to the Ottoman state. Given the Ottoman state's crucial role in enabling the settlement and integration of Muslim immigrants, which is essential for its economic and political stability, might it be considered trustworthy in this context?

In fact, Justin McCarthy had previously produced a statistically advanced estimate of the Ottoman population before Karpát released his findings.¹⁵

13 Karpát, "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline," 389.

14 Cem Behar picks apart this lack of critical analysis of the censuses in his review, see "[Book Reviews]: Ottoman Population 1830-1914. Demographic and Social Characteristics. By Kemal H. Karpát [...]," *Population Studies* 40, no. 2 (1986): 322-23.

15 Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia at the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

McCarthy's analysis maintains the same sources, but the difference lies in the advanced utilization of computer analysis and the application of demographic methodologies in relation to "the peculiar" social and political context. McCarthy argued that the post-1878 census summaries were used by the Ottoman administration to monitor minorities in the eastern Anatolian provinces. He emphasized the importance of being thorough and careful in evaluating these census records. Furthermore, he examines the shortcomings of the official sources from the viewpoint of a demographic historian, elucidating his methodological rationale for choosing models and employing correctional approaches in computations.¹⁶ His conclusion regarding the significance of the numbers in relation to the Christian-Muslim conflict aligns with Karpas's formulation, which focuses on the demographic changes occurring in Ottoman Anatolia.¹⁷ The problematic of his concluding analysis was his comparison of mortality rates between Armenians and Muslims, without giving preference to one ethnic group over the other, but acknowledging the suffering endured by both.

Both Karpas and McCarthy's works provide a beneficial platform for the development, critique, and improvement of their limited perspective. They introduced dynamic and inclusive frameworks that saw migration as a type of social mobility, going beyond the restricted perspective of "there and never back again."¹⁸ The "archival turn" of the 1990s resulted in a series of monographs that were empirically rich and important but lacking in theoretical depth. Nedim İpek's study regarding Balkan migrations to Anatolia during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78 was one of the first examples of such research.¹⁹ The fundamental framework of how İpek structured his

16 Ibid., 168, 193–230.

17 Ibid., 138.

18 For a study not taking the immigration as a one way road, see James H. Meyer, "Immigration, Return, and The Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007): 15–32.

19 Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri, 1877-1890* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994).

account is duplicated in subsequent monographs. The entire narrative is typically presented from the viewpoint of the Ottoman state.

According to an abridged statistical list dated to 27 November 1878 and prepared for the immediate use of newly established *İdare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirîn Komisyonu* (General Commission for the Administration of Immigrants), population of immigrants arrived in the Ottoman Empire and waiting to be settled, or transportation to Anatolia scattered through different provinces and sub-provinces was 729.127.²⁰ This total number corresponds with what the existing literature came up with before, even though the list have a note indicating that the numbers represented the number of migrants whose daily subsidies were cut and transported, or left by their own means to their settlement zones.²¹ It is hard to guess whether this total numbers corresponds to the settled migrants or not. When they are compared to the numbers provided by the existing literature, it is clear that these numbers only represented a snapshot of the current situation in 1878. Most of the provinces with large number of immigrants were acted as stations for temporary accommodations before departing to settlement zones. But it is also probable to suggest by looking at the differences that most of the immigrant groups were settled in the same province without a change in their final settlement destination. At least, the majority of the figures provided by this list correspond with the statistics given to Talat Pasha (1874-1921) for assessing the demographics of the Ottoman Empire in 1916-17.²²

20 See Table 1.1.1

21 Cf. Compare the figures given for Adana, Kastamonu, Kosova, Selanik, Yanya in Y.PRK.KOM1878 column to the figures given by Erkan1996 and İpek2013 columns in Table 1.1.1

22 Cf. Murat Bardakçı, *Talât Paşa'nın Evrak-I Metrûkesi: Sadrazam Talât Paşa'nın Özel Arşivinde Bulunan Ermeni Tehciri Konusundaki Belgeler ve Hususî Yazışmalar*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2009), 35.

Table 2.1 1Total Number of Immigrants according to Five Sources.²³

Vilayet/Sancak	3 Registers	Erkan1996	Ipek2013	YPRKKOM78	Bardakçı
Adana		6,464	6,464	16,351	5,737
Ankara	44	20,735	20,735	15,000	29,785
Aydin	2,838	52,958	51,938	44,181	89,603
Beyrut			2,542		1,019
Kala-i Sultaniye	1,615	32,169	22,440		29,495
Canik	12,555			15,000	
Çatalca		1,557	1,557		8681
Diyarbakir		450	450	5,000	
Edirne		110,997	110,997	50,000	112,119
Erzurum		34,660	19,572		5,104
Haleb	2,718	1,556	1,556	15,586	1,068
Hüdavendigâr		171,157	169,283	68,513	214,310
İstanbul	35,224*			110,060*	
İşkodra	6410	8,178	2,346		2,800
İzmid	6,297	46,463	46,463		56,373
Karesi	15,524				65,565
Kastamonu		29,074	28,815	65,000	34,308
Konya		12,463	11,908	15,000	126,295
Kosova		63,336	58,535	95,000	61,314
Mamuretü'l-aziz	443	809	809		336
Manastır		3,310	1,651		2,192
Niğde	1,538				
Selanik	23,279	14,136	6,462	130,000	4,846

23 Part of these data can be found in the following article that I have previously published: Bayram Şen, "Shuttle Back and Forth Between Two Empires: The Petitions of Bosnian Muslim Migrants in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Archives at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Prilozi Za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 64 (2015): 330–31.

Vilayet/Sancak	3 Registers	Erkan1996	Ipek2013	YPRKKOM78	Bardakçı
Sinop	6,346				
Sivas		58,150	57,259	30,000	61,171
Suriye	6,711	10,859	10,789	34,436	9,178
Tokad	3,865				
Trabzon	1,131	38,076	35,189		
Yanya				10,000	

SOURCE: First Column: Y.PRK.KOM 3/49 (03.06.1882) published in Kemal Gürülkan et al., *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kafkas Göçleri*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012), 410–430. BEO 291/1 (16.11.1881) published in Berat Yıldız, “Emigrations from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire: An Analysis in the Light of the New Archival Materials” (M.A., Bilkent University, 2006), 34–35; 48; 53–58; 63–91; 95–104; 120–125. Y.PRK.KOM 3/22 (13.11.1881) published in Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, «Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı’na Göre (1877–78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir İskânı», *International Journal of History* 5, sayı 2 (March 2013): 347–387; Second Column: Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri (1878–1908): Tatarlar, Çerkezler, Abhazlar, Gürcüler, Ahıskanlılar, Dağıstanlılar, Çeçenler, Diğerleri*, 68–69. Third Column: Nedim İpek, “The Balkans, War and Migration,” in *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013), 651. Originally published in Nedim İpek, “Balkanlar, Girit ve Kafkaslar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler ve Göçmen İskân Birimlerinin Kuruluşu (1879– 1912),” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1995): 198–211. It is revised and enlarged as a part of chapter in, Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluk’tan Ulus Devlete: Göçler* (Trabzon: Serander Yayıncılık, 2006), 311–336. Probably the sources of the numbers are the same document Erkan uses; Fifth Column: BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 1/52, 2 Z. 1295 (27.11.1878); Murat Bardakçı, *Talât Paşa’nın Evrak-ı Metrûkesi: Sadrazam Talât Paşa’nın Özel Arşivinde Bulunan Ermeni Tehciri Konusundaki Belgeler ve Hususî Yazışmalar*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2009), 35.

These kinds of summarized statistical information on migrants were, possibly, derived from other kind of detailed registers of immigrants (muhacirin defterleri) in which the immigrants were categorized according to ethnic/religious affiliations, place of origin, gender and age. The size and comprehensiveness of these registers vary according to bureaucratic priorities.

These registers cover a long span of time, differentiate between different migration periods (most of the time they made a distinction whether the migrants arrived before or after the 93 Harbi) and provide a systematic division of migrants according to their ethno-geographical, or ethno-religious origins in conjunction with their settlement locations at the level of sancak, or vilayet.²⁴ These registers provide a bird-eye view of settlement process at the time they were produced. So they lack what others have; more detailed information on the migrants. In other words, these registers can shed light on, at least, ethnic/religious composition of the immigrants after the 93 Harbi. The first known example of these registers dates back to 13 November 1881 and covers the migrants settled in two provinces and one special district (mutasarrıflık), which are respectively Selanik, Sinob and İzmid.²⁵ The second example is more comprehensive in nature, compiled in the same month of 1881 and comprised of ethnical/religious distribution of immigrants across Biga, Niğde, Aydın, Ankara, Trabzon and Canik according to gender and arrival time.²⁶ The third and last example covers Karesi, Haleb, Mamuretü'l-aziz, Erbaa, İşkodra.²⁷ All three registers follows a standard categorization, they divide the immigrants according to their arrival time under religious/ethnic groups, and then, subdivide them according to gender. The first and the second registers provide a detailed settlement information dividing the vilayets according to sub-administrative divisions but the last one only uses provincial level for that information. The ethnic/religious groups are listed under three headings for the period before the 93 Harbi, and seven headings for the period after 93 Harbi including Circassians, Crimean Tatars and Nogais, Dagestanis, Soukhomis, Batumis for the ones originated from Caucasia and Rumelian Turks, Albanians, Bosnians for the ones originated from Rumelia.

24 For two distinct specimen of the type, see Yıldız, "Emigrations from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire: An Analysis in the Light of the New Archival Materials"; Paşaoğlu, "Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre (1877-78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir İskânı."

25 Y.PRK.KOM 3/22 (13.11.1881)

26 BEO 291/1 (16.11.1881)

27 Y.PRK.KOM 3/49 (03.06.1882)

Thanks to intensive empirical research efforts aimed at establishing connections between journal articles and memoirs and archive sources that are still awaiting cataloging and inaccessible, our understanding of the Ottoman state's immigration policy and regulatory agencies has significantly deepened.²⁸ Nevertheless, their emphasis on settlement must be substituted with a focus on migration as an ongoing process that does not conclude once the migrants have established themselves. The immigration/emigration framework should be enlarged, as well as the sole handling of mass movements of immigration as the study subject. However, their nationalist and state-based viewpoint primarily relies on the simplistic and unquestioning adoption of Kemal Karpaz and Justin McCarthy's views, which obscures the narratives of migration that involve conflict, struggle, and survival.

The catchphrase that has gained prominence in the last decade, particularly in the fields of late Ottoman / early Republican demographic history, political science, and population studies, is "demographic engineering." This term refers to the evaluation of population movements and their connection to power structures, as well as the assessment of the impact of ethnic-nationalism on social formations. This involves the critique and weakening of the simplistic belief in quantification, known as positivism, which is criticized for oversimplifying complex socio-political structures by reducing them to mere numbers and spreadsheets in an attempt to appear scientifically objective.²⁹ Additionally, it involves a re-evaluation of the state and its historical, economic, and political influence.³⁰ From this perspective, the

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- 28 Last work of Nedim İpek was an attempt but the state centered narrative and clear-cut nationalist explanations still persist. See *Göçler: İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete* (Trabzon: Serander Yayıncılık, 2006).
- 29 Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past & Present*, no. 85 (1979): 3–24; for a critical description of the overall debate, see Nancy Fitch, "Statistical Fantasies and Historical Facts: History in Crisis and Its Methodological Implications," *Historical Methods* 17, no. 4 (1984): 239–54; Jürgen Kocka, "Theories and Quantification in History," *Social Science History* 8, no. 2 (1984): 169–78.
- 30 Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); for a detailed survey in the same title, see Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current

concept of demography engineering, social engineering, and ethnicity engineering, among other forms of “engineering,” can be seen as a new and innovative viewpoint. The development of social engineering as an analytical tool is not solely a response to changes in social sciences and historical writing. It is a complex process that is influenced by various paths of scientific inquiry.³¹ However, the focus on governmental policies, planned and implemented in collaboration with independent or semi-independent social formations and institutions, highlights the need to reconsider the role of the state and its apparatus in shaping the population.

According to frequently cited authors, who link the increasing security concerns of modern states to the effects of transnational migration, “demographic engineering” goes beyond governments directly intervening to relocate or expatriate certain groups of people who are seen as a threat based on their ethnicity, religion, or politics. It also encompasses indirect strategies aimed at influencing the population’s size, composition, distribution, and growth rate, such as advocating for policies that encourage family reproduction and discourage abortion.³² Milica Zarkovic Bookman provides a comprehensive analysis of population politics, specifically highlighting the significance of ethnic nationalism. She delves into the several ways in which demographic engineering is employed to manipulate the population in the context of inter-ethnic conflicts within nation-states.³³ From her point of view, one ethnic group distinguishes itself from another by engaging in a struggle to gain political and economic dominance in a specific area. This struggle is not only characterized by violent tactics, but also by a more subtle approach known as the “war of numbers.” This encompasses various strate-

Research,” in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3–37.

- 31 Uğur Ümit Üngör, “Geographies of Nationalism and Violence: Rethinking Young Turk ‘Social Engineering,’” *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, no. 7 (2008), <http://ejts.revues.org/2583>.
- 32 Myron Weiner and Michael S. Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).
- 33 Milica Zarkovic Bookman, *The Demographic Struggle for Power: The Political Economy of Demographic Engineering in the Modern World* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1997).

gies, such as pronatalist policies and even ethnic cleansing, all aimed at achieving demographic superiority and thereby gaining power.³⁴ It is an additional method used in governance, where the state aims to eliminate or alter ethnic variety to serve its own objectives. Population movements can serve to promote nationalistic objectives or be employed as a strategy for resolving conflicts, whether through violent means or not. As a result, these government interventions make up a substantial share of all migrations and establish the state as an influential and favored participant in the realm of migration, diasporas, and refugees.³⁵

In the 19th century Ottoman context, the Ottoman State directly intervened to reorganize the ethnic and religious makeup of the Ottoman population. This intervention aimed to promote an officially induced program centered around "ethnic-nationalism" during the CUP period. This issue has gained prominence in recent years. Three notable and highly debated books in the sub-field of political history through population studies, also referred to as "Young Turk social engineering" studies by Üngör,³⁶ were written by Hans-Lukas Kieser,³⁷ Uğur Ümit Güngör,³⁸ and Fuat Dündar.³⁹ Regardless of their stance on openly accepting a "engineering" perspective, these scholars have made significant contributions to this sub-field, which continues to

34 Ibid., 1–3.

35 John McGarry, "‘Demographic Engineering’: The State-Directed Movement of Ethnic Groups as a Technique of Conflict Regulation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 4 (1998): 613–38, doi:10.1080/014198798329793.

36 Üngör, "Geographies of Nationalism and Violence."

37 Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Der verpasste Friede: Mission, Ethnie und Staat in den Ostprovinzen der Türkei 1839-1938* (Zürich: Chronos, 2000); for Turkish translation, see *İskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri’nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

38 Uğur Ümit Güngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

39 Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki’nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: Editions İletişim, 2001); *Modern Türkiye’nin Şifresi- İttihat ve Terakki’nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008); *Crime of Numbers: The Role of Statistics in the Armenian Question (1878-1918)* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

expand with the publication of articles in the past decade.⁴⁰ While the focus on comprehending the violent transition of the Ottoman Empire into multiple nation-states there has also been a reevaluation of the demographic makeup of the Ottoman Empire.

Kieser's comparative advantage, in contrast to others, is in his ability to address the shortcomings of "demographic/social/ethnicity engineering"⁴¹ in effectively analyzing the Ottoman state as the all-powerful entity responsible for the escalating violence that culminated in the massacres of the Armenian people. His narrative does not solely revolve around the Ottoman state and its provincial agents in relation to a passive provincial people, regardless of whether they are non-Muslim or Muslim. Instead, he examines and highlights the regional context of Van, Harput, and Urfa, shedding light on the historical actors within these areas. He also explores the role of Western missionaries in Anatolia, who represented the "universalism of Protestantism." Additionally, he delves into the impact of the Ottoman imperial administration, which was influenced by the dynamic interplay between local communities and the central bureaucracy. Through this action, he clearly distinguishes Tanzimat and its impact on forming the rival factions vying for control over area resources and power. Kieser's analysis challenges the notion that the "state" is the only entity responsible for decision-making. While the state's desire to establish centralized control of the region creates tension, it is not the sole actor. This tension arises from the missionary efforts to "civilize" non-Muslim groups like Armenians and Assyrians, as well as heterodox Muslim groups such as Kurdish and Turkish Alevis. Additionally, the central Ottoman government relies on the Sunni Muslim population. Kie-

40 For two significant articles on demographic engineering, see Nesim Şeker, "Demographic Engineering in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Armenians," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 3 (2007): 461–74; "Forced Population Movements in the Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic: An Attempt at Reassessment through Demographic Engineering," *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, no. 16 (2013), <http://ejts.revues.org/4396>; for a comprehensive overview of other contributions, see Üngör, "Geographies of Nationalism and Violence," paras. 12–20.

41 For an operative distinction between these three terms in the context off CUP's policies towards non-Muslim population, see Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi*, 27–40.

ser's analysis suggests that the ethnic violence was a result of the tension that was worsened by the military interventions of the Ottoman central government. The government's inability to provide incentives for the Sunni Muslim, ethnically Kurdish, provincial society to adopt "liberal" ways of incorporating into political life further contributed to this tension. In contrast, Western missionaries were successful in elevating the non-Muslim population, particularly the Armenian population, to the standards of the "civilized" world, primarily through educational institutions. According to Bookman, the division between religious communities eventually led to a significant conflict driven by ethnic persecution of Armenians, which he refers to as a "demographic power struggle."⁴² Kieser's comprehensive periodization, spanning from the Tanzimat era to the Republican modernization drive, places the Armenian atrocities within a framework of ongoing developments occurring at both the provincial and central levels.

Unlike Kieser, Dündar focuses primarily on analyzing the Turkification campaign that was carried out by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) during their entire control of the Ottoman Empire following the Bab-ı Ali coup d'état in 1913. This policy remained in force until the end of World War II. The process of Turkification was applied across several sectors, encompassing the entire governmental structure, population composition, and economic activities. Within the field of demographics, CUP sought to create a population that is ethnically homogeneous, primarily composed of Turkish individuals. In order to execute this goal, they utilized deportation and resettlement tactics with significant vigor, successfully changing the demographic composition of Anatolia. The arrival of Muslim migrants to the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan Wars brought both opportunities and challenges. An effort was undertaken to eradicate the varied ethnic identities of Balkan migrants, including Albanians, Bosnians, and Muslim Gypsies, by dispersing them in Anatolia, with the aim of reducing their representation to less than 10% and occasionally 5% of the total population. The program of

42 For a similar analysis focusing on Macedonia, see İpek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties: Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

assimilation through displacement and relocation was not exclusively focused on migrants, but also specifically targeted non-Muslim or non-Turkish ethnic groups, such as Arabs and Kurds, with the goal of establishing a Turkish majority. Dündar actively employed maps and censuses to strategically control and advance the process of Turkification.⁴³ In his second monograph, he expands upon this methodology, which is based on his doctoral dissertation. A dedicated chapter explores the application of CUP's instruments in the process of Turkification, including the examination of data, maps, and ethnographic field works.⁴⁴ The most recent creation of his work might be perceived as a definitive manifestation of the significance of the theme. His objective is to thoroughly examine and deconstruct the statistical methods, applications, publications, and procedures employed in the persecution and eradication of the Armenian population as a result of Turkification policies.⁴⁵

Dündar emphasized the ideological nature of the censuses when evaluating them, as opposed to considering them solely as administrative data sets. The organization, categories, and questions addressed in a survey are just as important as the numerical data they yield. Thus, his attention is divided into two distinct aspects: Firstly, he examines and evaluates the ethnic classifications of both Muslims and non-Muslims in the censuses. His second focus is on contrasting the official figures with those reported by Western observers, as well as the Greek, Armenian, and other populations.⁴⁶ However, he importantly creates a clear connection between censuses and ethnographic maps that are created based on the ethnic information collected from both general censuses and those focused solely on a specific region. He aims to

43 Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)*, 84–87; 123–27 and passim.

44 Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi*, 85–173.

45 Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*.

46 For Macedonia focusing on the same issues from the perspective of national identity formation, see İpek Yosmaoğlu Turner, "Counting Bodies, Shaping Souls: The 1903 Census and National Identity in Ottoman Macedonia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (2006): 55–77.

reconstruct the territorial definition of the Ottoman Empire as a nation-state by connecting numbers with geographical representation.

Regrettably, he does not explore other parallels between the educational utilization of maps as a means of Ottoman identity throughout the Hamidian era due to his narrow focus on the period of unsuccessful Ottomanist aspirations transitioning into a nationalist state.⁴⁷ Maps served as tools of ethnographic warfare in this novel context. However, this approach that focuses solely on state-generated maps has limits. It does not consider the more comprehensive range of maps that are made by ethno-religious communities themselves or commissioned to third parties. Furthermore, it fails to incorporate the concept of territoriality and its geographical consequences in the establishment of boundaries in conjunction with population strategies.⁴⁸ Indeed, Dündar's analysis is insufficient in explaining how the ideological imagination depicted in the maps regarding the future of the Ottoman Empire not only reveal a constructionist perspective but also had the ability to transform ethnic identities. This constructionist viewpoint supersedes all earlier geographical plans for reconstructing a "imperial" region, regardless of whether they were considered unsuccessful or not. It became evident during World War I among the nationalist leaders of the late Ottoman Empire.

Üngör's monograph explores the process by which the Turkish nation-state was created from the multi-confessional and multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, as indicated by the title.⁴⁹ Üngör's periodization, spanning from 1913 to 1950, creates a connection between the late Ottoman state and the Early Republican regime by grouping together the reign of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and its successor, the Republican People's Party

47 Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

48 For a more inclusive analysis, see Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties*, 79–130; for a formation of borders and transformation of population politics in regards with territoriality, see Sabri Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

49 Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey*.

(RPP), as the Young Turk era, following the approach of Zürcher.⁵⁰ Similar to Kieser, the author explicitly states that their approach follows Kieser's example, but with a greater emphasis. Üngör also redirects the attention to East Anatolia, highlighting it as the primary region where the Young Turk regime carried out demographic engineering.⁵¹ This is because ethnically diverse borderland areas were subjected to more extensive and brutal population policies.

Focusing on the unique geographical location of Eastern Anatolia, this paper examines the integration of this region into the Young Turks' long-term plan of establishing a Turkish nation-state that is ethnically homogeneous. The central focus of Üngör's research is the process of "incorporation," which encompasses not only the state's persecution and brutality against the ethnically diverse population of Eastern Anatolia, consisting primarily of Kurdish, Armenian, Greek, and Assyrian individuals, but also the many measures utilized in social engineering. Therefore, his chapter on educational and cultural policies as a component of social engineering is notable for its deliberate incorporation of a balanced blend of regional viewpoints intertwined with assimilation efforts influenced by the "Young Turk" movement and theories of "internal colonization."⁵² Üngör does not perceive a direct connection between "colonial" studies and social engineering. However, while examining the Young Turks' notions of "civilization" and the concept of being "civilized," one cannot help but notice the same thoughts on assimilation. The content presented in the subsequent pages regarding the Young Turk regime's viewpoint on the inferiority of Kurds compared to Turks in the 1930s is reminiscent of what Selim Deringil referred to as "borrowed colonialism" in relation to Makdisi's work. This concept reached its peak mani-

50 Erik J. Zürcher, "The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt At a New Periodization," *Die Welt Des Islams* 32, no. 2 (1992): 237–53.

51 Zürcher's short paper does not delineate a certain region and single out CUP: "The Late Ottoman Empire as Laboratory of Demographic Engineering" (Le Regioni Multilingui Come Faglia e Motore Della Storia Europea nel XIX-XX Secolo, Napoli, 2008), http://www.sissco.it/fileadmin/user_upload/Attivita/Convegni/regioni_multilingue/zurcher.pdf.

52 Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 170–217.

festation in Thomas Kühn's research on the Ottoman administration of Yemen. Deringil's formulation, which has been applied on multiple occasions to explain the process of marginalizing ethnic groups based on their level of civilization, appears to be deemed unsuitable for the field of Ottoman studies.⁵³ Üngör does not thoroughly examine İsmail Beşikçi's "internal colonization" thesis in relation to post-colonial criticism and the "social engineering perspective."

The scholarly research on late Ottoman history has primarily focused on a "engineering" perspective. This approach critiques the classical positivist viewpoint regarding demographic analysis. Instead, it reinterprets existing data sets through the lens of ethnic-nationalist ideology and regional priorities. These data sets include both official documents, which were influenced by the state, and unofficial sources like the Patriarchal censuses. The emphasis is not on determining the reliability of these sources, but rather on examining their implications. However, the same criticism has been replicated using the same analysis when evaluating the state as a historical entity that was likewise subject to change and available to negotiation at a certain time.⁵⁴ While the state exhibits benevolence towards Karpat and McCarthy, it demonstrates strength but also oppression and destructiveness towards Dündar and Üngör. Both parties, despite their contrasting viewpoints, agree on the obvious separation between the state and society, where statistical data holds significant importance. The engineering perspective has its own limitations. While not always the case, the historical impact of manufactured population can diminish the agency of individuals, similar to how a settlement might obscure the harsh truths of mass massacres and forced popula-

53 For the works mentioned and critical overview, see Vangelis Kechriotis, "Postcolonial Criticism Encounters Late Ottoman Studies," *Historein: A Review of the Past and Other Stories* 13 (2013): 39–46; for a more detailed analysis of colonialism in relation to Ottoman studies, see Edip Gölbaşı, "19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Emperyal Siyaseti ve Osmanlı Tarih Yazımında Kolonyal Perspektifler," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 13 (2011): 199–222.

54 For a detailed analysis of historical development of statehood in the long nineteenth century from a global perspective, see Charles S. Maier, "Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood," in *A World Connecting, 1870–1945* (Cambridge Mass.; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 27–282.

tion transfers.⁵⁵ In relation to this trend, the use of "demographic engineering" as an analytical tool incorporates the notion of the "state" as a powerful and accountable actor in the study of population movements. This concept allows for a fresh perspective on the relationship between the state and society, specifically in terms of the mobility transition described by Zelinsky⁵⁶ within the Ottoman context. Dündar and, to some extent, Üngör do not address the regional-level political implications of population dynamics within the "modernizing" Ottoman state and society during the nineteenth century. This includes the impact of evolving forms of social mobility and the imposition of regulations, both new and disguised as new, on communities considered dangerous due to their ethno-religious affiliations or criminal backgrounds. Mass migration and population movements, together with state violence and different forms of persecution, were closely associated with the concept of "modernity" in everyday life.⁵⁷ Put simply, it is necessary to combine a broad analysis of forced migration, deportation, and mass migration with a detailed examination of specific case studies,⁵⁸ as well as a thorough analysis of non-violent state policies aimed at manipulating population demographics in the ordinary aspects of daily life.⁵⁹

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- 55 Üngör, "Geographies of Nationalism and Violence," para. 11. Üngör does not have that in mind when he warns the fellow practitioners to avoid using perpetrators' vocabulary.
- 56 Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition," *Geographical Review* 61, no. 2 (1971): 219–49; for a critique in European context, see Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition in Europe Revisited, 1500–1900: Sources and Methods," *IISH Research Papers*, no. 46 (2010).
- 57 Cf. Nalan Turna, 19. *Yy'den 20. Yy'ye Osmanlı Topraklarında Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş Belgeleri: Mürûr Tezkereleri* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2013).
- 58 Oktay Özel, "Muhacirler, Yerliler ve Gayrimüslimler: Osmanlı'nın Son Devrinde Orta Karadeniz'de Toplumsal Uyumun Sınırları Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 5 (2007): 93–112; Oktay Özel, "Migration and Power Politics: The Settlement of Georgian Immigrants in Turkey (1878–1908)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2010): 477–96, doi:10.1080/00263206.2010.492984.
- 59 See, Gülhan Balsoy, *The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society, 1838–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013). Balsoy's study on reproduction did not utilize "demographic engineering" perspective *per se* nevertheless it is indispensable to understand "modern" Ottoman state and its non-violent policies on population. For another discussion of certain

Therefore, the issue of scale arises when considering the late Ottoman Empire, which, despite experiencing significant territorial losses, nonetheless poses a significant difficulty due to its extensive geography populated by diverse ethno-religious societies. How can an analysis of migration history in the Ottoman Empire explain the simultaneous development of nation-building on a large scale and the impact on families, people, cities, and social networks, without downplaying the violent nature of the ruling power? Although Karpat expresses reluctance to draw from European migration studies, historical migration studies, or migration history, it remains the most reliable resource for obtaining significant insights rather than rapid solutions.

Pooley argues that the motivation for creating a migration research was to offer practical resolutions to the social, economic, and political challenges posed by large-scale migrations from rural areas to urban centers, as well as European transatlantic migration.⁶⁰ Migration has been depicted as detrimental social phenomenon. Historically, prevailing paradigms focused on concepts such as the capitalist world crises, the distinctive nature of industrialization as a transitional phase, or the exceptional nature of Western experience, as articulated by Jan and Leo Lucassen. Due to the impact of these unfavorable attitudes towards migration and migrants, pre-industrial Europe is often depicted as a stable civilization whose settled customs in both rural and urban areas limited large population changes. Political reasons are the only catalysts for mass population shifts within this research framework.⁶¹

repercussions of CUP's population policies, see Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, "A Climate for Abduction, a Climate for Redemption: The Politics of Inclusion during and after the Armenian Genocide," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55, no. 03 (2013): 522–53.

60 Colin G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte, "Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change," in *Migrants, Emigrants, and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration*, ed. Colin G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 1–15.

61 Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern; Berlin; Frankfurt a. M.; New York; Paris; Wien: Peter Lang, 1997), 9; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "European Migration History,"

The conventional framework for European migration history did not undergo sudden transformation. Two interrelated yet distinct influences should be emphasized while considering the shift in paradigm. The first approach focuses on analyzing the demographic history and the enhancement of historical sources such as baptism records, local population listings, official censuses, settlement certificates, etc. It also addresses methodological challenges in utilizing these sources to identify evidence of migration, despite the fact that none of these documents were specifically intended to document migration comprehensively. The second one focused on the social history of migration, which prompted a re-evaluation of migration and the motivations of migrants as a complex set of interconnected elements, rather than being just influenced by push/pull dynamics.⁶² The attention on migrants has shifted, recognizing that migration involves several actors and is influenced by variables outside politics and economics. It is a complicated process that does not always have a clear starting point or conclusion. The first shift led to the emergence of urban social history and sociology intertwined with migration studies, influenced by a Marxist perspective and complemented by post-colonial critique.⁶³ The second shift involved comprehensive and long-term studies that viewed population movements as systems or transnational networks spanning all of human history, from prehistoric times to the present day.⁶⁴

Lucassen and Lucassen, in their comprehensive analysis of contemporary developments compared to traditional frameworks, based on the findings of the 1993 conference, outline the accomplishments of a holistic approach.

in *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, ed. Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn (New York: Routledge, 2013), 52–53.

62 Nora Lafi, “The Ottoman Urban Governance of Migrations and the Stakes of Modernity,” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (London: Routledge, 2011), 9–10.

63 Ibid., 9–10; 12–13.

64 Leo Lucassen, “Migration and World History: Reaching a New Frontier,” *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 1 (2007): 89–96. For a nearly perfect specimen, see Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

This approach effectively addresses the distinctions between free and unfree migrations, as well as labor migrants and refugees. It also resolves the dichotomy between "good" and "bad" migrants, facilitating the reintegration of ethnic and migration studies. Lastly, it expands the boundaries of "modern periods and states" to enable well-structured comparisons across different time periods and geographical locations.⁶⁵ They cite Leslie Page Moch, whose monograph⁶⁶ on migration networks in Europe from the seventeenth century has made significant contributions to the aforementioned accomplishments. "Through the composition of this historical account on migration, my intention is to incorporate the patterns of movement into our understanding of preindustrial existence, rural manufacturing, the industrial revolution, and urban development. Migration is a pervasive phenomenon that is observed at all levels of historical analysis."⁶⁷ However, six years prior to the publication of the edited volume and just one year before the conference took place, Colin G. Pooley and Ian D. White, who are experienced in long-term perspectives but more inclined towards "empirical" social history, acknowledge the limited number of studies that have attempted to compare different locations and time periods, as well as the absence of broader contextualization for highly detailed studies,⁶⁸ as they address the fundamental issues in migration research.

In fact, similar issues may be found in the field of Ottoman migration studies, which has a wealth of historical research, albeit it is primarily focused on "mostly phenomenologically or regionally fractured" historiography.⁶⁹ According to Lafi, the first focus of Ottoman migration history

65 Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives," 37.

66 Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003).

67 Ibid., 21.

68 Pooley and Whyte, "Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change," 5.

69 Ulrike Freitag et al., "Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity in the Ottoman Empire and Beyond," in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (London: Routledge, 2011), 1.

should encompass both the global perspective necessary for understanding a large empire, as well as the local impact of migration on urban communities.⁷⁰ Karpāt's objective in his chapter on Istanbul in the Ottoman Population is to do that. He redefines the changes in urban and imperial socio-economic institutions in relation to population shifts, which bring about the emergence of new social classes and the decline of existing ones. This occurs in a city where capitalist businesses and market interactions are thriving due to the arrival of immigrants.⁷¹ In his previous work, the author examined how migration serves as a catalyst for urbanization and social change in a distinct cultural and geographical context. Specifically, he focused on the influence of immigration on the development of new urban communities from a provincial standpoint.⁷² In the 1980s and 1990s, a series of Ottoman social urban studies examined various aspects of urbanization using different methodologies, such as world-system theory and anthropology. These studies focused on the growing social mobility, changes in urban settlement patterns, the administration of Ottoman cities, and their relationship with the local population. They aimed to understand urbanization as a reflection of socio-economic developments, as well as how Ottoman "modernity" operated through centralization policies during the Tanzimat and Hamidian era.⁷³

These localized, in-depth studies conducted at a small or city level can be utilized to develop classifications for different features of urban migration.⁷⁴ This allows for a more comprehensive comparison of migrant groups at an intermediate level, facilitating a better understanding of how migration

70 Lafi, "The Ottoman Urban Governance of Migrations and the Stakes of Modernity," 11.

71 Karpāt, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914*, 86-105.

72 Kemal H. Karpāt, "Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856-1878," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 3, no. 1 (1985): 1-25.

73 For a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, see Stefan Weber, *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808-1918)*, 2 vols. (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2009).

74 For a tentative example on migrant identity in Ottoman context, see Lafi, "The Ottoman Urban Governance of Migrations and the Stakes of Modernity," 16-19.

routes are socially constructed.⁷⁵ Hoerder's proposal, referred to as "extending economist approach," aims to incorporate the decision-making, behavior, and motivations of individual migrants within the context of family and network economies. This is achieved by analyzing the broader systems of segmentation on a meso-level. According to the economist schema, migration is viewed as a mechanism for aligning human resources with perceived opportunities. The decision to migrate is not solely influenced by regional, national, or international economies and their demand for relocated human resources. Instead, it is influenced by a combination of administrative policies and market forces. Instead, family economies and their extended networks regularly evaluate both productive requirements and a blend of intangible emotional and spiritual factors, along with economic incentives, to optimize their social and cultural status relative to other interconnected family economies operating within a network of segmented economic activities. Therefore, families utilize economic and social aspects to determine the most effective strategy for survival or advancement. This occurs on the meso-level, where networks and sectors of the global system interact and mediate. Regrettably, he excludes the concept of "forced migration" from the outset as his entire reasoning is predicated on the desires of all parties involved.⁷⁶

That said, the question is still unanswered. While there are other alternative approaches, many of them would include solving puzzles without a comprehensive framework that aims to offer a holistic understanding. When solving a problem, it is beneficial to have a visual representation to refer to. In the late Ottoman era, the understanding of nineteenth century migrations is hindered due to the scarcity, or at least incomplete nature, of research focused on migration as a widespread phenomenon.⁷⁷ It is crucial to prioritize

75 Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 57–72.

76 Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Process," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 73–84.

77 Recently, an important work to fill this gap has been published in Turkish by Fuat Dündar. It deals with migrations to the Ottoman Empire with a holistic approach, including returns

the return to quantitative analysis and initiate the process of re-mapping migration in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. This should involve utilizing new sources, critically examining existing ones, and employing statistical quantification methods to analyze qualitative data. Additionally, taking advantage of new technologies will allow for the formulation of more intricate research inquiries that focus on spatial relationships over time.⁷⁸

§ 2.2 In Search of Belonging: A Literature Review on Bosnian Emigration

The emigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while numerically less than other Balkan or Caucasian migrations, turned into an area of conflict for the fading Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. Through these emigrants, the reigning empires endeavored to consolidate their authority and gradually revised their policies towards them over time. Immediately upon the Austro-Hungarian occupation, for the Ottoman Empire, Bosnian Muslims were a subject who were supposed to stay there in the expectation that those lands would one day be recaptured, while later on, especially with the pan-Islamist policies of Abdülhamid II, they were particularly encouraged to emigrate in order to Islamize the lands that had remained in the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, this dualistic paradigm was equally relevant for the Austro-Hungarian

in the discussion: Fuat Dundar, *Hicret, Dîn ü Devlet: Osmanlı Göç Politikası (1856-1908)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021).

- 78 For a general evaluation on the possible new venues to explore, see David J. Bodenhamer, “History and GIS: Implications for the Discipline,” in *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship*, ed. Anne Kelly Knowles (Redlands, Cal.: ESRI Press, 2008), 219–35. For a detailed discussion on methodologies available to integrate spatial analysis, see Ian Gregory and Paul S. Ell, *Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies, and Scholarship* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For a specific example of implications, see Andrew A. Beveridge, “Immigration, Ethnicity, and Race in Metropolitan New York, 1900-2000,” in *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History*, ed. Anne Kelly Knowles (Redlands, Cal.: ESRI Press, 2002), 65–79.

Empire. The opening of the borders for those who emigrated after the occupation was subsequently closed and even a number of actions were taken for the return of those who had already emigrated. There are numerous academic researches on the emigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire. In addition to monographs that primarily address the emigration of Bosnian Muslims, there are also studies that cover emigration in a narration as a part of the political, social or economic phenomenon in Bosnia as a subsection in the scholarly publications. This part of the chapter is intended to investigate how recent contributions have intensified these emigration debates, through a review of early works published in the wake of the occupation or a period slightly afterwards.

Jovan Cvijić was one of the first scholars to highlight the significance of geography in addressing all social mobilizations in the Balkans in general and Bosnia in particular. In his 1908 book "The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serb Problem"⁷⁹ and his 1910 study on the emigration of Bosnian Muhamedans⁸⁰, he described how geographical conditions created difficulties for emigration. He elaborates on the decisions taken by the Austro-Hungarian administration and the ways in which they characterized emigration, why the Ottoman Empire was religiously attractive to emigrants, the significance of Bosnia for Serbs, and their emigration to Serbia and the population shifts according to the official censuses conducted by Austro-Hungary.⁸¹ In his article, Cvijić stressed that economic reasons were generally decisive, and that this was especially due to the land reforms and population policies of the Austro-Hungarian administration. Cvijić also refers to the solidarity networks established by the emigrants on the migration routes that passed through Belgrade and continued on to the Ottoman Empire. The

79 Jovan Cvijić, *АНЕКСИЈА БОСНЕ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ И СРПСКИ ПРОБЛЕМ* [*Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i Srpski Problem*] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1908); Jovan Cvijić, *The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Serb Problem* (London: H. Cox, 1909); Jovan Cvijić, *L'annexion de la Bosnie et la question serbe* (Paris: Hachette, 1909).

80 Jovan Cvijić, "О ИСЕЉАВАЊУ БОСАНСКИХ МУХАМЕДАНАЦА [О Iseljavanju Bosanskih Muhamedanaca]," *Književni Glasnik*, June 16, 1910.

81 Cvijić, *АНЕКСИЈА БОСНЕ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ И СРПСКИ ПРОБЛЕМ* [*Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i Srpski Problem*], 31–35.

article also touches upon the points of resistance against emigration. Cvijić's work, which is important because it is one of the first to be inscribed, is in the form of a declaration of knowledge rather than being critical or analytical within the conditions of the period.

Gaston Gravier's article "Emigration of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina", published in Serbian⁸² in *Pregled Journal* and in French⁸³ in *La Revue de Paris* in 1911, was considered one of the first sources on the emigration of Bosnian Muslims. In his article, Gravier provides a particularly European perspective, arguing that the main reason for the emigration of Bosnian Muslims was an economy. He underlines that the economic constraints experienced by the Muslim landowners (aga and beys) under the Austro-Hungarian regime in the ensuing period justified the emigration. In other words, the landowners who failed to keep up with the new regulations introduced by the "new regime" or who were in an economically difficult situation triggered the emigration.⁸⁴ The repressive policies of the new regime concerning Bosnian Muslims after the occupation were also instrumental at this stage.⁸⁵ In both Gravier's and Cvijić's works, an orientalist discourse also can be observed. This perspective, which portrays Muslims as desperate and dispossessed, also depicts the European perception of the period. The parts where both scholars explain that economic conditions caused emigration are quite understandable. However, the belonging / identity and religious characteristics of Bosnian Muslims remain underemphasized.

In 1950, Vojislav Bogičević in the journal *Historijski zbornik* evaluated the emigration of Bosnian Muslims to Turkey from a more political standpoint.⁸⁶ Emphasizing that the repressive policies of the Austro-Hungarian administration in particular caused the emigration, Bogičević also concen-

82 Gaston Gravier, "Emigracija Muslimana Iz Bosne i Hercegovine," *Pregled* 7–8 (1911).

83 Gaston Gravier, "L'Émigration Des Musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine," *Revue de Paris*, 1911, 213–24.

84 Ibid., 213–15.

85 Ibid., 215–17.

86 Vojislav Bogičević, "Emigracije Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u Doba Austro-Ugarske Vladavine 1878-1918 God.," *Historijski Zbornik*, 1950, 175–88.

trates on the political marginalization of Muslims and partly Serbs, who were economically excluded. For emigrants struggling to preserve their identity in this oppressive process, emigration signified an inevitable end. Especially during the Kallay period of 1882-1902, he states that there was no opposition, by mentioning the absence of political parties and labor movements. He remarks that the local press, which was relatively numerous, could not write anything in opposition to the new regime in general and to the problems caused by emigration and the negligence of the regime in particular. In the years following the first period of occupation, the emigration was a situation that should not have been well known in the first place and was undesirable in terms of foreign policy. Bogičević's article was handled with a Marxist approach due to the conditions of the period and more attention was paid to the socio-political and economic aspects of the migrations. It should also be considered as the first comprehensive critical work on the migration of Bosnian Muslims.

Kemal Karpat made significant contributions to the literature on Bosnian emigrants through his works. In his studies, Karpat emphasizes the relatively small presence of Bosnian Muslim emigrants in the demographic composition of the Ottoman Empire. However, he highlights the political relevance of Bosnian Muslim emigrants and argues that these emigrants also led to reforms in the Ottoman administrative structure. In his article titled "The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Resistance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Occupation in 1878,"⁸⁷ Karpat analyzes the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in a political sphere and discusses the strategic responses of the Ottoman Empire to it. He also clarifies the political stance of the Ottoman Empire against the occupation and the diplomatic crisis with Austria-Hungary at this point.⁸⁸ On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire tried to diplomatically recognize the Austrian occupation by the Treaty of Berlin, and

87 Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Resistance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Occupation in 1878," in *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878 godine u Bosni i Hercegovini: Sarajevo, 23 i 24 oktobra 1978*, ed. Milorad Ekmečić (Saraybosna: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979), 147–72.

88 Ibid., 147–50.

on the other hand, it partially endorsed the resistance against the aggression. However, this resistance also reveals the Ottoman Empire's indecisiveness in foreign policy and the changing attitudes towards the conflicts from different periods. This ambivalence, on the other hand, is analyzed to have turned into a resistance that brought Bosnian Muslims and Orthodox Christians together and a quest for independence against the Austro-Hungarian aggression. He details the ways in which Bosnian Muslims responded to the resistance and explains that the resistance should be considered not only as a political but also as a social movement. He underlines the strategies developed by the Ottoman administration against this situation.⁸⁹ According to him, the resistance that emerged in the aftermath of the occupation transformed also Austria's policies and resulted in an atmosphere that led to emigration.⁹⁰

The article entitled "The Migration of the Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman State, 1878-1914: An Account Based on Turkish Sources" in the book Karpas co-edited with Markus Koller in 2004 focuses on the emigration that took place after the ambivalent attitude of the Ottoman Empire and the oppressive policies of Austria-Hungary. Emphasizing that the political maneuvering of the Ottoman Empire between occupation and resistance actually persisted with regard to emigration and emigrants. By referring to the dualist attitude of Abdülhamid II, especially with regard to emigrants, he presents narratives on the extent to which this was at the center of the conflict between empires [p.125-127]. The periodization of emigration is also underlined and a discussion of identity in terms of those who stayed and those who left takes a central role. The transformation process experienced by Bosnian Muslims with the emigration, their resettlement conditions and their place in the general population mobility are described. In parallel with Karpas's demographic studies, data on the number of emigrations of Bosnian Muslims based on archival and secondary sources are also presented. In

89 Ibid., 149–51.

90 Kemal H. Karpas, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: BRILL, 2002), 372–73; Kemal H. Karpas and Robert W. Zens, "I. Meşrutiyet Dönemi ve II. Abdülhamid'in Saltanatı (1876-1909)," in *Türkler* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Araştırma ve Yayın Merkezi, 2002), 877.

sum, Karpat's studies analyze both the social change caused by the numerically small emigration of Bosnian Muslims and the political circumstances of the period in terms of empires and socio-political situations in terms of societies. The view that the emigration accelerated the process of Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia is supported by statistics.⁹¹

Following Kemal Karpat's comprehensive study, Robert Donia's research published in 1981 "Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914"⁹² focuses on the political and social changes of Bosnian Muslims under the new administration. The study draws attention to the significance of the Bosnian Muslims' struggle for cultural and religious autonomy under the Dual Monarchy, claiming that it was one of the first examples of political mobilization in the modern period.⁹³ He also indicates that it is a process that advances through personal networks and evolves over time. Focusing his study on three cities (Sarajevo, Mostar and Travnik), Donia argues that emigration was a radical response, as a form of Bosnian protest, to the new administrative structures implemented after the Austro-Hungarian occupation.⁹⁴ Donia emphasizes that the Austro-Hungarian administration supported modernization through its reforms, but Bosnian Muslims were unable to adapt to their traditional social, socio-political and economic situation, which fueled alienation. He focuses on the integration efforts of the Muslim community against the Dual Monarchy and the reform

91 Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149–54.

92 Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (Boulder New York: East European Quarterly; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981).

93 Ibid., xiii–xv.

94 Ibid., 30; Robert J. Donia, "The Habsburg Imperial Army in the Occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina," in *Insurrections, Wars and the Eastern Crisis in the 1870s*, ed. Bela Kiraly and Gale Stokes, vol. 17 (Boulder, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 381. For military details of the occupation: Robert J. Donia, "The Battle for Bosnia: Habsburg Military Strategy in 1878," in *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878 godine u Bosni i Hercegovini: Sarajevo, 23 i 24 oktobra 1978*, ed. Milorad Ekmečić (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979), 109–21.

initiatives developed with the new administration, especially through the non-emigrants. In his study with John V.A Fine, the research examines the Habsburg administration's efforts to include Muslims in the trialist structure within the inter-imperial political tension and to improve the conditions of the local community both in class and cultural terms by reforming them.⁹⁵

In the 1990s, the Historical Institute of Sarajevo published "Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina" (Migration and Bosnia and Herzegovina), a volume of the proceedings of the conference on Migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Middle Ages to the present day, held in October 1989.⁹⁶ In this book, which consists of the contributions of nearly fifty researchers, there are about ten works dealing with the emigration to the Ottoman Empire during the Austro-Hungarian period. In this selection, which also includes general information about this emigration, there are actually studies that contain very important nuances about the social, political, economic and religious reasons for the emigration. Among these studies, Iljas Hadžibegović⁹⁷, Milorad Ekmečić⁹⁸ and Miroslav Niškanović's⁹⁹ analyses of population and emigration provide insight into the dimensions of migration. Avdo Sućeska's study¹⁰⁰ focusing on the change of agricultural relations, Đorđe

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- 95 Robert J. Donia and John V. A. Jr Fine, *Bosnia & Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 93–110.
 - 96 Nusret Šehić et al., eds., *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990).
 - 97 Iljas Hadžibegović, "Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 7–11.
 - 98 Milorad Ekmečić, "Apologija Istorijske Demografije," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 11–31.
 - 99 Miroslav Niškanović, "Pregled Etnoloških Istraživanja Migracija i Porijekla Stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 31–43.
 - 100 Avdo Sućeska, "Uticaj migracionih kretanja na oblikovanje agrarnih odnosa u BiH u periodu osmanske vladavine," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 109–19.

Mikić's study¹⁰¹ on the Austro-Hungarian persecution of the Catholic population in rural areas, Nusret Šehić's¹⁰² legal background on migration and immigration policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1918 and 1921, Ejup Mušović's study¹⁰³ on the emigration of Sancak Muslims to Turkey and Macedonia, Muhamed Filipović's study¹⁰⁴ emphasizing the moral aspects of migration for those who left and those who stayed, as well as Tomislav Kraljačić's study¹⁰⁵ focusing on the return of Bosnian Muslims, which is the subject and inspiration of this thesis, complement each other. Especially with the inclusion of a discussion section¹⁰⁶, it shows how emigration was reflected in the historiography of the period by researchers of different disciplines and tendencies. The clash/interaction between the influences of Marxist historiography at a time when Yugoslavia was in its last days and the new generation historiography of the period that kept pace with the changing era has produced a remarkable work.

In the same years, a comprehensive history of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, edited by the prominent historian of Russia and demography Mark Pinson, was published in the Western world. "The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina Under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918" focuses on the gen-

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- 101 Đorđe Mikić, "O kolonizaciji stranih seljaka u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme austrougarske uprave," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 181–95.
 - 102 Nusret Šehić, "Politika iseljavanja i useljavanja na području Bosne i Hercegovine 1918–1921," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 195–223.
 - 103 Ejup Mušović, "O posleratnim migracijama sandžačkih Muslimana u Tursku i Makedoniju," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 453–61.
 - 104 Muhamed Filipović, "Migracija i duhovna situacija u Bosni i Hercegovini," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 475–79.
 - 105 Tomislav Kraljačić, "Povratak Muslimanskih Iseljenika Iz Bosne i Hercegovine U Toku Prvog Balkanskog Rata," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 151–62.
 - 106 Nusret Šehić et al., eds., "Diskusija," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 585–635.

eral political situation after the occupation and the examples of resistance developed by Muslims under the new Habsburg rule.¹⁰⁷ The most prominent example of resistance, emigration, began in the immediate aftermath of the occupation. He argues that the main reasons for emigration were the inability to maintain their own identity under the new administration and the economic difficulties experienced as a result of land reforms. He discusses the process of formation of a Muslim identity for the remaining Muslims within Austrian policies in the new province. In this sense, he adds that the emigrants also shaped the political and social situation of those who remained in Bosnia, and that the Ottomans, in the process of controlling this emigration, were a power source in the re-establishment of their local and central authority.¹⁰⁸

Aydın Babuna's dissertation¹⁰⁹, written in 1996, focuses on the process of constructing the identity of Bosnian Muslims under the Austro-Hungarian rule and the tensions between the Bosnian Muslim elite and the new administration during this formation period. Babuna's dissertation, which can be considered as one of the most detailed studies on the history of Bosnian Muslims, focuses on the political maneuvering of the Bosnian Muslim elite during the break with the Ottoman Empire and its aftermath. It also focuses on the development of national consciousness and the opposition movement for Bosnian Muslims who entered a process of modernization with the Austro-Hungarian rule. Although the study does not focus on the emigration of Bosnian Muslims in general, it provides a broad political, social and sociological background that constitutes the reasons for migration. It provides detailed information on the transformations within emigration studies and suggests that the reasons for migration include economic hardship, the loss-

107 Mark Pinson, "The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918," in *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, ed. Mark Pinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 84-128.

108 Ibid., 86-91.

109 Aydın Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichisch-ungarischen Periode* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996).

es of the Bosnian Muslim elite through land reforms, and religious reasons. In other words, it analyzes the decline in the economical and then social status of the marginalized Muslim population over time and the opposition mounted against it. The evaluation of emigration is also contextualized within this tension. It analyzes not only the emigration of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman lands, but also its impact on the balance of power in Bosnia and the regulations of the Ottoman Empire that encouraged and then facilitated emigration.

Babuna, Donia, and Pinson's studies concentrate on the history of resistance and opposition to the emerging Austro-Hungarian regime and, in the course of time, on the Bosnian Muslims' construction of their own identity. In this process, Bosnian Muslims, who were at the center of inter-imperial conflicts, were caught in the middle of mutual maneuvering as an agency and had to reconstruct their own identities. The process itself required them to be in a state of change and transformation at the social, political and socio-economic level. At this point, while these studies address the emigration of Bosnian Muslims at the general level, they also serve as a reference for studies to be conducted in particular.¹¹⁰

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- 110 There are studies that take emigration as a fact within Bosnia's longue durée history. In some studies, emigration is dealt with peripherally. Each of them offers important clues for understanding the whole period. On some examples, see: Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 359–77; Ivo Banac, “Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Post-Communist Statehood, 1918–1992,” in *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, ed. Mark Pinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 131–33; Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 93–103. Martha M. Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Herzegovina (1878–1914)* (Bern; Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1987), <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/18350371.html>; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: MacMillan, 1994); Mustafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955–1967* (Zürich: Bošnjački Institut, 1996); Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976); Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1998); Ramiza Smajić, *Migracije i Bosanski ejalet 1683–1718*, Historijske monografije, Knjiga 24 (Sarajevo:

Fikret Adanır published an article in 2002 in a book co-edited with Suraiya Faruqi entitled “The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography” in which Adanır drew attention to the processes by which Bosnian Muslims formed a Muslim identity. In his study entitled “The Formation of a ‘Muslim’ Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion”¹¹¹, Adanır analyzes the emigration of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman lands not only as a population movement, but also as a process of identity formation as a result of the Habsburg domination, the ongoing Ottoman relations in the region and its policy towards Bosnia. Adanır argues that this emigration was not merely motivated by religious or economic reasons, but also the result of political and economic pressures such as conscription, additional taxes and land reforms imposed by the Austro-Hungarian administration. He also presents the dual approaches of both empires towards emigration and emigrants by focusing on their internal political conflicts.

The most comprehensive study on the emigration of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman lands was conducted by Safet Bandžović in the 2000s. Bandžović's

Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Institut za historiju, 2022); Xavier Bougarel, “Od ‘Muslimana’ do ‘Bošnjaka’: Pitanje Nacionalnog Imena Bosanskih Muslimana,” in *Rasprave O Nacionalnom Identitetu Bošnjaka*, ed. Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2009); Xavier Bougarel, *Bosnie: anatomie d'un conflit*, Les dossiers de “L'état du monde” (Paris: la Découverte, 1996); Ivo Andrić, “Die Entwicklung des geistigen Lebens in Bosnien unter der Einwirkung der türkischen Herrschaft” (Graz, University of Graz, 1924); Ivo Andrić, *The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule*, ed. John F Loud, trans. Želimir B Juričić (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1990), <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1167741>; Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton: Princeton university press, 1995); Tone Bringa et al., *Bosnian Muslims* (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1996); Kemal Bašić, “Osmanlı Devleti'nin Bosna – Hersek Müslümanlarıyla Dini İlişkileri (Ayrılıştan 1914'e)” (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İslam Tarihi Ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, 1998).

- 111 Fikret Adanır, “The Formation of a ‘Muslim’ Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion,” in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Faruqi, Suraiya (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 267–304.

work¹¹², published in 2006, is a comprehensive study based on Ottoman and Bosnian (includes also Yugoslav) archives. The variety of documents sheds a detailed light on the emigration, emigration routes and resettlement of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman territory. In his analysis of the causes of emigration, Bandžović argues that Bosniaks were marginalized religiously and culturally under the Austro-Hungarian rule and forced to emigrate by economic pressures. Despite the resistance and opposition, he sees the attitude of the Habsburg administration not as a negotiation, but as a policy aimed at the de-Islamization of the lands. In his works “Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci”¹¹³ and “Bošnjaci i Deosmanizacija Balkana”¹¹⁴ he focuses on the political reasons behind the Ottoman Empire's forced withdrawal from the Balkans and the effects of this process on the emigration of Muslims from the Balkans to Ottoman lands. He also underlines that the emigration of Muslims from the Balkans was not an individual choice but a necessity within the social transformation. In his work “Bošnjaci i Turska”¹¹⁵, he focuses on the general narratives about the hardships of Bosnian Muslims who emigrated to Ottoman lands and their integration in their settlements. Bandžović provides details about the emigration of Bosnian Muslims in his works, as well as a detailed comparison of the population movements of Muslims throughout the Balkans.¹¹⁶ This comparison makes it easier to un-

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

113 Safet Bandžović, *Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci: Ratovi i Muhadžirska Pribježišta (1876-1923)* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2013).

114 Safet Bandžović, *Bošnjaci i Deosmanizacija Balkana: Muhadžirski Pokreti i Pribježišta “Sultanovih Musafira” (1683.-1875.)* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2013).

115 Safet Bandžović, *Bošnjaci i Turska: Deosmanizacija Balkana i Muhadžirski Pokreti u XX Stoljeću* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2014).

116 For further studies of Bandžović about emigration of the Muslims: Safet Bandžović, “Between Deosmanization and Balkanization: Refugee's Steps of Bosniak History,” *Historijski Pogledi* 1, no. 1 (October 30, 2018): 36–74, doi:10.52259/historijskipogledi.2018.1.1.36; Bandžović, *Bošnjaci I Turska*; Safet Bandžović, “Bošnjačka Vjerska Inteligencija Austrougarskog Perioda,” *Context: Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 135–41, doi:10.55425/23036966.2021.8.1.135; Safet Bandžović, *Iseljavanje muslimanskog stanovništva Crne Gore u Tursku* (Podgorica: Matica muslimanska Crne Gore, 2011); Safet Bandžović,

derstand where Bosnian Muslims fit in. However, it is possible that Bandžović's emigration narrative, which can be considered one-sided in some places, is limited within the modern migration narrative.

In Turkey's academia, the most detailed study on the emigration of Bosnian Muslims belongs to Fahriye Emgili with her PhD thesis in 2011.¹¹⁷ In her study titled "Migration From Bosnia And Herzegovina To Turkey (1878-1934)", Emgili wrote all the details of the migration from the Austro-Hungarian period to the Ottoman Empire based on an extensive archival study. Fahriye Emgili's dissertation concentrates on the maintenance of Bosnian emigration in the inter-war period. Emphasizing the organizational and administrative processes that enabled this emigration. The dissertation accentuates the active role of the Ottoman Empire in facilitating the settlement of Bosnian emigrants, considering them as welcome contributions to the population and also to the economy.¹¹⁸ Emgili makes the emigration discourse more concrete by emphasizing local examples such as settlement schemes in Anatolia. The settlement part, which is partially missing in Bandžović's study, finds more space in Fahriye Emgili's work. She also makes important contributions, especially on Turkey's attitude towards emigration in the Republican era.

Iseljavanje Muslimana iz Sandžaka, Muslimische Bibliothek (Sarajevo: Biblioteka Ključanin, 1991); Safet Bandžović, *Iseljavanje muslimanskog stanovništva iz Srbije i Crne Gore tokom XIX stoljeća* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1998); Safet Bandžović, "Uzroci muhadžirskih pokreta iz Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1912," *Almanah*, no. 48-49 (2010): 89-129; Safet Bandžović, "Balkanski Ratovi i Muhadžirski Pokreti (1912/1913).," *Pregled* 53, no. 1 (January 2012): 31.

117 Fahriye Emgili, "Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)" (PhD, Ankara University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of History, 2011). It was published in 2012: Fahriye Emgili, *Boşnakların Türkiye'ye Göçleri (1878-1934)* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2012).

118 Fahriye Emgili, "Avusturya-Macaristan İşgalindeki Bosna-Hersek'ten Göçler: Bosna-Hersek Kaynaklarına Göre bir İnceleme," in *Türk Tarihinde Balkanlar*, ed. Zeynep İskefiyeli, M. Bilal Çelik, and Serkan Yazıcı (Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi, Balkan Araştırmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2013).

In 2013, Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular defended her groundbreaking doctoral dissertation on Austro-Hungarian Bosnia.¹¹⁹ “Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, 1878-1914”, Amzi-Erdoğdular makes a unique contribution to the literature by examining the changing/transforming relations of Bosnian Muslims with the Ottoman Empire during the Dual Monarchy period and their processes with the new administration. In her thesis, Amzi-Erdoğdular argues that the relations of the Muslims in Bosnia, which was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the Ottoman Empire were continuous rather than interrupted, in other words, the Bosnian Muslims' loyalty to the Ottoman Empire continued, through references to archival documents, newspapers and publications of the period. The dissertation endeavors to explain with examples the continuation of the Ottoman Empire's political, cultural and religious sovereignty in Bosnia, which was occupied in 1878. It identifies the emigration of Bosnian Muslims as one of the signs of this loyalty.

All these studies mentioned above focus on emigration directly or see emigration as an important element in the process of inter-imperial rivalry. Of course, there are other studies as well.¹²⁰ The emigration of Bosnian Mus-

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- 119 Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, “Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina” (PhD, Columbia University, 2013). For the published version: Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, *The Afterlife of Ottoman Europe* | Stanford University Press (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2023). For a related article: Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular, “Alternative Muslim Modernities: Bosnian Intellectuals in the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59, no. 4 (2017): 912–43, doi:10.1017/S0010417517000329.
- 120 In particular, Bosnian emigration has been partially included in the studies on mass migration to the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For examples: Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri, 1877-1890* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994); Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluk'tan Ulus Devlete: Göçler* (Trabzon: Serander Yayıncılık, 2006); Alexandre Toumarkine, “Entre empire ottoman et état-nation turc: les immigrés musulmans du caucase et des balkans du milieu du XIXe siècle a nos jours” (PhD Thesis, Paris, Université Paris IV, 2000); Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les Migrations Des Populations Musulmanes Balkaniques En Anatolie (1876-1913)* (İstanbul: Isis, 1995); H. Yıldırım Ağanoglu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makûs Talihi: Göç* (İstanbul: Kum Saati Yayınları, 2001); Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma

lims to the Ottoman Empire was not only a population movement, but also a process of political, social, cultural and religious transformation of both empires. The existing literature shows that emigration also corresponds to a process of resistance and adaptation to the new place of origin/resettlement. Studies centered on demographic studies discuss the effects of emigration both statistically and as a population movement. Cvijić, Gravier, Milorad Ekmečić and Miroslav Niškanović have looked at the patterns of migration through numerical data and discussed how it is distributed in terms of destination and destination. Researchers such as Adanır, Babuna, Amzi-Erdoğan and Donia show that those who migrated among Bosnian Muslims were not only forced to do so, but also acted with a political decision for those who stayed.

The destination of the emigration, namely the politics of resettlement, is another important pillar of the literature. Researchers such as Emgili and Bandžović focus on the social transformation, difficulties and adaptation process experienced by Bosnian Muslims after this emigration. The emigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman lands has been analyzed from many different perspectives in terms of historiography since the period in which it took place. This literature, even if not a voluminous monograph, has analyzed the emigration from social, economic, socio-political and administrative perspectives rather than as a population movement. These studies provide important data for understanding the place of Bosnian Muslim emigrants in the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey. At this point, the claim of this thesis is that emigration is not a one-way population movement, but an ongoing process that embraces returns as well. Although some

Enstitüsü, 1968); Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri: Belgeler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989); Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821-1922* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1996); Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983); Justin McCarthy, *The Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans (1878-1914): A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1982); Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

of the studies on emigration include details on return, the number of studies that focus on it is almost negligible.

§ 2.3 Roots and Routes: Literature Perspectives on Return Migration

2.3.1 *Conceptual Discussion*

The historical cycle of migration proves that human mobility is not only a one-way process but also involves a constant expectation of return. Migration and return are not two concepts and phenomena in an uncontextualized relationship, but rather the product of a wide range of social, cultural and economic circumstances. In this sense, a singular analysis of migration or return makes it difficult to understand the processual nature of the phenomenon. Although the concept of return may seem to imply a kind of “homecoming” in its first connotation, it implies a phenomenon that emerges as the cause and consequence of complex and layered processes and requires a relational perspective. The return of migrants is not only physical or bodily; it also refers to a broader phenomenon with an identity dimension, related to the notion of belonging, and subject to social status struggles.

George Gmelch's 1980 study¹²¹ is one of the first to include the multidimensionality discussed above. Gmelch sees not only physical mobility in the phenomenon of return, but also identity, social ties, and economic role as various phenomena that directly affect individuals' lives and return processes. According to Gmelch, in this sense, return is a kind of reconstruction / restructuring process. However, treating return as a “natural consequence of the migration cycle” has also made this kind of mobility prone to economic reductionism. The diverse effects of the return process on individuals should not be ignored. While Gmelch's characterization of return as a natural consequence of the migration cycle can be pointed out as a shortcoming, he himself added that the impact of this process on local communities has long

121 George Gmelch, “Return Migration,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980): 135–59, doi:10.1146/annurev.an.09.100180.001031.

been ignored.¹²² In fact, it can be argued that Gmelch's study attempts to transcend traditional approaches to the concept of return. He defined return as a process of reintegration and drew attention to the social and psychological dimensions of this process. His approach was to some extent inclusive of the difficulties encountered in return. Seeing return as a process of restructuring, he introduced the concept of return migration into the literature and pointed to the processual dimension of the balance and conflicts that individuals attempt to establish.¹²³ According to him, individuals experience certain psychological and social conflicts while trying to balance the new identity elements acquired in the place they migrated to with the cultural norms of the society to which they return. This concept provides a critical tool in understanding the effects of return on individuals and shows that return is not only an economic decision, but also involves the complexities that individuals experience in the processes of social integration. Another of Gmelch's contributions is that he highlights the effects of return in a social context. Immigrants not only try to reintegrate economically in the society they return to, but also strive to adapt to social norms and rebuild their social ties. This situation causes individuals to experience conflicts with social norms and renegotiate their sense of belonging during the return process. In this context, he argues that return is not only an individual experience, but also a process in which social structures are reshaped. The fact that returnees return to their home countries, especially due to economic failure and disappointment, has led to the interpretation of this phenomenon as a failed outcome of migration in the migration literature.

Reading the return phase of individuals through the mobilization of social ties and economic resources, Cassarino argues¹²⁴ that these material and

122 Ibid., 135.

123 Ibid., 136. He mentions that there are various definitions for that movement, such as reflux migration, homeward migration, remigration, return flow, second-time migration, repatriation, remigration, circular migration, and even retromigration.

124 Jean-Pierre Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited," *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)* 6, no. 2 (2004): 253–79.

social resources are fundamental determinants of “permanence” and “adaptation” processes. Casarino's study represents an important stage in the evolution of the burgeoning migration and return literature. In this work, return is not only manifested as a form of physical or spatial mobility. His analysis refers to individuals' pre-return readiness, aiming to develop a comprehensive model. It also considers the return process in terms of mobilizing resources and develops a comprehensive model focusing on the relationality between the two. In addition to pointing to economic resources, there are other themes that emerge in Casarino's comprehensive model: social networks and support mechanisms. Pointing to the ability of individuals to utilize these mechanisms, the author draws attention to strategic planning by introducing the concept of readiness. Accordingly, in addition to strategic planning and opportunity analysis, the individual's ability to engage their social ties is included in the entire level of preparedness.¹²⁵ This concept provides an important tool for understanding how return is shaped not only by individual decisions, but also by the social and economic context in which the individual is situated. As can be understood, the author's concept puts the return decision process in a broader model, addressing the phenomenon of return as a phenomenon involving not only individual decisions but also the social and economic context. Like Gmelch, Cassarino, too, argues that return is not a simple decision made by individuals for economic reasons, but rather a multidimensional restructuring process. Especially drawing attention to the role of social ties, he analyzes how returning individuals use these ties in the return processes. Cassarino details how economic, social and cultural factors affect the return processes and how individuals balance these factors. Although return is a process that allows individuals to settle permanently in some cases, it can also constitute the beginning of a new migration movement in many cases. In particular, it has been analyzed how return can function as a development tool when the level of preparedness of individuals is high. This points to the wide range of applications of Cas-

125 Ibid., 271–74.

sarino's proposed model. In other words, the inclusion of the individual and social context in the research expands the scope of the author's model.

We have already noted that the Casarino model, referred to as “level of preparedness”, is an important theoretical and conceptual framework in the modern literature. An example of this is Eda Gemi's and Anna Triandafyllidou's migration study on the Balkans.¹²⁶ In her study focusing on circular migration movements, Gemi and Triandafyllidou pointed out that the “level of preparedness” and social networks of individuals play an important role.¹²⁷ Seeing the operationalization and direct reception of Cassarino's model in their study can give an idea of the impact of the author's work.

One of the main arguments of Casarino's study, mentioned above, is the concepts he proposes in parallel to his presupposition of the multidimensionality of the concept of return, which is referred to in this thesis. Through these concepts, Casarino does not view the entire return process as a purely physical mobility but rather considers return as a socially embedded process of reconstruction.¹²⁸ The inclusion of economic and social contexts within such a humanist logic facilitates the comprehension of this multidimensionality and provides a basis for studies in the field. In this model, return is not an end point, but a process of transformation and reconstruction, and it involves various opportunities.

It is also important to scrutinize the concept of volunteerism as part of the concept of return. In post-conflict contexts, especially in specific cases such as the Balkans, it is not difficult to argue that the concept of return is clearly determined by political pressures and agreements of international parties. Aida Ibričević's qualitative study focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina also proposes a concept of return that transcends the limits of physi-

126 Eda Gemi and Anna Triantafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe: Albanian Mobilities to and from Italy and Greece*, Routledge Research on the Global Politics of Migration (Abingdon, Oxon New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

127 Eda Gemi and Anna Triantafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe: Albanian Mobilities to and from Italy and Greece*, Routledge Research on the Global Politics of Migration (Abingdon, Oxon New York, NY: Routledge, 2021), 8–10, 55–56.

128 Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration,” 267–68.

cal mobility. It is important to note that in this study, the author considers the issue of return as an effort to “regain” citizenship rights and a sense of belonging.¹²⁹ Ibričević's study corresponds to the often-mentioned multi-layered understanding of migration. Situated in a post-conflict context, the study brings multidimensional strategies into play by examining many factors together. The author makes an important study in terms of measuring the effectiveness of factors such as economic factors, emotional factors, reintegration in return. Combining all these concepts with the concept of “decided return”, the author also refers to the challenges faced by returnees and refers to identity reconstruction processes.¹³⁰ Such a process of redefinition is characterized by a processual perspective in which the concept of home is always undergoing reconstruction. A particularly interesting argument in Ibričević's study is her emphasis on the emotional dimensions of the decision to return.¹³¹ By identifying emotional motivations in the post-conflict context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the author focuses on non-material processes such as social responsibility and social ties in the return processes of individuals.

Ibričević's psychological reading proceeds in the context of the concept of post-traumatic recovery. Focusing on the ways in which traumas influence the decision to return, the author combines emotional phenomena with social reading through social integration analysis. For example, she analyzes the personal story of the participant Alma in the context of the tragedy of society within a collective tragedy and trauma recovery.¹³² Regarding economic reasons, Ibričević states that a minimum level of economic security must be achieved for return to be successful.¹³³ However, she argues that individuals evaluate this decision more on emotional and social factors due to the rarity of economic security in a post-conflict society.

129 Aida Ibričević, *Decided Return Migration: Emotions, Citizenship, Home and Belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer Nature, 2024), 17–20.

130 *Ibid.*, 75–81.

131 *Ibid.*, 121–69.

132 *Ibid.*, 84.

133 *Ibid.*, 78–81.

Another dimension that stands out in Ibričević's study is the concept of "giving back" in return processes. Participants generally viewed their return as a debt to their homeland and adopted contributing to areas such as economic development and education as a mission in this context. A participant named Mahir's preference to return to Bosnia-Herzegovina when he could have continued his academic career in the West is given as an example of this understanding.¹³⁴ Ibričević's study reveals the central role of emotional motivations as well as the economic and social dimensions of return processes. She emphasizes that return is not only a turning point in the lives of individuals, but also a part of the processes of social recovery and reconstruction. In this context, Ibričević's contributions have added significant theoretical and empirical richness to the return literature. The study provides a strong basis for understanding the complexity of return decisions, especially in post-conflict societies such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Another dimension of the concept of return migration is diasporic belonging. Takeyuki Tsuda argues that ethnic ties and the search for identity shape diasporic return as much as economic opportunities.¹³⁵ The paradox of this return, however, is that returnees often feel culturally excluded, even though they are ethnically part of the same community. As Tsuda notes, returned migrants often feel like "strangers in their own country."¹³⁶ Helene K. Lee uses the example of the Korean diaspora to illustrate in detail how individuals experience identity conflicts and exclusion from social networks upon their return to South Korea.¹³⁷ According to Lee, when individuals return, they both try to adapt to the cultural norms of the returned society and struggle to maintain the new elements of identity they have gained abroad.¹³⁸

134 Ibid., 81–84.

135 Takeyuki Tsuda, ed., *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009).

136 Ibid., 6.

137 Helene K. Lee, *Between Foreign and Family: Return Migration and Identity Construction Among Korean Americans and Korean Chinese*, *Asian American Studies Today* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers university press, 2018), 3–5.

138 Ibid., 97–114.

The concept of “circular migration” emphasizes the continuity of mobility. Individuals do not migrate only once; they move back and forth between different countries at regular intervals. This ensures continuity of both economic opportunities and social ties. Researchers such as Gemi, Triandafyllidou and Sonia Parella emphasize the importance of periods of economic crisis in migrants’ survival strategies, highlighting the increased rate of circular migration during these periods.¹³⁹ In this form of mobility, where return is considered as an element, a part of circular migration, return does not appear as a final movement. It represents only one stage of the process. Parella and Petroff’s study is one of the important studies that deals with the phenomenon of return as a multidimensional complexity. In their study, these two authors approach the return processes through individual feelings by putting forward the concept of social suffering.¹⁴⁰ However, this individuality is treated as a way of existence that also includes a social dimension. These authors, like the authors mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, do not consider return as a form of physical mobility. They approach the phenomenon of migration as a phenomenon constructed by structural inequalities and examine the return of individuals in this context. In this social pain perspective, factors such as the concept of vulnerability, uncertainty and access to support mechanisms are included in the research process. The “VIA model” used in the authors’ study treats social suffering as an analytical tool. According to this model, return can be evaluated on three axes: vulnerability, uncertainty and aid. This broad model is an indication of the authors’ multi-layered approach to return. While vulnerability covers the material and social frailties of individuals, uncertainty includes elements that shape individuals’ perceptions and plans for their future. The aid axis, on the other hand, represents social and institutional support mechanisms that individuals can access to alleviate the impact of these vulnerabilities and uncertainties.¹⁴¹

139 Gemi and Triandafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe*, 20–32; Sònia Parella et al., “Social Suffering and Return Migrations: A Conceptual Proposal,” *Apuntes: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 46, no. 84 (2019): 37–40, doi:10.21678/apuntes.84.1013.

140 Parella et al., “Sufrimiento Social y Migraciones de Retorno,” 41–45.

141 Ibid., 47–52.

While developing this model, Parella and Petroff draw attention to the importance of considering the return processes at individual, social and structural levels. According to them, the return is shaped not only by the intentions and resources of individuals, but also by the social context and structural conditions in which they are located. In explaining the vulnerability axis in particular, the authors analyze individuals' dependence on factors such as legal status, economic resources and social ties. Another outstanding contribution of the study is that it analyzes how social pain arises during the return processes and how individuals' experiences in this process are shaped by social, cultural and economic contexts. The main topic underlined by the authors focusing on the post-return integration phase of migrants and their difficulties in this process is the sense of belonging. To reiterate, social suffering is not only considered as an individual experience but also refers to a collective or social level.

In sum, it can be said that the social pain perspective is constructed as a comprehensive explanatory tool. The lens through which the migrant experience is viewed here does not ignore the individual level of analysis, but points to the new context of the social level that is affected by structural causes. Parella and Petroff conceptualize return migration not merely as a form of mobility but as a process in which individuals actively engage in reconstructing themselves within a social framework. Their perspective on social suffering makes a significant contribution to contemporary migration literature by illuminating the complex effects of return on both individuals and societies. Furthermore, the study provides theoretical and analytical tools applicable across various social science disciplines, enabling a deeper understanding of return processes. This perspective also offers a critical framework that should be considered in the formulation of return migration policies. Here, another important question raises about return migration: Is return voluntary or forced? Scholars such as Erdal and Oeppen argue¹⁴² that the concept of voluntariness is shaped by political contexts. Migrants may

142 Marta Bivand Erdal and Ceri Oeppen, "Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39, no. 6 (2013): 867–84, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647.

sometimes be forced to return due to economic crises or legal pressures. This leads to a blurring of the boundaries between voluntary return and forced return.¹⁴³

The psychological and social effects of these returns on individuals, as mentioned above, should not be ignored. Filiz Kunuroğlu and her team examined the reacculturation¹⁴⁴ and identity conflicts experienced by Turkish migrants upon their return from Western Europe.¹⁴⁵ Kunuroğlu examined the labeling of Turkish immigrants as “*Almancı* (German-Turks)” encountered during the return process from Europe to Turkey and the impact of this on the struggle of individuals for social acceptance. According to her, the return process involves not only a physical, but also a social and cultural reconstruction process of individuals.¹⁴⁶

Returnees have difficulty reconciling old social norms with new values. Similarly, in Zana Vathi and Russel King’s edited book entitled as “Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families”, researchers investigated the effects of return on individuals’ mental health and social cohesion.¹⁴⁷ From an eco-

143 Marta Bivand Erdal and Ceri Oeppen, “Forced to Leave? The Discursive and Analytical Significance of Describing Migration as Forced and Voluntary,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 6 (2018): 981–98, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384149.

144 Nan M Sussman, “Re-Entry Research and Training: Methods and Implications,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 10, no. 2 (January 1986): 235–54, doi:10.1016/0147-1767(86)90008-8; Giorgia Donà and Lisanne Ackermann, “Refugees in Camps,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, ed. David L. Sam and John W. Berry, Cambridge Handbooks in Psychology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 218–32, doi:10.1017/CBO9780511489891.018.

145 Filiz Kunuroğlu et al., “Consequences of Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 49 (2015): 198–201, doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.10.004.

146 Ibid., 204–7.

147 Zana Vathi and Russell King, eds., *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017). For specific examples from that study: Marta Bivand Erdal and Ceri Oeppen, “Forced to Return? Agency and the Role of Post-Return Mobility for Psychosocial Wellbeing Among Returnees to Afghanistan, Paki-

conomic development perspective, Nick Williams argues that returning entrepreneurs offer significant opportunities, especially in post-conflict regions.¹⁴⁸ Diaspora returns contribute to local economies through knowledge transfer and investment opportunities. However, this process depends on the flexibility and support of institutional structures in the region of return.

All these discussions reveal that migration and return is a dynamic, multi-layered and continuous phenomenon in the context of human mobility. The individual and structural dimensions of migration and return are intertwined and reshaped throughout history. In a single sentence, return is not only a physical journey, but also a process that is constantly negotiated with historical, economic and cultural structures.

stan and Poland,” in *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, ed. Zana Vathi and Russell King, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017), 39–56; Barak Kalir, “Between ‘Voluntary’ Return Programs and Soft Deportation: Sending Vulnerable Migrants in Spain Back ‘Home,’” in *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, ed. Zana Vathi and Russell King, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017), 56–73; Selma Porobić, “‘Invisible’ Returns of Bosnian Refugees and Their Psychosocial Wellbeing,” in *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, ed. Zana Vathi and Russell King, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017), 108–27; Daniela DeBono, “Burning Without Fire’: The Paradox of the State’s Attempt to Safeguard Deportees’ Psychosocial Wellbeing,” in *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, ed. Zana Vathi and Russell King, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017), 129–49; Dora Sampaio, “Is This Really Where Home Is?,” in *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*, ed. Zana Vathi and Russell King, Routledge Research in Race and Ethnicity 18 (London-New York: Routledge, 2017), 240–57. For further studies: D. Bhugra, “Migration and Mental Health,” *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica* 109, no. 4 (2004): 243–58, doi:10.1046/j.0001-690x.2003.00246.x; Gonneke W.J.M. Stevens and Wilma A.M. Vollebergh, “Mental Health in Migrant Children,” *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 49, no. 3 (2008): 276–94, doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01848.x.

- 148 Nick Williams, *The Diaspora and Returnee Entrepreneurship: Dynamics and Development in Post-Conflict Economies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 37–60.

2.3.2 *Historical and Theoretical Foundations*

2.3.2.1 Early Migration Theories

Return migration has long been a neglected concept in early migration theories. E.G. Ravenstein¹⁴⁹, one of the pioneers of migration studies, tried to explain migration movements with the “Laws of Migration” he developed in the 19th century. According to Ravenstein, migration is a process that usually takes place under the attractive effect of economic opportunities and some of the migrants tend to return. This process, defined as counter-current, is seen as a natural consequence of migration movements. However, this approach fails to address the complex social and cultural dynamics of return. That is, although Ravenstein’s principle of the “countercurrent of migration” suggests that return migration is a natural part of the migration cycle, it has fallen short in explaining the complexity of this process. Neoclassical economic theories, likewise, can be seen to explain at the level of earnings and expectations. In other words, it is said that individuals return when they cannot earn high earnings, and their expectations are not met economically. According to this perspective, migration and return decisions are based on rational economic calculations. However, these approaches limit the process to a one-dimensional analysis, ignoring factors such as social ties, belonging and identity. Against these shortcomings, Antonio Cerase’s 1974 study on Italy aimed to explain return migration with different motivations.¹⁵⁰ Cerase divided return migration into four categories: return of failure, return of conservatism, return of innovation and return of retirement.¹⁵¹ Cerase

149 E. G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48, no. 2 (1885): 167–235, doi:10.2307/2979181; E. G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52, no. 2 (1889): 241–305, doi:10.2307/2979333; E. G. Ravenstein, “‘The Laws of Migration,’ *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (1885), Excerpts,” in *The Urban Working Class in Britain, 1830–1914 Vol 1*, ed. Andrew August (London: Routledge, 2013), 53–69.

150 Francesco P. Cerase, “Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy,” *The International Migration Review* 8, no. 2 (1974): 245–62, doi:10.2307/3002783.

151 *Ibid.*, 251–58.

showed that return of failure in particular occurs because economic expectations are not met, but the other types are due to more complex social and psychological factors. Cerase's typology has been an important turning point in the literature for understanding how migrants' return decisions are shaped in different socio-economic contexts.

2.3.2.2 Evolution and Modern Transformations of Migration Theories

The evolution of migration theories implies that they have evolved from unidimensional or binary explanations to multidimensional explanations and comprehensive model building. George Gmelch, for example, emphasizes that dominant explanations such as economic failure alone will not suffice and that identity-based explanations or processes of reconstruction of social ties should also be included.¹⁵² The term Gmelch uses to express this is return migration. This concept, which is proposed to express the complexity of return in combination with social and psychological cohesion, seeks to develop more comprehensive explanations by focusing on the challenges and complexity. Among the names mentioned above, Casarino's work can also be mentioned again within the scope of "evolving modern migration theories".¹⁵³ His concept of "level of preparedness", which focuses not only on economic processes and resources but also on the mobilization potential of social apparatuses, is an important part of this development process.

This level is marked as critically decisive in the return processes of individuals. The contribution here incorporated broad social context analysis into migration theories and pointed to the dynamic nature of migration. Russell King has also tried to contribute to the development of migration theories by pointing out that the phenomenon of return is a neglected component.¹⁵⁴ Focusing on the fact that the migration literature, which concentrates on upward mobility, neglects return, King points out that economic, social and cultural contexts are neglected. Author also rejects economic fac-

152 Gmelch, "Return Migration."

153 Casarino, "Theorising Return Migration."

154 Russell King, "Return Migration: A Neglected Aspect of Population Geography," *Area* 10, no. 3 (1978): 175–82.

tors as the only form of explanation, although they are not excluded, and emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural contexts. For this reason, it is possible to say that King is a researcher close to the principle of multidimensionality, which is frequently emphasized in our study. An important theme that King emphasizes in his study is that the return migration is treated with different typologies. These typologies are classified according to the reasons of return, social contexts and economic opportunities of individuals. For example, King divides return migration into three main categories: economic, social, and forced return. Each of these categories allows us to understand the decision-making processes of individuals and the effects of the return process on societies. King also addresses the effects of return migration on social and economic development.

In particular, it focuses on the questions of how the knowledge and knowledge gained by immigrants abroad are used in the societies to which they return and how these processes affect development. However, King points out that such investments and social impacts often do not meet expectations. In the economic context, King states that the investments and ventures of returning immigrants often remain on limited scales and are often not sustainable. For example, attempts by returning immigrants to start small businesses often end in failure due to limited resources and local market conditions. This makes it clear that the complex and multifaceted dimensions of return are not only for individuals but also for societies. This situation, which we can say emphasizes the importance of return in terms of the social context, draws attention to situations other than physical mobility. In other words, King, who points to return as a phenomenon involving the reconstruction of social ties and social status, explains this situation that return requires individuals to restructure not only their economic roles, but also their social ties and identities.¹⁵⁵ However, this process is often fraught with difficulties, and individuals may not find the social acceptance they expect in the society to which they return. The important point of King's study, as mentioned earlier, is that it draws attention to the neglect of the concept

155 Russell King, *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, Routledge Library Editions: Economic Geography (London-New York: Routledge, 2015).

of return migration in the literature. King's multidimensional emphasis focuses on the economic, social and cultural dimensions of return. Suggesting that the return process should be addressed with these dimensions, the author does not find the concept of return as an individual mobility valuable. Instead, King, who focuses on return as a broad phenomenon that expresses the social dimensions of reconstruction, is one of the researchers who emphasize that return should be researched more comprehensively in the modern migration literature.¹⁵⁶

2.3.2.3 Globalization and Transnationalism

Globalization and transnationalism have played a transformative role in reshaping migration theories. Economic and technical/technological developments directly linked to the phenomenon of globalization increase the possibilities for migrants to stay in touch with both sides (host country and home country). Eda Gemi and Anna Triandafyllidou, in their study evaluating the impact of circular transnational migration movements in the context of the Balkans through return, calls for a rethinking of the concepts of return, migration and circular/transnational mobility.¹⁵⁷ By focusing on Albania, Italy and Greece, Gemi and Triandafyllidou argue against the thesis that return is a final stage. Instead, they treat return as a non-negligible and inseparable element of broader forms of mobility, directly pointing to its multilayered dimensions and incorporating individual, structural and social contexts into their analysis.¹⁵⁸ Their research places the phenomenon of return in a broader context by examining it as the impetus that initiates new migration cycles. In their studies, circular migration and transnational mobility play a central role in shaping the return process. In their research of the aforementioned countries, they focus on the phenomenon of circular migration, referring to it as a strategic mechanism to overcome socio-

156 Russell King and Katie Kuschminder, eds., *Handbook of Return Migration*, Elgar Handbooks in Migration Series (Cheltenham, UK Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), doi:10.4337/9781839100055.

157 Gemi and Triantafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe*.

158 Ibid., 41–52.

economic difficulties. They attach great importance to both the preparatory phase of the return process and the effectiveness of integration strategies.¹⁵⁹

One of the problematics in their research is the extent to which migrants are able to mobilize their social networks and economic resources. They draw attention to these concepts in order to demonstrate the long-term effectiveness of a successful and stable return process. It is possible to say that this approach places Casarino's approach in a broader, more complex and dynamic context. It emphasizes that migration mobility in the form of return is not the same as permanent resettlement, suggesting that individuals move between return and re-migration. Stating that this transition takes place due to economic and social factors, they also draw attention to the importance of social and cultural dynamics and includes perceptions of belonging and identity in the research. Focusing especially on the perceptions of identity and belonging among second-generation migrants, they state that second-generation migrants perceive the society they return to as "home" in a different way from their parents.¹⁶⁰

Gemi and Triandafyllidou comprehensively analyze the impact of the economic crises experienced in Greece and Italy on the processes of return and remigration. They state that migrants make decisions to return due to unemployment and economic insecurity, but that the conditions after return may lead these individuals to remigrate. They emphasize that these periods of crisis, especially for Albanian migrants, lead to cyclical migration and temporary mobility strategies. Their study reconceptualizes the return processes and presents an analysis that brings together the individual, social and structural dynamics of this process. Emphasizing the central role of circular mobility and transnational ties in return processes, this study makes an important contribution to the modern migration literature, both theoretically and empirically. By revealing that return is not only an end but also part of a continuous mobility process, it fills the gaps in the literature and offers new perspectives on migration policies.

159 Ibid., 30–32.

160 Ibid., 83–124.

This is also the case in Rosa Weber and Jan Saarela's work.¹⁶¹ As other researchers pointing to the versatility of migration patterns, Weber and Saarela focused on free movement in Europe. In their study titled *Who Migrates and Who Returns in a Context of Free Mobility*, Weber and Saarela focus on population flows between Finland and Sweden and analyzes the role of individuals' flexibility of free movement in their mobility decisions. Concentrating on motivations such as employment, education and family reunification, they argue that these components play a role in mobility. According to them, workers and students determine their return decisions depending on their income levels and family formation dynamics.¹⁶² In other words, these dimensions play an important role in migrants' return decisions. According to Weber, as the income level decreases, the likelihood of return increases for labor migrants, while the return tendency of individuals who establish families in the destination country decreases. Another important theme emphasized in their article is the phenomenon of seasonal mobility. Accordingly, for student migrants, there is a higher likelihood of subsequent migration or return. This tendency is attributed to their propensity for continuous mobility, which is also related to their social networks and language proficiency.¹⁶³ Their study provides qualitative assessments on whether there is an interaction between migration motivations and integration. The increase in the income of individuals who have entered the labor force and the low income of individuals who migrate due to family reunification bring the integration into the labor market to the agenda. According to them, the integration plans of those who migrate for educational reasons are also longer term.¹⁶⁴ To summarize, their research has gained its effectiveness in the literature as an important research that shares the multi-layered nature of migration and return processes.

161 Rosa Weber and Jan Saarela, "Who Migrates and Who Returns in a Context of Free Mobility? An Analysis of the Reason for Migration, Income and Family Trajectories," *European Journal of Population* 39, no. 1/17 (2023): 1–28, doi:10.1007/s10680-023-09667-2.

162 Ibid., 4–6.

163 Ibid., 14.

164 Ibid., 3–7.

The book *Return Migration of New Generations: Transnational Mobility in the 21st Century*, edited by Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter, expands the field by examining return migration not only in the context of first-generation migrants, but also in relation to second-generation and young professional returnees.¹⁶⁵ Exploring how transnational ties influence return decisions and processes, the study rejects the argument that return is individual mobility and focuses on return as a mechanism for social and economic development. By including factors such as life cycle, family demographics, transnational networks in his analysis, Graeme Hugo emphasizes the importance of knowledge and skills circulation, which they call “brain circulation”.¹⁶⁶ He explains how these knowledge and skills are redirected through return. Focusing on the importance of transnational ties, the study emphasizes that return is not only an individual phenomenon, but one that is reconstructed by social and structural contexts.

To summarize, globalization and transnationalism are important contexts that reveal the multidimensionality of the concept of migration. The phenomenon of return, which in previous studies was explained solely in terms of economic dimensions, is now considered in the complexity of broader contexts (social, political, cultural) and has contributed to the adoption of holistic perspectives in migration research.

2.3.3 Sociological Dimensions of Return Migration

2.3.3.1 Identity Negotiations and Social Bonds

The sociological dimension marks an important stage of return in the contexts of identity and belonging. Researchers such as Frank Bovenkerk¹⁶⁷ and

165 Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter, eds., *Return Migration of the Next Generations: 21st Century Transnational Mobility* (London-New York: Ashgate, 2009).

166 Graeme Hugo, “Returning Youthful Nationals to Australia: Brain Gain or Brain Circulation?,” in *Return Migration of the Next Generations: 21st Century Transnational Mobility*, ed. Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 185–219.

167 Frank Bovenkerk, *The Sociology of Return Migration*, Research Group for European Migration Problems Ser (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

George Gmelch¹⁶⁸ have enriched the sociological dimension. Bovenkerk has analyzed return migration not only as an economic or demographic phenomenon, but also as a process through which individuals redefine their identities and social relations.

An important part of identity negotiations in the return process is the clash of new identity elements acquired in the country of origin with the cultural norms of the society of return. We mentioned above that George Gmelch explains this situation with the concept of return migration. According to Gmelch, immigrants both try to adapt to their old social roles in the society they return to and want to preserve the new values they have acquired in the place of immigration. This conflict may increase the risk of identity crisis and social exclusion.¹⁶⁹ How individuals' social ties are strong in the return process is one of the main factors determining how successful these negotiations will be.

Frank Bovenkerk's *The Sociology of Return Migration* (1974), as a groundbreaking study in the literature of return migration, has been an important step in our understanding of the complex and multi-layered nature of the migration phenomenon. The fact that the migration literature had generally focused on one-way movements until that period and that the return was considered only as an "economic failure" or "reality that does not correspond to expectations" began to be questioned with this study. Bovenkerk has addressed the effects of return on individuals and societies with a multidisciplinary approach and has presented a theoretical framework for this process to take its rightful place in the literature. He clearly reveals the conceptual uncertainties about return migration. Arguing that the terms such as "reflux migration", "re-migration" and "counter-current" used in the literature are insufficient to explain these processes,¹⁷⁰ Bovenkerk stated that this situation makes it difficult to systematically address the return within a theoretical framework. He defined the return not only as a movement, but as

168 Gmelch, "Return Migration."

169 Ibid., 142–46.

170 Bovenkerk, *The Sociology of Return Migration*, 4–6.

a multidimensional phenomenon involving the transformation processes of individuals and societies.

Bovenkerk emphasized that the return processes should not only focus on the economic situation of individuals, but also cover the social, psychological and cultural dimensions of these processes. According to him, return involves the processes of redefining the identities and social ties of individuals. In this context, instead of seeing the return as an individual decision only, he related it to social structures and contexts. This analysis not only emphasizes that return is much more than a mobility issue but also provides a strong basis for understanding the social adjustment difficulties that individuals face during return. This determination of Bovenkerk provides an important framework for understanding not only the macro-level effects of return migration, such as economic development or demographic change, but also the social adaptation processes of individuals. He provides typologies by classifying return processes. By dividing the return movements into different categories such as first return, re-migration, circular migration, he has taken an important step towards eliminating the confusion in the literature. These categories are of critical importance in understanding the motivations and experiences of individuals for turning. These typologies provide a useful framework not only for understanding the experiences of individuals, but also for shaping return policies. In this vast literature, the notion of return as a process through which individuals - and societies - are reshaped, rather than a concept of return in which physical mobility is central, is becoming more prominent. Modern migration studies, drawing on Bovenkerk's theoretical contributions, have taken important steps towards analyzing the return processes in more depth. Return is not only a return to the past, but also a process of building a future in which individuals and societies redefine their identities and social structures.

Ibričević's aforementioned research on Bosnia-Herzegovina also shows that individuals who return to post-conflict society reconstruct their identities through a sense of belonging and a desire for social contribution. These individuals not only see the decision to return as a personal choice, but also

perceive it as a debt to society. Ibričević emphasizes that this is especially common in post-war communities.¹⁷¹ In these contexts, the process of return means not only a physical but also a psychological and social transformation for individuals. We have noted that the processes of social cohesion, exclusion and reacculturation in return migration are important for understanding the difficulties experienced by individuals at both the individual and societal levels. In the literature, the difficulty of the social cohesion process is particularly addressed through the alienation of returnees from their former communities due to their experiences in the country of origin. Helene K. Lee, in her study on Korean immigrants mentioned earlier, states that returnees are perceived as “foreigners” by the returning society and this perception makes social adaptation processes difficult.¹⁷² This can lead to the risk of being ostracized by the post-returnee society. In conclusion, the sociological dimensions of return migration are discussed in the context of individuals’ identity negotiations, social cohesion and risks of exclusion. The literature reveals that this is a multi-layered process that affects the dynamics not only of individuals but also of the societies to which they return. Concepts such as identity, social ties and reacculturation stand out as key analytical tools for understanding return migration.

2.3.4 *Economic Dimensions and Labor Market Integration*

2.3.4.1 Economic Capital Transfer and Development Impacts

Besides the psychological and social dimensions, the economic dimension, often perceived in the reflexive version of the literature, is also an important dimension of return studies. Capital transfer and homeland development are particularly central topics here. Oded Galor and Oded Stark's *Migrants' Savings, the Probability of Return Migration, and Migrants' Performance* fills an important gap in the literature on return and the economic dimension by focusing on the relationship between “the *probability of return*” and “mi-

171 Ibričević, *Decided Return Migration*, 12–17.

172 Lee, *Between Foreign and Family*, 134–43.

grants' saving behavior" as an example of such studies.¹⁷³ By developing a mathematical model, these two researchers address why immigrants save more than the native population. By examining this saving with economic performance indicators, the study obtains an economic behavior graph and takes an innovative approach by asking the question whether there is a link between the return mobility of individuals and their economic status.

Galor and Stark find that migrants who always have the possibility of return on the table are more likely to save. This is due to a strong precautionary perception of the risk of losing income. The study provides economic models and theoretical analyses to support the argument that the probability of return increases migrants' savings levels and hence their economic success. The authors show that individuals tend to save more against future uncertainties as the probability of return increases. Galor and Stark also note that the economic contributions of immigrants are not limited to individual earnings but also contribute significantly to capital formation in the societies to which they migrate.¹⁷⁴ While immigrants' high savings rates contribute to the economic growth of the host country, it should also be noted that some of these savings are transferred to the immigrant's home country upon return. The study also emphasizes that migrants' savings tendencies cause them to be more economically successful than the native population, even in cases where return does not occur. This situation reveals that migrants develop an economic strategy that increases their long-term well-being even under the possibility of return. Galor and Stark's study, in a nutshell, treats the return process differently in the case of in-situ migration by focusing on the saving propensities and economic performance of individuals with the potential to migrate. Drawing attention to the contexts of mobility and uncertainty, the authors focus on the return phenomenon as a factor affecting the economic strategies and welfare of these individuals, and in this sense make an important contribution to the modern migration literature.

173 Oded Galor and Oded Stark, "Migrants' Savings, the Probability of Return Migration and Migrants' Performance," *International Economic Review* 31, no. 2 (1990): 463–67, doi:10.2307/2526851.

174 Ibid., 464–67.

Jackline Wahba's study *Selection, Selection, Selection: The Impact of Return Migration* provides an analysis of the labor market integration of return processes.¹⁷⁵ Wahba also contributes to the economic dimensions of return processes. The study uses statistical modeling to control selection bias while analyzing migrants' return decisions and the economic benefits they gain after return. In this context, it fills important gaps in the literature by focusing on the effects of return migration on individuals' integration into the labor market and wages. Wahba emphasizes that migrants are subject to different selection mechanisms not only during the migration process but also during the return process. She states that migrants and returnees generally act with different motivations and that these selections are critical in understanding economic outcomes. The article indicates that migrants (non-returnees) are generally more educated, younger and more dynamic individuals, while returnees are relatively less "successful". It is possible to accept this finding as a finding linked to understanding the effectiveness of economic outcomes. Focusing on the role of returnees in the labor market, Wahba notes that returnees are the ones who tend to operate more as entrepreneurs or self-employed in the local market. The analysis of the wage premiums earned by returnees elaborates on the findings of previous studies. Wahba notes that returnees earn an average of 15,8% more, but only part of this premium comes from increased human capital acquired abroad.¹⁷⁶ This study highlights the importance of considering selection mechanisms in understanding the economic impacts of return migration. In particular, it analyses how returnees are positioned in the labor market and how this is reflected in economic outcomes. The author summarizes the importance of data collection processes to better understand the impacts of migrants and returnees, both individually and in the social context. Wahba's study highlights the need to take into account selection biases in analyses of return migration and the need for more sophisticated methodological tools to understand the economic consequences of these processes. In this context, the

175 Jackline Wahba, "Selection, Selection, Selection: The Impact of Return Migration," *Journal of Population Economics* 28, no. 3 (2015): 535–63, doi:10.1007/s00148-015-0541-4.

176 Ibid., 557.

study provides a strong theoretical and methodological contribution to the migration literature and provides a solid foundation for future research.

Return chapter in their study *Swallows and Settlers: The Great Migration from North China to Manchuria*, Thomas Gottschang and Diana Lary examine the migration of individuals returning from Manchuria to North China.¹⁷⁷ This study also takes a multidimensional approach. Gottschang and Lary also criticize the individual mobility thesis and draw attention to economic strategies. Stating that different contexts such as seasonal mobility, family responsibilities and economic failure are effective in the specified route, the authors draw attention to the high number of migrants working as seasonal workers and consider migrants who return to their rural homelands after their work period ends.¹⁷⁸ Economic failure plays an important role in decisions to return. Migrants usually decide to return when they cannot meet their economic expectations or find work in Manchuria.

However, Gottschang and Lary emphasize that, in addition to economic reasons, social ties and cultural belonging also play a role in decisions to return. In particular, the desire of migrants to reunite with their families and social pressures are one of the main dynamics of this process. The authors argue that seasonal mobility is one of the characteristic features of Manchurian migration and that this mobility has a profound impact on the social and economic context. For example, young workers from Northern China to Manchuria were motivated to send the money they earned throughout the year to their families and to return home on special days such as the New Year in accordance with cultural norms.¹⁷⁹

Living conditions and worker rights in Manchuria are also among the factors that accelerate return. Migrants had difficulty staying in Manchuria due to low wages, poor working conditions and tensions with the local people. It is also emphasized that for some migrants, return meant hiding their

177 Thomas R. Gottschang and Diana Lary, *Swallows and Settlers* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, U of M Center For Chinese Studies, 2000), Chapter 5.

178 Ibid., 114–17.

179 Ibid., 114.

failures and preserving their social status.¹⁸⁰ Gottschang and Lary's study is important in showing how return migration is shaped not only by individual and economic reasons but also by social ties, family responsibilities and cultural norms. The authors analyze in detail how returns from Manchuria to Northern China transformed the social structure of communities and the difficulties experienced in this process. The study's historical and sociological perspective on return seems to fill a gap in the literature. The broad historical context used by Gottschang and Lary supports the multidimensional phenomenon of return that we argue in this thesis. By incorporating the potential of economic and social contexts to influence individual decisions into their analyses, these authors demonstrate that return migration is not simply a phenomenon of the past but is intricately related to what can be summarized as social transformation and restructuring.

In sum, it seems possible to point to multiple contexts that make it possible to address return migration with the concept of development. The related literature, which does not ignore that economic topics such as savings and entrepreneurship are also related to positioning in the labor market, draws attention to the importance of local economic indicators and provides a basis for possible future research areas and policies that can be developed.

2.3.5 *Psychological and Cultural Aspects of Return Migration*

2.3.5.1 Psychological Tensions and Cultural Conflicts Experienced within Return Process

Return migration is a process requiring individuals to cross not only physical, but also psychological and cultural boundaries. Identity dynamics and social contexts mainly relates with reintegration processes. Michal Tannenbaum's *Back and Forward: Migrants' Stories of Migration and Return* is an important study that analyzes migration and return processes through individual experiences.¹⁸¹ One of the main arguments of the book is that mi-

180 Ibid., 124–25.

181 Michal Tannenbaum, "Back and Forth: Immigrants' Stories of Migration and Return," *International Migration* 45, no. 5 (2008): 147–75, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2007.00430.x.

grants experience a mismatch between the cultural norms of both their homeland and the country they migrate to.¹⁸²

Based on the narratives of thirty-two Israeli immigrants and returnees, the study focuses on language and identity. Evaluating these individual stories within the framework of Berry's "acculturation model" and Sussman's "cultural identity model", the study points to the social contexts of the phenomenon of return. One of Tannenbaum's main arguments is the profound impact of immigrants' experiences during their return processes on their sense of identity and belonging. The author emphasizes that immigrants' efforts to reconstruct their internal identities while living in a foreign culture led to a more complex adaptation process upon return. In her analysis of Sussman's cultural identity model, Tannenbaum argues that individuals experience four different types of identity transformations during the return process: subtractive, additive, affirmative, and intercultural identity changes.¹⁸³ She notes that subtractive identity change, in particular, causes individuals to feel more isolated and alienated upon return. Another striking aspect of the study is the emphasis on the central role of language in the migration and return processes.

Tannenbaum states that language is not only a means of communication, but also an element that reflects individuals' identities and pasts. Language loss and regain deeply affect migrants' sense of belonging and cultural ties. The tension between idealization and reality in the migration and return processes is also at the center of the study. Focusing on the discrepancies between the participants' idealized elements in the society they migrated to and their actual experiences, the study draws attention to disappointments and culture shocks by focusing on the discrepancies between these images. Concentrating on challenging issues such as language loss, social exclusion and integration challenges, the study makes the important point that returnees are hampered by identity negotiations and social integration issues, making them feel like "new migrants" in their homeland.

182 Ibid., 166.

183 Ibid., 149.

Above-mentioned Parella and Petroff's study addresses psychological tensions from the perspective of social suffering.¹⁸⁴ The authors point to deepening crises of belonging, noting that returnees face psychological challenges such as vulnerability, uncertainty and social exclusion. Parella and Petroff's model reveals that individuals' vulnerability, uncertainty and access to aid mechanisms are critical in this process.¹⁸⁵ Return is a process of intense psychological struggle and this aspect, among other contexts, is also very important. Especially in post-conflict societies, individuals face serious challenges in social recovery and identity negotiation. As in Aida Ibričević's study¹⁸⁶ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the search for post-traumatic healing and individuals' desire to make a social contribution has been one of the important research topics in the migration literature.

2.3.5.2 The Identity and Belonging Crises of the Returning Migrants

The aforementioned crises of belonging and identity are among the challenges to rebuilding social cohesion. Tannenbaum emphasizes that they can lead to individuals feeling like “foreigners” in their homeland.¹⁸⁷ Such a crisis has the potential to create new and deeper crises as returnees face social exclusion and discrimination in the process of reintegration. Cassarino¹⁸⁸'s model, which we often refer to, emphasizes that the level of preparedness and mobilization of social networks play an important role in overcoming identity crises. According to him, migrants strengthening their social ties and developing reintegration strategies before their return can make this process less painful. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the individual efforts of the returnees are not the only factor here; the support mechanisms offered by the society to them are also of great importance.

The perspective of social suffering emphasized in the study of Parella and Petroff deals with the crises of belonging and identity of returning individu-

184 Parella et al., “Sufrimiento Social y Migraciones de Retorno.”

185 Ibid., 43–44.

186 Ibričević, *Decided Return Migration*.

187 Tannenbaum, “Back and Forth,” 164–65.

188 Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration,” 257–60.

als as a result of structural inequalities.¹⁸⁹ When individuals face problems such as social exclusion and discrimination, they need social support networks more to overcome these crises. This analysis reveals that return policies require individuals to create mechanisms to support social adaptation processes. To reiterate, return migration is a complex phenomenon that can cause individuals to experience difficulties at both psychological and cultural levels. The reconstruction of social ties, the redefinition of identities and reintegration are critical in overcoming these difficulties. These dynamics, emphasized in the literature, seem necessary to understand the multidimensional nature of return processes.

2.3.6 *Typologies and Frameworks of Return Migration*

Cerase examined the experiences of migrants returning to the southern regions of Italy and analyzed how return decisions and results are influenced by the economic expectations of individuals and the social context.¹⁹⁰ This approach has linked the return of migrants not only through individual motivations, but also with the socio-economic conditions and experiences they have experienced.¹⁹¹ *The return of failure*.¹⁹² refers to the sense of failure that migrants feel as a result of not achieving the economic and social success they had hoped for abroad. According to Cerase, such flashbacks are often characterized by frustration and a feeling of social exclusion. When migrants return to their homeland, they may be deprived not only of economic resources, but also of social acceptance mechanisms. This situation makes it difficult for individuals to reintegrate into the society they have returned to.¹⁹³ *The return of conservatism*.¹⁹⁴ occurs when immigrants, after achieving a certain economic success abroad, return these resources with the aim of maintaining their social and cultural status in their homeland. In such turns,

189 Parella et al., “Sufrimiento Social y Migraciones de Retorno.”

190 Cerase, “Expectations and Reality.”

191 Ibid., 247–49.

192 Ibid., 251.

193 Ibid., 249–52.

194 Ibid., 251.

individuals use the resources they have to secure themselves in the current social order. However, Cerase emphasizes that this form of return does not contribute to social innovation or development. Immigrants, after their return, usually resist change by taking a conservative attitude within the existing structures.¹⁹⁵ *The return of innovation*.¹⁹⁶ is defined by the fact that immigrants use the knowledge, skills and capital they have gained abroad to promote social and economic development in their homeland. In this form of return, individuals can develop new business models, make contributions in the field of education, or engage in entrepreneurial activities. According to Cerase, such returns carry a significant development potential, especially for underdeveloped regions. Cerase's typology deals with the return migration on the basis of different motivations and consequences, revealing the heterogeneous structure of this process. This typology has become a theoretical framework that is frequently referenced in modern migration literature. For example, in Gemi and Triandafyllidou's study on Balkan migrations, it was discussed how return decisions are shaped according to the social and economic contexts of individuals by referring to different elements of this typology.¹⁹⁷

Jean-Pierre Cassarino's concepts of "level of preparedness" and "resource mobilization" introduced above depend on the capacity of individuals to overcome the challenges they face upon return, and strategies vary depending on how effectively they are able to mobilize their social and economic resources before and after return.¹⁹⁸ The concept of level of preparedness represents how individuals use their experiences abroad, social networks and economic savings during the return process. Cassarino emphasizes that migrants with a high level of preparedness can more easily overcome the post-return integration process, while those with a low level of preparedness face challenges such as social exclusion and economic maladjustment.¹⁹⁹ Re-

195 Ibid., 253–55.

196 Ibid., 258.

197 Gemi and Triandafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe*, 1–11.

198 Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration," 255–59.

199 Ibid., 265–68.

source mobilization refers to a situation in which social capital and financial resources are important for social development. Cassarino argues that the return process can become more sustainable if returnees strengthen their social ties and collaborate with local communities. This model highlights the multi-layered nature of the return process, emphasizing not only individual motivations but also social and structural factors.²⁰⁰

Cassarino's model is referenced in Filiz Kunuroğlu's study on Turkish migrants, which analyzes the social exclusion and identity negotiations that individuals face during the return process.²⁰¹ Similarly, Gemi and Triantafyllidou's research on circular migration examines how the capacity of individuals to mobilize their social networks affects their return success with reference to Cassarino.²⁰²

It can be said that Cerase and Cassarino's studies have contributed to the typological and theoretical analysis of return migration; Cerase's typology emphasizes the non-homogeneous nature of return migration, while Cassarino's model addresses the factors affecting the success of the process through the concepts of social capital and level of preparedness. These studies, which have contributed to the modern migration literature, have provided a more comprehensive and analytical approach to return processes.

2.3.7 *Policy Implications and Migration Management*

2.3.7.1 Return Migration Policies: Voluntary, Safe and Sustainable Return

The return processes of migrants to their homelands are not a phenomenon that is shaped only by individual decisions, but are guided by the policies of states and international organizations. As Ahmet İçduygu and Maissam Nimer have analyzed, return policies are mostly based on three basic princi-

200 Ibid., 257–61.

201 Kunuroğlu et al., “Consequences of Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe,” 198–99.

202 Gemi and Triantafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe*, 5–8.

ples: safety, voluntariness and sustainability.²⁰³ These principles aim at both the protection of international norms and the observance of the fundamental rights of migrants.²⁰⁴ Ahmet İçduygu and Maissam Nimer's *The Politics of Return: Exploring the Future of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey* presents an analysis of the return debates that the Syrian crisis has created in neighboring countries through the evolution of the international refugee regime and the effects of the political context. The study examines the concept of return not only as an individual decision but also as a complex process shaped by state policies, international norms, and social perceptions. The study is centered on the principles of voluntariness, security, and sustainability. The authors emphasize that in a context where these three conditions are not met, return discussions are problematic both ethically and practically. İçduygu and Nimer state that the politicization of return has become more apparent, especially after the European refugee crisis of 2015. The study evaluates the refugee policies of Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan in a historical context, and reveals how the policies in these countries have changed over time. It is particularly emphasized that although Turkey initially adopted an "open door policy," this approach has been replaced by more restrictive and security-oriented policies over time.²⁰⁵ The authors state that Turkey has been considering return as a policy tool since 2016 and considering the attempts to establish safe zones as part of this policy. The situation in Lebanon and Jordan is similarly characterized by policies that reject the integration of refugees. In Lebanon, fears that Syrian refugees will disrupt the demographic balance are reported to shape political discourse and practices. In Jordan, the impact of refugees on the economic and social structure has been frequently criticized by the public. In this context, the study argues that anti-

203 Ahmet İçduygu and Maissam Nimer, "The Politics of Return: Exploring the Future of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey," *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2020): 415–16, doi:10.1080/01436597.2019.1675503.

204 Ibid., 416.

205 Ibid., 420–21.

refugee rhetoric harms social cohesion and international cooperation in host countries.²⁰⁶

The authors also draw attention to the role of the international refugee regime in the return debate. The fact that the principle of voluntary return is increasingly being replaced by compulsory return practices is considered a sign that international norms are weakening. Finally, the authors emphasize that the current situation in Syria is not conducive to return, as the destruction caused by the war makes the safe and sustainable return of refugees impossible. They state that return should not only be a physical movement, but also a part of the social integration of refugees.

The principle of sustainability requires that the economic, social and institutional conditions necessary for returning individuals to reintegrate into society are provided. The fact that refugees do not have access to basic services, job opportunities and social cohesion mechanisms prevents the return from being permanent. In this context, Ayşegül Kayaoglu, Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek and M. Murat Erdoğan's study titled *Return Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey* provides a comprehensive analysis to understand the return desires of Syrian refugees.²⁰⁷ Supported by both quantitative and qualitative data, the study reveals how the return desires are shaped by factors such as the level of integration into the host country, perceived discrimination and socio-cultural distances. In this context, the study fills important gaps in the literature by deeply addressing the connection between integration and return. The authors divide the desires of Syrian refugees to return into three categories: those who do not intend to return under any circumstances, those who make it a condition to return when the war ends or the regime changes, and those who want to return unconditionally. The research shows that each of these categories is shaped by the refugees' level of integration in the host country and their perception of the situation in their home country. The study examines in detail the different dimensions of integra-

206 Ibid., 427–28.

207 Aysegul Kayaoglu, Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek, and M. Murat Erdoğan, "Return Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 20, no. 4 (2022): 561–83, doi:10.1080/15562948.2021.1955172.

tion: structural integration (participation in the labor market and level of education), cultural integration (level of Turkish proficiency), and social integration (level of interaction with the local population).²⁰⁸

The effect of social integration on desires to return is particularly striking. The study finds that individuals with greater social ties to the local community perceive greater discrimination due to the integration paradox, increasing their desire to return. The research also identifies conditions in refugees' home countries, such as security, economic opportunities, and access to basic services, as important factors shaping their desire to return. Qualitative data suggests that many refugees do not want to return due to the lack of security in Syria and the threat of conscription. Kayaoğlu, Mencitek, and Erdoğan emphasize that the desire to return is shaped not only by the policies of the host country or the conditions in the home country, but also by the personal experiences and perceptions of the refugees. For example, it is stated that those with a higher level of education perceive discrimination more clearly during the integration process and therefore their desire to return increases. These studies point out that in line with the principle of sustainability, return policies should not only ensure physical security, but also support economic development and social integration. Otherwise, examples of cyclical mobility may occur, such as returnees choosing to migrate again. At this point, it seems that the policies of countries, especially in Europe, are trying to strike a balance between limiting free movement and encouraging return processes.²⁰⁹

2.3.7.2 Push-Pull Model in Return

Inspired by Ravenstein's²¹⁰ (1885) 'Laws of Migration', Lee²¹¹ (1966) in his 'Theory of Migration' introduced the 'push-pull model' to explain migration between host and guest countries. According to this model, Lee pointed out

208 Ibid., 563.

209 Weber and Saarela, "Who Migrates and Who Returns in a Context of Free Mobility?"

210 Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," 1885.

211 Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47–57, doi:10.2307/2060063.

that there are multiple factors in each region that push, retain or attract migrants, referring to factors associated with the host country and factors associated with the country of origin. Migration can take place after these two factors are evaluated by the individual. In the relevant academic literature, push or pull factors have been based on the conditions in the two countries.²¹² In addition to the founding influence of push and pull factors in the literature, the concept of aspiration, which allows for the inclusion of the individual's agency in the process, focuses on the subjective conditions of the migrant. The structural connotations of the concepts of push and pull factors need to be supported by the agent/subject-centered meaning of the concept of aspiration in order to address the return process holistically. The conceptual framework in which the project is articulated is closely related to the subject-centered analysis of the concept of aspiration. Thus, the motivation of individuals is a complementary element to be addressed when analyzing push-pull factors.

The concept of return refers to “the voluntary or forced, assisted or spontaneous return of a person from a host country to his/her country of origin,

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- 212 Ala Alrababah et al., “The Dynamics of Refugee Return: Syrian Refugees and Their Migration Intentions,” *British Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 4 (2023): 1108–31, doi:10.1017/S0007123422000667; Christopher Blair and Austin L. Wright, “Refugee Return and Conflict: Evidence from a Natural Experiment,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2021, doi:10.2139/ssrn.3885937; Louay Constant et al., “In Search of a Durable Solution: Examining the Factors Influencing Postconflict Refugee Returns” (RAND Corporation, 2021), https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1327-1.html; Birce Demiryontar and Ahmet İçduygu, “The Politics around Safe Zones: A Comparative Perspective on Return to Northern Syria,” *Third World Quarterly* 44, no. 8 (2023): 1754–69, doi:10.1080/01436597.2023.2198696; Faten Ghosn et al., “The Journey Home: Violence, Anchoring, and Refugee Decisions to Return,” *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 3 (2021): 982–98, doi:10.1017/S0003055421000344; World Bank, “The Mobility of Displaced Syrians: An Economic and Social Analysis,” 2020, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/syria/publication/the-mobility-of-displaced-syrians-an-economic-and-social-analysis>; Maha Yahya, Jean Kassir, and Khalil el-Hariri, “Unheard Voices: What Syrian Refugees Need to Return Home” (Carnegie Middle East Center, 2018), <https://carnegie-mec.org/2018/04/16/unheard-voices-what-syrian-refugees-need-to-return-home-pub-76050>.

country of citizenship or permanent residence, usually after a significant period of time in the host country.”²¹³ Crisp and Long point out that theoretically, all voluntary returns are based on the principles of in safety and with dignity.²¹⁴ As an explanatory breakdown of push and pull factors, Kayaoğlu et al.²¹⁵ add that there are macro, meso and micro level factors in the return literature. Kosher and Kuschminder²¹⁶ suggest grouping these factors into five categories: conditions in the country of origin, conditions in the receiving country, individual factors, social factors and incentives/disincentives (policy interventions). In addition to these approaches, the aforementioned concept of aspiration is considered to be an important element in the return process. Indeed, Bradley²¹⁷ as well as Chimni²¹⁸ argue that the literature focuses on the institutional, legal and normative aspects of return and post-return integration, but little attention is paid to individual motivations (aspiration) in the pre-return stages. Building on this gap, Kayaoğlu et al.²¹⁹ argue that apart from institutional, legal and normative aspects, little is still known about refugees’ motivations for return, adding that there are gaps in the literature on how various aspects of integration affect motivations for return.

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- 213 EMN, “Return,” in *EMN Glossary, Derived by EMN from the Definitions of ‘Return’ and ‘Return Migration’ in the IOM Glossary on Migration*, 2011.
- 214 Jeff Crisp and Katy Long, “Safe and Voluntary Refugee Repatriation: From Principle to Practice,” *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 4, no. 3 (2016): 142, doi:10.1177/233150241600400305.
- 215 Kayaoglu, Şahin-Mencütek, and Erdoğan, “Return Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey,” 563.
- 216 Khalid Koser and Katie Kuschminder, “Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration of Migrants: A Comparative Approach,” in *A Long Way to Go: Irregular Migration Patterns, Processes, Drivers and Decision-Making*, ed. Marie McAuliffe and Khalid Koser, 1st ed. (ANU Press, 2017), 255–75, doi:10.22459/LWG.12.2017.10.
- 217 Megan Bradley, “Back to Basics: The Conditions of Just Refugee Returns,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21, no. 3 (2008): 285–304, doi:10.1093/jrs/fen023.
- 218 B. S. Chimni, “Refugees, Return and Reconstruction of ‘Post-Conflict’ Societies: A Critical Perspective,” *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 2 (2002): 163–80, doi:10.1080/714002734.
- 219 Kayaoglu, Şahin-Mencütek, and Erdoğan, “Return Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey,” 564.

2.3.7.3 Institutional Factors Affecting Mobility and Return

It is possible to analyze the institutional factors affecting refugee mobility in two groups: those originating from the host country and those originating from the country of origin. The first group of host country-based factors can be categorized under three headings: legal framework, security perception depending on the attitude of decision-makers, and integration policies.

Regarding the legal framework, it can be said that the legal status of refugees in the host country, as well as the laws and policies regarding resettlement and return options, greatly influence a refugee's decision to return. Refugees may decide to return based on the option of obtaining citizenship in the host country or may prefer to stay in the host country. Another dimension of the legal basis is related to host country regulations on refugee mobility. For example, temporary visits to facilitate return, return incentives²²⁰ and access to services²²¹ are among the factors affecting refugees' decisions. Regarding the perception of security, it can be said that refugees consider the security conditions in their home countries. However, the perception of security in the host country may also affect refugees' movement preferences. The political will's view of refugees may influence refugees' decisions to shape their future and reassess their permanence.²²² Refugees may decide to settle in a third country, return or stay in the host country due to pro- or anti-refugee policies of decision-makers.

Finally, the level of integration and acceptance within the host society is another factor affecting the mobility decision. However, social acceptance is also influenced by the policies implemented by the political will. Steps to

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- 220 Mollie Gerver, "Paying Refugees to Leave," *Political Studies* 65, no. 3 (2017): 631–45, doi:10.1177/0032321716677607.
- 221 Mehmet Balcilar and Jeffrey B. Nugent, "The Migration of Fear: An Analysis of Migration Choices of Syrian Refugees," *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, Special Issue on the Economies of Middle East and North Africa in an Era of Political Turbulence, 73 (2019): 95–110, doi:10.1016/j.qref.2018.09.007.
- 222 Brad K. Blitz, Rosemary Sales, and Lisa Marzano, "Non-Voluntary Return? The Politics of Return to Afghanistan," *Political Studies* 53, no. 1 (2005): 182–200, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2005.00523.x.

facilitate the integration of refugees, such as participation in the labor market, access to education services, etc., can increase social acceptance and cohesion in the long run by increasing refugee contact with the host community. Refugees may be less inclined to return if they have successfully integrated, established connections and built a new life.²²³ The second group includes refugee mobility originating from the country of origin. In addition to host factors, refugee return can also be shaped by country-of-origin factors. The most important of these factors are political stability and security in the country of origin.²²⁴ If conditions for peace, stability and security in the country of origin have improved, refugees may be more willing to return to rebuild their lives. While security conditions are very important, they are not a sufficient condition on their own. The availability of basic infrastructure, basic services such as health and education, and job opportunities in the country of origin are also important factors. In addition to improved infrastructure, services such as health, education and housing can also encourage return.²²⁵

The willingness of the country of origin to reintegrate returning refugees into society without discrimination or persecution is also crucial. Refugees may hesitate to return if there are political or social barriers and/or risks to

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- 223 Osman Antwi-Boateng and Mohammed Kamarideen Braimah, "The Dilemma of Ghana-Based Liberian Refugees and the Challenges of Repatriation and Integration," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34, no. 1 (2020): 1185–1201, doi:10.1093/jrs/feaa026; Francesca Di Saint Pierre, Borja Martinovic, and Thomas De Vroome, "Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands: The Role of Integration, Host National Identification and Perceived Discrimination," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41, no. 11 (2015): 1836–57, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2015.1023184.
- 224 Alrababah et al., "The Dynamics of Refugee Return"; Abby Hardgrove, "Liberian Refugee Families in Ghana: The Implications of Family Demands and Capabilities for Return to Liberia," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22, no. 4 (2009): 483–501, doi:10.1093/jrs/fep029; Naohiko Omata, "The Complexity of Refugees' Return Decision-Making in a Protracted Exile: Beyond the Home-Coming Model and Durable Solutions," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39, no. 8 (2013): 1281–97, doi:10.1080/1369183X.2013.778149.
- 225 Niels Harild, Asger Christensen, and Roger Zette, "Sustainable Refugee Return: Triggers, Constraints, and Lessons on Addressing the Development Challenges of Forced Displacement" (World Bank Group, 2015), doi:10.1163/2210-7975_HRD-3181-2015006.

return.²²⁶ Some of these risks are related to property rights. Real estate owned in the country of origin is known to have a positive impact on refugee return.²²⁷ The return of property, land, and/or compensation for losses suffered during displacement can influence a refugee's decision. Legal guarantees on property and land rights play a role in return.

2.3.7.4 The Effects of International Norms on Return Policies

The international refugee regime has developed various normative frameworks to regulate the return processes. These norms have been disseminated through organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and are based on the principles of voluntary return and the protection of basic human rights. However, as Içdüygu and Nimer pointed out, it has been observed that these norms have weakened, especially after the European refugee crisis in 2015, and states have developed policies in line with their own national interests.²²⁸

The study of Kayaoğlu et al reveals that return policies are caught between international norms and the national security and demographic concerns of the host countries. Dec. In the case of Lebanon, the fear that Syrian refugees will upset the demographic balance is used to legitimize anti-refugee policies.²²⁹ Similarly, the perception of refugees as an economic burden in Jordan leads to the deviation of return policies from international norms. At this point, it is clear that stronger audit and cooperation mechanisms are needed in order for international norms to effectively shape return

226 Vanessa Iaria, "Attempting Return: Iraqis' Remigration from Iraq," *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 28, no. 1 (2011): 109–22; Katy Long, "State-Building Through Refugee Repatriation," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 6, no. 4 (2013): 369–86; Djordje Stefanovic and Neophytos Loizides, "The Way Home: Peaceful Return of Victims of Ethnic Cleansing," *Human Rights Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2011): 408–30.

227 UNHCR, "Fifth Regional Survey on Syrian Refugees' Perceptions and Intentions on Return to Syria," 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/fifth-regional-survey-syrian-refugees-perceptions-and-intentions-return-syria-rpis>.

228 Icdüygu and Nimer, "The Politics of Return," 417.

229 Kayaoğlu, Şahin-Mencütek, and Erdoğan, "Return Aspirations of Syrian Refugees in Turkey," 573.

policies. UNHCR's financing and logistical support for return projects ensure that these processes become more sustainable, but remain under the direct influence of national policies. Therefore, international organizations and non-governmental organizations should play a more effective role in the return processes.

As a result, while the return policies are being shaped on the axis of the principles of security, volunteerism and sustainability, there are various difficulties in the implementation of international norms. As İçduygu and Nimer have stated, the politicization of return processes weakens the impact of these norms and legitimizes practices that violate the rights of individuals.²³⁰ In this context, the literature reveals that national and international actors should develop more integrated and coordinated policies.

2.3.8 *Narratives of Return and Case Studies*

2.3.8.1 Postcolonial and Post-Conflict Return

In the postcolonial and post-conflict period, return migration plays a critical role in both the processes of rebuilding the identity of individuals and the dynamics of social recovery. *Coming Home? Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962–2009*, edited by Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, examines the postcolonial return migration between France and North Africa with contributions from various authors.²³¹ The book examines the phenomenon of return migration in its historical, cultural and individual dimensions, and discusses in depth the processes of migrants' identity, belonging and confrontation with the past. In the introduction to the book, Gemie and Soo detail the historical and political context of return migration. They argue that political relations between Algeria and France are decisive in migrants' decisions to return. This historical framework highlights the complex nature of migrants' attachments to

230 İçduygu and Nimer, "The Politics of Return."

231 Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, eds., *Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962 - 2009*, *Coming Home? 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

both their home countries and the countries they migrate to.²³² One of the authors in the book, Claire Eldridge, analyzes how the "return" to Algeria is experienced differently within the pied-noir community. Eldridge discusses how the process of return shapes individuals' reckoning with the past and their efforts to reconstruct their identities. She also demonstrates how return triggers feelings of both nostalgia and alienation.²³³ William Kidd examines the process by which pied-noirs settled in France. Kidd examines the difficulties of social as well as economic integration, and how immigrants were forced to redefine the concept of "home" in their new societies. He also details the economic difficulties faced by return immigrants and the impact of these difficulties on their sense of identity.²³⁴ Ada Giusti examines the cultural and social dimensions of return migration. Giusti discusses how return migrants negotiate both their identities and gender roles. The article focuses on the effects of migrants' return to their homeland on family structures and gender norms.²³⁵ Gemie and Soo's book²³⁶ contributes significantly to the academic study in this field by providing a comprehensive literature on return migration. The book contributes to a better understanding of this process by discussing the challenges, opportunities and solutions faced by return migrants. It also analyses the effects of return migration on both

232 Ibid., 1–12.

233 Claire Eldridge, "The Pied-Noir Community and the Complexity of 'Coming Home' to Algeria," in *Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962 - 2009*, ed. Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, *Coming Home? 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 12–15.

234 William Kidd, "The Long Good-Bye: Pied-Noir Re-Settlement in the Pyrénées-Orientales," in *Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962 - 2009*, ed. Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, *Coming Home? 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 33–53.

235 Ada Giusti, "Ruminations on Migration and Return in Twentieth and Twenty-First Century France," in *Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962 - 2009*, ed. Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, *Coming Home? 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 129–34.

236 Gemie and Soo, *Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962 - 2009*.

sending and receiving countries, and discusses the broader implications of this process for migration policies and international relations.

Aida Ibričević focuses on the return process in post-conflict societies such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ibričević emphasizes that return decisions are shaped by the search for belonging, social responsibility and recovery after trauma rather than economic reasons.²³⁷ It is noteworthy that individuals who have returned to Bosnia consider it a duty to contribute to society in order to heal the devastating effects of the war. Ibričević treats the process of post-traumatic integration of individuals as a process of social reconstruction, where the return is not only physical.²³⁸ These two studies reveal that return migration plays an important role in the reshaping of social structures and individuals' perceptions of identity in the postcolonial and post-conflict period. Returnees are forced to adapt not only to social norms, but also to their past traumas and collective memory.

2.3.8.2 Migration Mobility in the Context of Circular and Free Mobility

In the modern period, the return is considered not only as an endpoint, but also as a dynamic and cyclical form of mobility. The studies of Gemi and Triandafyllidou, and Rosa Weber analyze the practices of free movement and circular migration in Europe and the Balkans and show how migrants adopt multiple mobility strategies. Gemi and Triandafyllidou focus on the cyclical migration experiences of Albanian immigrants in countries such as Greece and Italy. According to Gemi and Triandafyllidou, these migrants follow a continuous mobility strategy in order to cope with economic crises and maintain their social ties.²³⁹ Arguing that cyclical migration is part of the efforts of individuals to optimize economic opportunities both in the migrated and in their homeland, Gemi and Triandafyllidou state that this mobility also has an impact on social structures.²⁴⁰ Similarly, referred study of Rosa Weber and Jan Saarela deal with the dynamics of migration in the

237 Ibričević, *Decided Return Migration*, 76–78.

238 Ibid., 81–85.

239 Gemi and Triandafyllidou, *Rethinking Migration and Return in Southeastern Europe*, 74–78.

240 Ibid., 7–8.

context of free movement between Finland and Sweden. Weber and Saarela analyze how individuals' motivations for migration (education, work, or family reunification) shape both their experiences in the destination country and their return risks. It shows that individuals who migrate for educational purposes develop longer-term strategies compared to working migrants, maintain their mobility through social networks and language skills.²⁴¹ This analysis shows that free movement can be considered as an opportunity that provides flexibility for immigrants.

Gemi and Triandafyllidou, and Weber's studies show that migration mobility in the modern period is not only a one-way process, continuous and multifaceted mobility strategies play a decisive role in the lives of migrants. Individuals acting in the context of cyclical and free movement develop various strategies to adapt to different social and economic conditions and actively use their social networks in this process. Mary Chamberlain's *Narratives of Exile and Return*²⁴² examines themes of exile and return through the unique experiences of Caribbean immigrants. This book examines the effects of exile on personal and collective memory and the reconstruction of immigrant identities. The stories of exile and return experienced by immigrants show that these processes have profound effects on individual and social identities. In his book, Chamberlain examines in detail the processes of immigrants returning to their homelands, revealing both the difficulties of this process and its transformative effects on identity. The return of immigrants is not only considered as a physical movement, but also as a complex process related to culture and identity. These processes occupy an important place in both the individual and collective memories of immigrants and play a central role in their identity-building processes. In particular, immigrants' experiences of exile and their processes of returning to their homelands are treated as important turning points in the lives of these individuals. While describing these experiences of immigrants, Chamberlain emphasizes that exile does not only mean a physical separation, but also a deep cultural and

241 Weber and Saarela, "Who Migrates and Who Returns in a Context of Free Mobility?," 17–21.

242 Mary Chamberlain, *Narratives of Exile and Return: With a New Introduction by the Author*, Memory and Narrative Series (London-New York: Routledge, 2017).

emotional rupture. The process of return is considered as the reestablishment of these broken ties and the resolution of conflicts between old and new identities. The book examines in detail the social changes experienced by immigrants and the effects of these changes on individuals through stories of exile and return. These stories reveal how immigrants experience transformations both in their inner worlds and in their social contexts. While narrating these processes, Chamberlain offers important insights into how immigrants' cultural identities are shaped and how these identities evolve over time.

2.3.9 *Conclusion*

The main motivation for selecting and criticizing the studies mentioned above and conceptually summarized is to provide a basis for understanding and demonstrating the increasingly complex structure of the migration phenomenon in the process. This complexity, which we refer to as “multi-dimensional” and “multi-layered”, is emphasized not to point to the incomprehensibility of the concept of migration and return, but to point to the necessity of more parameters to understand it. For example, it is not enough to emphasize the economic, social and individual aspects of the phenomenon of “return”, which is a central concept for our study. This phenomenon needs to be addressed from a human/subject perspective.

It can be said that the abundance of structure-centered analyses, especially the state, has enriched the field of structural approaches to the phenomenon of return in the literature. However, the need to develop a subject-centered perspective in parallel with the multi-layeredness of the phenomenon of return is necessary not only in studies focusing on current phenomena but also in historical studies. From this perspective, a psychological perspective that does not neglect the individual and collective psychological aspects of migration and return must be coordinated with a perspective that does not neglect economic dimensions. With this perspective, the main argument of this literature review, which points to the literature above, emphasizes the necessity of analyzing the complexity of the multi-layered return process in a way that produces meaningful contexts rather than scattered and meaningless diversity.

§ 2.4 Literature Insights on Bosnian Returnees

2.4.1 *The Return of Bosnian Muslims From a New Historiographical Perspective*

The current dominant approach to migration focuses on the frustrations of migrating populations at their destinations, and on the settlement policies of receiving societies and analyzing the dynamics of these policies. This dominant tendency often sees this phenomenon as an inter-state (Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian) simple instrument or a tool of power and conflict between imperial powers. However, within the scope of the subject matter of this thesis, it can be said that Bosnian Muslim migrants who returned between 1878 and 1918 had their own unique migration processes, had visibility as agent subjects in shaping their own trajectories, and experienced multi-dimensional confrontations with the newly structured social and political order. It can be said that this new approach is a shift from the now simplistic view of migrants as passive subjects in the sphere of influence of states and imperial powers, to one that takes into account the complex forms of these processes, revealing their visions of community and identity and their agency in navigating changing political rules.

By engaging with this complex web, this chapter focuses on Bosnian Muslim returnees and provides an engaging case study to understand the interplay between migrants' experiences and state policies. What makes this case study compelling is to understand how migrants' journeys are navigated as agents of agency in changing political contexts, and how they harness the strategic power of mobility to assert their own visions of community and identity. In addition, the case of Bosnian Muslim returnees offers unique insights to examine how they experienced and struggled to survive under the new Austro-Hungarian rule; to observe the nuanced dynamics of imperial transitions; and to focus on processes of state-building in a given historical period. Through this multidimensional tracing, we try to move beyond simplistic approaches that treat migrants as passive subjects of imperial agendas and step into the complex, rich and multifaceted universe of meaning of the migration phenomenon, which we define as bi-directional and processual.

The dominant tendencies, which we label as simplistic, are based on the “centralization and idealization” of the political environment of empires. This perspective compresses the phenomenon of migration into a narrow lens. This narrowness, in turn, risks obscuring the rich and expansive dimensions of the complexity of this phenomenon, which we have pointed out to be complex and multifaceted, by characterizing it with simplistic inferences. For example, the so-called “pull-push factors” approach simplifies the motivations behind the migration phenomenon into a binary and simplistic explanation that focuses on the “push” factors that push people away from their homeland and the “pull” factors in the destination region. Thus, it ignores the richness and nuanced relationality of the economic, social, political or personal factors that shape the migration decision of the migrant individual as an agentic subject. In addition to this simplistic approach, the “Dar al-Harb to Dar al-Islam” approach, which is based on religious factors, compresses the phenomenon of migration into a purely religious (or purely ideological) scope, leaving out all mechanisms of influence outside this important but insufficient scope. This approach runs the risk of ignoring the new versions of religious, cultural and national affiliations that influence migrants' decisions, mobilizations and processes in changing political conditions. In addition to this risk, it can also produce simplistic forms of explanation that obscure the practices of negotiation and confrontation that migrants engage in under these conditions.

In addition to these approaches, studies that focus on quantitative analysis also run the risk of exclusion. Overly “statistical data-driven” quantitative studies may ignore the experiences and nuanced lives of migrants and the relationality between them, which we claim to exist as individuals and subjects through data. These approaches may also risk failing to reveal migrants' technologies of adaptation, negotiation techniques, coping strategies and agency at a meaningful level. Approaches that see migrants as the “national and religious heritage of empires” label them as passive subjects of imperial entities, negatively instrumentalize migrants, and fail to reveal their rich and diverse repertoire of desires/experiences/activities. These approaches, which can be characterized as reductive readings, give power to the binary approaches of simplistic narratives by dismissing/hiding the fact that migrants

construct their own processes, negotiate with political structures and produce agency as active agents.

This set of approaches, which renders migrants as passive subjects of imperial transitions, also trivializes their individual struggles that can shape their own destinies, dissolving their stories in the dynamics of macro-structures. These dominant tendencies, which consciously or implicitly ignore the active participation of migrants in the processes, are unlikely to grasp the processual nature of the phenomenon of migration and return and the multilayered universe of relations. Not only in the field of migration studies, but also within the contemporary political thought academy, the agency of migrants in the context of empire and assimilation politics has been ignored. While the return of Bosnian Muslims may seem small in comparison to the overall Balkan population that emigrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina, in fact, they (Bosnian Muslims) constituted probably 25-30 percent of the population that returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such a proportion, and the presence of returnees, may indicate a scope that could suggest that the migration process was much more complex than simplistic narratives suggest. The experiences and mobilizations of migrant individuals, moving back and forth between empires (two empires), reveal an accumulation that needs to be taken into account. This scope offers important resources for uncovering not only the embeddedness but also the complex relationalities and ties between empires. In the case of Bosnian Muslims, existing scholarship focuses more on the concept of emigration than on the return of these migrants. The scarcity of qualified and multidimensional studies focusing directly on the phenomenon of return and returnees is a serious shortcoming. However, this field can provide data that can shed light on the relationship and communication networks between the two empires or comparative analyses. Researchers focusing on this field can provide insights into the experiences and agency of migrants, as well as the visible and invisible networks that develop at the macro and micro levels between empires.

2.4.2 *The Concept of Return in Bosnian-Migration Context: A Critical Literature Review*

The concept of return is rarely found in academic studies focusing on Balkan and Caucasian migration. Analyses that do not go beyond a few pages may be insufficient to demonstrate the academic productivity of the concept. The lack of comprehensive and detailed reference books and studies directly related to the subject may also create a gap in the literature and cause the concept to be ignored. Selim Deringil, one of the first scholars to seriously point out the theoretical importance of the concept of return, in his article titled “Some Thoughts on 19th Century Migration to the Ottoman Empire”, is one of the first researchers to emphasize that the act of migration is not a “one-way ticket”. Deringil made one of the observations about the returnees by stating that “in many cases, those who came to the Ottoman lands could not find what they were looking for and returned back”.²⁴³ After emphasizing that the Ottoman state's migration policy started with the importation of agricultural workers after the Crimean War, Deringil drew attention to the military dimension that the migration policy gained due to the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-78. In relation to this military dimension, he concluded that those who were dissatisfied with the new living conditions and the treatment practices of the state returned. Although the article does not primarily focus on the Bosnian context, it is important as it is one of the general evaluations of the concept of return in the literature.

Focusing directly the Bosnian migration besides other migration processes, Kemal Karpat also made valuable research on Ottoman population movements and migrations,²⁴⁴ and has emphasized in his works that repatriation is an integral part of broader migration patterns. In his 1979 book “The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Resistance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Occupation in 1878” and his study “The Migration of the Bosnian

243 Selim Deringil, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Göç Olgusu Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler,” in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991), 435–42.

244 Karpat, “The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Resistance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Occupation in 1878.”

Muslims to the Ottoman State, 1878-1914: An Account Based on Turkish Sources” in “Ottoman Bosnia: A History in Peril”, Karpát focused on the broad framework of the Bosnian migrations while also addressing the return dimension.²⁴⁵ Karpát's analysis of return provides valuable insights into the experiences of returnees and their multifaceted networks of interaction. In this information, Karpát presents data on the mobility of individuals and families between the two empires. While there are studies on Bosnian migrations from a broader perspective in the Western academic literature, detailed analyses focusing directly on the concept of return are rare. The phenomenon of repatriation, which is referred to as a subdivision of general migration processes, has not been evaluated in its unique and peculiar circumstances. The lack of studies focusing on the unique contexts of returnees in this literature has paved the way for the phenomenon of return to remain in the background and the scarcity of studies centered on this concept.

In Yugoslav historiography literature, there is a literature on the migration of Bosnian Muslims. It is possible to find valuable clues about the return of Bosnian Muslims in this migration literature. Jovan Cvijić's “About the emigration of Bosnian Mohammedans”, one of the first examples of this work, was published as early as 1910, when the emigration was still ongoing.²⁴⁶ A geographer and former rector of the University of Belgrade, Cvijić's article contains information on the reasons for the return of Bosnian Muslims. Around the same time, as early as 1911, Gaston Gravier's article “Emigration of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina” was published in the journal *Pregled*.²⁴⁷ Jevto Dedijer also published an article titled “The origin of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina” with information on the re-

245 Kemal Karpát, “The Migration of the Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman State, 1878-1914: An Account Based on Turkish Sources,” in *Ottoman Bosnia: A History in Peril*, ed. Markus Koller and Kemal H. Karpát (Madison: Center of Turkish Studies, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

246 Cvijić, “О ИСЕЉАВАЊУ БОСАНСКИХ МУХАМЕДНАЦИА [O Iseļjavanju Bosanskih Muhamedanaca].”

247 Gravier, “Emigracija Muslimana Iz Bosne i Hercegovine”; Gravier, “L'Émigration Des Musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine.”

turn of Bosnian Muslims.²⁴⁸ In these first articles, the researchers provided information on the number of returnees, statistics, legal regulations related to the return processes, migration patterns and migrant experiences, and were among the first examples of the field. Although we have mentioned the scarcity of literature and studies on the return of Bosnian Muslims, such studies, which were put forward at the beginning of the 20th century, are important in terms of showing that the subject was not ignored. Vojislav Bogičević's 1950 article "Historijski zbornik" can also be considered one of the early studies that point to the literature that emerged after the first articles.²⁴⁹ Even if in these early publications the issue of return is presented as an integral part of wider migration processes, they are important in that they share information that can be placed in the specific context of return.

The first time Bosnian returnees were directly involved in specific research was in an article published by Tomislav Kraljačić in 1990.²⁵⁰ In what can be considered a pioneering work in the field of return, Kraljačić focused directly on the experiences of Bosnian Muslims and, in the light of detailed statistical data, provided certain insights into the reasons for the return of these migrants. Kraljačić concludes that in the harsh war conditions, Bosnian Muslims had no choice but to return. Focusing on the difficulties and experiences of these migrants on their return journeys, Kraljačić uses archival documents to reveal their relations with the administrative authorities. Although a short study, Kraljačić's article was pioneering in terms of demonstrating the theoretical significance of repatriation. Kraljačić's emphasis on archives in this short article serves as a guide for future researchers, pointing to the value and richness of archives on the return of Bosnian Muslims.

248 Dedijer Jevto, "Porijeklo Bosanskohercegovačkog Stanovništva," *Pregled*, no. 7–8 (1911): 86–106.

249 Bogičević, "Emigracije Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u Doba Austro-Ugarske Vladavine 1878-1918 God."

250 Tomislav Kraljačić, "Povratak Muslimanskih Iseljenika Iz Bosne i Hercegovine U Toku Prvog Balkanskog Rata," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 151–62.

Leaving aside the general outlines of Kraljačić's article as a flare-up, the study that directly and specifically focuses on the return of Bosnian Muslims was published in 2006 by Mina Kujović, an employee of the Bosnian Federal Archives.²⁵¹ In her important article focusing specifically on Bosnian Muslims who returned in 1902, Kujović attempted to provide a nuanced analysis of the reasons for their return to the homeland. Kujović's article, which can be read as a stronger voice for Kraljačić's aforementioned article, continues the call to encourage researchers by pointing to the richness of the archives. Again in 2006, Safet Bandžović, with his study titled "Emigration of Bosnians to Turkey", presented one of the studies that strengthened the field.²⁵² This detailed study, which focuses on the entire period of emigration of Bosnian Muslims, has been one of the strong contributions to the field by providing comprehensive and detailed data on return. Bandžović's study provides fruitful insights into the complex and multidimensional nature of return processes. Bandžović's study of the Muslims who migrated to the Ottoman Balkans, the concept of repatriation, shares views on the return of Bosnian Muslims based on archival evidence. Bandžović concludes that the reasons for the return of Bosnian Muslims to their homeland were disillusionment with the conditions in the Ottoman Empire, difficulties of integration, and a desire to reappropriate their properties (homes) in the homeland. Another study on the return of Bosnian Muslims in the light of the documents Kujović shared with him was published by Tufan Gündüz under the title "Allahimanet: Bosniaks' Migration to Ottoman Lands".²⁵³ Gündüz's book is an important book that has been published in Turkish in terms of covering emigrations of Bosnian Muslims as well. In many parts of this book, which also includes the fact that Bosnian emigration is not only one-

251 Mina Kujović, "O Bosanskim Muhadžirima, Povratnicima Iz Turske u Vrijeme Austrougarske Uprave," *Gračanički Glasnik* 22 (2006): 71–78.

252 Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*.

253 Tufan Gündüz, *Allahimanet Bosna: Boşnakların Osmanlı Topraklarına Göçü 1879-1912* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2012).

way, the situations of Bosnian returnees are also included with many examples.²⁵⁴

The historian Philippe Gelez, in his *Atlas statistique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine au XIXe siècle*, provides very useful data and information on the number and nature of return migrations of Bosnian migrants.²⁵⁵ Gelez's detailed research, based on strong archival sources, is one of the most detailed analyses of the Bosnian population in the 19th century. Gelez's work, which is based on primary sources and detailed archival research, can be considered one of the important works that places the concept of return in the broader historiographical context. Gelez followed this article with a more detailed and extensive study entitled *La spécificité musulmane dans l'évolution démographique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle* in which he provided detailed data on the population mobility of Bosnian Muslims in the second half of the 19th century.²⁵⁶ This article by Gelez provides very detailed statistical data on the return of the Bosnian Muslims, based on a more detailed literature review following previous ar-

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- 254 The examples given in the book are all from 1902, and these records were prepared by Sandra Biletić, who dealt with emigration issues in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later published in the journal *Građa*, published by the Federal Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Sandra Biletić, "Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih Povratnika Iz Iseljništva Za Vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Uprave (1878.-1903.)," *Građa: Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine* 5 (2013): 20–182. The other studies in which Gündüz discusses the debates in his book are as follows: Tufan Gündüz, "Bosna'ya Dönen Boşnak Göçmenlerin Türkiye ve Türkler Hakkındaki Görüşleri," in *Balkanlar ve Göç*, ed. Ali Fuat Örenç and İsmail Mangaltepe (Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği, 2013), 165–73; Tufan Gündüz, "Migracija u Bosni i Hercegovini Prema Osmanskim Dokumentima," in *Zbornik Radova: Naucni Skupovi "Migracije u Bosni i Hercegovini"*, ed. Izet Šabotić, trans. Naida Ikanović (Tuzla: Preporod, 2011), 125–35; Tufan Gündüz, "Bosna-Hersek'te Osmanlı Topraklarına Göç Tartışmaları," in *Balkan Savaşları'nın 100. Yılında Büyük Göç ve Muhaceret Edebiyatı Sempozyumu: Bildiriler Kitabı (14-15 Aralık 2012, Saraybosna)* (Ankara: Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği, 2013), 128–37.
- 255 Philippe Gelez, *Atlas Statistique De La Bosnie-Herzégovine Au Xixe Siècle: Mémoire Sur La Démographie, Accompagné D'un Atlas* (Dourdan, 2009).
- 256 Philippe Gelez, "La spécificité musulmane dans l'évolution démographique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle (1850-1914)," *European journal of Turkish studies*, no. 12 (2011), doi:10.4000/ejts.4382.

chival work. Gelez's work, which is one of the strongest sources for this thesis, is a seminal work that opens up the complex and multidimensional field of research on the return of Bosnian Muslims.

The most detailed study of the 1902 repatriation is Sandra Biletić's article published in 2013 in the journal "Građa".²⁵⁷ Biletić, who works at the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, provides detailed data on the 1902 period, which has been little studied in relation to the return of Bosnian Muslims. In her study, Biletić acknowledged the gap in the literature on return migration and addressed this gap by providing a detailed introduction and statistical data on returns in 1901, 1902 and 1903. The most prominent aspect of Biletić's work is the transcription and publication of a large number of petitions submitted in 1902 by returnees to Bosnia from both Serbia and Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire. Biletić's study, by revealing the rich and complex situation of the idioms of the returnees, provides a basis for new historiographical approaches. Indeed, this thesis is one of the studies motivated by Biletić's work. The existence of studies on 1902 produced the primary motivation to investigate the broader historical context of the return of Bosnian Muslims. Detailed archival searches of the 1902 period fueled the academic motivation to pursue a more holistic and multilayered research. This thesis is the product of this motivation. The richness of the petitions in the archival records, especially in the period between 1890 and 1918, also determined the historical focus and material of the thesis. The migrant agency, the richness of the experiences of the returnees, the forms of public negotiation and the practices of constructing their own identities and communities, which are observed even in studies restricted to 1902, are the primary motivation for the broader scope of the thesis. Focusing on this specific and under-addressed chapter of Bosnian migration history in particular, and of inter-imperial migration and population movements in general, seemed to be of academic value.

Although there is a dearth of studies focusing on the return of Bosnian Muslims, research such as that of James Meyer has provided valuable data on

257 Biletić, "Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih Povratnika Iz Iseljništva Za Vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Uprave (1878.-1903.)."

the subject.²⁵⁸ In his recent study on Caucasian migration and the Ottoman Empire, Meyer mentions the migratory mobility of Russian Muslims and provides additional information on the subject. Criticizing and challenging the dominant assertion in the literature that such population movements were “forced”, Meyer tries to analyze the whole process of return and active population mobilization through the presence of migrants moving within the system, and provides a detailed analysis of active strategies. The main argument in Meyer's analysis is that migrants cannot be seen as passive beings. The non-passivity of migrants is coupled with the argument that they should also be perceived as active negotiators. By drawing attention to the active strategies of migrants “traveling” between the Russian and Ottoman empires, Meyer draws attention to their agency and agency. Meyer's argument, based on the example of Ahmet Agaoglu, Yusuf Akçura, Ali Hussein, and others who had a primary influence on Ottoman political thought, is united with the interpretation that these figures maintained their Russian citizenship in the Ottoman empire and mobilized between the two empires. Meyer's findings weaken the narratives of “forced migration” and open the door to rich and nuanced interpretations of the complex nature of return and migration. In sum, migrants find a place in the literature on return as subjects who develop active strategies and are capable of negotiation. It can be said that Meyer's study adds strength to a dimension mentioned above through other examples: the theoretical significance of the return field. By making us feel that, from a theoretical point of view, the topic of repatriation is an area worthy of special study, research, and expansion through archival sources, Meyer has also encouraged a variety of studies on which possible future work could be based.

258 Meyer, “Immigration, Return, and The Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1914.”

The Motivations of the Emigrant Bosnian Muslims: Deciding between Two Empires

The emigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire between 1878 and 1918 stands at an important juncture between inter-imperial politics and the formation of a "Muslim" nation. Confronted with the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian Muslims had to face a fundamental transformation. Hundreds of years of Ottoman rule in Bosnia were characterized by an Islamic rule in which social structures shaped life on a regular basis. The imposition of a non-Muslim administration established by Austria-Hungary after the occupation following the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 posed existential paradoxes for Bosnian Muslims regarding their religious and national sensitivities, the question of how their property could be sustained, and their future under a regime they did not recognize. In response, some Bosnian Muslims considered emigrating, while others considered staying in their own land. This chapter examines each pillar of this mobility, addressing the presence of those who chose to stay, although the dissertation focuses mainly on returns. This chapter also examines the social, political, economic, and religious impact of the migration in Bosnia and the Ottoman Empire after resettlement.

Analyzing emigration in the context of the tensions between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires and the formation of a Muslim nation as a sign of resistance, this chapter evaluates the changing attitudes of the

empires towards emigrants, while also addressing the choices of Bosnian Muslims who found themselves stuck in between. Through the use of various archival documents, *layihas*, newspaper articles of the period, and secondary sources (some of which were written during the relevant period and qualified as an archival source), this chapter aims to provide an insightful understanding of the Bosnian emigration, both socially and individually.

§ 3.1 The Ones Who Wanted to Stay Instead of Emigration

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia marked the beginning of a new era for Bosnian Muslims in all respects. Along with a new administration, it was unclear about their political, social and economic rights that had previously existed under Ottoman governance. This ambiguity, together with the severity of the occupation, turned into a milestone for Bosnian Muslims and Orthodox Serbs. The majority chose to stay and resist in the land where they were born and raised, while some decided to emigrate, thinking that they would not find a place for themselves under the new regime. The motivations for not emigrating to the Ottoman Empire and staying in Bosnia could be related to family ties, attachment to the land, religious decision-making, or could be an indicator of the economic situation. Those who stayed have faced the challenges of economic stability, protecting their land and keeping the family together. However, this challenge also entailed being very strong politically and economically.

Bosnian Muslims, especially the landowners, found an important place for themselves in the Ottoman land ownership system. Many prominent Bosnian Muslims were able to register some state-owned land as farms under the Land Code of 1858. In addition, the Decree of 1859 regulated the legal position of peasants who leased their land.¹ This allowed Bosnian landown-

1 Fikret Adanır, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Faruqi, Suraiya (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 270–71; Aydın Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichisch-ungarischen Periode* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 70–74; Philippe

ers to have a privileged position in social and economic terms. Especially for these landowners, emigration was a serious concern due to the fear of losing their economic assets. Emigrating from Bosnia meant leaving all their possessions behind, or so they thought in the period just after the occupation. The new order they would establish in the place of resettlement was much less secure than the order they had already established under Ottoman rule.

3.1.1 *Economic Stability and Property Ownership*

In order to maintain the relations between landowners and peasants (*kmets*) and to ensure local stability, the Austro-Hungarian administration tried to maintain the property rights of Muslim landowners in their current form. The Austro-Hungarian administration, trying to establish a tripartite structure in both ethnic and religious terms, tried to prevent the emigration of Bosnian Muslim landowners by maintaining the status of Muslims in this land system.² On the other hand, many Bosnian Muslim landowners tried to remain in Bosnia, even under non-Muslim rule, in order not to lose their economic privileges, or to preserve their political and economic rights in both empires. The majority of Bosnian Muslim landowners who wanted to stay in Bosnia did not do so due to loyalty or trust in Austro-Hungarian rule, but

Gelez, "Adaptation of the 1858 Ottoman Land Code in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule (1878-1918)," *Journal of Islamic Law* 5, no. 1 (2024); Izet Šabotić, *Agrarne Prilike u Bosanskom Ejaletu (1839.-1878.)* (Tuzla: JU Arhiv Tuzlanskog kantona Tuzla, 2013); Milivoje Erić, *Agrarna reforma u Jugoslaviji: 1918-1941 god.* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1958), 67–68. For a critical reading for Land Code 1858: Huri Islamoglu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Re-Evaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858," in *Ottoman History as World History* (Istanbul: Gorgias Press; Isis Press, 2010), 171–210, <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463225599-009>.

- 2 According to Robert J. Donia, Muslim landowners took advantage of the Monarchy's fear of the emigration of the wealthy elite and used it therefore as a constant threat. They also maintained connections with Istanbul. Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (Boulder New York: East European Quarterly; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981), 70–71. Kamberović stated that landowners who thought they could not negotiate with the new regime emigrated, while others stayed. Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi u Bosni I Hercegovini Od 1878. Do 1918. Godine* (Sarajevo: Institut "Ibn Sina," 2005), 102–3.

rather for pragmatic economic reasons. Benjamin Kallay, the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance in Bosnia between 1882 and 1903, explicitly stated that in order to prevent the emigration of Muslim landowners, the land reform arrangement should be adjusted to their needs.³ In a proclamation sent to the Bosnians immediately after the invasion, the Austro-Hungarian Emperor promised: “All the sons and daughters of this country shall have equal rights before the law and shall be protected in their lives, beliefs and property.”⁴

The Muslim landowners were uncertain about what the Ottomans had to offer, assuming that the Ottoman Empire was in decline both economically and socially, and they did not believe that they could achieve a similar level of value for their assets. The lands in the Ottoman Balkans or in less populated parts of Anatolia that the Ottomans offered to Bosnian landowners during this period were not enough to make them leave their fertile Bosnian lands.⁵

3.1.2 *Austria Hungary and the Status of Islamic Rule*

The feeling of living under non-Muslim rule together with the Austro-Hungarian administration was one of the main motivations for Bosnian

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- 3 Benjamin Kallay, *Die Lage Der Mohammedaner in Bosnien* (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1900), 81–82; Ferdo Hauptmann, “Reguliranje Zemljišnog Posjeda u Bosni i Hercegovini i Poceci Naseljavanja Stranih Seljaka u Doba Austrougarske Vladavine,” *Godišnjak XVI* (1965): 151–71; Martha M. Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)* (Bern; Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1987), 207–10, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/18350371.html>.
 - 4 “Sammlung Gesetze Bd.1 s. 3 f. Proklamation an Die Bewohner von Bosnien- Hercegovina,” July 28, 1878. Cited from Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)*, 208–9. Čupić-Amrein also added that the 1879 convention with Turkey stated that “any attack against the Mohammedans, their property or their religion would be punished most severely”. Ibid., 209.
 - 5 Hamdija Kapidžić, “Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini Za Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine, 1878-1918,” in *Jugoslovenski Narodi Pred Prvi Svetski Rat* (Beograd: Ustanova Nauč. Delo, 1967), 315–39; Hamdija Kapidžić, “Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini Za Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine, 1878-1918,” *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine XIX* (1971 1970): 71–96.

Muslims to emigrate. Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, was trying to take preventive measures against this concern with the trialist structure that it tried to establish in religious terms (Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims).

Bosnian Muslims felt isolated in the immediate aftermath of the occupation and wondered how Austria and Hungary would deal with religious matters. The Austro-Hungarian regime, by virtue of being an empire, was also aware of the religious concerns and tensions within its territory. Therefore, it authorized the continuation of the practice of Islamic law on issues such as family and personal rights, especially with the reforms carried out under the leadership of Kallay. Sharia courts, which regulated basic matters for Bosnian Muslims (especially marriage, inheritance and family matters), remained in place (their full records are kept in the Sarajevo City Archive). In addition, Islamic institutions important for Bosnian Muslims (mosques, madrasas and tekkes⁶) were able to continue their activities. As early as 1879, some prominent Muslims came up with the idea of an autonomous Bosnian Muslim Union and approached His Majesty with a request for a specific organization.⁷ The office of the *Riyaset* was also established by the Austro-Hungarian administration on October 17, 1882 by Hilmi ef. Omerović and became the authority for Islamic decisions. In this way, Muslims had a body that acted as the highest authority in religious and private legal matters.⁸

6 The religious education of Bosnian Muslims was guaranteed with imperial support as of 1894. Kallay, *Die Lage Der Mohammedaner in Bosnien*, 66–67; Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*, Biblioteka “Kulturno nasljeđe” (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987), 356–57.

7 Kallay, *Die Lage Der Mohammedaner in Bosnien*, 61–65.

8 Alexandre Popović, *L'Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans Du Sud-Est Européen Dans La Période Post-Ottomane* (Berlin; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 273–74; Fikret Karčić, “The Office of Ra’is al-‘Ulamā Among the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims),” *Intellectual Discourse* 5, no. 2 (1997): 112, <https://doi.org/10.31436/id.v5i2.394>; Fikret Karčić, *Šerijatsko Pravo - Reformizam I Izazovi Modernosti: Hrestomatija Tekstova I Eseja*, vol. 6 (Sarajevo: Savremeni Islamski Mislioci, 2009), 140–41; Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the Challenges of Modernity: Late Ottoman and Hapsburg Times* (Sarajevo: El Kalem, 1999), 120–25; Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1998), 364–66; Xavier Bougarel, “Farewell to the Ottoman Legacy? Islamic Reformism and Revivalism in Inter-

The continuation of Sharia courts in general and Islamic practices in particular was considered a religious continuity for Bosnian Muslims, especially for those who were willing to emigrate. In this sense, staying in Bosnia constituted no threat to their religious identity. On the margins, while emigration made it possible to live under an Islamic structure they had known before, it also meant moving away from their own social and religious environment. Many of the remaining religious leaders likewise believed that the Austro-Hungarian government would adhere to Islamic law and that the remaining people could continue their religious life.⁹ The fact that Austria-Hungary, with its imperial ideals, considered Sharia laws as valid for Bosnian Muslims was one of the most important factors affecting the emigration of Muslims. With this compromising policy, the Austro-Hungarian administration aimed to ensure the sustainability of the social structure while providing Muslims with a privilege.

§ 3.2 Bosnia Before the Occupation: Diplomacy in the Austro-Hungarian Takeover of Bosnia

In 1875, the collection of taxes in Herzegovina, following the agricultural difficulties of recent years, was causing unrest in the region. The Ottoman Empire needed to increase one of their biggest sources of revenue, the tithe tax, in order to pay off their large foreign debts. In 1874, the internal customs duties, of which there were very few in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were abolished, but an additional one-fourth tithe tax was introduced, thus increasing

War Bosnia-Herzegovina,” in *Islam in Inter-War Europe*, ed. Nathalie Clayer and Eric Germain (Hurst, 2008), 315–17.

9 Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime*; Aydın Babuna, “Nationalism and the Bosnian Muslims,” *East European Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1999): 195–218; Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, *The Afterlife of Ottoman Europe* | Stanford University Press (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2023); Safet Bandžović, *Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci: Ratovi i Muhadžirska Pribježišta (1876-1923)* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2013).

it to one-eighth.¹⁰ In 1875, after a harsh winter in which livestock died and the new harvest was jeopardized, only a few tenants could be found willing to take on the guarantee of collecting the required amount from the farmers, so the state had to shift this task to the municipalities. In July 1875, an uprising broke out near Nevesinje, which soon spread throughout Herzegovina and parts of Bosnia. The revolt was directed against the Beys, demanding the abolition of tithes, the abolition of taxes for the metropolitan, indentured labor and disciplinary penalties, as well as the equal status of Western law with Muslim law.¹¹ This led to the destruction of churches and monasteries, the closure of schools, the exile of teachers and the desertification of already neglected fields by the army. As a result of this bleak situation, more than 200,000 Bosnians and Herzegovinians fled to Austria-Hungary, Serbia or Montenegro, while many others took up arms and went into the mountains as *hajduks*.¹² In response to the uprising, the Ottomans proposed various reforms and agreed to stop arbitrary taxation, to allow non-Muslims to work in the state and to accept representatives. The Ottoman Empire suppressed most of the peasant uprisings with the help of the *Kapudans* (the uprisings were not only opposed to the Ottoman Empire out of national sentiments; they were also seen as a class struggle opposition of Christian peasants against the Muslim Elite).¹³ After the uprising was suppressed, most of the

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- 10 Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1998), 345–48. Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 21. cited in: Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Herzegowina (1878-1914)*, 18.
 - 11 Jared Manasek, “Empires, States, and the Politics of Aid, 1875-1878. A Balkan Turning Point?” (PhD Diss, New York, Columbia University, 2013), 41–45.
 - 12 Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Herzegowina (1878-1914)*, 18–21. Čupić-Amrein gave this number as 500,000, but given the population distribution, 200-250,000 is more realistic. For a significant article on *hajdukluk* and its history in the Ottoman Balkans see: Fikret Adanır, “Heiduckentum Und Osmanische Herrschaft: Limitrophe Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte Der Diskussion Um Das Frühneuzeitliche Räuberwesen in Südosteuropa,” *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (1982): 43–116.
 - 13 David Harris, *A Diplomatic History of the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878* (Stanford University, California, London: Stanford University Press, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1936); Mihailo D. Stojanovic, *The Great Powers and the Balkans, 1875-1878* (Cambridge: The

rebels sought refuge in Serbia, Montenegro and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁴ The Treaty of San Stefano, signed in March 1878, was in essence a heavy hit to the Ottoman Empire, all European states and especially Austria Hungary, with the exception of Russia. A buffer map of the Balkans, which

University Press, 1939). Ali Suavi, an Ottoman intellectual, also has an interesting study on the 1875 Rebellion. He says that it accelerated due to the external interventions made by Austria-Hungary and Russia, and he also puts forward his suggestions for Ottoman reforms. Ali Suavi, *À propos de l'Herzégovine* (Paris: Maisonneuve et cie, 1875). In addition, Gabriel Wesselitsky-Bojidarovitch, a diplomat and journalist himself, who came from an old Herzegovinian Serb family that settled in Russia during the reign of Catherine II, wrote a report dedicated to the members of the Berlin congress: Gabriel Wesselitsky-Bojidarovitch, *Mémoire Sur l'Herzégovine-Bosnie Adressé Aux Plénipotentiaires Des Grandes Puissances* (Vienne: Société Typographique, 1878). He wrote that after the 1875 Rebellion, the great powers made decisions regarding Herzegovina-Bosnia in line with their own interests, but decisions should be made by listening to the concerns of the local people (p.9-10). Gabriel Veselički-Božidarović, *Bosnisch- Herzegowinische Frage* (Wien: Verlag Von L. Bosner, 1878).

- 14 HHStA. IB Annexe 33, 1863-1878. Detailed reports of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on refugees from Bosnia and Montenegro are contained here. We can also see from the correspondence in the file the ways in which the refugee problem influenced and would shape their Balkan policy (including the annexation of Bosnia). Austria Hungary demands the Ottoman Empire to solve this refugee crisis. Sub Committee-Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Delegation begins to discuss on 23 Maj 1876. On April 21, 1878, it is reported in a Memoir. Austria Hungary demands the Ottoman Empire to solve this refugee crisis. Sub Committee-Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Delegation begins to discuss on 23 Maj 1876. On April 21, 1878, it is reported in a Memoir. Austria-Hungary, which actually had plans for the Dalmatian coast since 1875, follows this Memoir, in which occupation is also brought up, with "Memorandum Über Die Di Falle Einer Occupation Ber Bosnischen Ländergebiete In Bezug Auf Die Ersten Administrativen Und Judiciären, Dann Polizeilichen Einrichtungen Dringlichsten Vorkehrungen", a memorandum outlines the most urgent measures to be taken in the event of an invasion, first in terms of administrative and judicial and then police institutions. HHStA, Politisches Archiv/XL Interna. Karton 208. Liasse VIII, 1884-1886. The 1875 Herzegovina Uprising is briefly described here in order to understand the process leading to the 1878 Treaty of Berlin and to stay on the subject of emigration. To comprehend this tension between 1875 and 1878, Manasek's exceptional contribution is essential: Manasek, "Empires, States, and the Politics of Aid, 1875-1878. A Balkan Turning Point?"

the Europeans had actively created against Russian expansionism through the Treaty of Berlin, was a solution for the relevant states.¹⁵

The decision for the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary was reached during the Congress of Berlin regarding the insurrection lasted for three years. During the sitting of June 28, 1878, the Austria-Hungarian Plenipotentiary Count Andrassy pointed out that the Turkish forces in Bosnia at the beginning of the troubles were not able to cease the continuous insurrection and emigration. More than 200,000 people have thus abandoned their homes. For three years past the Austria Hungarian Imperial and Royal Government had to carry the burden of the expense of their maintenance. He indicated that ten million of florins have already been spent for this purpose. The emigrants refuse to go back to their native country. Their limitrophe populations suffer incalculable harm from this never-ending and extended immigration. He pointed out as the origin of the problem as:

The population of these provinces is comprised of Mussulmans, Orthodox Christians and Catholics, fanatical in the antagonism which divides them, and living not in separate districts, in the same localities, the same towns, the same villages. The Sublime Porte would have the task of reuniting all these opposite elements in the mould of an autonomous administration. It would have to proceed to the repatriation of the refugees dispersed in Austria-Hungary and Montenegro, to make provision for their maintenance, and in order to enable them to recommence peaceful labor, to provide them with grain for the sowing of their lands and with materials for the reconstruction of their houses. It would have to undertake the settlement of the Agrarian question, the principal cause of the periodical agitations which have disturbed those countries, a problem bristling, with ob-

15 For correspondence from the French Foreign Office warning Constantinople against Slavic expansionism and, through the consulate in Sarajevo, endorsing the Austro-Hungarian occupation as a result of the Treaty of Berlin, see: MAE, AP, Turquie-Sarajevo, Vol.11, P 761, 1876-1879.

stacles, in the midst of a population distracted by religious hatred and social rivalries, a problem that a strong and impartial power can alone solve in a country where all the real estate is in the hands of Mussulmans, while the Christian agricultural laborers or farmers form the majority of the inhabitants. Every fruitless attempt to establish an autonomous organization in those provinces would give new impetus to the disturbances, and we should thus in a short time be exposed afresh to the intolerable burden which the troubles in those provinces have laid upon us, and for which we still continue to suffer.”¹⁶

As British Plenipotentiary Lord Salisbury indicated they were the sole territories of the Ottoman Empire where the owners of the land and the peasants working on that land had different religious faith. After explaining the incapability of the Ottoman Empire to suppress the insurrection and the geographical distance of these provinces to the Ottoman Empire, together with the imbalance between the revenues and the expenses of those territories as creating a burden on the shoulders of the Ottoman Empire, he proposed that the provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina should be occupied and governed by Austria-Hungary for the future peace of Europe.¹⁷

16 “Correspondence Relating to the Congress of Berlin, with the Protocols of the Congress,” 1878, 113.

17 Ibid., 114–15. BOA, Y.EE 103.52, 1295.Ş.23 (22.08.1878). During the negotiations, Comte Andrassy was trying to get British support for his policy on the advantages of occupation. He persuaded Lord Salisbury in separate meetings. He also asked for help in convincing Istanbul. FO, 881/3685X, Correspondence respecting Separate Negotiations with Austria, June-July 1878. In the reports sent to Lord Salisbury, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, the traces of the Ottoman concerns (FO 424/15, No: 275, HM 05850, 30.09.1878), the decisions regarding the diplomatic attitude to be taken by Britain against this situation (FO 424/68, HM 05982, No.241- 242, 05.03.1878), and what measures Britain would take before and after the invasion (FO 424/15, HM 05850, No. 274, 30.09.1878) can be seen. The world press also published news about how the invasion was the right decision. *The Times* (July 19, 1878): “The Turkish Government must always bear this in mind; otherwise, it will play into the hands of those who would not be sorry to see a conflict between Austria and Turkey arising out of the occupation, and thus, instead of creating a bond of unity, it will drive the two

During this sitting the Ottoman Plenipotentiary pointed out that the intention of the idea of occupation would be to pacify those provinces and repatriation of the refugees. The Ottoman Empire wouldn't voluntarily abandon this task to any other power which belongs to it genuinely and lawfully.¹⁸ The Sublime Porte would immediately send necessary High Commissioners with the task of the organization of police, would provide for the housing and maintenance of the refugees until the commencement of agricultural labor. For the point highlighted regarding the minor material benefits of these provinces to the Treasury of the Ottoman Empire, this wouldn't mean that the occupation of those territories would not create any concern for the sovereign who hold them under its jurisdiction.¹⁹ They strongly opposed to the proposition regarding the occupation. Nevertheless, on the sitting of 4 July 1878, they had to approve it.²⁰

powers apart at the outset, and thus greatly impair their future relations." Similarly, *Le Biritto* (July 15, 1878) wrote: "On the contrary, this decision was taken to prevent disintegration. And this is confirmed by many historical precedents. Bosnia, left to its own devices, lacking good - or semi-independent - governance, would soon become the scene of bloody wars again. In this situation, Great Britain appealed to a neighboring power that was strong and interested in keeping the peace, and Europe, associating itself with the same concept, entrusted Austria-Hungary with the occupation and administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina." HHStA, PA XII-257, Turkei Liasse VI-1 1878 VI-XII

- 18 The Ottoman Empire emphasized from the very beginning of the occupation decision that Austrian troops were allowed to enter Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to maintain order and public order in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to facilitate the return of refugees to their homeland, and that the duration of the stay of Austrian troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina would be limited to the time necessary for the maintenance of public order in the region and the return of migrants, and that this period would vary between six months and twelve months and would not exceed twelve months. BOA, İ. DUİT, 138/48 (06.07.1878).
- 19 "Correspondence Relating to the Congress of Berlin, with the Protocols of the Congress," 116.
- 20 A telegram sent from Count Zichy to Vienna on July 12, immediately after the decision was taken, is of particular importance. At the beginning of the occupation, Count Zichy wrote a report entitled "Is this how we see it?", in which he outlined the first things to be done and the structure to be established in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Against the threat of Panslavism, he mentions how the administrative structure should be structured, the organization of religious and educational institutions, the opening of forest lands for the use of the Christian

§ 3.3 Austro-Hungarian Occupation

The emigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire between 1878 and 1918 was shaped by specific historical processes, inter-imperial policy shifts, and changes in social and economic life. These processes can be characterized by a combination of different religious sensitivities and obligations, the uncertainty of the economic and political process, and unstable governmental policies. Analyzing the phases of this migration separately makes it possible to analyze in detail the historical processes of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Ottoman Empire more broadly during this period of transformation.

The first reaction of Bosnian Muslims to the Austro-Hungarian occupation after the signing of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 was rebellion followed by emigration. Bosnia was recognized as an Ottoman territory from the Treaty of Berlin until the official annexation in 1908, when the administration was transferred to Austro-Hungarian rule. Each subsequent wave of emigration

population, and the representation of the administrative administration by the Empire. The definition of the Empire in his report, which proceeds in bullet points: a. It is essential to establish a harsh but just military regime in Bosnia (and in this study, when reading the name Bosnia, it is always necessary to include Herzegovina) in order to prevent in time all maneuvers, deaf or open, which naturally arise from the jealousy of some and the contempt of others at the sight of a secular property passing temporarily or definitively into other hands. b. In the case of the sovereignty of a liberal and humane power like Austria-Hungary, it is obvious that religions should be tolerated with perfect equality. In his report on the implementation of land reform, he refers to Muslims as follows: "However, Muslims, who are generally accustomed to laziness and luxury, will not bother to work" HHStA, PA XII-257, Turkei Liasse VI-1 1878 VI-XII, Politisch No: 57 B; Constantinopel 12 Juli 1878, Graf Zichy, 12.07.1878. In another telegram he wrote: "We have shown that the establishment of autonomy in Bosnia will open a wide field for Slavic intrigues. However, the Slavic element will necessarily turn to the elimination of the Muslim race in order to guarantee its own superiority. The example of Serbia testifies to this. The same manifestation would be even more vividly manifested in Bosnia, where, in the final analysis, the struggle against the Muslims was inspired by the uprising of the poor against the tyranny of the rich. When Austria-Hungary takes over the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, its first task will be to guarantee the inhabitants of these provinces the free exercise of their religion and the undisputed possession of their property." HHStA, PA XL-208.

actually intensified following resistance to the political developments. The 1878 occupation, the 1882 conscription and the 1882 uprising, and the tensions in 1900 over the educational and religious rights of Muslims. The fourth phase was characterized by the resistance that started with the 1908 Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and the subsequent wave of migration. Finally, with the end of the empires during the First World War, Bosnian Muslims emigrated.

In the post-resistance emigration, Bosnian Muslims preferred to migrate to Ottoman lands for political, social and economic reasons. The Ottoman Empire's attitude towards immigration and migrants was generally ambiguous. It is possible to talk about migrants who were supported during each wave of migration and who were actually expected to stay where they were. Examples of this will be detailed in the related chapters. Likewise, traces of this uncertainty can be seen in the decision of Bosnian Muslims to emigrate. If they have to cope with economic difficulties and especially if they have family members or friends who have emigrated or are about to emigrate, this is a conceivable choice; however, in the opposite case, they prefer to maintain the status quo.

According to Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman Empire cedes Bosnia to Austria-Hungary on a compulsory and temporary basis, while retaining its sovereignty, including the right to collect taxes. However, this is not very welcomed in Bosnia. Bosnian Muslims and Orthodox (and even Jews and some Catholics),²¹ who felt that they were being left alone, developed a resistance against this and sought ways to gain their independence. The first indication of resistance to Habsburg rule, especially from the lower Muslim classes,²² was a petition circulated by two religious officials from the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque in the Bašćaršija in May 1878.²³ Hafiz Abdulah-eff, imam of the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque. Kaukdžić and Mu-

21 Izet Pertev, *Okupacija Ili Ulazak Austro-Ugarske Vojske u Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1878. Godine* (Sarajevo: M. Milanovića, 1932), 30–37.

22 Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime*, 41–45.

23 Mihovil Mandić, *Povijest okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1910), 24–30.

hamed-eff. Hadžijamaković, a sheikh, were intellectuals of the time, educated in Constantinople. In their petition they demanded that all Bosnians rise up against the rule of Austria and Hungary. Muslim landowners refused to sign the petition.²⁴ Even before the occupation had begun, this resistance was organizing against the Ottomans and maintaining their preparations against Austria Hungary. After the Berlin Congress, Austria-Hungary issued a declaration in Ottoman addressed to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina just before the invasion, emphasizing that the Austro-Hungarian army entered Bosnia not as an enemy, but as a friend, because the Sultan had handed over this province to him personally and that he had come to protect it and establish peace there.²⁵

24 Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976), 12–17; Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: Biografija Grada* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006), 70–80; Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006). Vladislav Skarić, *Sarajevo i Njegova Okolina Od Najstarijih Vremena Do Austro-Ugarske Okupacije* (Sarajevo: Bosanska Pošta/Josip Bretler, 1937), 257–64.

25 GHB, A-2466/TO. See the German version of the same proclamation: HHStA, PA XII-257, *Turkei Liasse VI-1* 1878 VI-XII, 29.07.1878. We can translate it as follows: “Bosnians and Herzegovinians, the troops of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary will cross your borders, they do not come as enemies to conquer your homeland, they come as friends to put an end to the evils that have plagued not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the neighboring countries of Austria-Hungary for many years. The Emperor and the King see with regret that a fratricidal war has devastated your beautiful country; that people who do not live on the same land are at war with each other; that trade and industry have come to a standstill; that your fields have been destroyed, your flocks plundered, and misery reigns in your towns and countryside. Great and solemn events have not permitted your Government to restore among you the tranquility and harmony which are the basis of public prosperity, and the Emperor and the King could no longer stand by and watch the discord and violence which tear you apart, and the poverty and misery which spread along the frontiers of their State. He brought your situation to the attention of the European Powers at the Congress of Berlin, and it was unanimously decided that Austria-Hungary should restore to you the peace and prosperity from which you had so long been deprived. His Majesty the Sultan, out of concern for your welfare, entrusts you to the protection of his mighty and powerful army. Each of you will be protected by our arms, none of you will be oppressed. The Emperor and the King decree that all inhabitants of this land shall have the same rights before the law, and that the wealth, faith and property of all, without exception,

On July 29, 1878, when Austro-Hungary invaded Bosnia,²⁶ an effective resistance began under the leadership of Hadži Lojo.²⁷

shall be protected. Your laws and institutions will not be changed arbitrarily; your customs and traditions will be respected. No innovations will be introduced without careful consideration of your needs. The old regulations shall remain in force until new ones are promulgated. The Emperor and King expect the religious and civil authorities to maintain good order and assist the government. The country's revenues will be allocated only to its needs. The last armies will not be covered up. Imperial and Royal troops will not oppress the country. They will pay cash for their purchases. The Emperor and King know your grievances and want you to prosper. Under his powerful scepter, people of different races and religions live in harmony. Each speaks his own language and each freely defends his faith. Inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, enter safely under the protection of the glorious flag of Austria-Hungary. Accept our soldiers as friends, obey the authorities, continue your professions and you will be guaranteed the fruits of your labor."

- 26 On the precise details of the invasion and the plans made by Austria-Hungary, see: "Die Occupation Bosniens und der Hercegovina durch k. k. Truppen im Jahre 1878," 1879. As a supplement, see maps to see the whole occupation militarily: *Die Occupation Bosniens Und Der Hercegovina Durch k. k. Truppen Im Jahre 1878: Nach Authentischen Quellen, Mit Karten Und Plänen Dargestellt / in d. Abtheilung Für Kriegsgeschichte Des K. K. Kriegs-Archivs*, 1879, <http://diglib.uibk.ac.at/ulbdigital/178219>. For more details: Robert J. Donia, "The Battle for Bosnia: Habsburg Military Strategy in 1878," in *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878 godine u Bosni i Hercegovini: Sarajevo, 23 i 24 oktobra 1978*, ed. Milorad Ekmečić (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979), 109–21; Robert J. Donia, "The Habsburg Imperial Army in the Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina," in *Insurrections, Wars and the Eastern Crisis in the 1870s*, ed. Bela Kiraly and Gale Stokes, vol. 17 (Boulder, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 375–91; V. Vinzenz Haardt, *Die Occupation Bosniens Und Der Hercegovina: Nach Verlässlichen Quellen Geschildert* (Wien: Verlag Von Eduard Hölzel, 1878).
- 27 FO, 424/74, No.355, 11.09.1878; FO, 424/72, No.333, 10.07.1878. Hadži Lojo, also known as Hafiz Salih Vilajetović, was an imam in a mosque near Bjelava. After the 1875 Uprising, he was one of the organizers of the resistance when it became clear that the Ottoman Empire would withdraw. Mustafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955-1967* (Zürich: Bošnjački Institut, 1996), 259–62; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV: Prilozi Za Političku Istoriju Bosne I Hercegovine u XVIII I XIX Stoljeću* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 80–84. See also for an interesting novel about Hadži Lojo: *Hadschi Loja Oder Die Verschwörung Zu Sarajevo Cine Historisch-Romantische Erzählung* (Wien: 1878, Bollaf).



Figure 3.1 “Hadschy Loja, Insurgentenchef als Gelangener.” = “Hadschy Loja, insurgent leader, was transferred” source: Von Man-
kobüick, Carl Balog. *Kriegs-Bilder-Skizzen Aus Dem Bosnisch-herzegowinischen Occupations-Feldzüge 1878 Von Der Marsch-
linie: Brood, Sarajevo, Visegrad Bis an Den Limm*. Wien:
Verlag, 1879, p.18

Although the resistance was effective at many different points, The Austro-Hungarian occupation was only completed in October 1878. In a telegram from Count Andrassy to Count Zichy in Constantinople, a proposal was made to re-negotiate an agreement with the Ottomans in return for all the resistance that followed the invasion. The main fear here is to remove the concerns about whether this resistance was organized by the Ottomans.²⁸

28 “With the desire, however, to push to its utmost limit the conciliatory sentiments which move us, we continue our disposition to settle the details of the occupations, notwithstanding the entry of our troops, by a later agreement, as soon as the Turkish Representatives have received the necessary instructions to that effect, and subject to the reservation mentioned in my telegram No. 107 of the 28th of this month to Your Excellency. In any event, we accept responsibility for the consequences which may result from the failure to reach agreement. The responsibility rests entirely with the Porte, which, while accepting the terms

The Ottomans had, of course, abstained from the decision, but the resistance committee forces had even dismissed the Ottoman governor after the decision to invade. Foreign Minister Andrassy was only able to order the invasion in late July after the Austro-Hungarian consul was expelled from Sarajevo along with Ottoman officials.²⁹

Despite promises of a friendly arrival, when the Austro-Hungarian army invaded Bosnia, it mobilized more than 82,000 troops and deployed another 9,000 to guard the Dalmatian border.³⁰ Significant fighting took place near Jajce, Zepce, Tuzla, Brcko, Sarnac and Maglaj, and especially near Doboj, the center of resistance in the Bosnian Valley, where insurgents managed to barricade the road for several days.³¹ In all areas, resistance was met with a harsh response. Raids were carried out on the resisting population, houses and hospitals. Ferik Ahmet Hafiz's report to the government stated the following:

The people of Bosnia, who had been accustomed to Ottoman justice for nearly four hundred and fifty years, showed fierce resistance against the invading Austrian forces, Austrian soldiers committed a number of outrageous inhumane practices such as massacres, rape, looting and fire in Tuzla and Banaluka, and households that resisted the occupation of Sarajevo were identified and burned, The commander of the occupation forces, who seized the military hospital,

of the Congress, has not ceased to put obstacles in the way of their implementation, while we have the guilty conscience of having done nothing to bring about an agreement. Your Excellency will be kind enough to convey the same view to the Istanbul Cabinet" HHStA, PA XII-257, Turkei Liasse VI-1 1878 VI-XII, 29.07.1878.

- 29 Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)*, 23–26. The Commander of Banja Luka Hüseyin and the Mutasarrif of Banja Luka sent news to the Sublime Porte about the entry of the Austrian army into Banja Luka: GHB, A-413/B; GHB, A-3432/TO.
- 30 Mandić, *Povijest okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine*, 33.
- 31 Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)*, 26–27; Donia, "The Battle for Bosnia: Habsburg Military Strategy in 1878," 118–19; Donia, "The Habsburg Imperial Army in the Occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina," 379–82.

had the sick and wounded thrown out by using harsh expressions such as “humans and animals cannot live together” and insulted the religion and honor of the people.³²

In fact, they were not wrong in their concerns. On October 2, the day of the occupation, a special council convened in the palace and it was decided to prepare an edict. According to this edict, first of all, it was demanded that the rights that Austria Hungary had received under the Berlin Treaty had turned into a massacre and that this should be put an end to. Secondly, despite the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was only there to ensure the security of Bosnia as per the decision of the congress, it was behaving in the opposite way and this should be explained to other states. Finally, it was expected that the severity of this occupation should be protested and Bosnia should be removed from this domination. As a short-term solution, they decided that Bosnian Muslims should be allowed to migrate to Albania and that this should be organized, that autonomy should be established in Bosnia, and that measures to remove Austrian pressure on Bosnia should be taken immediately.³³

The Austro-Hungarian Empire asked the Ottoman Empire to support the movement against the resistance that emerged during the occupation with a declaration and then with an inter-imperial agreement.³⁴ The discussions on

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- 32 BOA, Y. PRK.ASK, 2/9 (16.09.1878). It was also written here: *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Bosna Hersek* (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009), 258–60. In this report submitted to the Porte, the Porte informed Count Andrassy of what had happened and requested on behalf of the Ottoman Empire to take the necessary measures to put an end to this situation, which was contrary to Austria-Hungary's European authorizations. BOA, HR.TO, 497/38 (07.10.1878)
- 33 BOA, Y.EE 3/67 (02.10.1878). In a telegram sent to London on October 14, the British Ambassador in Istanbul writes that Caratheodory Effendi told him that the recent protracted negotiations on a Convention had as their object and purpose nothing more than to "save" the Pasha of Novi-Bazar, from which the majority of Bosnia's Muslims would emigrate. FO, 424 /15 No:477 (14.10.1878)
- 34 BOA, Y.A.RES 2/18 (12.02.1879) cited in Fahriye Emgili, “Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)” (PhD, Ankara, Ankara University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, De-

the agreement continued and it took time to reach a final conclusion. In other words, the longer the agreement for the Dual Monarchy dragged on, the more suspicions grew that the provisions of the Berlin Treaty were not being implemented by the Ottoman Empire. After lengthy negotiations, on April 21, 1879, the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Governments, reserving the right to agree on the details of the occupation envisaged in Article XXV of the Treaty of Berlin and that the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should not prejudice the Sultan's sovereign rights over these provinces, the two Governments, by their Plenipotentiaries (Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, His Excellency Count F. Zichy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to His Majesty the Sultan, on the one hand, and His Excellency Karateodori Pacha,³⁵ Minister of Foreign Affairs and His Excellency Münif Efendi, Minister of Education, on the other).³⁶

The Austro-Hungarian Government shall have no objection to the retention in office of those of the existing officials who are competent to perform

partment of History, 2011), 82. For the published version: Fahriye Emgili, *Boşnakların Türkiye'ye Göçleri (1878-1934)* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2012).

- 35 In a report from Count Zichy to the Vienna, Karateodori Pasha is described as follows: "As is well known, Karatodori Pasha is of a very fickle character, accustomed to always act in the second place, and now that he has to occupy such an important position in a generally envied manner, he shows himself even more self-conscious and exhibits an extremely regrettable timidity in his decisions, avoiding any initiative and anxious to appear himself much more Turkish than the Turks and therefore more pleasing to the Turks than a Turk. And since everyone knows that it is he who exerts the greatest and most authoritative influence on the Grand Vizier in foreign affairs, the Grand Vizier's views and manifestations should not be doubted, but rather labeled as coming from a giant." HHStA, PA XII-258, Turkei Liasse VI-2 1879 I-V, 17.01.1879
- 36 HHStA, PA XII-258, Turkei Liasse, VI-2 1879 I-V. Count Zichy was informed that Article 6 of the Convention should be decided as follows: "The inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina who are outside these provinces or who are traveling shall continue to be subject to Ottoman law and jurisdiction. Their relations with the Austro-Hungarian consulates in Turkey shall be the subject of a later arrangement between the Porte and the Austro-Hungarian Embassy." was then left for further discussion. HHStA, PA XII-258, Turkei Liasse, VI-2 1879 I-V, 28.02.1879.

their duties properly; the free and external practice of all existing religions shall be guaranteed to the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina or to those who visit it; His Majesty the Sultan's name shall continue to be pronounced in the public prayers of the Muslims, as in the past; the troops of the two States shall be brought to an absolutely equal level in terms of their numbers, military superiority and freedom of movement; if the Porte wishes to maintain regular troops in the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar (*Yeni Pazar*), even at points where there are Austro-Hungarian troops, nothing shall be done to prevent it.³⁷

During the period when this agreement was being discussed, the occupation of Austria-Hungary was reported to the Sublime Porte by Brigadier (*mirliva*) Hüseyin pasha as follows:

When the Austrians entered Sarajevo, they were met with fierce resistance from the Muslim population who resisted in the city. However, they resorted to violent methods to suppress this resistance. The hiding places of many women and children who took shelter in the inns to survive in the town were set on fire with artillery shells, many people were crushed in the neighborhoods in the central part of the city, Austrian soldiers killed everyone they came across with bayonets, and it was reported that they tore women to pieces with swords. They also broke into houses and tortured the people they captured as they pleased. A few days later, under the pretext of collecting weap-

37 HHStA, PA XII-258, Turkei Liasse, VI-2 1879 I-V, Convention, (21.04.1879). In 3 separate meetings held between February 15-27, March 5-17, March 21-April 2, the focus is on Article 6. See here for details: HHStA, PA XL, Interna Liasse, X-XIII, Procés Verbal de la Premiere Séance 15/27 February 1879; Procés Verbal de la Deuxieme Séance 5-17 March 1879; Procés Verbal de la Troisieme Séance 21 March-2 April 1879. For detailed British consular reports, especially on the Sanjak of Yeni Pazar, see. The British believed that the Austro-Hungarians would have a more difficult time establishing dominance here than in Bosnia. FO, 424/76, No.520, 16.11.1878; FO, 424/89 (HM 06023), 1879; FO, 78/2782 (X/M02352), 1879. On May 5, 1879, the French Consul in Sarajevo informed Paris with details of the agreement. However, in his report, he mentions the severity of the Austro-Hungarian occupation and that Muslims were preparing to emigrate in response. MAE, AP, Turquie-Sarajevo, Vol.11, P 761/1879 (05.05.1879).

ons from the people, they directly killed many Muslims, and from the beginning, Christians took advantage of this situation and started to insult Muslims in every conceivable way. Moreover, when Muslims complained about these insults, the Austrian authorities ignored them and executed some of them on simple grounds. When the Muslim people realized that they were facing such a great persecution that they had never heard of even from their ancestors, they became very frightened and did not know what to do, who to complain to and where to ask for help. In the end, they became helpless in the face of such severe persecution and resigned themselves to fate. In an effort to protect their homeland, a few resistance fighters tried to resist by firing muskets, but the Austrians entered the government house almost without encountering any resistance. Although many officials of the state were present, all official documents and records of the province were thrown out of the windows and some of them were sold by Austrian soldiers to grocers and shopkeepers at very low prices. According to the amount determined by the provincial administrators, a large number of important official documents, printed documents, customs records and documents related to the tobacco tax were also destroyed. State property found on the streets, in barracks and even in private homes was looted and many bags, canteens and other valuables were seized.³⁸

For many Bosnian Muslims, the Austro-Hungarian invasion signaled the end of their privileged position under Islamic rule. In Kallay's book, there is a statement that supports the uneasiness of the Muslims: "Muslims were lucky until 1878, but then they started to emigrate. After 1878, it was the Christians' turn and they were lucky."³⁹ As a frontier province during the Ottoman period, Bosnia was a privileged place where Muslims had a voice in the administration, in the army and had privileged positions such as land

38 BOA, A.MKT.MHM 484/57 (06.10.1879)

39 Kallay, *Die Lage Der Mohammedaner in Bosnien*, 120.

ownership.⁴⁰ The Austro-Hungarian takeover was seen as a threat to this social order. Muslim landowners and prominent administrative leaders were afraid of losing their status, political and economic power.

The most prominent actors in the post-occupation emigration wave were Ottoman officials, soldiers and their families. They were loyal to the Ottoman administration and when the Austro-Hungarian rule came, their first response was to return to the Ottoman lands. The occupation caused Ottoman military and administrative personnel to leave or be expelled from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The key problem that actually emerged with this first exodus was the creation of an administrative emptiness.⁴¹ Muslim elites were now replaced by Austrian or Hungarian military or administrative personnel. However, there were some Ottoman officers and administrative staff who stayed or had to stay after the occupation began. With the Austro-Hungarian occupation, Ottoman soldiers and administrative staff were arrested, especially in Sarajevo. In the petitions addressed to General Filipović, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian armies, and to the Emperor, families were asked to be released. In these petitions, especially written by women, they stated that they had financial difficulties due to the detention of their husbands and that they would migrate to the Ottoman Empire as soon as amnesty was granted.⁴²

The families of the departing Ottoman officers and administrators, especially their families, wanted to emigrate even if the amnesty was not granted, but they also demanded that the Austro-Hungarian authorities cover their

40 Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 386–88.

41 *Nachträge Zur Sammlung Der Für Bosnien Und Die Hercegovina Erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen Und Normalweisungen 1878-1880* (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1881), 6–8.

42 HAS, Varia, 47, 07.10.1878 (Senior Captain Said Aga, Major Mahmud Efendi, Senior Captain Hamdi Bey, Captain Omer Aga, Captain Osman Beg from the 1st Battalion); HAS, Varia, 48, 07.10.1878 (Imam of the Battaillon Abdullah Ef., Armourer Emrullah, Armourer Mehmed, Armourer Smail from the 1st Battalion); HAS, Varia, 49, 10.10.1878 (Eder Beg, Ahmed Efendi, Osman Bey, Mustafa Bey); HAS, Varia, 50, 11.10.1878 (Ahmed Mulazim); HAS, Varia, 51, 12.10.1878 (Caprain Fejzullah Fahim); HAS, Varia, 53, 15.10.1878 (Sulejman Jakupović, Smail Jakupović); HAS, Varia, 54, 15.10.1878.

travel expenses due to lack of funds. The departure expenses of some of them and their return expenses after the amnesty were covered by the decree dated October 9, 1878. However, in 1880, the Ministry of War of the Dual Monarchy sent a decree dated October 22, 1880 and numbered No.4980 to the General Command in Sarajevo, stating that these expenses would not be covered.⁴³

Apart from the Ottoman soldiers and administrators, some Bosnian Muslims also began to emigrate after the harshness of the occupation. Reports were constantly sent to the Porte from the Belgrade or Skopje embassies regarding the migration flows moving towards the Ottoman Empire and the decision of the Porte regarding the migration was awaited. In the first place, the Sublime Porte was discussing the ways and means by which the emigrants would arrive (via Thessaloniki), what kind of aid could be provided on the way, what kind of aid the state would provide, how their belongings should be arranged, as well as how this issue should be viewed and dealt with between the two empires.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it emphasized that if Bosnian Muslims remained there, Austria Hungary would not be able to achieve its goal.⁴⁵ This state of ambiguity was an issue that was constantly discussed by both emigrants, intellectuals and the Porte during all periods of migration.

43 *Sammlung Der Für Bosnien Und Die Hercegovina Erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen Und Normalweisungen: I. Band: Allgemeiner Their-Politische Verwaltung* (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1880), 415.

44 BOA, Y.A. HUS 3/7, Ottoman Council of Ministers Records. (27.04.1879). You can find also additional details about this record, please see: Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina" (PhD, New York, Columbia University, 2013), 61–62. In other document, Porte mentions that the Muslims of Bosnia had asked for emigration due to the pressure they were being subjected to, and their emigration was deemed inconvenient for both the government and themselves, and if the Austrian government did not give up its policy, it would be appropriate for this issue to be decided by the Council of Ministers in the spring. BOA, Y.A.HUS, 163/29 (06.01.1880). BOA, DH.ŞFR,116 (26.01.1883).

45 BOA, Y.A.HUS 32 (06.01.1880).

The fact that Bosnians who were worried about emigrating, emigrated to nearby Ottoman lands or Montenegro. Those close emigration should also be evaluated together with this situation. In a sense, the preference for the closest lands in Bosnia and Herzegovina for emigration brings with it the hope that they can return. The emigration adventure of Gavriilo Bjelogrić and Šaban Čustović in 1883 to Montenegro also contains similarities:

Gavriilo Bjelogrić and I did military service together, in Mostar. As it is known, most of the people in Mostar were fleeing. Bjelogrić told me that he had been in Montenegro before his military service, he told me that life was more comfortable there. It was close and we could return if we couldn't make it. The next time we talked he asked me if I would run away with him, confirming that we could live more comfortably in Montenegro. I was aware of the unrest in Herzegovina at that time, because part of the population was fleeing to Montenegro, so I decided to flee together with Gavriilo Bjelogrić from Mostar. We crossed the mountains for 3-4 evenings and reached the border, without sleeping and without looking for food. The only food we had was bread, which we took with us. In those years it was said that Austria and Hungary would not rule Mostar for a long time, that Montenegro would take and rule these lands, and that whoever served in the Austrian ranks would be expelled. These conversations coincided exactly with the time of my escape, I was very young then and I believed everything they said.⁴⁶

46 ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Šaban Čustović, 03.06.1902. See for related examples emigrating to Montenegro: ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Zaim Kapetanović, 05.01.1903; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Fata Koluder, 03.01.1903; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Alija Rajković, 28.06.1902. The majority of those who emigrated to Pljevlja (Taslica) did so in a similar situation, either because of family ties or in the hope of returning. BOA, DH.MKT 2861, 100 (1327.C.11). The Ottoman Empire agreed to give the Montenegrin government an annual allocation for the expenses of the Muslim population who migrated to Montenegro after the occupation: BOA, A.MKT.MHM 604, 4 (18.09.1901). Yet, they decided to abolish this in 1906: BOA, MV 112, 64 (01.01.1906)

For the Orthodox in particular, Montenegro and Serbia were an option, while for Bosnian Muslims Albania,⁴⁷ Macedonia,⁴⁸ Sanjak of Novi Pazar,⁴⁹ and Kosovo⁵⁰ were options. In every period of intensified migration, there were families who migrated, settled and/or returned to their homeland. In addition to the hope of returning one day, family ties and the presence of relatives there, the absence of language problems and/or seasonal conditions were also influential.

This first phase of emigration can be explained by the fact that those who left tried to maintain their status within the Ottoman administrative system. In fact, although it is understandable that they left immediately after the agreement, it shows their loyalty to the Ottomans rather than to the local Bosnian society. The immediate departure of the ruling elite also underscores the variability in the structures of governance in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the departure of these elites led to a sense of existential powerlessness among Bosnian Muslims created by an administrative gap.

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- 47 ABH, ZVS, I.B.,803/1902, Alija Bećirović, 29.12.1902; ABH, ZVS, I.B.,803/1902, Mehmed Čehić, 25.08.1902; ABH, ZVS, I.B.,803/1902, Muho Midžić, 12.03.1902.
- 48 ABH, ZVS, 1912, 71/ 20-81/20-90/159, Ahmet Čarkić, 08.01.1912. For a monograph about Bosnian Emigrations to Macedonia (also to Kosovo), please see: Redžep Škrijelj, *Мухаджирската Криза И Населување На Бошњациите Во Македонија (1875 - 1901) (Монографија) [The Muhajir Crisis and the Settlement of Bosniaks in Macedonia (1875 - 1901) (Monograph)]* (Skopje, 2006). In Skopje, on the basis of neighborhoods, it is possible to find the places where Bosnian Muslims settled, p.150-165. Nikola Stojanović, *Annexions et désannexions* (Genève: A. Kundig, 1917), 62-63. Safet Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku* (Sarajevo: Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, 2006), 550-64.
- 49 Alexandre Popović, *L'Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans Du Sud-Est Européen Dans La Période Post-Ottomane* (Berlin; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 308-10. Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, 490-516.
- 50 BOA, MV, 118/10 (1326.M.06).

§ 3.4 Conscription Crisis

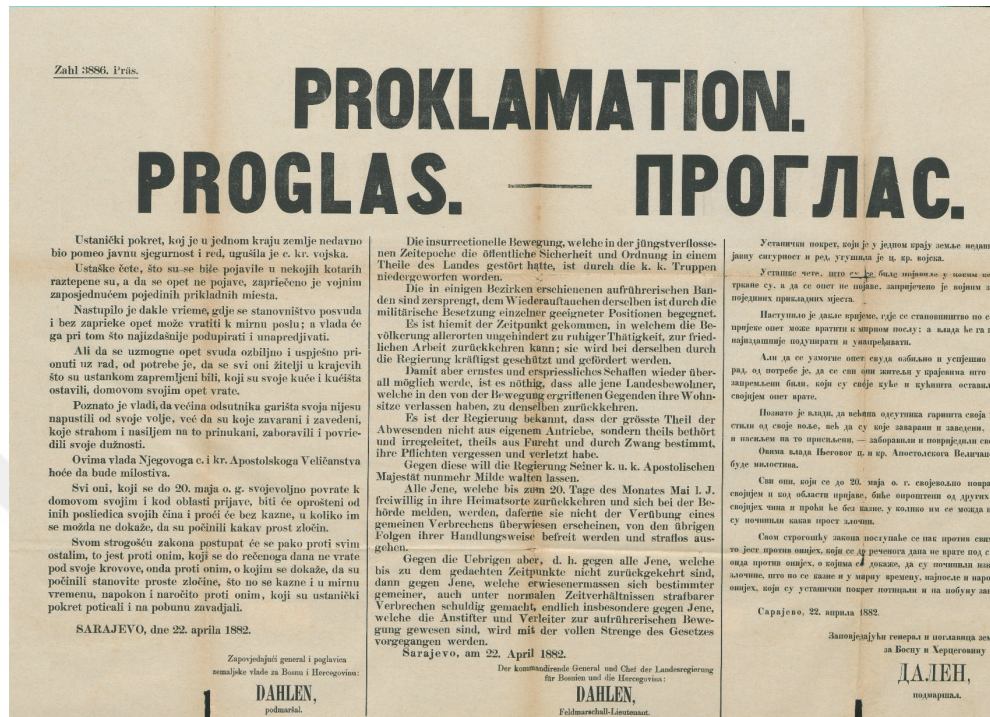


Figure 3.2 Proclamation. SOURCE: GHB, A-660, 22.04.1882

The first mass emigration of Bosnian Muslims took place after the Dual Monarchy introduced conscription in 1881.⁵¹ For Muslims, it was unacceptable to serve in a non-Muslim army and someday fight against the Ottomans if they were ever confronted. The fact that Austria Hungary emphasized the continuation of Ottoman sovereignty after the 1878 invasion, and that the Friday *hutbes* were sent from Istanbul, gave the impression that they had only come to settle the conflicts. However, with the conscription law, the

51 1881 Regulation on the conscription of the army in the Vilayet of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the version in Ottoman letters see: GHB, A-4799/TO, 1881. On the 1881 conscription law, concerning which the Consulates in Sarajevo and Istanbul had detailed discussions with Vienna, see the correspondence: HHStA Politisches Archiv, XL Interna, Karton 209, Liasse IX B, 1881.

occupation was in fact formalized and went beyond claiming imperial sovereignty. Bosnian Muslims preferred to emigrate rather than become soldiers of the Dual Monarchy. Parallel to Ottoman thinking on conscription, Ahmet Midhat wrote the following:

We know that the Austro-Hungarian government had introduced the law of compulsory military service in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which it temporarily occupied. We learn that some Bosnians and Herzegovinians residing in Istanbul, who were of military age, received summons from their communities to register in their country and comply with the law on compulsory military service. They were told that they would not comply with this invitation and would appeal to the Porte to regularize their situation. Bosnia and Herzegovina are still an integral part of the Empire; the Austrian occupation is not definitive and Ottoman laws still largely apply in these two provinces. We therefore believe that Bosnians are not obliged to perform military service. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoyed certain immunities under Ottoman rule. We do not know whether the Bosniaks wish to base their request for exemption from military service on the same immunities.⁵²

This question of conscription highlights how religion and state authority intersect as an important cause. For many Bosnian Muslims, conscription in the Christian army was not only a religious problem, but also a cultural, social and political threat. The fact that Bosnian Muslims refused this service even in rural areas shows how intertwined the political/religious identities of Bosnian Muslims were. In this sense, the migration of Bosnian Muslims to lands under Ottoman rule should also be read as a religious resistance. Of course, when interpreted in terms of rural Muslims, this religious resistance was also supported by economic difficulties.

52 HHStA Politisches Archiv, XL Interna, Karton 209, Liasse IX B, 1881. It was requested that the forced conscription of Tuzcuoğlu Ömer, one of the inhabitants of Bosnia, by the Austrian State was not in accordance with the treaty signed with Austria. BOA, I.HR 337 21728 (09.04.1885)

Along with the 1881 conscription law, Serbs revolt began in the Herzegovina region.⁵³ The class-based resistance that had been going on in the region since 1875 had partially stopped as a result of the severe pressure of the Austro-Hungarian armies. However, with this law, Serbs started resistance in the region. Bosnian Muslims also supported the uprising of Serbian rebels against the Austro-Hungarian authorities in 1882. They supported the uprising by uniting against a common enemy, as in the 1878 invasion.⁵⁴

Austria-Hungary, which had been trying to reduce the tension in the region since 1878, issued a proclamation in Bosnian, Serbian and German on 22.04.1882 by Hermann Freiherr Dahlen von Orlaburg, Commander-in-Chief and Head of the Provincial Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the insurgency increased in intensity and spread to different regions in Bosnia.⁵⁵ According to this proclamation, the resistance has been suppressed and the Empire, showing its greatness, declares that the people can live in peace. It declared that none of those involved in the rebellion had participated in it of their own free will, but partly through deception and misdirection, partly through fear and coercion, and that all those who returned home and reported by May 20 would be exempt from further consequences of their actions and would remain unpunished, unless they appeared to have committed a petty crime.⁵⁶

53 Donia, "The Habsburg Imperial Army in the Occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina," 386–89; Milorad Ekmečić, "Ustanak u Hercegovini 1882," in *Naučni Skup 100 Godina Ustanka u Hercegovini 1882. Godine: (Sarajevo, 21-22.10.1982)*, ed. Čemerlić Hamdija (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka, 1983), 9–20.

54 Adanır, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," 270–71; Hamdija Kapidžić, *Hercegovački ustanak 1882 godine* (Sarajevo: V. Masleša, 1958).

55 GHB, A-660-B, Proclamation, 22.04.1882.

56 On June 4, 1882, Colonel Baron Von Thoemmel, who was stationed in Cetinje, informed Count Kalnoky in Sarajevo that a general amnesty for those involved in the 1882 rebellion would be more favorable for Austro-Hungarian domination in the region. HHStA, Politisches Archiv/XL Interna, Karton 206, Liasse VIII ,1882.05-1883, Nr. 624, 04.06.1882.

In addition to religious influences against conscription, economic hardship also played a decisive role in this phase of migration.⁵⁷ The main source of livelihood for those living in rural Bosnia was agriculture. Many also found themselves isolated and further marginalized under Austro-Hungarian rule. The increase in taxes, the land question, the widespread Catholic resettlement/colonization in the countryside, the change in working conditions according to the new process caused discontent, especially among the tenants (kmets), with the large landowners on whom they depended and the changing large landowners.⁵⁸

The lands offered by the Ottoman authorities in Anatolia or in the Ottoman Balkans by opening and/or encouraging migration routes after a period of occupation, or the news received from those who were resettled in the arrangements made through the *Muhacirin* Commission and the lands they acquired, became one of the important sources of motivation for emigration, especially for tenant farmers in rural Bosnia. Although it is not known that not all of them were able to own land in the places where they were resettled, even the idea of owning land was important for the poor in rural Bosnia in the face of the economic difficulties they faced.⁵⁹ In 1882-1883, the Ottoman government established Muhajir commissions in Kosovo to encourage migration, and 1 million gold liras from the Ottoman budget was allocated exclusively for Bosnian emigrants.⁶⁰ The Ottoman Empire seemed to encour-

57 Adolf Strausz, *Bosnien Land Und Leute* (Wien: Druck und Verlag Von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1882), 82-83.

58 Kapidžić, *Hercegovački ustanak 1882 godine*; Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak Radničke Klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i Njen Razvoj Do 1914. Godine* (Sarajevo: "Svjetlost", Oour Izdavačka Djelatnost, 1980), 118-21.

59 Hamdija Kapidžić is one of the most prominent scholars to describe the period of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and the resistance to it in terms of agrarian and class issues. For his works on this subject, see: Kapidžić, "Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini Za Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine, 1878-1918," 1971 1970; Kapidžić, "Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini Za Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine, 1878-1918," 1967; Hamdija Kapidžić, *Agrarno Odnosu u BiH (1878-1918)*, vol. I (Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH Sarajevo, 1969).

60 Emgili, "Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)," 2011, 154.

age migration through these commissions.⁶¹ However, in the decision taken by the Council of Ministers on April 13, 1882, it was emphasized that Bosnian Muslims would fall into misery due to emigration, that it had been previously decided not to pave the way for emigration by giving advice on the road to those who needed it, and that all kinds of measures should be taken to prevent emigration, since the organizations made before the Austrian State were also beneficial in ensuring their rights and interests. The record continues by stating “It was previously decided that they would be admitted in case of sporadic arrivals, and this was based on the political interest of the state and the purpose of protecting the people from misery...” that it was decided by the State to keep the refugees strictly in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶² It was decided that they had to be organized to stay there by the rich people there and by compensating for the troubles they would experience within the state. It is even written that an agreement should be reached with the Austrian State on the issue of emigrants and correspondence should be made to prevent migration.⁶³ In another telegram sent from the Kosovo Province to the Ministry of Interior due to the increase in migration from Foča, local measures were implemented in line with the previous order of the Ministry to prohibit migration from Bosnia, however, according to the latest telegram from Taşlıca *Mutasarrıflığı*, on February 14, 1882, it was learned that 350 Muhajirs were in a difficult situation in one of the villages of the Foča district, where a police station was established in the border area. The officer of the police station there was instructed to return these emigrants to their places after necessary procedures.⁶⁴

61 For another example where emigrants were accepted, see BOA, İ.DH, 1295 2/102020 (10.08.1882).

62 “Tek tük gelen olursa kabulleri evvelce karar altına alınmış ve bu suret devletin siyasi menfaati ile ahalinin sefaletten korunması maksadına dayanmış olmağla...”

63 BOA, İ.MMS, 3278 (13.04.1882). Another example for measures to be taken to prevent the people of Bosnia from coming to Dersaadet: BOA, İ.DH, 1237/96878 (04.07-1891)

64 BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 486/92 (11.03.1882). In the same period, many people started to migrate from Foča. Ilias Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački Gradovi Na Razmeđu 19. i 20. Stoljeća* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, Sarajevo, 2004), 119.

Similarly, the attitude of the Austro-Hungarian Empire towards the emigrants contains the same ambiguity. On the one hand, it encouraged migration by enacting a conscription law, while on the other hand, it tried to prevent migration by issuing a migration regulation on October 11, 1883.⁶⁵ The main reason for trying to prevent the migration of Bosnian Muslims is related to the desire not to change the population balance in favor of Serbs.⁶⁶ The Dual Monarchy also tried to prevent emigration through high-ranking clergy and landowners, and had the Mufti of Sarajevo issue a fatwa that military service in the Austro-Hungarian army was not against religion.⁶⁷ In addition, Habsburg Empire also tried to create a perception of the returnees, which is the main topic of this thesis. The period after 1883 was marked by detailed reports on emigration and returns from all provinces. At the beginning of these reports, the number of returnees was given in detail and news about them was made visible in the media. The media emphasized the problems of the returnees regarding the Ottoman Empire. In particular, the difficult climatic conditions in the places where they were settled, poverty, inability to get along and “being the other” were mentioned.⁶⁸

65 *Sammlung Gesetze Und Verordnungen Für Bosnien Und Die Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Druck der Landesdruckerel, 1885), 353. The Government issued an order to supplement the order of October 11, 1883 on Immigration Procedure with 11 articles, the most important of which are the following (7) The declaration of a person as an illegal immigrant must be entered in the police records and reported to all administrative and judicial authorities. (8) A person is declared an unauthorized immigrant if he has clearly stated his intention to leave the country or has shown that he has left it. (9) If an unauthorized migrant, by any means whatsoever, returns to the country without the permission of the government, he shall be punished with imprisonment for three months, and in case of recurrence for six months; after serving his sentence, he shall be sent back to the border. André Barre, *La Bosnie-Herzégovine: Administration Autrichienne de 1878 à 1903* (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1903), 183–84.

66 Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime*, 48–53.

67 Ibid., 50.

68 Please see specifically Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. See also the annual reports issued by the Austro-Hungarian administration from 1906 onwards for numerical data on the increase in returnees: *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, C.i Kr. Zajedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Zagreb: Štampa Kr. Zemaljske Štamparije, 1906); *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1908*, C.i Kr. Zajedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Zagreb: Tisak Kr. Zemaljske

On June 26, 1883, the British Consul in Sarajevo reported to the Foreign Secretary that the emigration of Bosnian Muslims was increasing. In his report, the Consul writes that Muslims, especially from the Krajina and Derventa regions, have started to emigrate in large caravans and that the emigration is increasing day by day, and explains the reason for the emigration as follows:

The reasons of this emigration are not difficult to find. Fanaticism and the dislike of being under a Christian government has no doubt its fair share of influence... Probably the chief reason, however, the position of inferiority in the country which the Mussulmans have had to accept and the arrogance and overbearing behaviors of their Christian fellow countrymen to which they are daily exposed. I much fear that this Mussulman emigration will continue and even increase, for the example is likely to prove contagious amongst a discontented and wavering population.⁶⁹

Tiskare, 1909); *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1910*, C.i Kr. Zajedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Štamparija, 1910); *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1911*, C.i Kr. Zajedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Štamparija, 1911); *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1907*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907); *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1909*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1910); *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1911*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1911); *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1913*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914); *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1914 Bis 1916*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1917).

69 FO, 7/1057, No.6, 26.06.1883. Cited in Anita L. P. Burdett, *The Historical Boundaries Between Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia: Documents and Maps 1815-1945* (Londres: Archive Editions, 1995), 405–11.

Following the entry into force of the law, migration requests increased, especially from Banja Luka⁷⁰ and Krajina.⁷¹ There were also requests from Prnjavor, Bihać and Travnik. The Austro-Hungarian administration granted emigration permits to those who were over 15 years old and could serve in the military.⁷² The Ottoman Embassy in Belgrade also prepared reports to the Sublime Porte on the increasing number of migrants and asked what the decision on the incoming migrants was and how they would be transferred to the Ottoman Empire.⁷³ They also sent requests for the necessary sums to be sent for the collection and transportation of the emigrants.⁷⁴ The Belgrade Ambassador İbrahim Fethi stated that he was covering the travel expenses of these migrants partly from the consular coffers and partly from his personal means, but that this could not continue for a long time.⁷⁵ In response, Commander of Tophane-i Amire and Minister of General Military Correspondence Zeki Bey submitted a request to the Sublime Porte for a monthly allocation of 200 liras to be distributed through the consulate in Belgrade and paid through the Ottoman Bank.⁷⁶

İbrahim Talat, the Ottoman Ambassador to Belgrade, also ordered a migration schedule for Bosnian Muslims arriving in Belgrade on September 19, 1891.⁷⁷ Over eight hundred people were recorded together with their families. It is interesting to note that around the same time, the British Embassy

70 Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, 137.

71 Iljas Hadžibegović and Mustafa Imamović, "Bosna i Hercegovina u Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine (1878-1918)," in *Bosna i Hercegovina Od Najstarijih Vremena Do Kraja Drugog Svjetskog Rata*, ed. Ibrahim Tepić, [2. izd.] (Sarajevo: Bosanski kulturni centar, 2004), 233, <https://plus.cobiss.net/cobiss/bh/bs/bib/gbvi/3192102>.

72 Mustafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955-1967* (Zürich: Bošnjački Institut, 1996), 49–60.

73 BOA, HR.TO, 25/12 (02.05.1891); BOA, HR.TO 25/24 (17.05.1891).

74 BOA, HR.TO, 26/8 (13.10.1891).

75 BOA, Y. MTV, 175/183 (30.03.1898).

76 BOA, Y. MTV, 175/183 (04.04.1898). This document is also available here, but the date was written as May 4 instead of April 4: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, ed., *Bosna Hersek ile İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri 1516-1919* (Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1992), 150–53.

77 BOA, HR.TO, 26/5 (19.09.1891).

in Belgrade (May 15, 1891) also reported such a migration schedule to London. This report also contains nearly six hundred names.⁷⁸

In 1894 and 1895, two Ottoman bureaucrats separately wrote detailed reports on the problems Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina were experiencing under the Austro-Hungarian rule. Both Ottoman bureaucrats presented in great detail their experiences in Bosnia, which they had visited for a few months on personal business. The first of these documents, written directly to the sultan in 1894 by the Taşlıca *Mutasarrıfı* and Commander Süleyman, on the one hand assured the Muslims that the rights of the Ottoman sovereignty were still valid and that Austria was merely assuming the administration, and on the other hand, that in order to strengthen Austrian law, property and lands were to be purchased in the name of the Austrian government and bank under the name of “expropriation”. As for the issue of Muslim migration, he stated that although it was not explicitly prevented, many difficulties were actually created, and that some unscrupulous individuals among those who had previously migrated were tricked by the Austrians with money or secret instructions to return to Bosnia, thus discouraging the people from migrating. He wrote that in order to prevent those who migrated, it was said, “Have you seen what you will face when you leave your homeland?” and that Muslims were tried to discourage migration.⁷⁹

In 1895, Bosnian Muhlis Hasan bin Senaya, the Regent of *Kale-i Sultaniye*, originally from Bosnia-Herzegovina, prepared a report stating that the powers of the sultan and the provisions of Islamic law, which were guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin and the Yeni Pazar Agreement, were violated. In his report, he mentions the unrest caused by the forced conscription of Ottoman subjects and the fact that the conscripts were sent anywhere in the Austro-Hungarian territory, and that the qadi appointed by the Ottoman state resigned and was replaced by an Austro-Hungarian. He also states that Muslims were placed in a second-class position in religious terms. He explains that many places belonging to the Ottoman Empire were destroyed under the name of expropriation with arbitrary practices, *Berats* were

78 FO, I-581, 15.05.1891.

79 BOA, Y. PRK.MYD, 15/21 (03.08.1894).

banned and mosques were demolished and replaced with entertainment venues. The report details the political, religious and military situation and summarizes that the Austro-Hungarian government systematically violated the rights of Muslims and Islamic law and aimed to eliminate them.⁸⁰

Around the same time, the Bosnian Muslim elite also repeatedly submitted their complaints to the Sultan, although they received no response.⁸¹ With a telegram dated May 8, 1895 from the Embassy of the Ottoman Empire in Berlin, a translation of a news article published in the German newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* was sent. The newspaper writes that the Bosnian Muslim elite expressed their grievances to His Majesty the Sultan, but in fact the Bosnian Muslims, however elite they might be, were only refugees living in Constantinople. The Bosnian Muslim elite owned many properties in Bosnia, but they were also accused of many crimes and therefore were not allowed to return to Bosnia. In its commentary, the newspaper states that the Ottomans secretly harbored hopes for the Bosnian Muslims, but the Porte's attitude of abstention was correct.⁸²

Within the Ottoman bureaucracy, those who had the highest concerns about the migration were undoubtedly the embassies in the regions close to Bosnia and Herzegovina and frequented by the migrants. In particular, Ibrahim Talat, the Ottoman Ambassador to Belgrade, continuously submitted reports, suggestions and information to the Porte regarding the migration of Bosnian Muslims. In an 1899 report, he stated the following:

The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who could no longer submit to Austria's oppressive and cruel practices and whose loyalty to the caliphate was already indisputable, were forced to emigrate from

80 BOA, Y.PRK.MŞ, 5/108 (20.04.1895).

81 Fehimaga Džumišić, one of the founders of the Emigrant Klub in Istanbul and a member of the Bosnian Muslim emigrant elite, wants the situation of Bosnian Muslims to be discussed at official meetings in Vienna and Istanbul. It was decided that his petition, addressed to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs, could be sent to the relevant authorities after the approval of the Sultan. The Sultan's abstention is also stated in the document. BOA, Y. PRK.MYD, 15/51 (28.09.1894).

82 BOA, HR. SYS, 30/69 (08.05.1895)

Bosnia and Herzegovina... Even after the Austrian government allowed Muslims who wanted to emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina to sell all their property at a nominal price, it required them to spend the money they received in Bosnia and delayed issuing passports to those who wanted to emigrate for two to three months... However, this emigration is inevitable. The only way to increase the Muslim population in the Ottoman territories, especially in the face of Europe's openly cruel treatment of Muslims after the last war, is to attract Muslims from other governments to the Ottoman provinces. Therefore, in order to facilitate the emigration process of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, either the Ottoman government should take direct initiatives before Austria or diplomatic steps should be taken through the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna. This matter has been submitted to the discretion of the supreme caliphate, and it is of great importance that it is presented to our sultan and the necessary steps are taken if deemed appropriate. In addition, it is planned to establish an aid fund under the name of "Bosnia-Herzegovina Islamic Migrants Aid Commission" in the future for these oppressed people who have managed to reach Belgrade by enduring all these difficulties but who cannot find any means here. However, until a sufficient amount of money is collected for this fund, it should be considered as a sign of our sultan's compassion to allocate an allowance sufficient to cover their travel expenses, at least to ensure that they reach the nearby Ottoman provinces. I request the support of your supreme authority to take the necessary steps in this regard.⁸³

According to the migration records of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia, it is seen that the applications of those who migrated due to conscription were rejected. This indicates that many Bosnian Muslims of military age migrated to the Ottoman Empire without authorization, that is, illegally. However, in their petitions to return, most of them stated that they

83 BOA, Y.PRK.EŞA, 33/22 (24.05.1899).

migrated without permission due to military service.⁸⁴ Another important point is that not only Bosnian Muslims migrated to the Ottoman Empire, but also Orthodox Serbs migrated to Serbia or Montenegro for refusing to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army.⁸⁵ Apart from conscription, the Orthodox in Bosnia and Herzegovina also expressed their discontent with the repressive policies of Austria-Hungary at every opportunity. A delegation of the Orthodox in Bosnia and Herzegovina traveled to Vienna to complain about the oppression of the Bosnian Austro-Hungarian administration in educational and religious matters. However, since they were not accepted by the Emperor, they left a memorandum to the Austrian Cabinet and went to the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna to voice their complaints. They stated that they wanted to act together in order to have their rights as they had during the Ottoman period.⁸⁶

§ 3.5 Memorandum of *December 1900*

A minority of the Bosnian Muslim elite, together with Ottoman administrators and soldiers, were resettled in the Ottoman lands, especially in Istanbul, immediately after the Austro-Hungarian occupation. However, most of the Bosnian Muslims who owned land in Bosnia remained in their lands and tried to negotiate with the new administration on all decisions. In fact, resistance as a response to occupation outweighed emigration for the Bosnian Muslim elite. For landless peasants in the class sense, or in other words those who had nothing to lose, emigration was the first response to occupation or oppression.⁸⁷

84 For example, ABH, ZVS, š 1-25, 99/1, 1890, Rašid Gibanica, 25.08.1890; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Derviš Mehmedagić, 20.11.1902; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Derviš Đonlagić, 15.10.1902; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Mustafa Balić, 20.11.1902.

85 For example, ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Trifko Zirojević, 26.11.1902; ABH, ZVS, I.B., 803/1902, Petar Ristić, 04.11.1902.

86 BOA, Y.A.HUS, 364/34 (08.01.1897).

87 Nusret Šehić, *Autonomni pokret Muslimana za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980); Nusret Šehić et al., eds., "Diskusija," in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 585–635.

The Bosnian Muslim elite resisted the Dual Monarchy's decisions on economic, cultural, social and, of course, religious changes. The main means of this resistance was to somehow send the decisions taken after their meetings to the Bosnian administration, Istanbul and Vienna.⁸⁸ In 1899, in a memorandum sent to the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance Benjamin Kallay, they criticized the religious changes. They also raised the issue of the Shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul being the highest authority in religious matters in Bosnia.⁸⁹ In their December 1900 memorandum, they argued that the religious affairs of Muslims could not be regulated by a non-Muslim state and underlined that Austria-Hungary could not rule Bosnia with a Catholic religious state structure.⁹⁰ In particular, they stated that the foundation funds belonged to Muslims and that the audits to be carried out should be carried out by Muslims.⁹¹

In Article 96 of this declaration, they demanded that the Reis'ul Ulema should be appointed with the approval of the Shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul. The detailed discussion of this declaration written by the Bosnian Muslim elite with the administration led to very long negotiations. Austria-Hungary perceived the Bosnian Muslims' demand for the separation of the religious and waqf-maarif organizations as a threat to the country and rejected their demands. The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia subsequently dismissed Ali Fehmi Džabić, the mufti of Mostar, and Mujaga Komodina, the director of the Mostar *Kıraathane*, an intellectual club. Political figures

88 Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (Boulder New York: East European Quarterly; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981), 75–85. Particularly important are the tables on pages 78 and 81 on the connections of these elites to Istanbul, Istanbul-Travnik, Donji Vakuf, Bugojno, Brčko, Zvornik, and Mostar.

89 Enes Turbić, “Avusturya-Macaristan Yönetiminde Bosna Hersek'teki Boşnakların Siyasî Hayatı (1878-1914)” (PhD Thesis, Edirne, Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2023), 65–68.

90 Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime*, 119–27.

91 Ibid., 120.

such as Šerif Arnautović and Derviš-beg Miralem were also detained.⁹² The harsh treatment of Muslims led to a new wave of migration to the Ottoman Empire. The 1900s were the years when mass migration reached its highest level. On October 30, 1901, the Austro-Hungarian government issued a new immigration decree.⁹³ According to it, those who left the country without permission would be declared unauthorized emigrants, so that the new emigration law could now be enforced to prevent their return.⁹⁴ Ali Fehmi Džabić, who left Istanbul in January 1902 to seek support, was declared an unauthorized emigrant.⁹⁵

The harsh Austro-Hungarian reaction against the Bosnian Muslims was also shared by the population. On February 20, 1901, the Ottoman Consulate General in Ragusa wrote a report on the measures to be taken against this oppressive attitude towards Muslims. A translation of the report was submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 17, 1901.⁹⁶ In the report, it

92 Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955-1967*, 53–56; Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)*, 103–4.

93 Kemal Bašić, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Bosna – Hersek Müslümanlarıyla Dini İlişkileri (Ayrılıştan 1914’e)” (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İslam Tarihi Ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, 1998), 36.

94 Čupić-Amrein, *Die Opposition gegen die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien-Hercegovina (1878-1914)*, 103–4; Osman Nuri-Hadžić, “Borba Muslimana Za Versku i Vakufsko-Mearifsku Autonomiju,” in *Bosna i Hercegovina Pod Austro-Ugarskom Upravom*, ed. Vladislav Skarić, Osman Nuri Hadžić, and Nikola Stojanović (Belgrad: Kon, 1938), 56–101; Ferdo Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersku vakufsko-mearifsku autonomiju* (Arhiv Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967).

95 Anonimus and [Osman Nuri Hadžić], *Muslimansko pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini: u Zagrebu; Tisak Dioničke Tiskare* (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, 1902), 71–84. The book is thought to have been written by Osman Nuri Hadžić, but the author section of the book indicates Anonimus. An important source for a look at the problems of Muslims as if they were talking about them.

96 FO, 587/1, *Consulat Général de Turquie*, 20.02.1901. See for the Ottoman translation of the document: BOA, Y.A.HUS, 413/134 (17.03.1901). However, in the book published by the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive, the Ottoman archive number is given correctly, but the translation inside is from another report: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Bosna Hersek ile İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri 1516-1919*, 192–96. It can also be confirmed from the

was stated that it would be beneficial to prevent the migration of the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina by providing the necessary conditions for the improvement and protection of their situation, since they would serve the political interests of the Ottoman government. Similarly, in the meetings held in 1904 in the Ottoman Council of Ministers, it was stated that it was necessary to first determine where the migrants would settle before they arrived and that the places where they arrived should not be completely emptied and cleansed of the Muslim population and that the migrants should be under control.⁹⁷ Around the same time, the statement of the Board of Directors of the Association of Teachers and Imams of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the prevention of the emigration movement was published in Arabic.⁹⁸

On January 8, 1907, the Bosnian Muslim elite presented a Memorandum to the members of the High Austrian Delegation in Budapest. The report states that Austria-Hungary has been ruling the provinces for more than 28 years since its occupation and has been conducting the pacification of the provinces under an absolutist system, which has turned the Turkish (sic.) subjects into de facto economic and political slaves of the Austrian colonization policy in name only. It goes on to say that Austria-Hungary occupied their homeland with iron and blood, that with iron and blood they still rule it today, that with iron and blood they managed to bring graveyard peace and prison order to our homeland and to secure the fate of political prisoners for the peoples of our homeland. Regarding post-1900 migrations, they continue their comments as follows:

Freedom of emigration in Austria was proclaimed by the Constitution of February 12, 1869. If the reason for the emigration of a large number of Bosnia-Herzegovinians in 1900 was really the unauthorized provocations of the Bosnian Muslims and not religious dissatis-

following documents: BOA, A.MTZ.BN, 1/12 (12.05.1901); BOA, A.MTZ.BN, 1/13 (10.05.1901); BOA, Y.A.RES, 318/1618 (09.03.1901).

97 BOA, MV, 109/52 (07.06.1904).

98 GHB, A-3286/TO.

faction, the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance, the highest executive of the administration in Bosnia-Herzegovina, could not and should not have entered into negotiations with us on the introduction of church and school autonomy. In December 1900, he accused us of being instigators of emigration and had to punish us. If this is the case, what does it mean that the decree on unauthorized emigration was issued and applied to Muslim representatives, and what does it mean that representatives were persecuted and punished after negotiations broke down and at a time when emigration had already dropped sharply? However, as Article 8 of the decree itself suggests, the occupying government itself created a new type of emigration: forced emigration. Accordingly, it is completely wrong to call the decree a decree on unauthorized migrants, because these migrants are not just unauthorized migrants, but they are migrants against their will, with the knowledge, will and order of the occupying government. Consequently, they are not and cannot be unauthorized emigrants, but were forced to emigrate against their will through government decrees, therefore the decree should also be correctly described as a decree of forced emigration. The characteristic of the response of the occupation government to our representation dated 22/4/1905 is that the occupation government admits that the decree of unauthorized emigration was applied to three representatives and leaders of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims, but immediately afterwards claims that these three persons left their homeland of their own free will and choice.⁹⁹

Even in the 1900s, although it was thought by the Sublime Porte that emigration to other parts of the Ottoman Empire would lead to a decrease in the

99 *Memorandum Der Musulmanischen Bewohner Bosniens Und Der Herzegovina Übergeben Den Mitgliedern Der Hohen Österreichischen Delegation Am 8. Januar 1907. in Budapest.* (Budapest: Buchdruckerei-Actienoesellschaft Pallas, 1907). A similar report, signed by all Bosnian Muslim landowners, was submitted in 1906: "Memorandum Bosansko-Hercegovačkog Muslimanskog Naroda Upućen Državnim Odborima Ugarskog i Austrijskog Sabora u Budimpesti Godine 1906" (Zagreb, 1906).

number of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that it would be in the better interests of the Ottoman country for the Muslim population to remain there, there are numerous documents related to the emigrants, which indicate that the expenses of the continuous emigration were covered through the embassies. The embassies in Thessaloniki and Belgrade constantly transmitted the costs of emigration with their tables.¹⁰⁰

§ 3.6 Formal Annexation of Bosnia

The Austro-Hungarian Empire's occupation of Bosnia in 1878 with the Treaty of Berlin and its official annexation in 1908 was a political move as it greatly affected Bosnian Muslims. Although it was under Habsburg rule before the annexation, it was still referred to as Ottoman territory. After the annexation, hopes that the Ottomans would regain control were dashed and this began a period of anxiety for Muslims. The annexation, which represented a rupture, meant that non-Muslim rule was permanently established. With the annexation, the Austro-Hungarian authorities coincided Bosnia's secularization/modernization and, in effect, severing its ties with Islam and thus with the Ottoman Empire.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary was something that was constantly kept on the agenda and feared after the 1878 invasion. Although the Ottoman administration tried to protect its rights after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, it was understood that the Dual Monarchy was gradually settling in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰¹ In the negotiations that the Bosnian Muslim elite conducted with Austria-Hungary for the continuation of their rights, Austria-Hungary made its ultimate goal clear with its efforts to implement its own laws and to prevent the continuation of the

100 Some examples are as follows: BOA, İ. DH, 318/15 (02.12.1900); BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 512/5 (17.01.1901); BOA, A.MKT.MHM 510/11 (21.08.1900); BOA, A.MKT.MHM 510/3 (05.08.1900); BOA, DH. MHC, 30/4 (07.08.1900).

101 Senem Gönenç, "Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna ve Hersek'i İlhakı (5 Ekim 1908) Ve Müteakip Gelişmeler," *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10, no. 2 (2021): 520–22, <https://doi.org/10.30903/Balkan.1036920>.

ties with the Ottoman Empire. Especially after the occupation in 1878, the intensive settlement of the Catholic population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the 1881 conscription and immigration decrees, and the changes in the education system were aimed at consolidating the power of Austria-Hungary.

On October 5, 1908, Austria-Hungary officially announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Empire. The Ottoman Empire's first reaction to the annexation was to send a nato letter protesting the annexation through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Abdulhamid II condemned the annexation at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies.¹⁰² The Ottoman parliament established after the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy tried to solve the problem through diplomatic means. In foreign policy, the biggest supporter of the Ottoman Empire was Britain. A balance is tried to be established by contacting them.¹⁰³

102 Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, C. 1, S.169, 11th Session, 31 Kânun-ı evvel 1324, 31 December 1908, cited in Fahriye Emgili, "Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)" (PhD, Ankara, Ankara University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of History, 2011), 137. The French Consulate in Istanbul forwarded this note to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the word "confidential" in case it could be seen as a threat of war. "The Turkish Government has just issued a note announcing the annexation of Bosnia. The relatively Bulgarian Council of Ministers met at the Grand Vizier's last night and decided to send a note to the signatory Governments of the Berlin Treaty. This note may be attributed to the warlike intentions of the Turkish Government, but we have been confidentially informed by an authoritative source that, in spite of some mobilizations, the Turkish Government maintains its peaceful tendencies. Please keep this information strictly confidential." MAE, Politique étrangère - Macédoine, Bosnie-Herzégovine-188 (01.09-06.10.1908), 06.10.1908.

103 Sevtap Demirci, *British Public Opinion Towards the Ottoman Empire During the Two Crises: Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908-1909) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)*, Analecta Isisiana: Ottoman and Turkish Studies (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 25-29, <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463225896>. France had the same sensitivities as Britain, in line with its policy of "European balance". It was important to define the borders of Austria-Hungary. For this reason, the French Consulate in Hungary and the French Consulate in Vienna communicated this situation day by day to the French Foreign Office. MAE, Autriche-Hongrie, Politique Intérieure, Dalmatie et Bosnie-Herzégovine, Supplément, 1896-1911, October-December 1908. The German Ambassador in Vienna warned both his own Foreign Office and the Austro-Hungarian authorities about this issue: "According to the

Austria Hungary tries to close the incident by considering that it will withdraw its troops in the Sanjak of Yeni Pazar after the annexation and this will be considered as a war indemnity to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁴ Britain, on the other hand, expressed concern that it might invade again and thought that the Ottoman Empire should resolve this issue officially.¹⁰⁵ On February 26, 1909, an agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Austria Hungary.¹⁰⁶ According to this agreement, the Sanjak of Yeni Pazar was ceded to the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Empire would relinquish its sovereignty rights in exchange for two and a half million gold Ottoman liras corresponding to the remaining miri property in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The parties accepted the agreement on April 26, 1909.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, in terms

confidential information which the Grand Vizier gave me yesterday, I have no doubt that after the complete failure of the Triple Entente on the Serbian question, Britain, beyond the agreement with Austria-Hungary and the agreement on Bulgaria, is trying to mobilize Turkey to demand compensation for the annexation of Bosnia and the independence of Bulgaria. To this end, Turkey should encourage the convening of a conference at which it is promised not only financial but also political advantages. This idea has also found a place in the Turkish press." HHStA P.A. XII, 351, Türkei Liasse XXXIX/1b-e, Bosnien-Herzegowina, Abschrift, Kaiserlich Deutsche Botschaft in Wien, 30.03.1909.

- 104 The Turkish Foreign Ministry notifies this proposal to the French Foreign Ministry through Naum Pacha. MAE, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle série, Turquie, 411, 08.10.1908
- 105 The French ambassador in London, Mr. Paul Cambon, wrote to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Stéphen Pichon, "The Ottoman government has sent a circular to its ambassadors instructing them to protest against the violation of the Treaty of Berlin and suggesting the idea of a conference. My colleague in Turkey forwarded this proposal to the Foreign Ministry this morning. He told me that the circular only mentioned Bulgaria's declaration of independence and made no mention of the annexation of Bosnia. He guessed that this omission was intended to get Austria to accept the conference proposal. MAE, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle série, Turquie, 411, 07.10.1908.
- 106 HHStA, P.A XII, 355, Türkei Liasse XXXIX/2 Bosnien-Herzegowina, 26.02.1909.
- 107 FO 881/9512, Austro-Turkish Protocol, signed at Constantinople, February 26, 1909 (Ratifications exchanged April 26, 1909). In a letter to the Foreign Office, the German Ambassador in Vienna reported that the Ottomans were trying to increase the indemnity with the support of Britain, but in this case, they would only put themselves in danger: "I ask Your Excellency to draw the attention of the Grand Vizier and Rifat Pasha once again to the dangers of the conference and to the fact that the demand for more 'compensation' for Bos-

of the domestic politics of the Ottoman Empire, the Dual Monarchy's unilateral annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina turned into a public boycott of Austrian goods.¹⁰⁸ The Ottoman Empire stated that the boycott was a spontaneous social movement and that the government had nothing to do with it.¹⁰⁹ In fact, with the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, it tried to spread the boycott throughout the empire with the support of the media in order to consolidate its own power.

This agreement also had a different meaning for Bosnian Muslim landowners and landless peasants in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For the landowners, the formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary represented a reassurance, providing credibility for international domestic and

nia and Herzegovina can only jeopardize the advantages achieved so far. I ask Your Excellency to urgently warn the Turkish Government not to give the few pigeons in its pocket in exchange for those on the roof." HHStA P.A. XII, 351, Türkei Liasse XXXIX/1b-e, Bosnien-Herzegowina, Abschrift, Kaiserlich Deutsche Botschaft in Wien, 30.03.1909. The Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Istanbul was informed by the French ambassador that the Porte was now in dire need of between two and four million pounds sterling and was unable to obtain this money from any source as it was not in a position to offer any guarantees at the moment. He believed that this was the reason why the Turks were so stubborn in demanding financial compensation from us. HHStA, PA XII, 529, Cilt Türkei XXXIX/1b, 27.12.1908. BOA, İ.HR, 1327, S./10; BOA, İ.HR, 417/30 (24.02.1909) cited in *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Bosna Hersek*, 120–22.

- 108 Doğan Çetinkaya, 1908 *Osmanlı Boykotu: Bir Toplumsal Hareketin Analizi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004); Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014). The media in Bosnia and Herzegovina mainly talks about the boycott issue and the increasing density of the Croatian population. HHStA-Zeitungsarchiv, 62, 01-10.10.1908; HHStA, P.A XII, 356, Türkei Liasse, 356, XXXIX/2, 3, Bosnien-Herzegowina; HHStA, PA XII, 351, Türkei Liasse XXXIX/1b-e, 1908; HHStA, PA XII, 535, Türkei Liasse, XXXIX/1b, 1908.
- 109 The Austrian Hungarian ambassador to Istanbul specifically informed him that he had met with Hilmi Pasha and that the Ottomans should end the boycott as soon as possible. Hilmi Pasha stated that he would give his support. In a separate report, the ambassador said that the new Minister of Justice, a prominent member of the committee, was the main organizer of the boycott and was still involved in new plans. HHStA, PA XII, 529, Cilt Türkei, XXXIX, 1b, May 1908.

foreign capital.¹¹⁰ For landless peasants, however, annexation meant officially coming under non-Muslim rule, and emigration seemed an imminent possibility.

The formal annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary in 1908 was a decisive turning point for the emigration of Bosnian Muslims. This meant that the official link between the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia was severed. In the face of this situation, many Bosnian Muslims began to emigrate in order to preserve their religious, cultural and political identities as a result of land reforms, the prospect of impending war and the changing socio-economic policies of the Habsburg administration. The annexation was thus a continuation of the process of social, cultural and political depoliticization of Bosnian Muslims. Unlike previous waves of migration, the main motivation for this wave of migration was the complete severing of ties with the Ottoman Empire. For the Dual Monarchy, now officially in power, decisions were so strict that they could no longer be negotiated.

Ali Rushdi from Bosnia wrote two pleadings regarding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the first pleading he submitted to the Assembly, he stated that they protested against the annexation decision and that it could not be tolerated. In his statement, he wrote that millions of Muslims and Orthodox opposed the annexation and wanted the Ottoman State to maintain its sovereignty over Bosnia-Herzegovina. Otherwise, he stated, emigration would be inevitable and there would be great losses for the Ottoman Empire.¹¹¹ On January 18, he wrote to the Sultanate that if the annexation took place, Bosnia-Herzegovina would suffer great political damage and losses due to its geographical location and Austria's known imperialist ambitions, and that the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina would never accept to break away from Ottoman subjection and remain under the Austrian yoke. He states that the Ottoman Empire would suffer both material and moral

110 Babuna, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime*, 76–82; Emgili, “Bosna-Hersek’ten Türkiye’ye Göç (1878-1934),” 2011, 124–25.

111 Ali Rüşdi, *Bosna-Hersek Hakkında Meclis-i Meb’ûsân-ı ‘Osmânî ve Makam-ı Sadârete Takdim Olunan Levâyih. Bosna ve Hersek Cem’iyet-i Hayriye-i ‘Osmâniyesi* (İstanbul: Rûşen Matba’ası, 1908). 15.01.1908.

losses with the migration and writes that the Bosnians would be dragged into a second catastrophe and Islam would be completely erased from this region.¹¹²

An article published in *Beyan'ül Hak* newspaper on October 26, 1908 with the title "Muslims of Bosnia" asked for help from the Ottoman Empire against annexation. It states that Bosnian Muslims had been exploited by Austria-Hungary for nearly thirty years and that the Catholic population was continuously resettled and all the lands belonging to the foundation were given to the newcomers. The persecutions were directed against both Muslims and Orthodox. He continues as follows:

Bosnian Muslims did not submit to persecution. They repeatedly appealed to the circles in Vienna, Budapest and Istanbul, but to no avail. We, poor us, saw these tragedies, shed tears of sorrow, but could not openly cry out. When our last revolution took place (referring to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908), Bosnians, like us, believed that their oppression would come to an end and they rejoiced for us and for themselves. But this joy was soon followed by a great catastrophe: Austria officially annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹¹³

After the annexation, on the one hand, the Ottoman Empire played an important role in facilitating the migration of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman territory. Through the Muhajirin Commission, Bosnian Muslims were resettled in Kosovo and Macedonia in the Ottoman Balkans and in different parts of Anatolia. At this point, the poor quality of the land in the Ottoman settlements and the inability to obtain land actually put the immigrants in a difficult situation due to the Ottoman Empire's economic problems and political instability. This situation also limited the opportunities that the Ottoman Empire could provide to the migrants. Only in 1910, seventeen thou-

112 Ibid., 18.01.1908.

113 *Beyan'ül Hak*, Bosna Müslümanları, 26.10.1908.

sand Bosnian Muslims migrated to Anatolia via Serbia, Kosovo and Selânik.¹¹⁴

On the other hand, The Ottoman Empire tried to maintain the status quo after the annexation, especially until its official signing on February 26, 1909. On the one hand, it had to take a stance towards the boycott, while on the other hand, the situation of the immigrants remained uncertain. On October 24, 1908, a report was sent from the Cetinje (Cetinje) Embassy stating that the migration of Bosnian Muslims increased immediately after the annexation. The response from the Ottoman Council of Ministers was delayed. On October 25, 1908, due to the current political situation, it was not deemed appropriate for the Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia to leave their places (emigration) and Bosnian Muslims who wanted to emigrate were told that it would be better for them to stay in their homeland.¹¹⁵

Similar to Bosnian Muslims, Serbs also began to emigrate due to the annexation. In a report sent to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 11, 1908, the Board of Directors of the Association of Migrants of Bosnia and Herzegovina stated that the migration of Bosnian Muslims and especially Serbs was increasing after the annexation. They requested France's help in order not to change the balance in the region.¹¹⁶

Dual Monarchy, on the other hand, sees no reason to emigrate in connection with the annexation. On the contrary, since the negotiations with the representatives of the Muslim population on their religious status had reached a positive result, they stated that if they emigrated, they would go

114 BOA, BEO, Muhacirîn Commission Defteri, Nr.769/92 cited in Emgili, "Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)," 2011, 203. In 1910, the French Consulate in Hungary reported to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs the increasing number of emigrants and their worsening situation on the roads. MAE, Dalmatie et Bosnie-Herzégovine, Supplément, 1896-1911, *Le Comité de direction de la société des émigrés de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine*, 03.05.1910.

115 BOA, MV, 121/15 (25.10.1908).

116 MAE, Autriche-Hongrie, Politique Intérieure, Dalmatie et Bosnie-Herzégovine, Supplément, 1896-1911, *Le Comité de direction de la société des émigrés de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine*, 11.11.1908

back much further than their favorable position.¹¹⁷ Muslims were being encouraged to emigrate through practices such as boycotts.¹¹⁸ Reports of increased emigration from Bihač, Tuzla, Krupa, Ključ, etc. were received, but they argued that this emigration was the result of years of verbal and written constitutional agitation, the incitement of religious fanaticism and the propaganda brought about by the annexation.¹¹⁹ Meanwhile, in all their reports they wrote that many emigrants returned from the road and even the number of those returnees from Anatolia increased.¹²⁰ In 1910, the emigration was caused by a commission in contact with the Young Turk Committee, the chairman of which was the State Counselor Husa Kiazim and the secretary was Adil Bey, a former German citizen who had converted to Islam. According to the report, Adil Bey was one of the most rebellious and dangerous members of the commission.¹²¹

On June 28, 1914, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Crown Prince of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Sarajevo by a young Serb, Gavrilo Princip, sparked the outbreak of the First World War.¹²² The outbreak of the war in Sarajevo had a significant impact on the migration of Bosnian Muslims. Before this war, the impact of migration had been considerably reduced, albeit for a short period of time, due to the Balkan Wars.¹²³

117 HHStA, PA XL, 227, Interna Liasse XLVII/ 2-3 (1909-1913), 14.04.1909.

118 HHStA, PA XL, 227, Interna Liasse XLVII/ 2-3 (1909-1913), 21.09.1909.

119 HHStA, PA XL, 227, Interna Liasse XLVII/ 2-3 (1909-1913), 11.07.1910.

120 HHStA, PA XL, 227, Interna Liasse XLVII/ 2-3 (1909-1913), 24.11.1910; 21.01.1910.

121 HHStA, PA XL, 227, Interna Liasse XLVII/ 2-3 (1909-1913), 22.02.1910.

122 Dragoslav Ljubibratić, "Sarajevski Atentat i Austrijska Objava Rata Srbiji 1914. Godine," *Prilozi za proučavanje historije Sarajeva*, no. 1 (1963): 197–209; Srećko M. Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in Der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918): Die Intelligentsia Zwischen Tradition Und Ideologie*, Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 93 (München: Oldenbourg, 1994), 30–35; Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (Boulder New York: East European Quarterly; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981), 166–69; Adanır, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," 277–78.

123 Nijaz Duraković, *Prokletstvo muslimana* (Tuzla: Harfograf, 1998), 88–91; Alexandre Popović, *L'Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans Du Sud-Est Européen Dans La Période Post-Ottomane* (Berlin; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 312–36.

Many people on the migration routes had returned to their hometowns due to the turmoil in the Balkans.¹²⁴ With the First World War, this process continued more or less in the same way. For Bosnian Muslims who had already emigrated, this succession of wars brought economic instability.¹²⁵ For those living in Bosnia, the situation manifested itself in the form of forced conscription into the Austro-Hungarian armies.¹²⁶ Some of the families of those conscripted considered emigration as a way out of the economic poverty caused by the war. According to official figures, migration decreased during the war years (although records are difficult to keep) but did not stop. In fact, for those who had advanced as far as the Ottoman Balkans, going to Ottoman lands, rather than returning, turned into a story of migration from "Homeland" to "Motherland".¹²⁷ The First World War, which marked the end of both empires, represented a complete in-between for Bosnian Muslims. There was uncertainty for those who stayed and uncertainty for those who emigrated.

§ 3.7 Religion as a Driving Force: Dar al-Harb against Dar al-Islam

In the period between 1878 and 1918, a number of factors intertwining economic status, religious beliefs and social identity influenced the decision to emigrate to or remain in Bosnia. For Bosnian Muslims, the combination of class and religious influences also shaped their responses to social, economic and political transformations in the region under the Austro-Hungarian occupation. For landless peasants, socio-economic conditions were an important motivation for emigration, but religion was a determining factor. One of the main issues of contention in the migrations following the occupation was whether they would have the rights they had been granted in the

124 Bašić, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Bosna – Hersek Müslümanlarıyla Dini İlişkileri (Ayrılıştan 1914'e)," 39–40.

125 Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, 265–68; Bandžović, *Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci: Ratovi i Muhadžirska Pribježišta (1876-1923)*, 327–410.

126 Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955-1967*, 463–85.

127 Emgili, "Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878-1934)," 2011, 279–300.

Ottoman Empire and how their religious obligations and identities would be shaped. The occupation was not only a political defeat but also a moral crisis for Bosnian Muslims. Emigration was therefore motivated by the fear of losing a polity that was at the center of social, cultural and administrative life. For the Bosnian Muslim community, the new regime led to instability due to a lack of leadership.

After the occupation, one of the most debated issues was whether Bosnia and Herzegovina was *dar al-harb* and, if so, whether they should migrate to *dar al-Islam*. In the early years of the occupation, many members of the Ulema had suggested emigration as a solution to preserve people's faith. The Austro-Hungarian government, on the other hand, tried to gain the trust of Bosnian Muslims by allowing Sharia courts to apply in personal matters at an early date. The Dual Monarchy's settlement of Catholics¹²⁸ within Bosnia,

128 After the occupation of Bosnia, Austria Hungary's resettlement of Catholics from its own territory to Bosnia was important in terms of consolidating its own power. For studies on this subject, see: Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: A Cultural History* (London: Saqi, 2001), 148; Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, 138–40; Hauptmann, “Reguliranje Zemljišnog Posjeda u Bosni i Hercegovini i Pocioci Naseljavanja Stranih Seljaka u Doba Austrougarske Vladavine”; Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 114; Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački Gradovi Na Razmeđu 19. i 20. Stoljeća*, 20; Ilija Hadžibegović, “Postanak Radničke Klase U Bosni I Hercegovini I Njen Razvoj Do 1914. Godine” (Sarajevo, 1977), 117, <https://plus.cobiss.net/cobiss/bh/bs/bib/nubbi/8167942>; Hadžibegović and Imamović, “Bosna i Hercegovina u Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine (1878-1918),” 224; Đorđe Mikić, “O kolonizaciji stranih seljaka u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme austrougarske uprave,” in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, ed. Nusret Šehić et al. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 1990), 181–93; Amila Kasumović, “Modaliteti Eksterne Kolonizacije u Bosni 1890-1914: Case Study Za Njemačke Erarne Kolonije,” *Prilozi* 38 (2009): 81–120; Carl Bethke, “Deutsche „Kolonisten“ in Bosnien. Vorstellungswelten, Ideologie Und Soziale Praxis in Quellen Der Evangelischen Kirche,” in *Bosna i Hercegovina u Okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878–1918*, ed. Zijad Šehić (Sarajevo: Filozofski Fakultet u Sarajevu, 2011), 231–66; Carl Bethke, “Einwanderung und Kolonisten im k. u. k. Bosnien-Herzegowina: “Überblick mit ‘bosnia-kischen’ Perspektiven,” in *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer, Kultur-Herrschaft-Differenz (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2018), 237–49. And also: HHStA-Hausarchiv, Selekt

the allocation of Islamic Waqf lands to newcomers, forced conscription, and the closure of mosques all added to the concerns of Bosnian Muslims. One of the main reasons for all these concerns, fears and the decision to migrate or not was the fear of forced conversion. As a result of these fears, immediately after the invasion, they preferred to emigrate to the Ottoman lands they were already familiar with. At this point, the word of the ulema was religiously binding on the people. In Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian period, publications and fetwas were issued that in general, emigration was not a compulsory necessity.

First, Hafiz Muhamed ef. Hadžijahić argued in 1884 in the *Vatan* Newspaper that Islamic life continued with the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and claimed that Bosnia was not *dar-al harb*. He argued that if there were migrations, the Muslim population in Bosnia would decrease and Islam would not remain in these lands.¹²⁹ Hadžijahić argued that the hijra, as a religious duty, should be evaluated taking into account the special circumstances of Muslims. As long as Muslims were not forced to convert and continued to practice their faith on Bosnian soil, emigration was unnecessary.¹³⁰

Similarly, Mehmed Teufik Azabagić, the Mufti of Tuzla after the Austro-Hungarian occupation and a well-known Muslim scholar, presented the Islamic basis for emigration to the Ottoman Empire.¹³¹ Azabagić's main argument was based on the dichotomy of Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb. He

Kronprinz Rudolf, Karton 15, Die katholische Propaganda in Bosnien und in der Herzegovina, 1883.

- 129 Muhamed Mufaku Al-Arnaut, "Islam and Muslims in Bosnia 1878-1918: Two Hijras and Two Fatwas," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 2 (1994): 248–49.
- 130 Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina," 112–13; Nehrudin Rebihić, "Između orijentalizma i okcidentalizma: Narativi o iseljavanju Bošnjaka u Tursku u bošnjačkoj književnosti prve polovine 20. stoljeća," *DHS-Društvene i humanističke studije: časopis Filozofskog fakulteta u Tuzli* XII, no. 12 (2020): 31–58.
- 131 Mehmed Teufik Azabagić, review of *Risala o Hidžri*, by Osman Lavić, *Anali GHB* 15–16 (1990): 197–222; Mustafa Spahić and Osman Lavić, *Reis Mehmed Teufik Efendija Azabagić* (Sarajevo: Dobra Knjiga, 2013).

analyzed the situation of Bosnian Muslims from an Islamic perspective and argued that it was not necessary for Muslims to emigrate to a country where they could freely practice their faith. Azabagic wrote his work in Arabic in 1884, but considering that it was not sufficiently understood, it was published in Ottoman Turkish in 1886 with new additions.¹³² Azabagić went on to describe the situation in Muslim countries under non-Muslim rule, noting that there were muftis and kadis in these countries, and that basic religious practices such as Friday and Eid could be easily performed, and the call to prayer could be recited from the minarets of masjids and mosques.¹³³ Azabagić's *Risale on Hijra*, which was also a support for Austro-Hungarian anti-immigration efforts, had a widespread impact on Bosnian Muslims who wanted to stay in Bosnia under non-Muslim rule.¹³⁴ His works spread among ordinary people through mosques and religious gatherings.

Likewise, Rashid Rida, a well-known figure representing the modernist reformist wing of contemporary Islamic thought, also contributed to the debate on migration. Rida's modernism is combined with a reformist approach that seeks to reconcile Islam and modernity. Rida's stance on migration can be considered cautious. Rida was not insensitive to the situation in Bosnia, and his texts and approach were influential in the wider Islamic geography. A Bosnian student sent a letter to *El-Manar* newspaper stating that he had heard a preacher saying that Bosnia was considered *dar al-harb*, that all legal transactions of Muslims under non-Muslim rule, including worship

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- 132 Genç Osman; Niğde Üniversitesi Geçer Niğde, Türkiye, "Azapzâde (azabagic) Mehmet Tevfik'in 'Hicret Hakkında Risale' Adlı Türkçe Eseri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Türkbilgi: Türkoloji Araştırmaları*, no. 20 (2010): 216–25.
- 133 Osman Lavić, "Iseljavanje Bošnjaka muslimana iz BiH za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske vladavine i risala Mehmeda Teufika Azapagića," *Anali Gazi Husrev-Begove biblioteke* 10, no. 17–18 (1996): 123–30; Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*, 140–41; Ibrahim Kemura, "Dva Patriotska Apela Bosanskih Muslimanskih Prvaka Iz Prvih Godina Austro-Ugarske Okupacije," *Glasnik VIS XXXIII*, no. 9–10 (1970): 436–43.
- 134 Adanır, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," 274; Genç Osman; Niğde Üniversitesi Geçer Niğde, Türkiye, "Fenomen Migracije i Pokušaji Spriječavanja Iste Nakon Okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine," *Saznanja: Časopis za Historiju* 3 (2009): 171–81.

and marriage, were invalid and that Muslims should emigrate, and whether Bosnia would be considered *dar al-harb* in this case.¹³⁵ In 1909, Rashid Rida stated that Muslims should emigrate when they are forced to convert or when they are prevented from living their religious life and to wage jihad, and that emigration is obligatory only in these two cases. He also states that these situations are not affected in terms of worship and marriage.¹³⁶

On the other hand, Bosnevî Hilmi b. Hüseyin (Taşlıcalı Hilmi Baba), who stated that migration was a religious obligation, was another important figure of his time. He wrote a treatise entitled *Risala fi al-hijra wa al-muhajirin* (*Risala fi al-hijra wa al-muhajirin*) in 1885 on Migration and Muhajirs.¹³⁷ His work emphasizes that the decision to emigrate or to stay in Bosnia would serve as a litmus test for choosing sincerity of faith or worldly temptations. In this respect, as mentioned above, his positioning had an impact on the rural population, who had no daily contact with the Austro-Hungarian authorities and feared losing their integrity as a Muslim community.

Azabagić and Bosnevî Hilmi treated the phenomenon of migration with a sense of religious duty. In his texts he discusses whether emigration was absolutely necessary for Bosnian Muslims. Rida's general argument is that if Muslims in Bosnia are allowed to freely practice their faith and Islamic law is not violated, then emigration is not an absolute necessity. In other words, Rida argued that Muslims can stay in Bosnia and preserve their religious

135 Fikret Karčić, *Studije O Šerijatskom Pravu I Institucijama*, 2. dop. izd (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, Centar za Napredne Studije, 2011), 110–13; Fikret Karčić, *Šerijatsko Pravo - Reformizam I Izazovi Modernosti: Hrestomatija Tekstova I Eseja*, vol. 6 (Sarajevo: Savremeni Islamski Mislioci, 2009), 133–34; Fikret Karčić and Mustafa Jahić, “Jedna Važna Fetva O Pitanju Iseljavanja Bosanskih Muslimana U Vrijeme Austrougarske Uprave,” *Prilozi XXV*, no. 27 (1991): 41–48.

136 Karčić, *Studije O Šerijatskom Pravu I Institucijama*, 134.

137 Önder Çetin, “20.Yy Bosna’sında Bir Tartışma: Türkiye’ye Göç Hicret Sayılır Mı?,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 201 (Eylül 2010); Lavić, “Iseljavanje Bošnjaka muslimana iz BiH za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske vladavine i risala Mehmeda Teufika Azapagića”; Ekrem Gülşen, “Hilmi Baba b. Hüseyin Bosnevî’nin Hicret Risâlesi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *PESA Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (March 31, 2018): 30–45.

identity as long as they are careful about practicing Islam. Rida's intellectual position, as noted above, is a compromise between Islamic principles and modernity. The pragmatism of this position sets principles for the lives of Muslims living under non-Muslim rule and among non-Muslim populations. In line with this view, Rida did not consider it necessary for Bosnian Muslims to leave the country completely. Instead, he argued that religious institutions and the Muslim community in Bosnia should be strengthened. Addressing the issue of migration as a social and real reality rather than a purely theological one, Rida drew attention to the negative effects of mass migration. He warned that mass migration would leave the Muslim community and institutions in Bosnia without a strong leadership. Rida's approach to migration illustrates the diversity of thought within Islamic tendencies at the time. While many clerics analyzed the religious dimensions of hijra, Rida took a rather pragmatic stance. This opens up space for alternative perspectives, showing that Islam can have different applications in different political contexts. Rida's modernist tendency is close to a synthesist position that seeks to reconcile Islamic principles with modernity. His writings therefore include broader discussions of the lives of Muslims living under non-Muslim rule.¹³⁸

138 Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina," 94–96.

From Archive to Analysis:

Mapping of Bosnian Muslim Returnees, 1878-1918

This chapter focuses on the demography of Bosnia according to the Ottoman Census, the number of Bosnian Muslim emigrants to the Ottoman lands during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and especially the number of “returnees” from the Ottoman lands to the Dual Monarchy. This chapter brings together the research tools at the core of this research with an important contemporary technology such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS). In this way, it sheds light on the inter-imperial mobility of Bosnian Muslims and their lived experiences. While a new technology such as GIS enables the spatial analysis of migrants and returnees, there is a need for a comprehensive archive of returnees. The research focus and distinctive feature of this thesis is to trace Bosnian returnees in different archives in different countries, published annual reports, official censuses, periodicals, newspapers and magazines, maps, consular reports and secondary sources.

In the final decade of Mahmud II's reign, the Ottoman Empire prominently shifted towards the establishment of a comprehensive population registration system, a move driven by the imperatives of centralization. The implementation of population censuses emerged as the most effective means to ascertain the quantity and characteristics of the available financial and human resources. This information was critical in determining the administrative and military requirements of the state. Following the dissolution of the

Janissary Corps in 1826, it became essential to accurately understand the human resources that would underpin the newly formed army. To successfully plan and organize a centralized and modern military force, it was crucial to maintain precise and current records of the young male population.

The Ottoman Empire's *tahrir* tradition began in the 15th century as a method primarily focused on assessing arable land, which was crucial for the imposition of taxes on cultivators. This practice was not intended to provide a comprehensive demographic account of the empire's populace; rather, it was a fiscal instrument designed to optimize revenue from agricultural production. The *tahrir defters*, or tax registers, meticulously documented land ownership and cultivation practices, enabling Ottoman authorities to systematically extract financial resources from agrarian communities. By the 19th century, the concept of the census evolved into a more structured and modern tool for governance. While still retaining its fundamental role in resource collection, the census began to encompass a broader spectrum of attributes, including demographic data and social characteristics of the population. This shift indicated a significant transformation in the state's approach to population management and resource allocation. Moreover, this period witnessed a bifurcation in the methods used for land assessment. Real estate surveys, which were conducted separately from the general census, emerged as specialized instruments aimed at ascertaining precise property values and land usage. This distinction highlighted a growing recognition of the complexities involved in land ownership and taxation, as the state sought to adapt to the changing economic landscape of the empire.

The employment of *defters* by demographic historians has prompted extensive methodological, critical, and controversial discussions.¹ Two primary challenges persist in this analysis: exhaustiveness and the concept of the

1 For a general discussion see, Heath W Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Heath W. Lowry (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 3–18; for their ramifications in demographic history see, Cem Behar, "Qui Compte? «Recensements» et Statistiques Démographiques Dans l'Empire Ottoman, Du XVI e Au XX e Siècle," *Histoire & Mesure* 13, no. 1/2 (1998): 135–45.

tax household. Firstly, the issue of exhaustiveness arises from the fact that the Porte's primary concern was not the granular details of the population itself, but rather the financial resources that could be extracted from it, which were largely determined by a distribution-based taxation system. Secondly, the definition of tax households presents a significant obstacle, as the correlation between these households and actual households remains largely ambiguous. Furthermore, the average multiplication factor needed to estimate the population based on the number of tax households is often unknown.²

Writing in 1958, Barkan proposed a multiplier of five to calculate the total population using household numbers.³ As it is summarized by Nejat Göyünç, varying multipliers was proposed without a certain underlying methodology, or justification.⁴ To illustrate; in an, again, an early attempt, Bruce McGowan identifies figures in the capitation registers (*harac*) that correspond to the number of male Christians aged 15 and older. It is crucial to note that the geographical coverage of these registers is not consistent; for instance, those from 1717-1718 and 1740-1741 notably exclude Herzegovina. McGowan posits that to ascertain the total number of Christians across all ages and genders, the count should be multiplied by three.⁵ In contrast, Muhamed Hadžijahić proposes a multiplier of 3.31 without providing justification, while hypothesizing that the age threshold for majority was sometimes set at ten years—a plausible consideration.⁶ Finally, Michael Palaret, a Brit-

2 For an early discussion on the number on tax households, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai Sur Les Données Statistiques Des Registres de Recensement Dans l'Empire Ottoman Aux XVe et XVIe Siècles," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1, no. 1 (1957): 9–36, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3596037>.

3 Ibid., 12.

4 Nejad Göyünç, "Hane' Deyimi Hakkında," *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 32 (2011): 331–48.

5 Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 96.

6 МУХАМЕД ХАЏИЈАХИЋ, "МЕТОДОЛОШИ ПОСТУПЦИ КОД УТВРЂИВАЊА БРОЈА БОСАНСКЕ ПОПУЛАЦИЈЕ У КАСНИЈЕМ ТУРСКОМ ПЕРИОДУ [=Methodology for Consolidating Bosnian Population Figures at the End of the Turkish Period]," *Prilozi Instituta Za Istoriju u Sarajevu* 11–12 (76 1975): 300–312.

ish historian with a focus on the Balkan economy in contemporary times, suggests a multiplier of 3.385, derived from precise calculations for Serbia.⁷ Collectively, these examples underscore the importance of cautious interpretation and the need for a rigorous methodological framework in demographic studies related to the Ottoman era.⁸

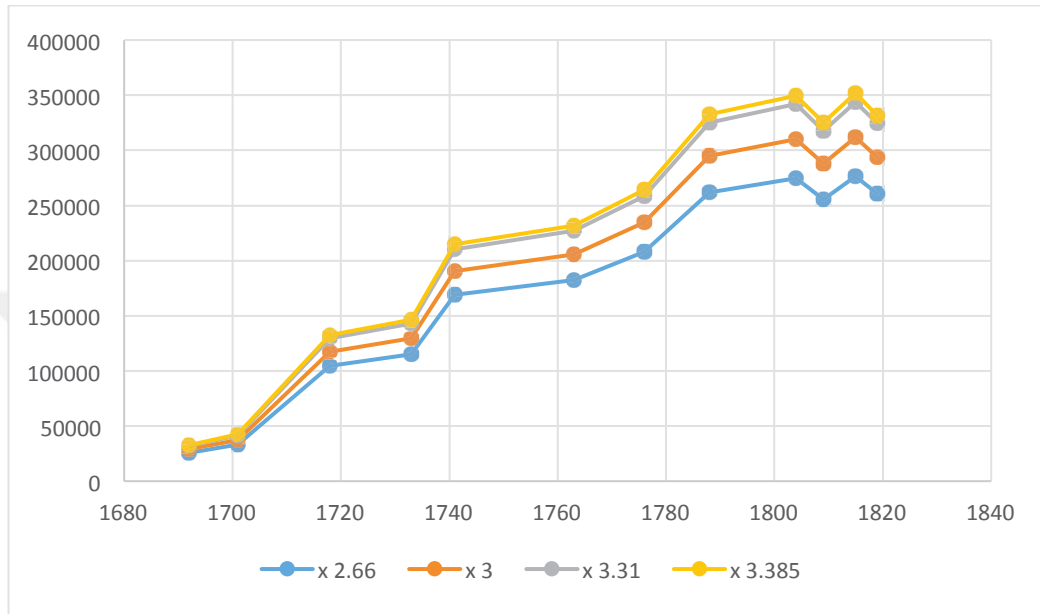


Figure 4.1 Estimated Christian population of Bosnia (1680-1840) by different household multipliers. SOURCE: Adapted from Philippe Gelez, “Dénombrements et recensements de population en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant le XIX^eme s. et au début du XX^eme s. (I).” *Balkanologie. Revue d’études pluridisciplinaires* 12, no. 2 (2010): Table 1. <https://doi.org/10.4000/balkanologie.2258>.

7 Michael R. Palaret, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution without Development* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5–6.

8 This summary is taken from, Philippe Gelez, “Dénombrements et recensements de population en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant le XIX^eme s. et au début du XX^eme s. (I),” *Balkanologie. Revue d’études pluridisciplinaires* 12, no. 2 (2010): paras. 5–7, <https://doi.org/10.4000/balkanologie.2258>.

As can be seen from Figure 2.1, although the multipliers lead to very different conclusions, they come to the same conclusion in terms of showing certain trends. Eighteenth century demographic history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the eighteenth century has its own dynamics and peculiarities. One of them is conversions.

One of the earliest known detailed population studies of Sarajevo, also known as the *Kefileme* book, was made by Mulla Muhammed Divović-Mestvica in 1841. Although he did not provide detailed information on Bosnia as a whole, he gave detailed information on the male population of Sarajevo in terms of neighborhoods and houses by writing down who lived in each house. Handwritten in Ottoman Turkish, the first part of the study consists of Muslims, the second part of Gypsies, the third part of dhimmi (Catholic and orthodox non-Muslims) and the last part of Jews.⁹

One of the trickiest tasks in Bosnia and Herzegovina is to change the religion of the country's members. The cause of the topic is not only a very pronounced religiosity, which can rise to fanaticism, but also the political and ethnic importance of religious affiliation. Members of one religion are considered to be in solidarity, apostasy is considered not only a horror, but also a disgrace, which is inflicted on the entire association. It therefore happens that in such cases the whole religious association in question is alerted, and that every religion in question is usually asked of the government to do as it pleases. This was the case during the Turkish rule, and in many cases, it is still the case today. According to the religious law of Muslims, apostasy from Islam was punishable by death, but the Turkish government abandoned this principle around the middle of the nineteenth century, as it ordered only the persecution of apostates.¹⁰

9 For a Bosnian translation, see Muhamed Mestvica, *Popis uzajamnog jamčenja stanovništva u Sarajevu iz 1841. godine*, trans. Dervis Kordut (Sarajevo: Muzej grada, 1970).

10 *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, C.i Kr. Zajedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Zagreb: Štampa Kr. Zemaljske Štamparije, 1906), 135.

§ 4.1 Demography of Bosnia According to Ottoman Censuses and Population Registers before Occupation

In that sense, The 1831 general census in the Ottoman Empire emerged as a pivotal initiative aimed at meticulously documenting the taxpayers and conscripts—essential pillars of the state apparatus. This endeavor was first articulated under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, who proposed the inaugural census in 1829. Although preparations commenced in Istanbul, the ongoing Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 and the subsequent Greek uprising significantly hindered its implementation across the empire until 1831.¹¹ According to Aydın, the overarching purpose of the census was to ascertain the demographic composition of the population governed by the Ottoman administration. This ostensibly straightforward rationale conceals critical underlying motives: the facilitation of military recruitment and the enforcement of tax obligations. Specifically, the census targeted the male Muslim population with the primary aim of identifying individuals liable for military service.¹² Conversely, for the *reaya*—non-Muslim subjects—the census served to determine individuals responsible for the payment of the *cizye* tax. The 1831 census thus represented a crucial mechanism for the Ottoman state to reinforce its military and fiscal foundations. By accurately accounting for its population, the administration not only aimed to enhance governance but also sought to project its authority amidst a period characterized by regional instability and internal strife.

Bosnia was not the sole province omitted from the 1831 census. Other significant regions such as Tunisia, Tripoli, Egypt, Crete, Syria, Erzurum, Armenia, Kurdistan, along with the principalities of Eflak and Boğdan, and parts of Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, and Istanbul were

11 Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı: 1831*, 4–15.

12 Mahir Aydın, “Sultan II. Mahmud Döneminde Yapılan Nüfus Tahrirleri,” in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri, 28-30 Haziran 1989: Bildiriler*, ed. İstanbul Üniversitesi (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990), 94–96; for a summary of the process see, Behar, “Qui Compte?”; Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1996).

also excluded.¹³ This widespread omission underscores the challenges faced by the Ottoman administration in maintaining its authority over distant provinces and highlights the complexities involved in conducting a comprehensive census in an empire characterized by regional unrest and diverse populations.

In 1835, Office of the Register of Births (*Ceride-i Nüfus Nezareti*) was established as part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the principle of conducting population and property censuses was adopted, when military service was purported to be converted to a compulsory one in 1843. A new census was required for the lottery recruitment method. This lot system was to be gradually introduced after these censuses and spread across the empire over time.¹⁴

Even though a second attempt at census in Bosnia was made between 1834 and 1836, under Vecihi Paşa, which also failed. Third attempt was made under Tahir Paşa between 1846 and 1850. This time of all *harac* taxpayers (Christian males over the age of ten) were the main target. It seems that the operation was carried out, but the results remained also unknown.¹⁵ The general population census of 1844 was conducted under the leadership of Serasker Rıza Pasha. However, it encountered resistance due to rumors that new taxes would be based on population size. Although official results were not announced, foreign officials and orientalist like Ubicini and Bore published estimates from state officials, making the 1844 census known through these unofficial figures.¹⁶ Comprehensive studies based on primary sources are still lacking. Karpát suggests that the census efforts continued beyond

13 Daniel Panzac, *Population et santé dans l'empire Ottoman (XVIIIe-XXe Siecles)* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1996), 12.

14 Ufuk Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, İstanbul: Simurg Yayıncılık, 2000, p. 39 ff.

15 Philippe Gelez, "Dénombrements et recensements de population en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant le XIXeme s. et au début du XXeme s. (I)." *Balkanologie. Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires* 12, no. 2 (2010), par. 15.

16 See Karpát, *Osmanlı Nüfusu*, pp. 42 and 62-64 and Nuri Akbayer, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Osmanlı Devleti Nüfusu", *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p. 1240.

1844, citing census activities in Aydın and Menteşe in 1851, and in Cyprus in 1857. However, the assumption that a general census would have taken more than ten years all over the empire does not seem plausible when it is based on a few examples without proper documentation.¹⁷

In that respect, the first completed census in Bosnia was conducted as part of the general census of 1851. The first successful general census, conducted from August 1850 onwards in six sanjaks, excluding Herzegovina, although completed later, a year or two, in some *kazas* of the province. The principle was to enumerate the entire male population, both Muslim and non-Muslim. In addition to the male population of the region, information such as the name, father's name, disability status, title, description, age, date of birth and death, as well as occupational groups and family ties can be obtained from the population registers. Therefore, population records are extremely valuable sources for the economic and social history of the region. Since the age ratios of the existing population can be determined from the population data, it also offers the opportunity to comment on the population potential of the region. Population information was recorded based on religion. In other words, the registers were kept separately for Muslims, Muslim Copts, and *reaya*. Although Copts were also Muslims, they were recorded in a separate register. In addition to the *reaya* registers, there is also a separate register for Hebrews for Sarajevo whereas there are no separate ones for other *sancaks*. The population registers of 1851 record the adult, child and newborn male population. Thus, the distribution of the male population according to age groups can be determined. The registers are still waiting to be utilized.¹⁸

The comprehensive census of 1851 was carried out by Serdar Ömer Pasha (1806-1871), whose mission was to pacify the province and introduce the Tanzimat, which was being blocked by the Muslim elite. The figures from this census, as I have mentioned, have never been published. However, dis-

17 See Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu*, pp. 60-64.

18 Most recent scholarly work uses only the registers available for Saraybosna as a *sancak*, see: Zarife Albayrak, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Saraybosna Sancağı'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı." PhD Thesis, Ondokuz Mayıs University, 2024, pp. 252-288.

trict-by-district details can be found in a few period publications, of which the most reliable, and one of the most comprehensive, according to Philippe Gelez is that of Pasco Wassa Efendi (1825-1892).¹⁹ He acted as secretary to Ahmed Cevdet Efendi (1822-1885), when the latter came to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1863 on yet another mission to pacify the province, and Philippe Gelez assumes that he is likely to have consulted the original preserved in Istanbul, and it is therefore his table that we will take as a basis for reflection.²⁰ The same claim of reliability is made by Albayrak, who compares Vasa Pasha and the population register for the sandjak of the Sarajevo.²¹

Table 4.1 Population of Vilayet of Bosna according to Vasa Pasha and a comparison with population numbers according to Ottoman population registers for Sancak of Saraybosna, 1850 onwards

Sancak	Districts	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Copts
Saraybosna	Saraybosna*	10575/13396	8300/9783	857/NA	187/297
	Visoka	6396/4714	4276/4813		62/72
	Foyniçe	2810/3089	4416/5093	10/NA	29/0
	Neretva	2137/2152	540/1583		58/58
	Çelebipazar	3526/3609	1910/2227		66/67
	İzvornik	5324	5228		341
İzvornik	Biyelina	4284	10765		277
	Tuzla-1 Bala	2896	781		57
	Tuzla-1 Zîr	10089	3555		379
	Srebreniça	6942	6901		440
	Brcka	2388	4822		216
	Kaladin	1640	788		9
	Gračaniça	16002	25117		533

- 19 He is known as Vasa Pasha. He was Albanian. He worked in judicial affairs and was a member of the Herzegovina executive committee in 1876; in 1882 he became the Mutasarrıf of Mount Lebanon. He passed away in 1892. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 461. Philippe Gelez, "Dénombrements et recensements de population en Bosnie-Herzégovine durant le XIXème s. et au début du XXème s. (II)." *Balkanologie. Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires* 13, no. 1-2 (2011), par. 6.
- 20 Gelez, "Dénombrements et recensements de population II", par. 6
- 21 Albayrak, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Saraybosna", p. 250 ff. See Table 4.1.

Sancak	Districts	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Copts
Hersek	Maglay	3353	6023		88
	Mostar	3795	9001		111
	Gaçka	2060	6230		89
	Blagay	946	570		16
	Koniçe	799	1787		40
	Liyubuška	1275	7577		26
	Stolaz	1775	6294		128
	Nevesin	1382	5263		64
	Trebinye	3132	8314		158
	Duvno	665	2511		33
	Foça	7740	3636		151
	Çaniça	3313	1620		117
	Nikşiç	1791	2479		13
	Taşlıca	2845	3760		
	Kolaçin	2570	1688		28
	Prepol	1867	4076		62
	Bihaç	6865	7631		26
	Nevesil	2180	8581		8
	Pridor	2555	6134		49
Bihaç	Novi	1703	5901		34
	Dubiçe	705	3044		73
	Ostruşça	9525	2398		46
	Krupa	4500	3945		39
	Maden	2398	4608		
	Çoçarşa	1857	4117		21
	Kluçe	2445	2902		32
Travnik	Travnik	4993	1802	163	73
	Zenica	5277	2824	11	85
	Livno	1708	9367		63
	Belgradçik	806	3251		
	Akhisar	5172	3589		277
	Yayçe	3345	9943		121
	Göhlhisar	1107	6789		12
	Prozor	1703	2298		5
Yenipazar	Yenipazar	2952	4620	33	66
	Yenivaroş	1837	5761		142
	Zenitsa	1813	1955		18
	Mitroviçe	1491	1026		26
	Vişegrad	2377	1173		75
	Tergovişe	6068	3622		83
	Bihor	4802	2695		59

Sancak	Districts	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Copts
Banyaluka	Banya Luka	5316	39818		231
	Derbend	1731	12718		164
	Teşne	6284	9413		79

SOURCE: Pasco Wassa Efendi, *La Bosnie et l'Herzégovine pendant la mission de Cevdet Efendi*, İstanbul: ISIS, 1999 [originally published in 1864], p. 26, for Herzegovina p. 65. Albayrak, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Saraybosna", p. 274-275. * In original, Saraybosna is divided into suburbs and the city. For the purposes I took them as one, constituting the *kaza* of Saraybosna.

During 1869-1870, a detailed census resembling a tax census and probably including an update to population registers was conducted, likely based on a decree from January 1840, which implemented a new quota-based taxation method. However, the extent of how it was carried out and by whom remains unknown.²² The census covered livestock, building stocks, taxes, production and changes in population registers. Its data was published in the Bosnian vilayet *salname* (yearbook) of 1286/1869-70 and the following two issues (1870-1871 and 1871-1872). As Gelez, finds it unreliable because of its origin and prefers the French Ambassadors' version of the numbers,²³ *salnames* as purveyors of censuses and statistical data constitutes the backbone of the demographic questions.

Without a doubt, the foremost sources for the first "modern" demographic statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina are *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnameleri* [=Ottoman Provincial Yearbooks/Official Almanacs]. However, *vilayet salnames* [=official almanacs / yearbooks] of the Ottoman Administration show a great deal of variations, changes in stylistic and structural forms from one province to another province, even these variations exist for the same province over time, and they rarely form a continuous, unbreakable chain of serialized data. Most of the time it is hard to obtain a continuous series of *salnames* for a region, though this is not the case for Bosnia. Bosnia and Herzegovina was among the first provinces, other than premature attempt for the province of Tuna, that published its *salname* as early as 1283 H.

22 Gelez, "Dénombrements et recensements de population II", par. 14

23 Ibid.

[=1866/7 c.e.], and till the Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1879, with the exception of 1293 H. [=1872/3 c.e.], we have a complete set of *salnames*. (See Table 4.2)

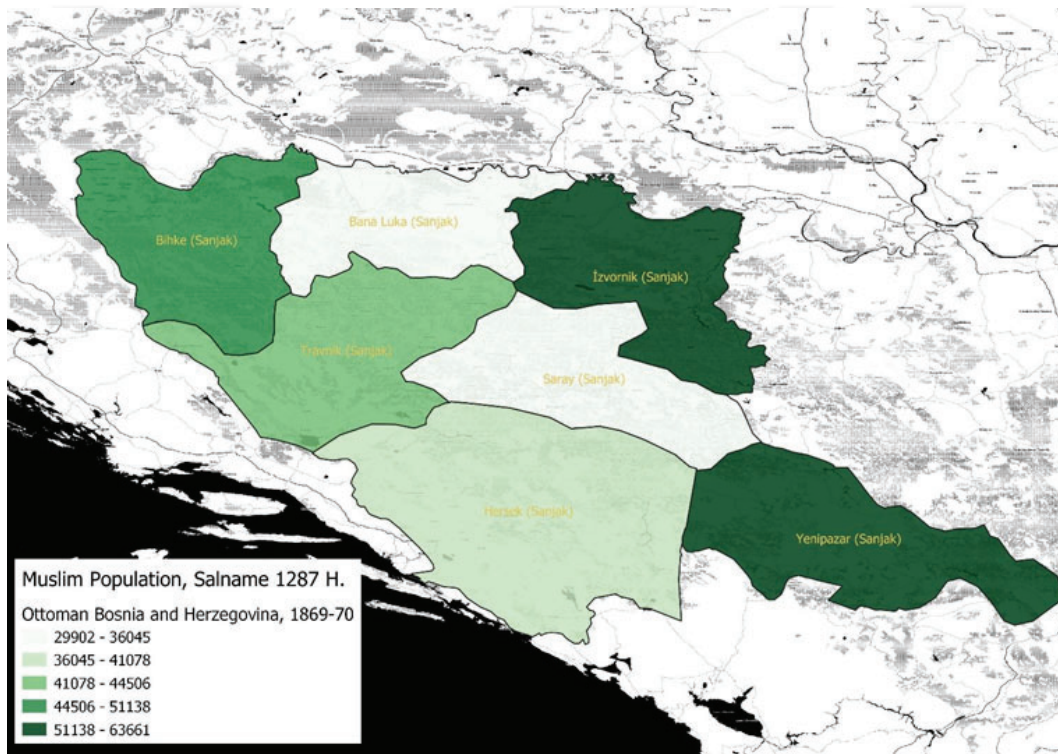
Table 4.2 Available provincial official almanacs and their contents for statistical information on Bosnia during the nineteenth century

Hijri	Georgian	Edition	Available Statistical Data
1283	1866/7	1	NA
1284	1867/8	2	Schools and Students
1285	1868/9	3	Schools and Students
1286	1869/70	4	Schools and Students; Fair Places; Regional Markets
1287	1870/1	5	Male Population; Husbandry; Agriculture; Schools and Students
1288	1871/2	6	Male Population; Husbandry; Agriculture; Schools and Students
1289	1872/3	NA	NA
1290	1873/4	[8]	Schools and Students; Railroads; Mines; Forestry; Roads; Geography
1291	1874/5	[9]	Schools and Students; Railroads; Mines; Forestry; Roads; Distances; Map
1292	1875/6	10	Schools and Students; Railroads; Mines; Forestry; Roads; Geography; Map
1293	1876/7	11	Buildings; Schools and Students; Mines; Forestry; Roads; Geography
1294	1877/8	12	Buildings; Schools and Students; Mines; Forestry; Roads; Geography
1295	1878	13	Judiciary; Bureaucratic Correspondance; General Geography; Finance
1301	1883/4	2*	Communications; Geography
1304	1886/7	[3]	Communications; Roads; RailroadS; Fair Places
1308	1890/1	[4]	Communications; Roads; RailroadS; Fair Places

SOURCE: Compiled from Vilayet *Salnames* of Bosnia and Herzegovina published between 1866/7-1890/1. * After occupation

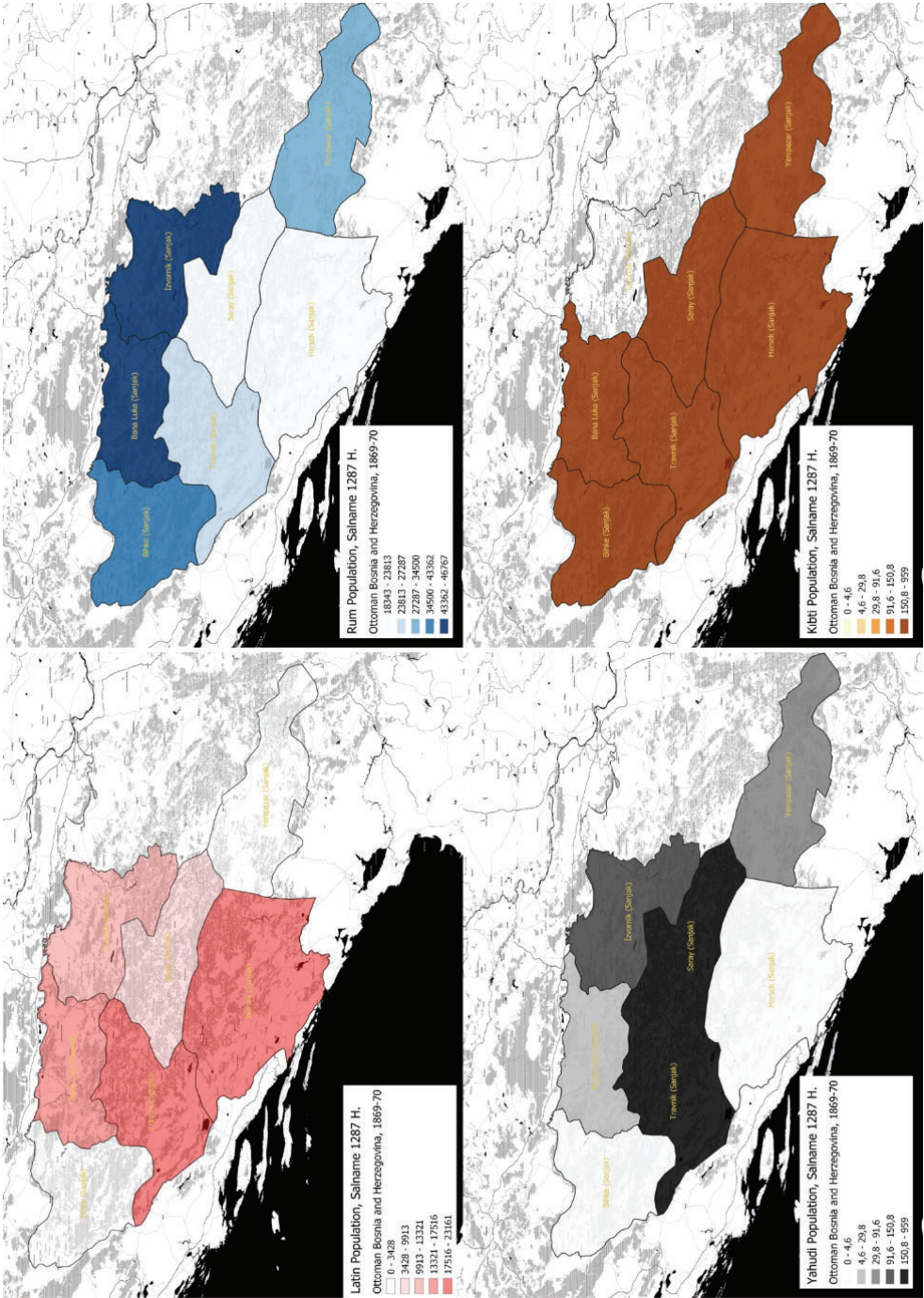
Despite its continuity, the information available cannot be taken at its face value and mostly repeats itself. Furthermore, it is hard to build up a reliable demographic outlook of an administrative region just relying on *salnames* because of their obvious shortcoming: They never provide demographic data at the level of villages, and rarely at the level of provincial districts. Most of the time available population data corresponds to the level of sanjaks, second administrative units. In addition, the early examples of censuses published in *salnames* only count the male population and do not provide any infor-

mation on females. In Bosnian case, it also important to underline the fact that only two *salnames*, 5th and 6th editions covering 1870-73, and probably relying on wide survey conveyed under the rule of Cevdet Efendi beginning in 1863, contain demographic data limited to male population dispersed under common religious categories of *müslim* [=muslim people], *rum* [=orthodox people], *latin* [=catholic people], *yahudi* [=jewish people] and *kıbtı* [=coptic people]. As it can be seen from the map, available demographic data, first published in *salname* dated 1287 H.[=1870/1 c.e.] covers only male population at the level of sanjaks. And does not present a sophisticated portrayal of the distribution of religious communities across geography because of its missing level of geographical detail. (See Map 4.1 and 4.2)



Map 4.1

Choropleth map of Muslim population among *sancaks* according to *salname* of 1287 H. (1869-70) SOURCE: *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna*. 1287 H. (1870/1), pp. 132 ff.



Map 4.2 Choropleth maps of population of other religious communities among *sancaks* according to *salname* of 1287 H. (1869-70) SOURCE: *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna*. 1287 H. (1870/1), pp. 132 ff.

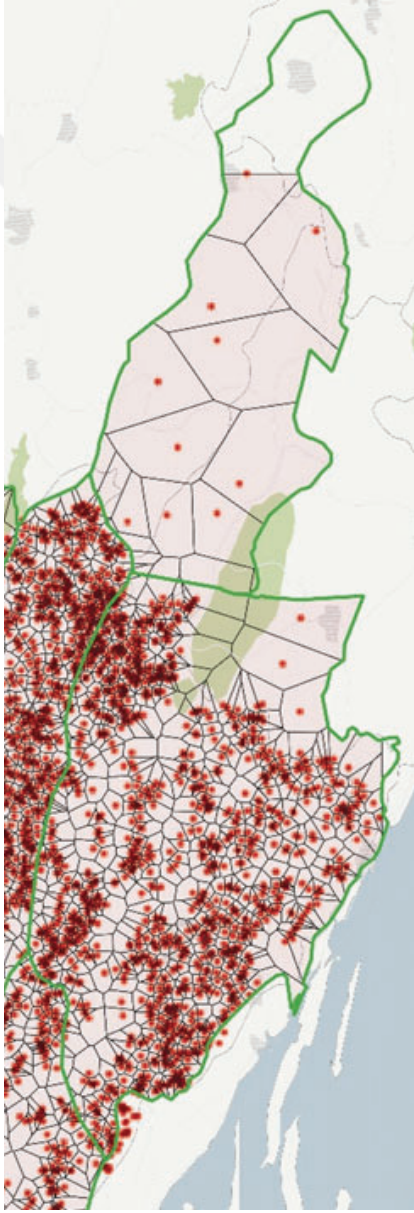
In fact, population data is available in *salname* of 1287 H. [=1870/1 c.e.] was part of a wider survey including husbandry and agriculture of the region as well as taxation. (See Table 2.3).²⁴ Apart from the schools and number of students, population data published in *salnames* does not provide, even if we accept the fact that it represents only males, a serial data set for demographics. Nevertheless, *salnames* have still remained earliest official sources for the demographics of Bosnia apart from the newly opened population registers of the Bosnia and Herzegovina region, at the Ottoman Directorate of the Turkish Presidency State Archives in Istanbul. Although there are numbers published from consulate reports for 1851, official population registers still remain to be thoroughly studied in order to obtain an official demographical outlook of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that period. There are 231 population registers that covers today's Bosnian geography and some parts of Today's Serbia and also some cities from Montenegro. (See Map 4.3)

Table 4.3 Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to *Vilayet Salname*, 1869/70.

	Hersek	Banya Luka	Yenipazar	Bihke/bihaç	Travnik	İzvornik
Muslim	39472	29902	52626	45186	43487	63661
Orthodox	23492	44923	30575	37117	25095	46767
Catholics	18289	14426	0	2098	23161	11663
Jews	0	23	40	0	157	126
Copts	676	589	742	400	658	1964
	81929	89863	83983	84801	92558	124181

SOURCE: *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna*. 1287 H. (1870/1), pp. 132 ff.

24 Karpát suggests that these population numbers probably come from the 1844 census data, adjusted with birth and death records (including war casualties). This estimate is backed by later calculations of the number of residents: Kemal H. Karpát, *Ottoman Population*, p.161).



Map 4.3 Density distribution of population registers dated from 1850/1 in the Ottoman Archives (excluding Yenipazar and parts of Hersek) SOURCE: Filtered data set for Bosnia NFS.d (BOA)

§ 4.2 Returnees in Numbers: Scale, Data and Periods

We have mentioned the small amount of literature that specifically focuses on the return of Bosnian Muslims. Add to this the ambiguous use of the concept of return, and it can be safely said that the concept of return points to an area in need of academic study. This deficiency can also be observed with regard to statistical data. Concrete data on returnees can be found in Bosnian archives, consular reports or petitions to administrative authorities and statistical reports prepared by the empires. All of these archives and records are vital for observing/identifying the demographic indicators of returnees, the names of the regions they returned to, the reasons for their return, and the socio-economic conditions experienced upon their return to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Whereas partial archival readings (e.g. court records) may only focus on one part of the phenomenon of return, resulting in a fragmented reading, the aggregation of statistical data makes it possible to make a holistic and comprehensive reading.

There are similar contradictions in the empires' approach to migration. This was also the case with the Austro-Hungarian Empire's approach to migration. It is known that in the first years of its occupation of Bosnia, the Habsburg regime settled Catholics in the areas left by the Bosnian Muslims. This resettlement regime, which gradually became a policy, also served to consolidate the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire over Bosnia. For example, Biletić stated that some of the land of the 12,000 Catholic peasants settled in the Krajina region of Bosnia was acquired through the usurpation of the land of the indigenous population.²⁵ In fact, the Habsburg regime stated that it did not want to completely restrict migratory mobility in Bosnia. However, it also did not want to lose a population that performed central functions in the country and could be considered its economic backbone. The first pioneers were mostly a mass of civil servants, foreign peasant settlers and workers in various sectors (railway, forest and mining) who saw themselves as elements of a civilizational project (European civilization). The

25 Biletić, "Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih Povratnika Iz Iseljništva Za Vrijeme Austro-Igarske Uprave (1878.-1903.)."

resettlement process was closely linked to the exchange of agricultural land. The Habsburg regime, recognizing the strong demand for repatriation, realized that it should not stand in the way of this demand and evolved into an understanding that welcomed the return of Bosnian Muslims. This understanding, in turn, led to a relational and multi-layered negotiation traffic between the local population, the imperial administration (authorities) and the returnees. It led to a more complex migration policy regime that operated at the level of satisfying or appeasing the demands of a range of subjects involved in this traffic.

At this stage, the presence of the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance Benjamin Kallay and his approach to the issues constituted a turning point. Kallay's efforts to search for a common Bosnian identity underpinned this turning point. In 1883, Kallay heralded a new policy, aiming to create a unified Bosnian identity in opposition to the specific demands of Serbian and Croatian nationalisms.²⁶ The new policy that came with Kallay prioritized the retention of Bosnian Muslims (especially landowners) in Bosnia. The main objective of this approach was to consolidate the imperial influence by having locally influential individuals work in integration with the local policies of the empire. Indeed, Kallay's idea was to create a unified Bosnian identity and consolidate imperial power over the Bosnian province by weakening rival micronationalisms. This new policy approach, which could be considered highly strategic, was in line with the interests of imperial politics, which sought to avoid chaos and achieve stability. It was therefore essential to attract Bosnian Muslims, and especially their elites, who did not act against these interests, into the ranks of the imperial administration. This regime strategy can be said to be pragmatic, as the promotion of Bosnianness served the interests of the empire in a context of political turmoil and rising rival nationalisms.

It seems possible to say that this policy change was designed on a very class-based basis. Scholars such as Kamberović, for example, have noted that lower class people (mostly propertyless and unskilled) who wanted to emi-

26 Adanır, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion."

grate from the empire were treated leniently.²⁷ In other words, the imperial administration was not interested in preventing the emigration of the lower class. However, this was not the case for landowners and influential people. With the new policy change, the imperial administration tried to protect wealthy landowners in favor of the stability of the empire and encouraged them to live in their spheres of influence through various incentives. Due to their economic and administrative power, these influential and wealthy people were seen as a stabilizing factor in favor of the imperial administration. The approach here is quite strategic. In other words, the empire tried to keep an elite aristocracy on its side through the retention of influential people and did not oppose the migration of unskilled and dispossessed people. However, one should not ignore the fact that there was a consolidation of the population through the consolidation of unskilled people in favor of the empire by subjecting them to less oppression. Biletić's study argues that in the early years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation there was no systematic policy to stop mass emigration and little was done to stop it. She argues that the transition of the imperial administration from a natural to a monetary economy during this period was one of the main triggers for migration. Some of the other topics that the imperial administration attributed to the migration process during this period are: foreign influence and provocation; search for profit; religious fanaticism, peasant uprising/response to oppression, reaction to non-Muslim rule, economic situation of the peasants, concern for the education of children, insufficient land to cultivate and search for better economic situation.²⁸

Statistical data on the period reveals the complex structure of the migration and return phenomenon. Ferdinand Schmid, from the Statistical Office as former director, stated that between 1883 and 1905 there were 32,625 emi-

27 Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini Od 1878. Do 1918. Godine* (Sarajevo: Institut "Ibn Sina," 2005).

28 Biletić, "Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih Povratnika Iz Iseljništva Za Vrijeme Austro-Igarske Uprave (1878.-1903.)."

grants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, of whom 4,042 returned.²⁹ In his book “Bosnien und die Herzegovina: Unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns” (Unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns) published in 1914, Schmid shares these records. Other researchers, based on data and sources from the same archives, have provided differing facts and figures. Kemal Karpat³⁰ and Noel Malcolm³¹ find Schmid's numbers plausible, while Mustafa Imamović³² and Mina Kujović³³ report that only 2,027 returned officially and 617 illegally during this period. Alexander Popović, citing Abduselam Balagija, stated that in the period 1904-14, out of 33,424 migrants, 11,198 returned.³⁴ Benjamin Kallay, the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance, states that a total of 1,274 people returned from 1886 to 1900.³⁵ Hadžibegović estimates that a total of 12,000 people returned from 1881 to 1912.³⁶

Alongside these scholars, Juzbašić³⁷ and Gelez,³⁸ citing Hamdija Kapidžić,³⁹ argue that the return of Bosnian emigrants started modestly, with

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- 29 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien Und Die Herzegovina Unter Der Verwaltung Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig: Verlag Von Veit & Comp, 1914), 249.
- 30 Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013), 278, <http://www.timas.com.tr/kitaplar/tarih/kemal-karpat-kitapligi/osmanlidan-gunumuze-etnik-yapilanma-ve-gocler.aspx>.
- 31 Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: MacMillan, 1994).
- 32 Mustafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u Emigraciji: Monografija Bosanskih Pogleda 1955-1967* (Zürich: Bošnjački Institut, 1996), 63.
- 33 Kujović, “O Bosanskim Muhadžirima, Povratnicima Iz Turske u Vrijeme Austrougarske Uprave,” 72.
- 34 Alexandre Popović, *L'Islam Balkanique: Les Musulmans Du Sud-Est Européen Dans La Période Post-Ottomane* (Berlin; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986).
- 35 Benjamin Kallay, *Die Lage Der Mohammedaner in Bosnien* (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1900), 121.
- 36 Ilijas Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća*, Historijske monografije 1 (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 2004), 63.
- 37 Dževad Juzbašić, “O Iseljavanju Iz Bosne i Hercegovine Poslije Aneksije 1908. Godine,” in *Politika i Privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini Pod Austrougarskom Upravom* (Sarajevo: ANUBIH, 2002).
- 38 Gelez, *Atlas Statistique De La Bosnie-Herzégovine Au Xixe Siècle: Mémoire Sur La Démographie, Accompagné D'un Atlas*, 112.

official records showing that 117 people returned to Bosnia in 1908. This number increased slightly in 1909, with 133 people returning, and in 1911, a further 951 were reported to have returned. These figures, though small in comparison to the total number of emigrants, indicate a growing disillusionment among Bosnian Muslims who initially sought a better life in the Ottoman Empire.

These discrepancies in figures between various sources can be interpreted as without ensuring data reliability, without rigorous cross-referencing of archival material to ensure data reliability and consistency, it is very difficult to reconstruct a realistic picture of the repatriation phenomenon. Moreover, the fact that the discrepancies between sources are too serious to be ignored necessitates a repeated and rigorous scrutiny of the sources in the archives. In addition to the serious challenges posed by these requirements, it is crucial that existing statistics provide a meaningful picture of migration and return processes. Thus, data efficiency can significantly feed the field of return and migration, enabling more qualified and holistic readings. It may also help to map and frame to some extent the highly complex socio-political landscape that existed in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As conditions in the Ottoman Empire continued to deteriorate after the Balkan Wars, the number of Bosnian Muslims seeking to return to their homeland increased. In mid-November 1912, for example, the Austro-Hungarian Consulate General in Skopje found itself overwhelmed by a flood of requests and petitions from these migrants gathering in Thessaloniki. Meanwhile, consular records recorded the misery and suffering of the migrants, who were housed in overcrowded mosques and stables; their suffering could only be described as “indescribable and unprecedented.”⁴⁰ Indeed, the disintegration of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans had left the displaced

39 Hamdija Kapidžić, *Bosna i Hercegovina pod austrougarskom upravom: Članci i rasprave* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968).

40 Safet Bandžović, *Bošnjaci i turska: deosmanizacija Balkana i muhadžirski pokreti u XX stoleću* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2014); Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*.

Bosnians in such a miserable situation that in desperation they had no choice but to beg to return to their homeland.

In response to these intense demands, the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina responded by allowing the return of people who retained 'terrestrial bondage' of Bosnia or had known it before emigration. However, it did not allow the return of those who had already become subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Bosnians living outside the territories allied to the Austro-Hungarian Empire were also excluded from this permission, as it was not wanted to provoke a negative reaction against the Ottoman government. Despite all these restrictions, according to Bosnian government figures, some 50,000 Bosnians have registered their desire to return to their homeland, and according to the authorities, it is quite possible that the number could be as high as 100,000 [sic].⁴¹

There is a strategic interpretation that these migrants were allowed because they were potentially volunteers for a possible war with Serbia and Montenegro. In mid-November 1912, the shipment of returnees began. The emigrants were first taken by steamship from Thessaloniki to Trieste, and from there they were transferred by rail to Bosnia and Herzegovina via Dobrljin and Bosanska Brod. Most of these returnees did not have the means to travel, so the migration route and expenses were financed by the State Government.⁴² The repatriations intensified until mid-March 1913, when about 5,000 people returned via Trieste. The returnees were in really poor health due to the poor living conditions in Thessaloniki and daily hunger. Despite official orders to prevent their passage to Sandzak, around 1,000 managed to escape and return to Bosnia after the outbreak of the First Balkan War. This

41 Kraljačić, "Povratak Muslimanskih Iseljenika Iz Bosne i Hercegovine U Toku Prvog Balkanskog Rata," 155.

42 Safet Bandžović, "Between Deosmanization and Balkanization: Refugee's Steps of Bosniak History," *Historijski Pogledi* 1, no. 1 (October 30, 2018): 36–74, <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2018.1.1.36>; Safet Bandžović, *Bošnjaci i Deosmanizacija Balkana: Muhadžirski Pokreti i Pribježišta "Sultanovih Musafira" (1683.-1875.)* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2013); Safet Bandžović, *Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci: Ratovi i Muhadžirska Pribježišta (1876-1923)* (Sarajevo: S. Bandžović, 2013).

number could have been even higher if the authorities had allowed families who could support themselves after the return to return as well.⁴³

As already mentioned, the Balkan Wars seriously worsened the situation of Bosnian migrants. Hundreds of Bosnian families, inhabitants of the Sanjak and Macedonia regions of the Ottoman Balkans, tried to survive in increasingly desperate conditions and continued to think about their future departure to Anatolia. In early 1914, about 500 Bosnian muhajir families held their emigration passports and traveled along the Užice-Niš-Sofia railway line.⁴⁴

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire's presence in the Balkans as a result of the First Balkan War really brought a major change of attitude for a Bosnian Muslim living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosnian Muslim political leadership realized that it was futile to think that the Ottoman Empire was going to help, so they began to strive to keep their homeland intact as a sovereign homeland and to accept non-Muslim control. This created a new awareness. It was the beginning of a new phase in the life of the Bosnians, with all its contradictions.

§ 4.3 Voices of Authority: A Comparative Dive into Bosnian Administration Reports

The year 1906 marked a turning point when the Austro-Hungarian government officially published its first comprehensive report with statistical data on emigration and returns in German - *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina* - and then in Serbo-Croatian, *Izvještaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*. The report was published continuously by the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance until 1911; in 1913 for two years due to the Balkan Wars; and in 1917 for the years 1914-1916 due to the First World War. The

43 Kraljačić, "Povratak Muslimanskih Iseljenika Iz Bosne i Hercegovine U Toku Prvog Balkanskog Rata."

44 Ibid.; Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku*; Gelez, "La spécificité musulmane dans l'évolution démographique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle (1850-1914)."

German version was published in Vienna, while the Serbo-Croatian version was written in Sarajevo, except for the first and most detailed version of 1906, published in Zagreb.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire's detailed population records and reports on immigrants and returnees have led to interpretations that the empire established a colonial mechanism that prioritized annexation under the guise of occupation. The reason for these interpretations is the existence of a vast mechanism ranging from demarcation of borders to population engineering, from the education system to the construction of religious buildings, from agricultural production to animal husbandry, from all commercial areas in towns and cities to the justice system, and finally to all state institutions, labor organization and wages of employees. While population data is given first in the reports, data and statistics on migration are presented in full detail, and more detailed analysis and statistics on returnees are also included.

These interpretations argue that the main reason for the preparation of these reports was not an administrative routine, but a strategic tool for the Austro-Hungarian authorities to legitimize their dominance and control over the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These reports were thus perceived as state-centered tools that aided power projection in depicting the effective management of population movements. It has been argued that through these detailed migration records, the Austro-Hungarian administration established an effective demographic control and management mechanism. However, this stance may also represent an attempt by the Austro-Hungarian Empire to manipulate and control the narrative of the migration of Bosnian Muslims.

The presentation of repatriation efforts with the appearance of demographic stability may have allowed the Empire to ignore the instability and displacement of these communities and present its rule as more legitimate and effective than it was. These detailed statistics on migration may have been used strategically to project power and influence, rather than to truly address the needs and concerns of the displaced Bosnian Muslim population. Returning to the details of the statistics on returnees, although earlier official censuses conducted by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1879, 1885 and 1895 partially mentioned migration and returns, these reports pro-

vide the most detailed information on these issues. With the help of data from archival and secondary sources, as well as from these reports, I have prepared the following Table 1, which provides a detailed count of Bosnian Muslim emigrants and returnees from 1883 to 1914, as documented in the official “Izvjestaj and/or Bericht”. The table also shows legal and illegal emigrants and returnees and provides a comprehensive view of migration trends during this period.

Table 4.4 Annual figures of Bosnian Muslim emigrants and returnees according to official administration reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina

Years	Emigrants (Legal)	Emigrants (Illegal)	Emigrants (Total)	Returnees (Legal)	Returnees (Illegal)	Returnees (Total)
1883	1 447		1 447			0
1884	1 855		1 855			0
1885	2 461		2 461			0
1886	792		792			96 ⁴⁵
1887	753		753			96
1888	1 364		1 364			83
1889	563		563			97
1890	698		698			107
1891	1 902		1 902			51
1892	1 155		1 155	244		244
1893	720		720	162		162
1894	270		270	58		58
1895	499		499	42		42
1896	320		320	32		32
1897	319		319	34		34

- 45 For the years 1886 and 1891, general totals are given for repatriation. These numbers also include Orthodox Serbs from the Kingdom of Serbia, albeit very few. If we calculate that the Serbian return rate is on average 7% of the total Bosnian Muslim emigration rate, we can assume that 40 Serbian returnees out of the 570 who returned between these years. In order not to make a mistake in the calculations, I have changed this to 7% Orthodox Serbs and 93% Bosnian Muslims based on the total given between 1886 and 1891. Even if it does not change the total, if it is not given in this way, we cannot see the distinction.

Years	Emigrants (Legal)	Emigrants (Illegal)	Emigrants (Total)	Returnees (Legal)	Returnees (Illegal)	Returnees (Total)
1898	454		454	21		21
1899	1 112		1 112	25		25
1900	7 684	272	7 956	19	16	35
1901	4 059	755	4 814	92	21	113
1902	166	139	305	713	318	1 031
1903	112	82	194	366	87	453
1904	104	51	155	154	92	246
1905	270	56	326	65	83	148
1906	491	74	565	37	54	91
1907	721	61	782	31	83	114
1908	580	33	613	56	61	117
1909	2 470	68	2 538	72	61	133
1910	16 905	139	17 044			1 943
1911	10 507	308	10 815			951
1912	649	57	706	3 670		3 670 ⁴⁶
1913	24		24			6 000 ⁴⁷
1914	115	1	116	206	4	210 ⁴⁸
	61 619	2 096	63 637	6 099	880	16 403

SOURCE: For years 1906, 1908, 1910, 1911: *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, C.i Kr. Zejedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Zagreb: Štampa Kr. Zemaljske Štamparije). For years 1907, 1911, 1914: *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina* [Herausgegeben vom K. und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium] (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei)

The first obvious aspect of this table is the complete absence of recorded returnees from the initial years of occupation. However, according the official

46 3.656 people and 9 families.

47 Returnees till the end of the Balkan Wars. "In the period from 16 November 1912 to 1 March 1913, 4.000 people, including 1.600 children, came to Bosnia and the total number was about 5.000 and 1.000 came back from the Serbian border". See *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1913*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914), 5.

48 210 people and 9 families.

reports, between 1883-1905, 4,042 people in total returned Bosnia.⁴⁹ When we look at the numbers given in the table according to the years, we see that the number of returnees between 1883 and 1905 was 3,174. It is seen that approximately 898 people were not written or omitted according to the years. If we add these numbers to the overall total, it is obvious that according to the official figures, 17,301 people returned between 1883 and 1914 and the ratio of those who emigrated is over 27%. Even if it is considered that the number of Bosnian migrants among the migrants coming to the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans is lower than the others, they have the distinction of being the group with the highest number of returnees. On the other hand, the fact that such a concrete number is given in the same source, even if it is not distributed according to years, confuses the minds. If the number of 4,042 returnees is set aside, it may be reasonable to assume that there were no returnees between 1883 and 1891. Within the intensive migration mobility that started after the occupation in 1878, there is a detailed number of migrants for the years 1883-1891 (although not the numbers of those who left immediately before or shortly after the 1878 occupation). Based on the existing table, the ratio of the number of returnees to emigrants is approximately 26 per cent.

If we go through the table, the fact that there were no returns between 1883-1891 points to the political uncertainties in Bosnia and the existence of a group that sees the Ottoman Empire as a permanent settlement. Likewise, we can also think that the Austro-Hungarian administration encouraged emigration and therefore did not allow much opportunity for returns. We do not have details on this, but logistical and bureaucratic obstacles may have also made it difficult to return. The Austro-Hungarian government had still not established its dominance in Bosnia and the future of this region under Habsburg rule was ambiguous. The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, although facing its own internal difficulties, was a more familiar place for Bosnian Muslims. From the perspective of the Ottoman Empire, it can also be inferred that the opportunities provided to migrants (provision of land,

49 *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, 9–10. Schmidt also used this number in his book. Schmid, *Bosnien Und Die Herzegovina Unter Der Verwaltung Oesterreich-Ungarns*.

ease of resettlement, etc.) may have been easier than in other years, or that migrants had less to motivate them to return.

After 1892, the beginning of the returns or the registration of the returns marks another stage. It reveals that after nearly a decade of emigration, some Bosnian Muslims changed their decision to settle in the Ottoman Empire. It is important to note that in the following years, even if the number of Muslims returning steadily increased or decreased, they started to be registered. While official reports provide details on migration, in most of them, returns are given under a separate heading, and it is reported in detail how they arrived and where they were settled. This data alone tells us something about Austro-Hungarian domination of the region after the 1890s.

Compared to returns, the mass character of migrations makes periodization more possible. In the case of returns, we are able to follow the return of some of those who travelled *masse*. For this reason, periodization is a little more difficult. According to this table, if we make a periodization of the return of Bosnian Muslims, we can say the following: Firstly, the year 1892, when the returns started; secondly, the year 1902, when the number of returnees exceeded the number of emigrants and there are not many details about the reason in the records; thirdly, the year 1910, when the number of returns increased considerably compared to the number of emigrants; fourthly, the Balkan Wars and finally the First World War period can be counted.

Within this periodization, there is no archival document or record that explains why the number of emigrants in 1902 was so high. Biletić⁵⁰ and Kujović,⁵¹ in their article providing examples from this year, offer nothing beyond a general interpretation of return. Gelez⁵², in a similar vein, provides

50 Biletić, "Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih Povratnika Iz Iseljništva Za Vrijeme Austro-Igarske Uprave (1878.-1903.)."

51 Kujović, "O Bosanskim Muhadžirima, Povratnicima Iz Turske u Vrijeme Austrougarske Uprave."

52 Gelez, "La spécificité musulmane dans l'évolution démographique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle (1850-1914)"; Gelez, *Atlas Statistique De La Bosnie-Herzégovine Au Xixe Siècle: Mémoire Sur La Démographie, Accompagné D'un Atlas*.

reasons for the return of singles and families that existed in other years as well. But frankly speaking, how did the small number of repatriations after 1892 increase to over a thousand in 1902? In a system where even the illegal ones are registered in the returns, we cannot be tired of this as a more careful registration of those who came through legal means. While 713 people returned legally, 318 people returned (which is also the year with the highest number of illegal returnees). The first suggestion as to the reasons for this is that those who emigrated after the period of intensified Muslim protests in 1900-1901 (which was also one of the periods of highest emigration) returned in 1902. As we can see in the examples in the next chapter, the emigration of some of the family members was intended to search for better economic opportunities. Finally, not all of those who emigrated went to Anatolia. Again, as can be seen in the examples of 1902 in the next section, many people travelled to the Ottoman Balkans and returned. At the very least, another reason, beyond political reasons, could be the hard work of the organizations working on border security and/or dealing with migration that year.

When we review the data, we see that there was a significant increase in the number of immigrants in 1910. This can be related to the fact that immigration may have increased so much after the annexation of Austria Hungary. However, in the same year, the number of returns was almost 2,000 people. The highest number of returns up to that year. This increase can also be linked to the interpretation of the return in 1902. Some of those who emigrated in reaction to the annexation may have returned after a while. There may also have been earlier migrants who were attached to these returnees within migrant groups with strong ties among themselves.

When we come to the years 1912 and 1913, the rate of return increased dramatically. As the Ottoman Empire, defeated in the Balkan Wars, began to lose territory in the Balkans, many people who had decided to emigrate were forced to return. However, many people who had emigrated from Bosnia in previous years and settled in the Ottoman Balkans preferred to return instead of continuing to Anatolia. In 1914, when the First World War was ignited in Sarajevo, the number of emigrants and returnees decreased considerably.

Table 4.5 Annual figures of Serbian emigrants and returnees according to official administration reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina

Years	Emigrants (Legal)	Emigrants (Illegal)	Emigrants (Total)	Returnees (Legal)	Returnees (Illegal)	Returnees (Total)
1883	18					
1884	14					
1885	100					
1886	44					7
1887	37					8
1888	16					6
1889	112					8
1890	75					7
1891	13					4
1892	31			18		18
1893	2			12		12
1894	6			23		23
1895	5					
1896	12			7		7
1897	9			2		2
1898	21			4		4
1899	53			4		4
1900	282	73	355	191	2	193
1901		100	100	16	2	18
1902	558	135	693	197	17	214
1903	1	114	115	215	30	245
1904	23	107	130	27	36	63
1905	60	111	171		23	23
1906	151	113	264	34	15	49
1907	136	38	174	21	38	59
1908	24	23	47	39	44	83
1909	22	393	415	2	196	198
1910	11	135	146			44
1911			78			
1912			85			12
1913			53			
1914		7	73			
	1836	1349	2899	812	403	1311

SOURCE: For years 1906, 1908, 1910, 1911: *Izveštaj o Upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, C.i Kr. Zejedničko Ministarstvo Financija (Zagreb: Štampa Kr. Zemaljske Štamparije). For years 1907, 1911, 1914: *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina* [Herausgegeben vom K. und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium] (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei)

The situation of the Serbian Orthodox, who are the most numerous after the Muslims in Bosnia, is similar to that of the Bosnian Muslims. After the 1878 Austro-Hungarian occupation, Serbs, who did not want to live under Catholic rule, saw emigration as a solution. Although they are fewer in number, they are important in terms of being the second largest nation in Bosnia. In the official reports prepared by Austria-Hungary, it is stated that there was a migration after 1878 and a migration after the 1881 conscription. However, the reports, which state that they have similar motivations with Bosnian Muslims, also state that economic reasons are the main source of this migration for Serbs. Although there were economic reasons, the destination of the migration was shaped in a direction close to their own religion. While Bosnian Muslims migrated towards the Ottoman lands, Serbs migrated towards the Kingdom of Serbia.

When we evaluate the return of Serbs on the table, we realize that they are fewer in number compared to Bosnian Muslims. When evaluated in proportion to their own population, they constitute an important place, even if they are still below Bosnian Muslims. When we look at the table in detail, there are no details about the return between in the initial years of the occupation. As mentioned above, this can be considered as a decision of the Austro-Hungarian administration. For Austria Hungary, which encouraged emigration and emphasized Catholic resettlement, there was no harm in the emigration of those who left immediately after the occupation. Returns also started to be recorded after 1892. Only in 1903 the number of returnees exceeded the number of emigrants. However, in total, between 1883 and 1914, out of 2,899 Serbian Orthodox emigrants, 1,311 returned; the ratio of returnees to emigrants is around 46%.

The most important criterion to note here is that for Bosnian Serbs, who generally lived close to the border with the Kingdom of Serbia, crossing the border and returning (as we can see in detail in the Bosnian archival docu-

ments on emigration and return) was actually part of their daily life. Moving back and forth within the border region for reasons such as kinship, religious affiliation, friendship, etc. should be considered as a routine. In this sense, the number of migrants and returnees should not be analyzed only in terms of what is recorded.

According to detailed official figures provided by Austria Hungary, a total of 66,614 Bosnian Muslims and Orthodox Serbs emigrated between 1883 and 1914. In contrast, 17,714 returned. In terms of rate, 26% returned. Even if there are doubts about the reliability of these numbers, the Federal Archive of Bosnia has published lists of returns for each year, and cross-calculating for some years, we can see the reality of this. Statistically, data from different archival sources imply how returnees were recorded at the state level and how they became a propaganda tool among empires through returnees rather than emigrants. These returns between "Sultan" and "Emperor" actually show the mobilization of the period on the one hand, and on the other hand, it shows that return is also decisive in migration studies. Even if return is mentioned in the studies on Balkan migrations in general and Bosnian migrations in particular, the preparation of statistics based on data reveals the difference of this thesis.

§ 4.4 Mapping the Margins: Methodological Adventures

The whole archival materials related to our subject were read and processed on Excel. In the tables created based on the information of the subject in all these social narratives, all entries related to migration process is marked down with a unique IDs. Unique IDs help us for observing the relations among the emigrants. We wrote all the details about the emigrants such as with whom they migrated (separate ID was given) and with whom they met (separate ID was given) on the way of emigration and return. The main archival documents for Returnees were collected from the ABH- Zemaljske Vlade za BiH Sarajevo and the classification consists of approximately 1.100 documents / petitions given to Austrian authorities according to certain aspects repeated in all petitions. Apart from the Bosnian archives, there are Ottoman/Bosnian journals (Bošnjak, Musavat, Behar, Ogledalo etc.), private

letters, risales, salnames, petitions, reports etc., *Dâhiliye Nezâreti Muhâcirîn Komisyonu* which was recently made accessible in the Ottoman archives, Austrian archives, and consulate documents of France and United Kingdom. Considering all these archival materials, there are more than 2,300 documents/data in total.

What is contained in Excel, a first tabulation of narrative sources? We made tables from the narrative sources under five main headings which are Document, Family, Emigration, Ottoman Empire (Settlement), Return, Notes, and General Problems. If we examine these headings in detail, under our first heading named "Document" there is a metadata consisting of 7 columns with sequence number, document registration, document abbreviation, record date, notes, name and ID number. The second heading, "Family", consists of the name of emigrated family members/quaintances (each entered separately), their affinities, personal information; details of the person who motivated their emigration, in line with the information provided after their age, occupation, and whether they owned a house or land before migrating. The Emigration section includes information such as the reason of emigration, date of emigration, whether he/she left legally or illegally, the means of emigration (family benefits, state/consulate subsidies, sold properties), whether he/she sold his/her existing property before emigrating, its price, who bought it, and how much money he/she set off with when he/she decided to emigrate. This section also includes the city they emigrated from, each city/province they passed through/stayed in, how they left (in their own words or usage), the current spelling and coordinates, and finally the total days for emigration.

The Ottoman Empire section covers the settlement process in detail. It gives information on where the migrant was resettled (city and town; also the current spelling), if he/she was resettled elsewhere, why, where he/she was resettled, how he/she traveled to the place of resettlement, whether he/she was assisted by the authorities on the way, and how long the journey took. It also seeks answers to questions such as what he was engaged in after the resettlement process, whether he was given a house/land by the Ottoman Empire, what kind of house he stayed in, and how much his monthly income was. Furthermore, this section also answers questions such as whether there

were any family members or friends who had migrated before, and if so, when they migrated, where they were resettled, when and from where they migrated, and what they did for a living. At the end of this section, there are details on how many years they have been in the Ottoman Empire in total.

The section titled Return contains details on the reasons for returning, the year of their intended return, number of people they were returning with (if there were anyone other than the people they emigrated with, the questions from the previous sections are answered), the total amount of money they had on their route back, the number of stops they had on the way to their destination, how and the duration of their journey from one stop to the next, and whether they received any subsidies from the authorities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during this journey. Finally, this section includes details on the death of family members or relatives during migration or on the journey back, the occupation they held after their return, and the place they settled after their return.

In the last part of the prepared data, if there is anything else, they added through their own statements about family, migration and return, it is included. In this section, we have also added the most striking expressions they used. In the subsections of Excel, we also prepared separated tables based on the common expressions of these utterances.

4.4.1 *Unseen Bridges: Social Networks in Motion*

As the petitions of Bosnian Muslims and secondary sources attest, it appears that the role of social networks in shaping migration experiences is valuable to look at. Analyzing the connections between people, institutions, agencies, is particularly relevant in order to see the similarities between multiple people's experiences. The family ties of emigrants and returnees, their interaction with each other and the institutions/organizations and/or people they faced in their lives gives us vital clues to understand the situation of returnees.

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Zemaljska Vlada za BiH Sarajevo	ABH.ZVS.IB.803_1902	03.12.1902	Mehmed Zarić	108	12 Months	Ime (Name)	Fehimaga Džumišić	He worked with him in Istanbul
Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Zemaljska Vlada za BiH Sarajevo	ABH.ZVS.IB.803_1902	13.12.1902	Nurija Serdarović	18	1895	Adis Pazar	Adapazar	He owns Ime (Name) for Bosnian Emigrants Free
Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Zemaljska Vlada za BiH Sarajevo	ABH.ZVS.IB.803_1902	07.05.1902	Peko Hadžić	461		Smyna	Izmir	Fehimaga Džumišić
	Hamdi Aličehajić	Person	0,169271001	594				
	Abdul Latif Mrević (Mlivić)	Person	0,362587536	460				
	Husein Avdić	Person	0,430835367	418				
	Ahmet Fetagić	Person	0,462208373	400				
	Avdo Kabil	Person	0,83409385	122				
	Tahir Kapić	Person	0,506252465	371				
	Blagoje Simonić	Person	0,666943082	252				
	Smajo Zubčević	Person	0,622538746	285				
	Muharem Ahmetović	Person	0,946933621	38				
	Mehmed Džindić	Person	0,862409592	91				
	Hasan Hadžihrustić	Person	0,574403844	324				
	Mehmed Kibrić	Person	0,218906032	561				
	Mujo Mašić	Person	0,321254254	486				
	Osman Mešić	Person	0,777319566	170				
	Hasan Mešković	Person	0,734618867	197				
	Jevrem Ristić	Person	0,252248592	541				
	Petar Ristić	Person	0,468479189	396				
	Sulji Julićević (Suljević)	Person	0,078169005	657				
	Gjuran Kukrika	Person	0,630029314	282				
	Hasan Čekić	Person	0,23006321	552				
	Hrustan Hasibegović	Person	0,589561865	315				
	Nurija Serdarović	Person	0,31021108	491				
	Fehimaga Džumišić	Person	0,706784735	725				

Figure 4.3. Screenshot of Fehimaga Džumišić's entry, showing his connections as a landowner

Fehimaga Džumišić, who belonged to a noble family in Banja Luka, emigrated to Istanbul after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878.⁵³ He was also one of the founders of the anti-Austrian Emigrants Klub.⁵⁴ After emigrating from Bosnia, he maintained his properties through an agency. Returnees mention him as the person who helped them the most. Likewise, his name is also mentioned a lot in secondary sources.

- 53 Kamberović, *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini Od 1878. Do 1918. Godine*, 105; Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (Boulder New York: East European Quarterly ; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981), 73; Philippe Gelez, "Towards a Prosopography of the Deputies from Bosnia-Herzegovina in the First Ottoman Parliament," in *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy*, ed. Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif (Ergon Verlag, 2010), 240–41.
- 54 Mahir Ismailović, *Šahinpašići (Tarih) 1595-2013* (Sarajevo: Special Edition, 2013), 164–65.

4.4.2 Spatializing Emigration: Geocoding the Emigrants' Experiences

These databases also provide a detailed factual info on the route of migration that cannot be easily traced in other documents. There are lots of examples about the walking route for the migrants, in some cases they completed whole route by walking; sometimes they walked till the Ottoman Empire borders and then took a train by the help of Ottoman officers or while returning by the help of Austrian officers. In essence, these data were prone to further and more detailed statistical and spatial analysis for asking more informed questions about late nineteenth century population movements in the region rather than focusing on one or more special, juicy cases. This was just the moment when I have started to work on tabulating the narrative content around three main areas: social relations (relatives, friends, institutions, religious affiliations, and others), places (where they started, stopped and stay, where they were settled), and so on.

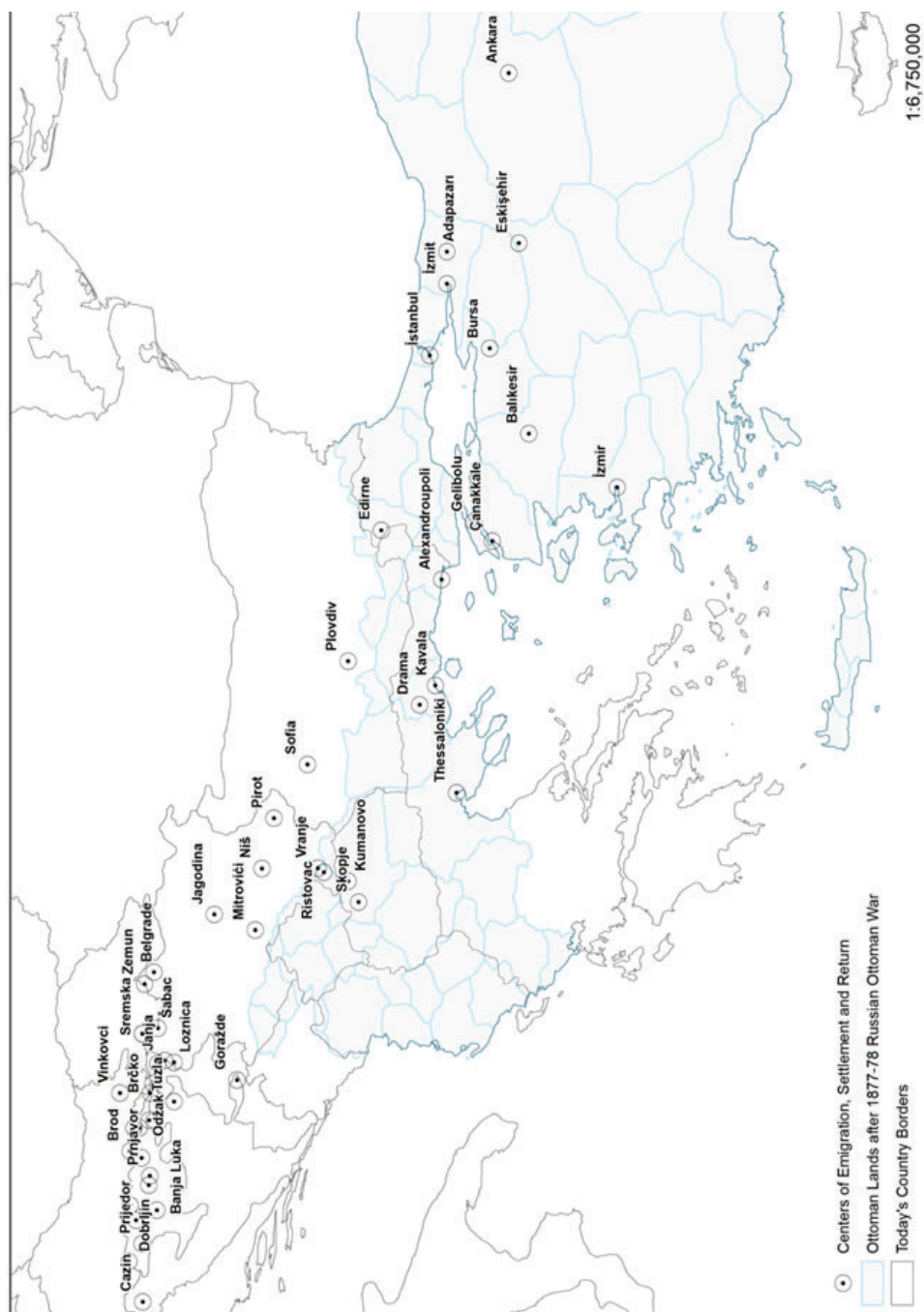
Record	Record ID	Nm	EMGR_Rsn	EMGR_Y	EMGR_Orgn	EMGR_Orgn_MNm	EMGR_Orgn_X	EMGR_Orgn_Y	EMGR_Step01	EMGR_Step01_MNm	EMGR_Step01_X	EMGR_Step01_MNm_Y
136	20.10.1902	Sulejman Dizdžić	Economic / Job Search	1896	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Biograd	Belgrade	20.46328926	44.81309891
137	29.12.1902	Salih Karadarević	Economic	1900	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Biograd	Belgrade	20.46328926	44.81309891
138	24.11.1902	Agan Mehmedović	Family Ties	1899	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Slavonija	Slavonija	17.66903114	45.55347824
139	24.11.1902	Omer Mulaomerović	Economic	1902	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Bjelina	Bjelina	19.20890045	44.76314926
140	29.01.1903	Abid Mulaosmanović	Economic / Job Search	1896	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Bosanska Rač	Bosanska Rač	19.33156	44.89444
141	23.12.1902	Naif Nurić	Economic	1901	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Biograd	Belgrade	20.46328926	44.81309891
142	29.11.1902	Alija Palamarević	Family Ties	1900	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Biograd	Belgrade	20.46328926	44.81309891
143	10.01.1902	Mehmed Tusušević	Economic	1900	Brčko	Brčko	18.80178642	44.86484909	Brezovo Polje	Brezovo Polje	18.93244934	44.8262291

Sttlmnt_OE	Sttlmnt_OE_MNm	Sttlmnt_OE_X	Sttlmnt_OE_Y	Sttlmnt_OE_PrdSTY	Sttlmnt_OE02	Sttlmnt_OE_MNm_02	Sttlmnt_OE02_X	Sttlmnt_OE02_Y
Uskub	21.4303093	41.99467087		3 years		#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Angora	32.85390854	39.92108917		2 Years	Mali Asiju (Angora)	32.85390854	39.92108917	39.92108917
Carigrad	28.96380043	41.01300049		1 Month		#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Uskub	21.4303093	41.99467087		3 Months	Carigrad	28.96380043	41.01300049	41.01300049
Angora	32.85390854	39.92108917				#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Angora	32.85390854	39.92108917				#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Angora	32.85390854	39.92108917		12 Months	Carigrad	28.96380043	41.01300049	41.01300049

Figure 4.4 Screenshot of geocoded emigrant's hometown, itinerary and settlement

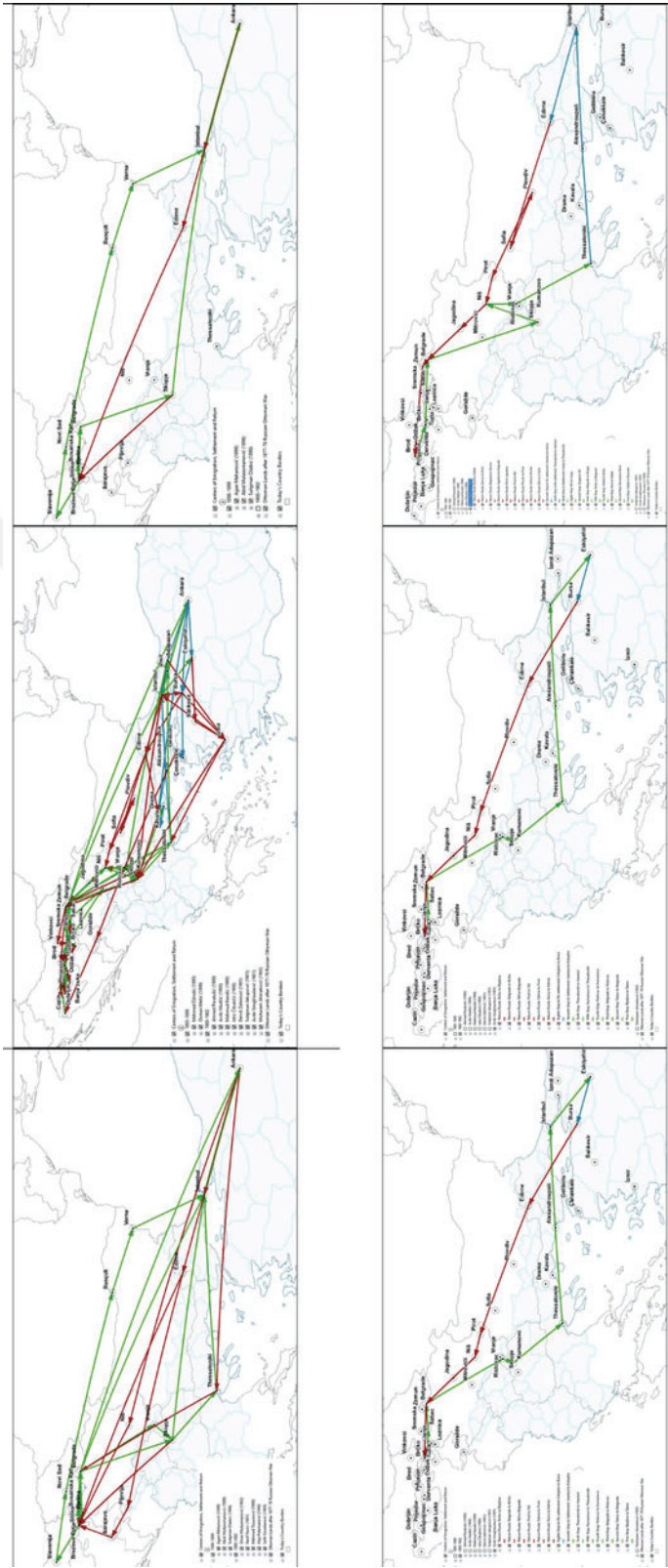
Because a mapping approach was applied to address the historical data, an important issue arose concerning the procedure with which the place-names mentioned in petitions were georeferenced. In the petitions, the names of the settlements were recorded by the nineteenth century Serbian-Croatian-

Bosnian and sometimes German toponyms by which they were known at the time when the document was created. However, during the study, I have tried to match the place-names in the original source with present-day place-names and determine (to a certain degree of uncertainty) their location with respect to a modern mapping system. The degree of uncertainty can be considered as a measure of accuracy of the positioning of the settlement with respect to modern maps. Essentially, I linked the place-names to names of present-day centers of habitation, such as towns, districts and neighborhoods. Other scholars have recently proposed similar approaches to geo-reference place names, based on the concept of administrative unit ontology and gazetteers. The reason to geocode is to get a set of place names that can be projected onto a map for further relational data tabulated from petitions such as economic reasons behind emigration, occupational profile of emigrants and the route they followed. By doing so, I can easily filter according to multiple criteria; place of origin, the period of emigration, subsidies and so on. (see Map 4.4)

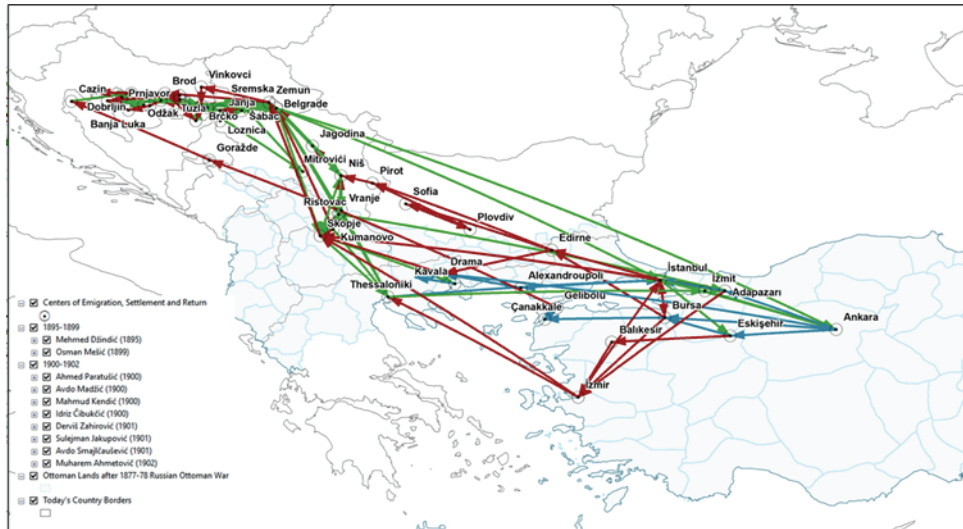


Map 4.4 Geocoded places related to Brčko originated emigrants SOURCE: Based on filtered petitions' data. Map is drawn using QGIS, scale 1:6.750.000

It is also possible to follow up their emigration and return route as a basic point to point map at the moment (See Map 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7).



Map 4.5 Sample maps for routes of emigration originated from Brčko, 1895-1902 (Based on separate petition/data)
SOURCE: Based on filtered petitions' data. Map is drawn using QGIS, scale 1:6.750.000

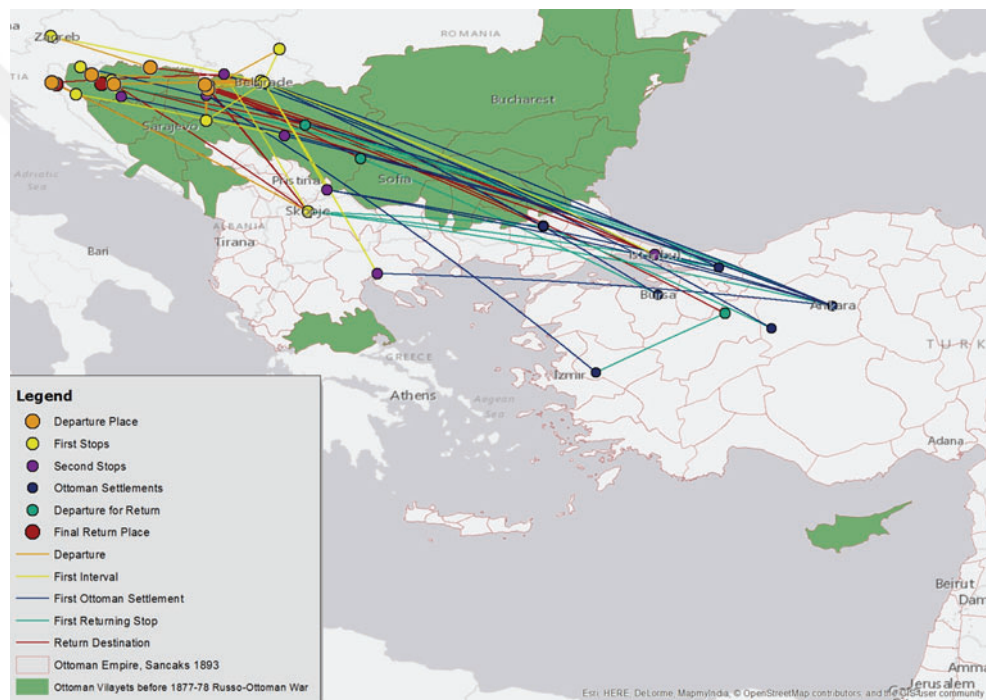


Map 4.6 Sample map for routes of emigration originated from Brčko, 1895-1902 SOURCE: Based on filtered ten petitions' data. Map is drawn using QGIS, scale 1:6.750.000

These maps show using point-to-point geodetic lines between each stop of emigrants alongside the route as well as their first settlement place and how they returned. The next phase will be to produce more accurate maps in which railroads, paved ways, maritime schedules and such historical transportation infrastructure at a given time is given. But let me stop here and say a little bit about this kind of work utilizes Geographical Information System (GIS).

4.4.3 GIS Insights: Uncovering the Returnees's Journey

A computer system for capturing, storing, checking, and displaying data related to positions on Earth's surface" is what you get from Google to the search quarry of "what is GIS?" Basically, it is up to the point; any definition would highlight similar elements with a variation on details. But when you change your query to "what is historical GIS?" you do not get a simple answer. In fact, not until early 2000s, one could have easily spoken of historical GIS⁵⁵ as an established field of research. For most historians, GIS as a tool for "mapping" spatial variables of a historical event, process, etc., has not got



Map 4.7 A sample map of 19 returnees from different places SOURCE: Based on filtered 19 petitions' data. Map is drawn using QGIS, scale: 1:6.000.000

55 For a general evaluation on the possible new venues to explore, see Bodenhamer, "History and GIS: Implications for the Discipline." For a detailed discussion methodologies available in order to integrate spatial analysis, see Gregory and Ell, *Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies, and Scholarship*. For a specific example of implications, see Beveridge, "Immigration, Ethnicity, and Race in Metropolitan New York, 1900-2000."

an adequate way of handling the time; the other essential variable in historical research. What the historians missed was central to understand GIS as a methodological tool. GIS is not a mere mapping tool digitally replicating the classical cartographic maps, it is, in fact, a certain type of database with capabilities of rasterizing or drawing data, or data sets related with locational variables instantly on a chosen format of 2D projections. It does not only draw maps; it produces dynamic and easily, once the data sets with locational attributes are in place, modifiable visual representations of geo-tagged data. This property of GIS makes it a preferable methodological tool in historical research for several reasons.

First and the obvious one is the capability of producing several kinds of maps easily and quickly without hassling the cumbersome paper form. But more importantly, GIS-based historical research gives the ability to ask each historical data about its spatial location in relation to each other and get a vast array of visualizations (in some cases 3D visualizations is possible) because data item, one may read as historical evidence, is linked with locational variables from the beginning. This, though not necessarily, makes the historical research a visibly enhanced experience in which historian not only gains a geographical awareness of the subject in question but also a different way to ask relational questions concerning the spatial aspects. The locationality of data based on latitude, longitude and other universal geographical markers opens up unprecedented avenues of integrating multiple different data sets which are considered as incompatible without the locational attributes. GIS provides a fertile ground to fine-tune research question by introducing, in an inevitable way, the impact of space on the historical phenomenon. In a way, GIS based research cannot escape from asking questions about why and how one place(s), location(s), region(s), etc. in comparison to other(s) behave differently. The questions about spatial patterns are hard-wired because of accompanying spatial statistical tools in GIS setting enabling to turn from simple visualizations towards more serious analyses.

Mapping, in this sense, turns out to be more than a simple 2D representation of the experienced geography. It should be considered as the de/reconstruction of all kind of relations that can be represented in terms of spatial constellations. This kind of “mapping” is crucial in order to search for

modalities, patterns and itineraries in terms of migration. Without this kind of mapping, a mapping that sorts out structural limitations of existing relations, it is unlikely to “locate” and trace micro-level social interactions as the manifestations of, or resistance to structural limitations, of which the best known is the state itself. Therefore, the mapping as metaphorical tool corresponds to relational networks embedded in spatial. Moreover, the mapping, in its literal meaning, was part of how Ottoman administration controlled and shaped the migration and settlement. This literal maps of migration and settlement, whether they are maps of the settlement places, possible sites for settlement, or a plan of the newly established village for settlement, can also be integrated not only as representations but as attempts to construct the very “reality” it purports to represent.

As a reminder, it is necessary not to forget that “digital maps”, independent from their sophistication, “may not provide answers in themselves; but [...] they can serve to open up salient research questions.”⁵⁶ In other words, GIS is not a magical wand. In fact, it was harshly criticized as a new toy of positivist reductionism and imperialism.⁵⁷ Apart from often repeated incapability of handling the change over time, the next most repeated criticism is the uncertain and partial nature of the historical evidence. Simply put, even if you would develop solutions for showing change over time, you cannot find serialized statistical data with certain spatial markers. The question that should be answered, in that context, is the ability to construct such serialized data and sets of historical maps on mass migrations in the late Ottoman Empire which is suitable for spatial analysis.

The production of administrative small scale, 1:7.000.000 and above, vector maps of the Ottoman administrative geography at the end of the nineteenth century which are suitable to use for mapping basic statistical data

56 Ian Gregory and David Cooper, “Geographical Technologies and the Interdisciplinary Study of Peoples and Cultures of the Past,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2013): 269, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2013.797686>.

57 See Nadine Schuurman, “Trouble in the Heartland: GIS and Its Critics in the 1990s,” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 4 (2000): 569–90.

about the immigration, censuses etc... These maps form the basis of large-scale topographical maps for the further spatial analysis.



On the Road Again:
The Return Journeys of Bosnian Muslim Emigrants,
1878-1918

The late 19th and early 20th centuries, which can be characterized as the centuries of the Ottoman state's downsizing and upheaval, witnessed many large and small migration movements. Most research on the subject focuses directly on the phenomenon of migration and migrant communities. Studies on those who returned to their communities of origin, on the other hand, open windows that can offer fruitful perspectives for understanding and explaining the multidimensional realities of this historical period. This thesis aims to open a window into the social-historical multidimensionality of the migration phenomenon by focusing on Bosnian Muslim returnees. Specifically, focusing on the years 1878-1918, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina, the study aims to address the phenomenon of emigration and return through this historical period. For Bosnian Muslims, this occupation - understandably - created serious waves of emigration. These Muslims, who had lived in Ottoman lands for centuries, emigrated to the Ottoman lands after the occupation. Most of those who emigrated in this way returned because of their disappointment in their homelands or their longing for their lands of origin - or for other reasons. Since the place they returned to was also under the Habsburg rule, a rule to

which they were completely unfamiliar, it is likely that there were many other dimensions that helped to establish that this phenomenon of return was not a completed one, but a processual one.

Because of this processual nature - or so we claim - the claim that migration is a one-way process should also be approached with skepticism. The existence of bi-directional movement is a strong impetus for this skepticism and requires confronting the complexity of the return phenomenon. What initiates the process of return? What is it that drives these people to return to their lands under a different imperial rule with which they are unfamiliar? Is it economic hardship, social alienation in their new home, or an irrepressible homesickness? Did they feel that the new government (Austro-Hungarian), with which they were unfamiliar, provided them with a more stable life or a more economically favorable environment? Or did their experiences in the Ottoman lands to which they had emigrated construct new perceptions of self and thus - or independently - new perspectives and insights into their homeland and the wider world? Did their identity and religious understanding remain the same as they had when they emigrated? Did they acquire skills and perspectives capable of creating new cultural and social developments/expansions in Bosnia under "unfamiliar rule" to which they returned?

This chapter concentrates on the "returnees" themselves. In other words, it aims to give voice to the returnees themselves as a social history narrative. Of course, it is not possible to construct a narrative based on a few examples, especially when the emphasis is on return. This chapter traces the archives in search of answers to these and similar questions. In addition to the intuitive accumulation of vast and comprehensive archival documents, this chapter focuses specifically on petitions submitted to the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In addition, it traces the archival traces of the consular documents of the Ottoman Empire. These archival records offer unique insights into the motivations of returnees, their life and return experiences, and the challenges they faced. One of the most important aspects that makes this information invaluable is that it reveals the complex and multidimensional nature of emigration and return processes. Indeed, this thesis seeks to enter a new field of contribution that is more nuanced and detailed in order to understand the changing effects of population movements, identity formation and imperial

powers on this complex phenomenon, which it emphasizes as a two-way street.

§ 5.1 Returnees

The Balkans experienced a fundamental political, social and economic transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with devastating consequences for the peoples. Populations had to move along the newly formed borders. The phenomenon of return migration of Bosnians needs to be considered in conjunction with the great social and economic transformation of the period.¹ Similarly, archival records of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Sarajevo show that traditional Ottoman agricultural systems were also falling behind in the face of new forms of production, which led to waves of migration and consequently to a broader transformation of Balkan societies.²

It can be argued that the transformation of the economy, especially changes in production relations, is the main driving force behind these population movements. The economic history of the Balkans had a difficult time with feudal-type agricultural systems, which can be seen in the case of Bosnia.³ The conflict and contradiction between these systems caused economic turmoil that pushed many Bosnians to seek their fortune in other lands. Documentation of this phenomenon can be found in the annual reports of the provincial administration (1878-1918). The petitions found in the archives and analyzed in this study provide a unique source for examining how the economic transformation in the region influenced individuals in their decisions to emigrate and return, Bosnia's transition from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian rule was more than just a change of power. As Donia points out

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- 1 Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 123–29.
 - 2 Ferdo Hauptmann, “Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba austrougarske valdavine : (1878 - 1918),” *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 2 (1987).
 - 3 Michael R. Palaret, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution without Development* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

in his detailed study of Sarajevo, this transformation led to fundamental changes in governance, property laws, educational institutions and citizenship rights, with significant implications for human mobility.⁴ As shown in Okey, the newly introduced modern border control systems and travel document requirements for those with historical documents, which can be traced in the archives of the Joint Ministry of Finance in Sarajevo, created new challenges for emigrants.⁵ In turn, new opportunities opened up for some immigrants who successfully overcame bureaucratic structures.

Meanwhile, the nineteenth century also witnessed a rapid change in transportation systems and infrastructure. The development of railroad systems created new opportunities for migration and return and helped to create new information and communication networks between migrants and their homeland.⁶ The annual reports of the Joint Ministry of Finance of Bosnia (Bericht & Izvještaj) contain railroad statistics showing the increase in passenger traffic and new mobility patterns.⁷

Using unexamined petition records and other administrative documents from the Austro-Hungarian archives as primary sources, this study shows how ordinary people were able to navigate the transition between imperial systems.⁸ This study argues that the status of returnees within shifting class systems, as documented in Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian administrative records, shows how migration events interacted with broader patterns of

4 Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006).

5 Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

6 John R Lampe and Marvin R Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.32488>.

7 For example, *Bericht Über Die Verwaltung von Bosnien Und Der Hercegovina 1913*, Herausgegeben Vom K. Und K. Gemeinsamen Finanzministerium (Wien: Aus Der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914).

8 In his important study of Balkan societies, Stoianovich argued that the experiences of returnees go beyond oversimplified models of migration and demonstrate the need to analyze population movements as complex and multilayered events that reflect and influence more general social transformations: Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 255–59, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700110447>.

class formation and social development.⁹ The petitions analyzed in this study provide unique insights into how these ordinary people were not only part of these changes, but also navigated their way through them. This unique study of Bosnian return migration helps to shed light on a more important question about the transition from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian rule.

The consular reports analyzed in this study also help to illustrate the complex interactions between government officials and mobilized populations during the transition period.¹⁰ In the Habsburg-Ottoman borderlands, the historical patterns that shaped these transitional periods continue to influence the historical understanding of migration processes in Southeast Europe.¹¹ In order to shed light on this crucial period of transformation, this study examines the historical phenomenon of migration from a materialist perspective, focusing on socio-economic factors and centering on human agency.

As mentioned earlier, the Balkans underwent a multi-layered socio-political and economic transformation between 1878 and 1914. For different reasons, various ethnic groups were forced to relocate. Bosnian Muslims were among those forced to relocate for different reasons, and motivations included economic hardship, religious persecution or the desire for a better life in Ottoman lands. Following the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by

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- 9 Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).
 - 10 Sundhaussen's work on modernization in the Balkans helps to contribute to the conceptual framework of this study, which documents the changes in management practices and administrative institutions that occurred with the emergence of modern state structures. Holm Sundhaussen, "Bevölkerungsverschiebungen in Südosteuropa seit der Nationalstaatswerdung (19./20. Jahrhundert)," in *Zwangsmigrationen in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1996); Holm Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens, 1834-1914: mit europäischen Vergleichsdaten* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989).
 - 11 Hannes Grandits, *Herrschaft und Loyalität in der spätoomanischen Gesellschaft: das Beispiel der multikonfessionellen Herzegowina*, *Zur Kunde Südosteuropas* 2 37 (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2008).

Austria-Hungary in 1878, Bosnian Muslims living on this territory came under the control of a non-Muslim imperial government. As a result, they were socially alienated and economically marginalized. This was one of the major reasons why a large part of the Muslim population in Bosnia set out to seek refuge in the Ottoman Empire, which they believed offered a more profitable and comfortable environment due to Muslim rule. However, the 1,100 petitions submitted by Bosnian returnees, which constitute the main sources for this chapter, reveal a narrative of disillusionment, bitterness and regret. This chapter highlights these petitions and, through a careful reading, offers a new perspective in understanding the individual reasons behind their emigration, the hardships they faced along the way, and the harsh realities they had to face while living in the Ottoman Empire that eventually led them to return to Bosnia.

The archival records of the Austro-Hungarian *Zemaljska Vlada za Bosna i Hercegovine* (National Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina) in Bosnia contain documents such as applications of those who wanted to emigrate, petitions on why they wanted to emigrate, reports on the physical characteristics of the emigrants, whether they had done military service, how many of them were going, reports on whether they had debts to the state or to individuals (such as tax clearance certificates), emigration decisions (whether they were accepted or not), etc. Some of the documents are in German and some in Bosnian. In a limited number of applications, the reasons for migration were written by the emigrants in Ottoman Turkish.

There is a concentration of files from the 1890s until the end of the First World War. There are also files on returnees in the same boxes for the same years. These petitions for return, especially those submitted to the municipal councils of Banya Luka and Sarajevo, were submitted through an acquaintance at the border or from the place of settlement before their arrival. The 1900s (due to the 1881 conscription, the 1900 Waqf and Education Regulations, Catholic resettlement, etc.) were the years with the highest numbers of emigration and return. The year 1902 is of particular importance. The archive kept by the Information Bureau of the state security with the code I.B. (Information Bureau) was registered as an annex to the Presidential archive with the code secret. The ZVS I.B. 1902 files contain detailed reports on Ot-

toman, Montenegrin, Serbian and, to a lesser extent, American returnees. The boxes of the Zemaljska Vlada archives each contain petitions of returnees. Since all types of incidents in the Balkans had an impact on emigration, the intensity of the relevant years can be observed. Especially in the archive boxes corresponding to the Balkan War of 1911-1912, there are more petitions for return than the applications of migrants due to the closure of migration routes. Apart from the 1,100 petitions found for this thesis, there are hundreds more waiting to be researched.

Many of the interview transcripts were taken at the border or after the migrants had arrived, and were also instrumental in Austria-Hungary's use of repatriation as a propaganda tool. They consolidated their own power through the migrants and returnees, which turned into an inter-imperial conflict. In its annual reports and detailed reports on censuses (1879, 1885, 1895, 1910), the Austro-Hungarian administration put the number of returnees at the top, even in exaggerated terms. They also served the data obtained from this to the media and had the newspapers of the period publish almost daily articles about how happy the returnees were.

5.1.1 *Petitions as Sources of Social History of (Im/E)migration*

Using the petitions as the primary sources to get information on the backgrounds of the returned emigrants, such as family history, settlement places, motivations, and reasons to return, is a valuable addition to the historiography of people movements in the Balkans in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century as they reveal individual stories and contain narratives that shed light on the bigger phenomena of population movements in Balkans. The petitions under question contain very valuable information people's emigration and return, their economic situation, the bureaucratic process they went through, their personal narratives, family situations, their economic condition and their goods, their moving paths, information on their journeys and settlements. Those petitions are helping the historical endeavor not only because they offer insights into the demography and social background of the emigrants but also their motivations to move to the Ottoman Empire and to return. Helping to give us a multi-dimensional perspective, petitions are crucial for getting information on the social history of the Bosnian Mus-

lim migration movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Analyzing petition data exposes complex authorship patterns and access to official channels, illustrating how various socioeconomic groupings negotiated the bureaucratic return migration procedures. The petitions exhibit different compositions depending on the petitioner's social level, degree of education, and financial situation.

5.1.2 *The authorship of the petitions*

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Given the fact that most of the petition owners were illiterate, there were people who helped write these petitions. These people acted as intermediaries between the petition owners and the local authorities. For this purpose, religious officials often played crucial roles. They have helped compose the narratives and present them to the authorities. For instance, Mustafa ef. Huseđinović,¹² who served as a hodja in Prijedor before migration and later worked as a translator in the Ankara Sharia court, exemplifies how religious officials could navigate between community needs and official requirements. His ability to communicate with both Bosnian and Ottoman Turkish made him an intermediary, suggesting that other religious officials likely played similar roles in petition writing as they were usually the ones who had the intellectual and linguistic capacity. A number of cases show the part official scribes and professional writers play in the petition procedure. Having worked as a scribe (*yazıcı*) in Bosnia prior to his relocation, Hamdi Alićehajić is a good example of someone conversant with official writing rules. His own petition¹³ shows the formal approach usually used in official

12 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa ef. Huseđinović, 05.09.1902

13 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hamdi Alićehajić, 09.08.1902

papers, implying that many more petitions were probably written by comparable professionals.

Another interesting pattern that is encountered in analyzing the petitions is that many times, pooling resources to support their claims, several groups of immigrants turned to collective work to submit petitions. The Begić brothers,¹⁴ who followed Mustafa ef. Huseđinovič demonstrates how families sometimes merge their needs to maximize their chances of a successful outcome, epitomizes this practice. Beyond simple financial and pragmatic considerations, language and literacy gaps presented significant difficulties for immigrants, especially in relation to administrative agency interactions; therefore, they sometimes created communities and wrote their petitions together and in a similar manner. Official interpreters were, therefore, absolutely essential in resolving linguistic barriers. These intermediaries most certainly played a significant part in petition writing and other administrative tasks at several government levels. Not surprisingly most of the petitions were written and issued by male returnees given the socioeconomic circumstances at the time. The ones who wished to go back were primarily men since the head of the families were men, or many people left Bosnia leaving their women and children behind in case they cannot withstand a long trip. Though this will be discussed throughout this chapter, there were very few cases of women submitting petitions and they were mostly the spouses of dead men left alone in Anatolia, attempting to find a way back home to live with their families.

The following sections of this chapter will examine the petitions presented by the emigrants to local authorities. Examples drawn directly from the petitions will be analyzed first. This analysis will focus on the petitioners' motivations and the factors that prompted their emigration to the Ottoman Empire. The discussion will then turn to details extracted from the petitions concerning their journey, the conditions of their settlement in the empire, and, finally, their reasons for returning and the circumstances of their return journey.

14 ABH, ZVS, š, 104, 20-121/165, 20-121/340, 1991, Sulejman Begić and Husein Begić, 16.10.1910

5.1.3 *Questions by the Austro-Hungarian Authorities*

The statements of returnees were sometimes taken at the border as soon as they arrived, and sometimes in their hometowns after their return. Many of the petitions contain similar statements. In particular, the reasons why they wanted to return vary from petition to petition. However, in the statements or records taken by the Information Office, more details can be found: personal characteristics, family information, places of migration, with whom they came into contact, and detailed information about the Ottoman Empire in general and the places they settled in particular. There is also information such as the support they received along the way and the people they were in contact with. Resembling a kind of intelligence report, it can be assumed that the following questions were asked, the answers to which can be found in these reports:

- Where are you from, where did you migrate from?
- Who encouraged you to migrate? How did you decide to migrate? Did you get permission?
- With whom did you go? Who went with you? Who else in your village left?
- Which roads did you take?
- Where (if there were more settlements, their info as well) were you settled?
- Where have you been in the Ottoman State?
- Did you receive assistance from the Ottoman State? How much and for how long?
- What kind of work are Bosnians engaged in there? Where are they staying?
- Why do you want to be readmitted?
- With whom did you return?
- By which routes did you return?
- Did you receive any help from the Austrian Hungarian Authorities?
- What can you say about life in Turkey?
- Did you do your military service?
- What did you do there?
- Did you meet other Bosnian emigrants in Anatolia, who are they?
- Have you had contact with government officials abroad?

Of course, some similarities arise as a result of the communication between emigrants and the way they tell each other what they have written. Sometimes exaggerated answers were given to questions that were probably thought to have been asked. Exaggerated expressions are similar in many of them. A table below shows the recurring statements in such records and the main questions asked in the petitions:

- I followed other neighbors and relatives during their migration and migrated.
- I did not intend to emigrate, but we were emigrating by seeing each other.
- When I emigrated, all the Muslim people of this area were very agitated and anxious, so much so that everyone thought that all Muslims would emigrate, and I, being one of them, believed so and emigrated.
- No one encouraged me to migrate.
- The reason why I emigrated was that they said that life was better and more comfortable in Turkey and especially Bosniak immigrants were welcomed very well, land and treasure were given to them according to their wishes.
- But when we went there, I realized that it was all a lie.
- I beg the Provincial Government to give me permission to stay in Bosnia permanently.
- I could not get used to the weather and climate there.
- I realized that there is no life in Turkey for our Bosnians and I decided to go back to Bosnia.
- There is nothing but misery for Bosniaks in Turkey.
- I came back because I missed my hometown so much
- We already couldn't get along with the people there because we don't speak the language.
- I was not doing any work during my stay because there was no work to be done, and the Turks did not employ us Bosniaks, they preferred their own people.
- We don't have to die in Turkey.
- I did not do any work.
- We received help from the state, 12 coins per person per day for the older ones and 6 coins per day for the younger ones.

- The reason why I emigrated was that at that time the Muslim people in this region were emigrating and at the same time I applied for a permit for emigration and it was approved immediately and so we emigrated, nobody encouraged me to emigrate.
- What they say here is a lie, the climate there is bad, the people there don't tolerate us, we don't speak the language
- The people there do not tolerate us at all, we were in great trouble because we did not speak their language, and the climate there is the biggest intolerance for our immigrants, that is why most of our immigrants died. In a word, it is like our Bosnians have absolutely no right to live there. That is why we decided to go back to our homeland.
- We went there hoping for a better future.
- Since I emigrated by selling all my possessions, we did not have any money when we returned and we went back on foot, begging and begging.
- In Asia Minor, most Bosnians die of disease.
- I know I am guilty, I went to Turkey without a travel permit, forgive me this time because I did not know what I was doing.
- We couldn't find any job, the Turks wouldn't hire us because we didn't speak Turkish, they preferred their own people and the saddest thing was that they swore at us and called us Bosnians as *gavur* (non-Muslim).
- I was worried about the future and migrated to Turkey hoping to find a job.
- We lived worse than dogs.
- The Ottomans did not trust us.
- The Ottomans do not see us as equals.

5.1.4 *Changing Place Names in the Record*

The returnees departed from their hometowns, traveled by many transportation means to many towns, and reached the place of resettlement. Likewise, on the way back, they traveled through many cities. The names of many villages, cities and places of settlement are mentioned in each petition. In many of them, even if the usage is correct, they also express it in the way they have heard it by hearsay. Or, if the petition was dictated by someone else, they passed it on as they heard it from the petitioner. Each of these different usag-

es of place names has its own significance and contains details about the place. See the table below for interesting examples of such variations:

Table 5.1 Variations of place names

City	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
Skopje	Uskub	Ušćup	Uščup	Skoplja	Skoplje	Uskup	Ŭskŭp	Uskoplja
Thessaloniki	Salonik	Solun	Selanik	Salonich	Solin			
İstanbul	Carigrad	Stamboul	Stambol	Istanbul	Stanbul	Stambul		
İzmir	Izmir	Smyrna	Ismir	Smirna	Gaurizmir	Djavo Izmir		
Ankara	Angora	Angoro	Ankora	Enkora	Angara	Angolija	Engora	
Alexandroupoli	Dedeagač	Dedeagatsch						
Eskişehir	Eskişehir	Eski Şehir						
Adapazarı	Ada Bazar	Adabazar	Adapazar	Ada Pazar				
Belgrade	Beograd	Biograd						
Durres	Durazza	Dures	Drač	Draç				
Bursa	Brusa	Brus						
İnegöl	Inagjol	Inadjol	Inadol	Nagjol	Inedjol	Inedjel	Inidol	Indžer
Shkodra	Skadar							
Haymana	Hajman	Hajmana	Hamam					
Edirne	Ederna	Jedren	Jedrena	Adrianapol	Jedrene	Edren		
Pljevlja	Taşlıca							
Aydın	Ajdin							
Nallıhan	Nalha	Nalli	Nallihan					
Beypazarı	Baj Pazar	Bej Pazar	Bajpazar	Bejpazar				
Halilbeyli	Halilbegluk	Hali Beglu- ka						
Dubrovnik	Ragusa	Raguza						
Budapest	Budimpešta							
Karamürsel	Karamosul	Karamuşa						
Gelibolu	Gjilibor	Gelbur						
Çanakkale	Çanakala							
Ayaş	Ajaş							
Konya	Konja							
Sofia	Sofiya	Sofja	Sofya					
Denizli	Denizija	Denis						
Vakuf	Turskog Vakuf							
Gevgelija	Dževerdžile							
Manisa	Manjica							
Komotini	Rodopi	Gümülcine	Junurdžina					

City	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
Kavala	Kanale							
Serez	Seres							
Balıkesir	Balukkeser							

SOURCE: Petitions' data

§ 5.2 Motivations for Leaving

5.2.1 *Economic Hardship and Destitution*

A careful reading of petitions submitted by Bosnian emigrants reveals that economic struggles are one of the main reasons for the emigration. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, Bosnia started to undergo economic development, during which it socially and economically thrived. Most of the changes were done to modernize local institutions and production systems. These reformative changes that aimed at modernization were done by eliminating the locally organized agricultural economic units or altering the responsibilities and functions of these units by mostly detaching them from the Ottoman past. Among other modernizing reforms, tax rises, land redistribution, and new labor rules significantly influenced the agricultural industry. These modernizing economic developments had negative effects on merchants running under *esnaf* organizations. Broadly speaking, the local tradesmen and craftsmen had to either catch up with modernizing and changing their production techniques or give up their businesses in response to mounting economic pressure. Under these changes, emigrating to the lands of the Ottoman Empire was the ideal option for many of them to survive.

The petition of *Sulejman Harbaš*,¹⁵ for instance, who had emigrated from Bosanska Krupa, clearly demonstrates the hardships faced by craftsmen. *Sulejman* had made the tough choice to leave instead of trying to negotiate within the newly established tax system, which targeted unevenly Muslim smallholders, which economically put them in very harsh positions. Deciding to sell his farm and animals for better, more steady life and familiar sur-

15 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Harbaš, 30.12.1902

roundings within a Muslim community, he hoped the money he got from selling his livestock would make it enough for him to reconstruct a new life within the Ottoman lands. The belief he had that Ottoman territory would provide a stable continuity in financial prospects and social networks that the new government destroyed made him take this decision. However, soon after he arrived, he faced the harsh reality that his expectations were not going to be fulfilled. The lands the Ottoman government offered him in return for what he had left behind were neither of the same quality nor as profitable as his lands back home.

Oftentimes, these areas also lacked the infrastructure required to maintain agricultural production at the level they had been used to. Moreover, with so many emigrants running across delays, the not well-organized property rights, and competition for arable lands, the distribution of the lands was complicated. Instead of the stability and wealth he was looking for, he faced a struggle to survive. He made the difficult choice to give up his hopes for a new beginning and start the long road back after realizing that the areas the authorities in Ankara had set aside for his settlement—probably in the Haymana district—could not provide him the means to maintain the life he had once known. The ground he had been allocated might have been desolate, devoid of enough water, or just not fitting for the kind of farming and cattle raising he had been the expert of. Having faced a lot of challenges, limited resources, and the lack of the traditional economic and social networks that had once helped him, he saw only return to his country despite the uncertainties and possible consequences of doing so.

Not only on an individual basis but also in line with a larger pattern of socioeconomic transformation influencing Muslim small landowners, artisans, and tradesmen, the narrative of Sulejman Harbaš is tightly entwined with that of Latif Arnautović.¹⁶ Urban artisans and shopkeepers, tradesmen whose livelihoods were also changing with the new realities of Austro-Hungarian domination, similar to the changes taking place among rural landowners.

16 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Latif Arnautović, 08.11.1902

Arnautović's petition claims that blacksmith *Arnautović* of Banja Luka started to struggle to support his family as economic circumstances in the newly reconstructed Austro-Hungarian Bosnia grew ever more difficult. Independent artisans like him were under great strain from changes in trade laws, economic restructuring, and changing market dynamics, as stated before. He decided to migrate, intending to reconstruct his life and livelihood in an environment more known to him, like Sulejman, believing he could keep his trade under more advantageous conditions in Ottoman territory. Still, his expectations soon matched harsh reality. Many immigrants had hoped for, but the financial possibilities they envisioned in Ottoman territory often did not come to pass. *Arnautović* discovered he was under fierce competition from local dealers and artisans who had already found their spot in the market instead of the friendly and rich setting that he was hoping for among the Muslims. Under these conditions, he at last realized that survival in his new country was also tough than in the country he had left behind. Disappointed and unable to locate the security he had wanted; he was finally pushed to depart once more knowing the Ottoman lands could not provide the financial refuge he had in mind. "We came to these lands with great hopes, seeking our brothers like seeking the sun. But they received us very coldly, treating us as foreigners even though we are Muslim." ¹⁷

Another petition which was presented by Mehmed Daić¹⁸ clearly shows that his motivation for leaving was economic obstacles during the Austro-Hungarian rule. As Daić states, "Four years ago I sold my land and house for 1000 fort, in order to pay my debts. Later I opened a coffee house to support my family but I could not support my family because of taxes. I saw that many people from Bosnia and Herzegovina started to migrate to Turkey and I thought that I would live better there, so I asked for a passport for me and my family." ¹⁹

The economic hardship experienced by the non-privileged Muslim population in Bosnia under the Austro-Hungarian regime brings up a cru-

17 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Latif Arnautović, 08.11.1902

18 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mehmed Daić, 09.07.1902

19 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mehmed Daić, 09.07.1902

cial question: Were these reformist policies used as a tool of pressure on the Muslim community with intention? Or were the changes and transformation in land regulations, legal systems, and labor relations were the leading causes of these problems? Finding a certain answer to this question is not so easy, especially having the petitions of the Bosnian emigrants who had to return from Ottoman lands as the only sources. However, though a general tendency shows that Bosnian Muslims faced economic difficulties throughout Bosnia, they were not bound to isolated events.

Personal stories of people such as *Ahmed Šehović* from Banja Luka further highlight these economic difficulties. *Šehović*²⁰ had to face that his living expenses were unsustainable given the increasing tax load and changing economic environment, just like Sulejman from Livno,²¹ who foresaw that he could not cope with the increasing tax burden. Following the common path, he also sold his farm and other belongings in order to resettle in Ottoman lands. Arriving, however, he discovered the same sad truth that many other immigrants had faced: the fertile land expectations in the Ottoman territory were disappointing. He was obliged to go back as he couldn't create a sustainable living condition under the given circumstances. His petition demonstrates a fitting example of the petitions highlighting the financial discontent and poverty of those who leave their native country due to this economic situation. As former landowners, artisans, and small-scale tradesmen who had been marginalized within the changing policies and economic reforms had to fight to fit in this new socio-economic system, and these petitions that are a part of this study clearly demonstrate the narratives of economic distress. Zajim Degić, another returnee mentioned clearly that he went to Ottoman Empire because he had economic distress and hoped that he would earn wealth. "I could not sustain my life in Kijevo because I was poor and had no property, so I started looking for work in other districts. I traveled on foot to Prnjavor, where I encountered an Austrian I did not

20 ABH, ZVS, š, 29, 1906, Ahmed Šehović, 09.04.1904.

21 ABH, ZVS, š, 236, 1906, Sulejman Zulfić, 07.02.1903

know. He convinced me to go to Turkey, saying that I could easily find work and land there.”²²

Towards the end of the First World War, Ibrahim beg Užičanin from Bursa sent a letter to his friend Nihaga Kreševljaković. In his letter, he talks about the poverty of the Bosnian immigrants and the hardships they faced on the roads. He migrated without selling his own house, and if it can be sold, he plans to buy a house where he stayed or to return:

According to the letter I received from you last month, I understood that you are all well and healthy and thank God we are well too. I received the 50.5 liras with the invoice, and since you went to Skopje on the same day, you must have arrived before the bombing of the station by the Bulgarians, and I hope you are well and have returned to Sarajevo. According to what you wrote, things are not going well there either. We can't boast of anything either and we are in the same situation in terms of work and shopping and I didn't want to start anything. I heard that from Bosnia and from Tashlica to Thessaloniki the whole place is full of immigrants (all the way). At the same time, some of them are returning, but more settled (migrated) in Inegol than necessary and some of them came back from the white city of Inegol (here he actually refers to Inegol as Inegolčine, a very unpopular/insulting expression). I have no idea what will happen both there and here with our impatient Bosnians. A month ago I wrote to you that H. Jusufagic's wrote to me about the house and I wrote back so that they could deal with you and the same client.²³

The stories of the petition authors show not only the direct effects of land policies and taxes but also the unforeseen results of the economic reforms that the way Muslims in Bosnia lived. The petitions, taken together, speak to an overall experience of involuntary migration, even as it is still controversial whether these policies were specifically designed to force Muslims to move.

22 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Zajim Degić, 23.06.1902.

23 HAS, Porodični arhiv Užičanin I Kreševljaković, 12.11.1918

5.2.2 *Religious and Cultural Motivations*

Analyzing the trends of emigration from Bosnia makes it abundantly evident that the movement was driven mainly by economic hardship. However, restricting the study to economic considerations alone would present a distorted view of the several reasons behind the migration of Bosnian Muslims from their country. Their choices were equally shaped by religious and cultural factors since the transformation from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian control brought major sociopolitical changes influencing the Muslim people's sense of identification, security, and belonging.

Apart from a governmental change, the emergence of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia represented a cultural and religious change that many Muslims from Bosnia felt to be very unpleasant. Living under Ottoman rule for centuries, they had grown close to the Ottoman Empire, which they considered as the final stronghold of Islamic sovereignty in Europe. The historical link promoted religious and cultural loyalty to the empire, so influencing the acceptance of a new Christian-European government was more challenging. Believing that Austro-Hungarian rule aimed to diminish Islamic influence and further the region's Christianization, many Bosnian Muslims saw it as a direct danger to their religious traditions and social structures. These worries were intensified by these modernization attempts that excluded the Muslim population. Thus, the fear of losing their Islamic identity and not being able to carry out their faith affected the choice of the Muslim community to leave.

The Ottoman Empire was considered a land where Islamic government and cultural practices were kept unbroken despite the inner conflict. For many Bosnian Muslims, then, moving was not just a practical and economic need but also a means of protecting their religious and cultural tradition in known and familiar settings. In the end, although economic suffering was a significant factor behind Bosnian Muslim emigration, the phenomenon cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the more general religious and cultural concerns accompanying Austro-Hungarian control. The decision to depart was significantly shaped by a rooted fear regarding integration and the potential deterioration of identity, alongside a belief that their religious freedoms were at risk. So, the experience of emigration should be seen from a multi-layered perspective, acknowledging the differ-

ent factors, such as the religious, cultural, and economic elements that shaped Bosnian Muslims' migration paths in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Omer Behlić's petition²⁴ offers a striking illustration of the interaction between religious issues and migration decisions for the Bosnian Muslims under Austro-Hungarian rule. *Behlić* clearly states in his petition that, as a Muslim from Sarajevo, his main reason for leaving was his wish to raise his children in surroundings that fit more to Islamic principles and their religious practices. His concerns echoed more general concerns among Muslims about the gradual restriction of some religious activities under Austro-Hungarian control as well as the increasing influence of Catholic missionaries in Bosnia. His decision to leave was mostly influenced by the diminishing Islamic way of living and his worries of not being able to raise the children in the religious framework that he considers necessary. Especially for the next generations, religious lifestyle and education are a major motivation in *Behlić's* migration, especially for the next generations. His remarks imply that he saw the Austro-Hungarian government as a change that directly threatened the Islamic cultural and religious identity of Bosnian Muslims, not merely as a political one. *Behlić* was not the only one expressing such motivations. Another migrant detailing a similar situation is *Huso Salimović*²⁵ from Travnik. *Salimović* emphasizes in his appeal that the leading cause of his leaving was the declining prevalence of Muslim traditions in his surroundings, a phenomenon he believed would get more prominent in the future. His story captures not only personal concern but also a more general sense of unease among the Bosnian Muslim community—a feeling that the new Christian-dominated government was progressively erasing from the cultural and religious texture of their country. *Salimović's* petition also shows how this sense of cultural and religious isolation, entwined with a greater view of political disenfranchisement and religious servitude, transcended personal or family issues. Living under what was thought to be "Christian rule" caused a strong sense of detachment from political power. Therefore, it strength-

24 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Omer Behlić, 15.11.1902

25 ABH, ZVS, š. 70, 1901, Huso Salimović, 15.11.1902.

ened the anxiety that religious repression would become harsher over time. The narratives of Behlič and Salimović expose how a strong need to preserve religious identity drove emigration choices in addition to economic difficulty. Their petitions highlight the intersection of faith, politics, and migration and indicate how much perceived religious discrimination under Austro-Hungarian administration affected the choices made by many Bosnian Muslims departing into Ottoman territory. Hasan Mujanović's²⁶ story is one of the many immigrants who felt the need to go to the Ottoman Empire because of religious fears and insecurities. "The only reason I migrated was that, at the time, all the Muslim people in this region were in great distress and panic. It seemed as if everyone believed that all Muslims would leave, and I convinced myself of the same, so I migrated." He clearly expresses in his petition the anxiety felt by the Muslim population. Another compelling story that intertwines religious pressure with financial reasons comes from a petition written by Omer Hamzić. "A year ago, all my neighbors on both sides migrated to Asia under the Ottoman Empire. Before leaving, they sold all their immovable properties, including land and houses, to non-Muslims, leaving me as the only Muslim in the area. The arrival of new settlers left me isolated, and I had no choice but to sell all the property inherited from my grandfather and father."²⁷ As his story suggests, he felt pressured to leave the land, fearing that he would be **excluded** from society.

The petition of *Imamović Adem*²⁸ from Bjeljina, shows that fear of religious freedom was of no small importance among those who emigrated for religious reasons. His story revealed in his petition emphasizes not only the general institutional difficulties the Bosnian Muslim religious leaders under Austro-Hungarian rule faced but also the personal fear about the future. For such as *Imamović*, leaving was not only a personal choice but also a reaction to the shared worries and uncertainty experienced by the Muslim population. It should also be noted that the basic incompatibility between the legal system enforced after Austro-Hungarian control and Sharia law. Those Mus-

26 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasan Mujanović, 07.08.1902.

27 ABH, ZVS, š, 307, 1901, Omer Hamzić, 09.08.1901.

28 ABH, ZVS, š, 29, 1906, Imamović Adem, 03.08.1905.

lims who had become used to a culture in which Sharia-dominated administration, family law, and daily life were much disturbed when secular legal codes were adopted and Islamic legal authority was undermined. Imamović's primary concern, as expressed in his petition, was the anxiety generated within his community by the displacement of Islamic law as the dominant legal framework. This reform substantially changed the social and religious life framework for Bosnian Muslims. Imamović decided to migrate to a land where Islamic laws stayed in effect when he realized he would be living under a legal system devoid of recognition for Islamic values. His narration captures not only his own fear of religious marginalization but also the more general worries of the Islamic community in Bosnia, especially among religious people whose faith was challenged by the new government. Thus, the instance of Imamović demonstrates several aspects of Muslim migration from Bosnia. Although political pressure and economic difficulty were major determinants, the decline of religious institutions and the displacement of Islamic law had an equally crucial influence on the choices of people who sought safety in areas where they thought their religious and legal traditions would be preserved.

5.2.3 *Misinformation, Manipulation and Social Pressure*

Among the other factors, misinformation, manipulation, and social pressure are distinct yet interconnected factors influencing emigration. While closely tied to religious and economic influences, the social misleading also form an independent category of migration drivers. In some cases, these elements contributed to economic motivations, as Bosnian Muslims were often given an overly positive view of the economic opportunities awaiting them in the Ottoman lands. They were misinformed and manipulated from time to time. Official propaganda, as well as stories from close relatives who had already emigrated, created inflated perceptions that were glorified and portrayed an unrealistic life in the Ottoman territories. *Hasan Jahić*²⁹'s petition from Bijeljina reflects a mix of misinformation and manipulation. The land,

29 ABH, ZVS, š, 29, 1906, Hasan Jahić, 10.03.1904

life, and Ottoman support described in his cousin's letters never matched the reality unfortunately. When he arrived, he found that the land is neither as close to the city nor as fertile and easily settled as promised. Instead, remote, and offers little opportunity, even with hard labor. Misled by his cousin's letters from Istanbul, Hasan likely believed migration and settlement there would be much simpler. However, things did not go as planned, and he returned by the end of the first year.

Another case in which one can observe the patterns of manipulation, misinformation, and social pressure is Avdo Jašarević's.³⁰ In his case, manipulation and misinformation are present, but his petition also clearly demonstrates that social pressure is another element that, in some cases, goes together with the other two elements. Apart from letters from the previous emigrants detailing "prosperity" in the Ottoman Empire, the impact of neighbors and community leaders to emigrate drove him to go not just alone but with his whole family. His story offers an unambiguous model of the movement of chain migration. The story of *Ismet Jakupović*³¹ from Tuzla illustrates a similar pattern of migration pressure but with an even broader range of influences. In this case, not only relatives and neighbors who have already emigrated encourage him to leave but also community leaders, as highlighted in the discussion on religious motivations. These leaders emphasize the idea that life under "Christian" rule is becoming increasingly unbearable. They portray those who choose to stay behind as "betrayers" or infidels. Over time, this social pressure, combined with the fear of worsening conditions and the pejorative attributions to the ones who remained, can create an environment where staying is no longer viable. *Ismet Jakupović*'s experience underscores how narratives of a "dark future" promoted by community or religious leaders are strategically paired with promises of "opportunities" waiting in the Ottoman Empire, making emigration seem desirable but inevitable. This case, along with similar ones, clearly demonstrates the significant role of social pressure. Ale Majstorović's petition displays a good example of a detailed account where both motivations for immigration

30 ABH, ZVS, š, 49, 1902, Avdo Jašarević, 11.04.1901

31 ABH, ZVS, š, 71, 1901, Ismet Jakupović, 12.09.1900

and the conditions they faced are explained in detail. The testament clearly shows that the petition owner was misinformed by the previous people who went to the Ottoman Empire. Many of them believed in the illusion of a powerful Sultan who would protect them.

All of Obradovac wanted to migrate. They gathered with all the neighbors at night, and it was discussed that salvation for us lay in migrating to Asia because the Sultan was calling people there. It was said that land and treasures were being given to those who migrated. Because of these discussions, I, too, was called upon. I told my people and my friends that two or three people should go first to see if it was true or not, but no one listened to me. Some letters arrived from relatives there, calling us and saying we would receive help. The financially well-off among us, the prominent Muslims, were the first to leave—I remember that they were the pioneers. I saw that all my close ones were leaving. I also decided to migrate, in agreement with my wife, but I would leave my wife and children here for a year. If life were truly better there, as they said, I would return to Ankara and bring them. That's why I left without getting a passport, traveled via Belgrade, Thessaloniki, and Istanbul, and continued towards Asia and reached Ankara. When I arrived in Ankara, I saw that the migrants were living under extremely harsh conditions, unable to obtain what they deserved, and I realized that we had been completely deceived. They were in no condition to buy a home. All the migrants were living in places called madrasas.³²

Husejn Karalić belonged to the same group of returnees—individuals who stated that they had been convinced by the letters of earlier immigrants and deceived into believing that the Ottoman Sultan would grant them wealth, livestock for farming, land, and a place to live. “Last year, while working in the districts of Banja Luka, I heard in the coffeehouses among the Serb people that those who went to Asia were living well and that the Sultan was giv-

32 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ale Majstorović, 18.04.1902

ing them houses, land, money, etc. Based on this, I made my decision. Without telling anyone, I escaped with the other migrants, going directly to Istanbul and then to Ankara. When we arrived in Ankara, I worked at the station for a while. As work slowed down, I stayed there for a short time. All the rumors and letters written in Bosnia were lies. Not a single migrant was given land or a house. Many had died of starvation, and most importantly, they were despised by the local people.”³³

Mehmed Kibrić’s petition³⁴ is yet another example of someone who was deceived into coming to the Ottoman Empire in the hope of better living conditions and the anticipation of free funding from the Sultan. “Around this time last year, I received a letter from Hamza Šabanović, who was born in Bjeljina and had emigrated to Bele, Sivrihisar, two years earlier. His mother is my aunt. In his letter, he assured me that life there was much better, with great abundance and low prices for basic necessities, especially bread. He urged me to leave and move to Turkey, claiming that the Sultan was granting free land and homes. Trusting Hamza Šabanović’s promises of better conditions, we decided to relocate. At the time, I had no permanent assets and was supporting my wife through temporary labor.”

Ibrahim Hrnić recounts a similar story where he was also motivated and misinformed by a group of Muslims from his hometown. “I was convinced as well and traveled to Ankara with my brothers Abdurahman and Bečo. The one who convinced us the most to migrate from Turk Vakuf was Izet Hoca Memić. He passed away in Ankara. The same Hoca used to tell us, based on letters from Asia, that there was peace there and that migrants were given free land, houses, and so on. When we arrived in Ankara, I realized that we had been deceived because those who had arrived in Ankara before us had not been given any land or houses.”³⁵

Osman Husić from Bijeljina illustrates the expectation and disillusion in his petition³⁶. When he arrived in Istanbul, he said his family expected Ot-

33 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Husejn Karalić, 10.06.1902

34 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mehmed Kibrić, 19.08.1902

35 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibrahim Hrnić, 26.07.1902

36 ABH, ZVS, š, 38, 1910, *Osman Husić*, 23.07.1909

toman officials to grant him land and financial support. But he shows his resentment about being sent to Anatolia as Istanbul's land is scarce. His dream of staying in the capital to work was diminished. This example highlights a significant communication gap between migrants and the authorities. What was initially meant to be a warm welcome turned into a period of confinement and uncertainty. For more prominent families, in particular, the lack of guidance and assistance had especially negative consequences. Particularly susceptible were migrants carrying sick relatives. Ajla Smajić from Mostar tells in her petition³⁷ that her family waited in Istanbul for several weeks in search of official help only to be told they would have to find their own way to Central Anatolia. They had weeks of financial difficulty and relied on charitable organizations for help. One frequent topic in this and related petitions is the general uncertainty migrants go through. Many regret the significant psychological toll their challenging situation causes after running out of money means during the travel.

Osman Mešić is one of the other petitioners who narrates his story at length, providing details about how he was misled by the letters he received from earlier immigrants who had gone to the Ottoman Empire.

I am currently 36 years old. My father, Đogo Mešić, lives in Gvozdence. It has now been exactly three years since I have been away from my birthplace. The reason for my departure was a letter that arrived in Belošić (a district of Kladanj) for Salih Gurid from his brother Ibrišim. He had emigrated to Turkey eight months before me and was now staying in Hodcaş [Ajaş?] village, in the Ankara province. In his letter, he wrote that Turkey was suitable for the poor and offered a good life. He claimed that the Sultan was providing Bosnian migrants with land, houses, oxen, wheat, and money. This is how Salih Gurid explained it to me. Belošić is about an hour and a half away from our village. Despite receiving these letters, Salih Gurid had no desire to

37 ABH, ZVS, š, 104, 1911, *Ajla Smajić*, 15.08.1910

emigrate, but I was deeply influenced by them and became convinced that I needed to go to Turkey.³⁸

Many individuals, like the 36-year-old Osman Mešić, having greatly idealized the Sultan and his rule—often intertwining these perceptions with religious motifs—migrated to Anatolia under the false belief that they would be granted free agricultural land and housing, only to experience severe poverty upon their arrival. Medo Hadžić³⁹ states in the petition that he was misled and disappointed by prior immigrants' stories. He does, however, attempt to be fair by stating that although the Ottoman government reduced aid over years, the former immigrants were not acting deliberately dishonestly.

I migrated from Bosnia because my wife had heard from others that life in Turkey was terrific. They convinced me, and I had no peace of mind until I felt I had no choice but to leave. I wanted to believe it too. I read books written by Bošniak migrants, claiming that the Turkish state took care of everything. But I quickly realized that it was all lies. When we arrived in Istanbul, they placed us in an inn, where we had to wait for our turn to continue to Ankara. At first, they gave 12 kurus per adult and 6 kurus per child for food. Later, they reduced the aid, stretching what was supposed to last a week over more than ten days. The worst part was in Ankara. They crowded us into small towns, where we stayed in inns, starving and freezing until they gave us land. Maybe those who had arrived much earlier had received houses, oxen, and money—but now, there was nothing left, just endless forests or completely barren land.⁴⁰

The very ordinary story of Nazif Nurić is another good example of how people believed each other and the idea that Sultan would provide them with all the needs made them took a big journey to the unknown Muslim land. “I was living in Brčko, and my job was chimney sweeping. A merchant named

38 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Husejn Karalić, 10.06.1902

39 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Osman Mešić, 29.11.1902

40 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Medo Hadžić, 15.05.1902

Huso Gračanija contacted me and convinced me to go to Turkey, saying that the sultan would give us free land, houses, and a better and easier life there. I listened to him, and in April 1901, I set off with my family by boat to Belgrade. There, the Turkish consulate provided us with train tickets. We traveled to Ankara via Istanbul. In Ankara, we went to the governor to demand that the promises be fulfilled, but we were expelled. I worked there for about three months, but I couldn't earn anything.”⁴¹ Suljo Ajdinović stated “I saw that there was no chance for us Bošniaks to live there; we were taken away like gypsies. Neither land nor houses were given to us.”⁴² Since they were Muslims, Suljo Ajdinović's disappointment clearly shows that they had expected special treatment in the Ottoman Empire.

§ 5.3 The Journey to the Ottoman Empire

5.3.1 *Preparing the Trip*

Since there was no direct transit, the early twentieth-century movements of Bosnian emigrants demanded a lot of material requirements. It affected individual households as well as larger communities extensively, depending on thorough preparations and a complex property sale and resource mobilization procedure. Analyzing petition documents from Bosnian archives helps us understand how migrants turned their materials into economic sources to pay for their expensive trip to the Ottoman Empire, with great hope for a wealthier life. Compared to modern experiences, the emigrant's journey from Bosnia to Istanbul—often through Anatolia—was difficult. Often, it involved several forms of transportation in addition to walking great distances. Still, the inadequacy or disconnection of the transit systems was not the primary concern. No government entity funded this long voyage, and given the fact most of the immigrant families were not very wealthy, most of the time they had to sell whatever they owned. Most independent migrants to the Ottoman Empire sold their agricultural property, homes, or cattle to

41 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Nazif Nurić, 23.12.1902

42 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Suljo Ajdinović, 20.11.1902

pay for their voyage. Those who thought that coming to Istanbul or a city under Ottoman rule would solve their financial problems and that the Ottoman administration would provide necessary assistance often felt down. People who are even partially seeking reimbursement for their expenses struggle to find the relevant application procedure. Their sales covered travel costs, but they also lived in extreme poverty during their resettlement period. Most importantly, all traces of what they had sold in Bosnia disappeared upon their arrival at the relocation center. The journey of Salih Bešić⁴³ shows the problematic circumstances and financial conundrum that follow the end of the immigration journey. Bešić clarifies that his move from Tuzla to Istanbul ran out of money obtained from the sale of his family house and animals, which turned out to be significantly more expensive than expected. Though with difficulties, Salih Bešić was among the lucky people who had limited means for food and lodging as he waited for his arrival in Istanbul.

One remarkable case from May 1901⁴⁴ narrates the story of a petitioner who sold his lone house (*kučica*) and garden (*bašća*) to pay for his travel just before moving to the Ankara area with his wife Mejra and nephew Osman. The provincial government of Sarajevo officially approved his leaving document. Many petitions demonstrate how often economic constraints drove these sales. The narrative of another migrant is especially interesting for grasping this financial constraint: "I sold my land and house for 1,000 Forints since I was in tremendous debt"⁴⁵. After selling his house, he tried to help his family by running a *kafana* (coffee shop), but the revenue was inadequate, and he finally had to leave his new land. The official records show this pattern often that immigrants sold property to escape debt and failed at Ottoman lands, which eventually made them return home without proper finances. The journey of hope ends with more poverty.

Apart from selling property such as lands, gardens, and houses, migrants sold their transportation assets to be able to collect revenue for their expen-

43 ABH, ZVS, š. 71, 1912, Salih Bešić, 11.03.1911

44 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Omer Kurtagić, 13.06.1902

45 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mehmed Daić, 09.07.1902

sive trip. On July 1902 for instance one of the petitioners, Tahir Kapić⁴⁶ sold his horses and cart for 430 Kronen. The next step shows the erratic character of migration: he first spent the money drinking in Dubrovnik before settling on a hazy path forward to Istanbul. This case emphasizes how occasionally selling valuable assets could result in impulsive judgments, therefore aggravating the relocation process. Many immigrants had to sell personal items to pay for their travel. One narrative from Sarajevo⁴⁷ describes a desperate man selling his clothes for five Forints in Pljevlja and he had one Forint to enable his continuing travel. Often at significant personal cost, this tendency of gradually selling belongings emphasizes the financial challenges faced by the migrants.

Another petitioner recounts in his narrative that in January 1901, he decided to migrate to Turkey with his family, influenced by his neighbors who were also preparing to leave. Their journey took them through Zemun, Belgrade, Niš, Skopje, Thessaloniki, and İzmit, eventually reaching Ankara. However, their hopes for a better life were soon shattered as they struggled to make a living. “Before setting out, I sold all my movable and immovable property to Suljo Čolić from Komićan. I sold my immovable property for 480 K and my movable belongings for approximately 200 K.”⁴⁸ Ale Bilić, yet another returnee, when telling his story, mentions the fact that he had to sell everything, and in the end, he figured out he was deceived. “The letters coming from Asia said that life there was very beautiful. Those who believed in Muhammed from Gradiška started migrating, and I was also thinking about migrating without anyone forcing me. I sold everything I had so that I would have money when setting out. When we arrived in Ankara, I realized how we had been deceived.”⁴⁹

46 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Tahir Kapić, 06.10.1902

47 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Husein Đaltura, 18.04.1902

48 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Huska Čolić, 06.04.1902

49 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ale Bilić, 20.11.1902

5.3.2 *Hardships on the Journey: Extensive Travel and Bureaucratic Challenges*

Immigrants are often found to be caught between two very challenging authorities, the Sultan and the Emperor. In trying to settle between these two authorities, bureaucracy proved very problematic. In the lands they were leaving, which were under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, bureaucratic processes took a very long time, there were unexpected cost loads, and obtaining the required travel documents like passports and permits was extremely difficult. For most of them, these unexpected bureaucratic problems made the prospect of migration far more complex than they had expected. The ones who managed to pass through this system and arrived at the borders of the Ottoman Empire had to encounter an erratic immigration system again. Since the policies and rules controlling their arrival and residences shifted regularly, most of them were left unsure. The difficulties they encountered were increased by the absence of defined rules, turning their fresh start into a complicated and depressing event. Many migrants had to negotiate this changing bureaucratic environment, therefore exposing themselves to decisions beyond their authority. Moreover, they were resettled in sites controlled by the sultan, depriving them of the freedom to decide where they would start their new lives and limiting their agency over their destinies. Consequently, what many had hoped for as a path toward stability and opportunity often turned into a confusing and demoralizing experience molded by the strict limits of government laws on both sides of the migratory process. Apart from administrative challenges, poor communication between the two governments, and ambiguous policies on the permission application, another main problem during travel was that many had to change several means of transportation to go Inner Asia, which was far from a desired location.

In his petition,⁵⁰ *Halil Ibrahimović* from Sarajevo describes the bureaucratic obstacles he faced in obtaining the necessary travel documents from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. *Ibrahimović* complains that the passport

50 ABH, ZVS, š, 29, 1906, *Halil Ibrahimović*, 25.05.1905

process for his family took several months. In addition to the feeling of uncertainty that this lengthy process creates for them, they also experience the fear of missing the opportunity to emigrate. The Istanbul bureaucracy was no different. When they arrived, the bureaucratic difficulties they encountered at the registration stage also delayed their resettlement in Anatolia. The Austro-Hungarian Empire developed its own sophisticated system of surveillance, particularly evident in the treatment of returning migrants. This is demonstrated through the case of Muharem Ahmetović, whose interrogation reveals the empire's methodical approach to gathering intelligence. The authorities conducted detailed documentation of travel routes and contacts, implementing systematic questioning about Ottoman territorial conditions. Their investigation extended to potential recruitment by Ottoman agents while carefully verifying migrants' political loyalties through a series of carefully structured interviews and background checks.⁵¹

The petition of Osman Sokolović⁵² from Goražde highlights these additional bureaucratic challenges. His main worries likewise revolve around uncertainty. Complaining about the lack of information and direction on their future actions, Sokolović and his family found themselves waiting in shelters near the port. According to records, the family finally moved to a village in Central Anatolia after depending on help from nearby mosques. In his petition, Sokolović complained about the absence of efficient government and contact between state authorities and immigrants, saying that this condition left families like his feeling abandoned and worried about their futures. Migrants, burdened by bureaucratic challenges, highlighted the insufficient preparation and support for their integration under both the Emperor and Sultan. In the Emperor's territory, authorities-imposed obstacles for those wishing to migrate, while in the Sultan's domain, delays and confusion in the resettlement process overwhelmed the migrants.

51 ABH, ZVS, š. 104, 1911, Muharem Ahmetović, 16.10.1910

52 ABH, ZVS, š. 38, 1910, Osman Sokolović, 25.02.1909

§ 5.4 Arrival and Settlement: Living Conditions in the Ottoman Empire

Although these petitions were primarily written to request a return, one of their most intriguing aspects is that they provide detailed accounts of people's journeys as well as their settlement processes and living conditions. They describe how individuals arrived at their destinations, why they chose to leave, and the bureaucratic and emotional challenges they encountered along the way. Additionally, a careful reading of the petitions provides the reader with details on the petitioners' living conditions. To support their requests for return, petitioners often employed specific strategies to demonstrate their suffering and illustrate that they had not been treated fairly while in Ottoman territory. As expected, the main issues were the living circumstances and economic strains. They can, though be divided into subcategories.

5.4.1 *Environmental Struggles: Climate and Land*

Many Bosnian immigrants who arrived in the Ottoman Empire were transferred to remote, undeveloped parts of Anatolia, generally far from cities and the economic possibilities unlike they anticipated. In these mostly rural, dry, or barren places with poor soil quality and limited water supply, farming was quite difficult. The environmental conditions of the villages reduced their capacity to produce crops and livestock, which added to their economic crisis.

For many of these immigrants, who were accustomed to Bosnia's more moderate weather and abundant land, Anatolia's extreme climatic conditions added still another degree of challenge. In severe temperatures, odd weather patterns, and little arable land, daily survival was much more challenging. Apart from economic issues, these circumstances, which were unfavorable, had an emotional and psychological impact, which added to their uncertainty about their future and frustration. The lack of infrastructure and resources in these communities highlighted their isolation and left them with little means for improvement of their circumstances. Return petitions constantly focus on the topic of environmental changes they face and its

effects on health; surprisingly, consistent language runs across several areas and social groupings. Frequent use of the phrase "I couldn't adapt to the climate and weather there" implies that this was a rhetorical device and a generally shared experience among migrants.

As clearly stated by Mustafa Čehić, a returnee who mentions that he was struggling to adapt and decided to return home. After an arduous journey to Skopje, he pleaded with authorities, who eventually approved his request and helped him return to Bosnia via Sarajevo. He learned that most migrants from the past two years also wanted to return, but the process was difficult: "I saw and understood that our migrant people suffer immensely and live without limits. They do not even have basic firewood, and the nearest place to get it is 100 hours away. The people burn dung for heat, while others uproot crops to eat. At first, there was some aid, but now that too has been cut off. The climate in Ankara is not suitable, and many children die from pertussis."⁵³ His petition clearly puts out the environmental adaptation struggle since it directly talks about and connects health issues with the climate conditions of Ottoman Turkey. His narrative emphasizes the bigger effects of their environmental situation, which also includes the limited access to basic resources. Čehić's words, "the nearest wood is 100 hours away, people burn dung," emphasize how environmental limitations increased daily hardships, therefore influencing not just health but also the very basic living conditions. These kinds of accounts found in petitions show how the migration experience was actively shaped by the environment, not only a background element but one that, for many, finally influenced the choice to return. It is often noted that the weather in Asia, in Ankara especially, was not suitable for the Bosnians who moved there from places where the weather was colder. "Like the others, I went to Ankara and worked in various jobs, but I couldn't work much because I was living on 12 kurus as a sick man. Others were also dying due to the unbearable air. I ended up staying in the hospital for three months"⁵⁴ Most of the time, for the immigrants, unbearable hot weather conditions and illnesses were mentioned together. The unbearable

53 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa Čehić, 19.03.1902

54 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Aljo Bjelenčević, 09.10.1902

heat in Ankara was causing many illnesses. As Selman Kaljić stated “In general, our migrants cannot adapt to the environment at all. After witnessing their suffering and miserable conditions, I was forced to return despite having nothing left here.”⁵⁵

The petitions written by people like Hasan Muftić⁵⁶ from Bjeljina, who detailed the terrible quality of the land assigned to his family close to Ankara, clearly show the challenges related to resettlement. He emphasizes that the availability of water made agricultural activities almost impossible. Muftić described the land in his narrative as “nothing but dust and rocks.” His story also captures the larger environmental challenges many immigrants, especially those from Bosnia with farming experience, found themselves unprepared for the hard and dry climate of Central Anatolia. Likewise, Fatima Mešanović⁵⁷ from Mostar recounted the difficulties of moving in her petition, complaining about the distant and hostile character of the village her family had been sent to. In her petition, she underlines that, although they sold their farms in Bosnia by hoping to get something as rich as the Ottoman Empire, where they were located, they had limited access to clean water and arable land. Her narration clearly shows the disappointment and disillusionment they had, and their dreams of finding arable lands in Ottoman territories were overturned by the harsh living circumstances.

Emin Kušidović also wrote a petition in which he underlined the harsh living conditions he and his family had to face. He mentioned the drought and the environmental challenges they had to face.

As a family, we migrated from our homeland to Turkey in 1900 with the permission granted by the government. We kindly request that you accept us as Bosnian citizens. When we emigrated in 1900, our journey took us through Serbia, Bulgaria, and Istanbul, funded entirely by our own financial means. In Istanbul, we registered with the Migrant Commission and were gathered together under the leader-

55 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Selman Kaljić, 12.11.1902

56 ABH, ZVS, š. 236, 1906, *Hasan Muftić*, 03.05.1906

57 ABH, ZVS Š 1910, *Fatima Mešanović*, 02.09.1910

ship of Ibrahim Tačić from Gradačac. We were first sent to Pazarići and then to Asia Minor. From there, we were relocated to Bešbunar in the Bursa province. Initially, food rations were distributed, with 8 para per adult and 4 para per child. However, after a month, the rations were gradually reduced, and eventually, we received nothing at all. We were given as much land as we could cultivate, along with a poor-quality house. Additionally, we were provided with 15 oka of wheat seed per person, an equal amount of barley, 10 oka of corn per household, and 4 oka of millet, beans, and potatoes per person. In the first year, we planted as much as we could, but due to extreme drought, we were unable to harvest anything. The second year, we managed to yield a small amount, but wild boars devoured our crops, as there were many of them in the area. Unable to survive in such a mountainous region, we decided to return to our homeland.⁵⁸

Hasan Kučković is another returnee who gave details about his life circumstances in his return petition. He explicitly mentioned the very warm weather and climate that the Bosnian people had difficulty with. “We soon realized that there was no future for us in Turkey and that we were doomed to perish in poverty. Most importantly, we could not endure the heat and climate of the region, which made us even sicker rather than keeping us healthy. As a result, many of our fellow Bosnian migrants were dying. Overwhelmed by homesickness, we ultimately decided to return to Bosnia”⁵⁹. Apart from the difficulty related to the surroundings, concerns have also focused on poor infrastructure. Many returnees claimed to have little access to basic requirements, including food, water, and medical treatment, and to live in improvised shelters or run-down houses.

Ismet Osmanović from Travnik said in his petition⁶⁰ that they could not locate a permanent residence to settle in and had to spend months on end in tents. Often left to fend for themselves in far-off and impoverished places,

58 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1903, Emin Kušidović, 12.01.1903

59 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasan Kučković, 25.10.1902

60 ABH, ZVS, š. 70, 1901, Mehmed Osmanović, 29.12.1901

Osmanović's petition is an example of complaints about more general infrastructure issues experienced by immigrants. Another petition holder, Mujo Lipovac⁶¹, tells his story of returning in detail. He describes the people he thought about during his journey to the Ottoman Empire and those with whom he had to share accommodation. His discussion of the living arrangements effectively highlights the challenging living conditions. "Later, I was given a little stone house (with dry walls), but it was badly constructed; the roof would be totally ripped off anytime the wind blew. Although firewood was sold per weight, its cost prevented nobody from purchasing it. Rather, humans heated with animal manure. I chose to walk back to Bosnia as I understood that without money survival was difficult." Ibrahim Musić, like many other immigrants, voices his concerns in his petition about the extreme heat, which made Bosnians—unaccustomed to the climate and lacking proper housing and sanitary conditions—fall ill. "I soon realized that there was no real agricultural work available, and apart from a small house, we were given nothing else. The climate was also unhealthy for us."⁶²

Alija Salihović, who shares his story with great emotion in his petition, emphasizes the many challenges they endured while also describing the weather and environmental conditions in detail. "About two and a half years ago, my father, my siblings, and my entire family migrated to Turkey. After arriving in Ankara, we were settled in Inegöl. They gave us a house, but we couldn't live in it because all the houses were damp, and many of our people fell ill and died as a result."⁶³ Then he continues to tell how hard it was to build somewhere they could live in and there he also underlines the fact that the local Turks did not welcome them.

We built our own house together, and a local resident gave us a small piece of land to cultivate. However, we received no assistance, and the crops from the land were not enough to sustain us. I tried to earn at least enough money for bread by working for daily wages, but the

61 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mujo Lipovac, 26.03.1902

62 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibrahim Musić, 06.09.1902

63 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Salihović, 13.01.1903

locals didn't give us any jobs. I don't know why, but we were left in extreme misery and suffering. In İnegöl, my father and four of my children died. I couldn't understand the local people—there was unbearable heat, no source of livelihood, and a terrible life overall. I wanted to return home, so I left my siblings behind four months ago and started walking back home with my wife. Since I had no money, I was forced to beg from house to house like a pauper. We traveled in hunger, pain, and shame until we reached Adrianople (Edirne). There, we registered with our consulate and received a travel permit. And so, finally, we were able to return to our homeland—grateful to be back.⁶⁴

5.4.2 *Social Marginalization and Discrimination*

Since Islam was the predominant religion among the Ottoman people, one would expect a Muslim community to receive a warm welcome. But Bosnian Muslim immigrants often spoke of social isolation and prejudice, problems that became crucial to their petitions and complaints. Though Muslims, their Slavic language, distinctive cultural habits, and foreign origin made the native Turkish-speaking, Muslim population consider them as strangers. Their sense of otherness influenced their capacity to blend into local communities and made their fight for life even more challenging.

The language barrier particularly restricted their capacity to negotiate trade, government regulations, and social networks that would have enabled adaptation.⁶⁵ Moreover, their inexperience and lack of knowledge of Ottoman rules and customs rendered them susceptible and usually resulted in neglect or even mistreatment. Many immigrants described facing prejudice not only from neighbors but also from Ottoman officials, who sporadically viewed them with contempt or mistrust. Social isolation of Bosnian Muslim

64 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Salihović, 13.01.1903

65 An interesting document from Ottoman archive: "Since it was understood that they did not know Turkish and could not work, a Bosniak notable from Izmir was sent to Ödemiş to advise them to work in jobs appropriate to their situation, and it was also written to the local government to provide them with the possible assistance." BOA, BEO, 31/510 (23.03.1913).

immigrants therefore enhanced their need on government aid and philanthropic support and increased their economic dependency and problems. Their path to stability was lined with more difficulties than only the physical ones of resettlement since they lacked strong communal bonds and ran against local resistance. Their distance from mainstream society further confounded their aspirations for a brighter future in Ottoman territory, hence fueling feelings of alienation and disappointment.

In his petition, for instance, Halil Hadžić⁶⁶ from Zenica provides a detailed account of the social exclusion his family faced in their village near Konya, shedding light on the broader challenges of cultural integration experienced by Bosnian migrants. Hadžić, in his petition, describes how his family was consistently marginalized by the local population, who viewed them as "foreigners," despite they shared the same religious identity. This sense of exclusion was experienced in various aspects of daily life, as his family had to face suspicion and hostility in their attempts to interact with the local community or to work with them. The petition serves as a good example of how cultural and linguistic differences between Bosnian migrants and the native Ottoman population contributed to a bigger isolation and alienation feeling. Apart from social isolation, the local population's rejection of them as equals limited their capacity to access economic possibilities, provide steady livelihoods, and engage in communal life. Hadžić's testimony highlights the broader pattern of discrimination and social marginalization experienced by many Bosnian migrants across different regions of the empire. His account underscores how exclusion was not merely an incidental challenge but a structural issue that compounded the already difficult conditions of resettlement.

In a similar case, *Mehmed Brkić* from Banja Luka stated in his petition⁶⁷ that his family had been discriminated and isolated by the local authorities and that they had had great difficulty in applying for work permits. Brkić's petition is an example of the difficulties Bosnian immigrants faced in the social and administrative systems of the Ottoman Empire, where they were

66 ABH, ZVS, š, 51, 1902, Halil Hadžić, 30.10.1901

67 ABH, ZVS, š, 73, 1901, Mehmed Brkić, 22.04.1900

treated as second-class citizens despite their religious commonality. Hasan Macanović⁶⁸ who had migrated to Turkey two years ago and on the way to return, mentions in his petition that him and his family were discriminated by the Turkish authorities and Turkish society. He even mentions that Turks look down on Bosnians and treat them very unfriendly: “Despite all this hardship, the Turkish authorities treated us with indifference, and the locals saw us as foreigners rather than fellow Muslims. They lacked any sense of compassion toward us. Over the past two years, almost all migrants who had come to Turkey started returning. However, most were elderly, women, and children, who would now have to endure the harsh winter on foot. Everyone cursed upon hearing the name of Turkey. My son finally turned to me in Skopje and said: “Father, let's return home. These Turks look down on us. Don't you see? They are treating us like animals.” I refused to listen to him, as I had no means to return.”

5.4.3 *Economic Struggles and Limited Employment Opportunities*

One of the biggest obstacles Bosnian immigrants encountered was the non-existent job employment opportunities in the Ottoman Empire. Many immigrants left Bosnia hoping they might survive by working in agriculture, animal husbandry, or continuing in their traditional crafts. When they arrived, though, they discovered an economic reality much different from their expectations and also from what their friends and relatives had informed them. Many Bosnian immigrants settled in rural areas with poor land quality and, insufficient water availability, very warm weather, which made agricultural work challenging and sometimes even impossible. Unlike the very arable fields they had grown in Bosnia, most of the drought-stricken land in Anatolia needed great irrigation and adaptation to new farming methods—resources and skills most migrants lacked. The settlers struggled to cultivate crops in the arid regions of Anatolia.

Moreover, apart from agriculture, finding other types proved similarly difficult for people adept in skills such as carpentry, blacksmithing, or textile

68 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasan Macanović, 26.05.1902

manufacturing. Particularly in the small provinces in Asia Minor, the Ottoman economy was not set to welcome significant numbers of new workers; guilds or established artists sometimes considered migrant craftsmen as unwelcome rivals. That complicated the integration into the local community even more. Apart from the personal employment challenges of the immigrants, the larger Ottoman economy was declining under economic instability, given the period's political structure, inadequate infrastructure, and ineffective administrative rules. Government assistance for immigrants was scant, and the promised financial help for colonists was either delayed or never realized. Many Bosnian migrants thus had to face great financial difficulty. These migrants' economic difficulties not only increased their hardships in the Ottoman Empire but also created hostility. Many considered their migration as a failed attempt as they could not reach the stability they had anticipated. Despite the financial and regulatory challenges required, this economic uncertainty, social marginalization, and environmental problems drove many to search for means of returning to Bosnia.

In his petition, Osman Murić⁶⁹ from Trebinje described his struggle to find work as a carpenter. He was complaining that there was little demand for his craft in the village where his family had settled, forcing him to take on any labor just to survive. Ibrahimović's petition highlights the broader economic challenges faced by Bosnian migrants, many of whom discovered that their traditional skills were undervalued or even irrelevant in the local economy. Ibrahim Harašlić⁷⁰ highlights the terrible situation migrants live in by using an approach of relative suffering. Stressing this, he says, "even the most prominent people there live worse than laborers in Bosnia." Framing his fight against the challenges of the working class back home not only emphasizes his individual suffering but also offers a strong condemnation of the more general socioeconomic shortcomings in the Ottoman Empire. This strategy has two functions. On one side, it humanizes the suffering and helps the authorities to see the difficulty of refugees. On the other hand, it turns a personal grievance into a more general social concern by suggesting that the

69 ABH, ZVS, š. 104, 1911, Osman Murić, 10.12.1910

70 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibrahim Harašlić, 11.06.1902

lack of fundamental security and opportunity goes beyond one instance. Harašlići deliberately moves his argument from being merely about his own misfortunes to reflecting systematic carelessness.

Similarly, Ismet Osmanović from Travnik⁷¹, a blacksmith, expressed similar frustrations in his petition, stating that he was unable to find work in his new village. Deprived of opportunities to practice his own craft, Osmanović found himself in a very bad economic situation. His petition underscores the very economic disappointment experienced by many migrants, who arrived with the expectation of steady employment but instead faced poverty and hardship. The lack of employment opportunities worsened the poverty of Bosnian migrants. Many were forced to rely on help from local mosques or very small state help, which was often inadequate to meet their basic needs. These economic hardships reflect the broader institutional problems of the Ottoman settlement process, which failed to provide sufficient support for the influx of new settlers as well as creating stress worry among the locals.

Bosnians' primary motivations for migration were economic, which was followed by religious or family-related reasons. Their expectations before migration were primarily centered on securing a better life, which they associated with acquiring a house, farmland, financial stability, and overall prosperity. Many of these migrants came from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, though not all, as there were exceptions from other social groups. Those who were wealthier sometimes were able to purchase land upon arrival. As demonstrated above, petitioners frequently stated that they had been encouraged to migrate by individuals who assured them that life in the Ottoman Empire would be significantly better, with land and resources readily available. As a result, many sold their possessions in Bosnia before making the journey.⁷² However, once they arrived, they encountered harsh

71 ABH, ZVS, š, 70, 1901, Ismet Osmanović, 17.08.1900

72 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Đulaga Lović, from Turk Vakuf, Bosanska Gradiška, 20.11.1902, "I migrated together with Huska Hrnić and Izet Hoca who convinced me to emigrate. They said we would have a totally different life compared to the one in Bosnia and we would have a more beautiful house, land, money etc. and I sold whatever I had."; Idriz Čibukčić, from

living conditions, insufficient state subsidies, and inadequate nutrition. Many suffered significant losses, including the deaths of family members due to illness, mostly children and elderly. Additionally, language barriers created a significant obstacle; the inability to speak Turkish not only limited their employment opportunities but also contributed to the discrimination they had to face. For instance, Alija Habibović lamented in his petition: "Although we had a great desire to go to Turkey and expected to find our Muslim brothers there, we were not truly welcomed."⁷³

Similarly, Arnautović Mahmud from the Novoselija district office in Banja Luka wrote:

I migrated to Ankara with my three children. My wife died 14 days before our migration. My brother Avdo previously migrated to Ankara, Haymana. He invited us to migrate there. I rented a room in Bekir Efendi Han. We were given aid per adult. I am over 60 years old and I had not worked in my life as hard as I worked in Turkey. Although we had a great desire to go to Turkey and although we expected to find our Muslim brothers there, we were not really welcome. Neither could we understand the Turkish people, nor did they understand us... We went to our Bosnian consuls. They received us nicely and cared for us until the last night I arrived here. It would be better to be killed in Bosnia than to leave/migrate. I suggest that nobody should consider hidžret.⁷⁴

Many other immigrants share the same view that Habibović and Arnautović does. Most usually, the petition owners said that their family in Bosnia was quite poor. It is only some exceptions that families were wealthy. They had nothing to lose; the expectation and conviction that the Ottoman Empire

Bijeljina, 16.10.1902, "There were a general talk and disturbance among the Muslims during 1900's, that there was a more beautiful and comfortable life in Turkey and Czar Sultan was giving a house, land, cattle, household goods and money to every Bosnian who migrated."

73 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Habibović, 12.03.1902

74 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Arnautovic Mahmud from Novoselija district office in Banja Luka, 08.11.1902.

would provide them with better living circumstances and employment opportunities drove the migratory choice. Many migrants, however, freely expressed their unhappiness, saying the government did not give them suitable employment possibilities. Although some families got little help, single immigrants were mainly left to fend for themselves. Those with specific skills—such as stonemasons, shoemakers, or barbers—managed to survive by their workmanship. Most of those folks worked for daily wages in agriculture and depended on erratic employment. Their home was also far from suitable. From Banja Luka, Sulejman Mešinović penned the following:

I left Duhova in 1901 with my whole family. It took us 15 days to get out. My mother, Hatice, my sister Diba, my brother Avdo, and my father Arif, all came with me. We had full permission to leave. But to be honest, none of us wanted to go—except for my mother. She was the one who pushed for it. She wanted to be with her mother, Aiša Mušićka, who was living in İnegöl. And now, funny enough, my grandmother wants to come back too. My father never wanted to leave in the first place, but my mother wouldn't let it go. He was miserable the whole time, always crying. On the way, I tried to run away. I jumped off the train at Doboj, but they caught me and beat me badly. I was just 12 years old, an easy target. Our first stop was Ankara, and then we moved to Keskin Maden. Things only got worse from there. My mother and sister died while we were in Ankara. They gave my father, my brother, and me a house in Keskin Maden, but it was barely a house at all. It had two tiny rooms, a roof made of a few wooden beams covered with a rush mat and mud. As soon as the first rain came, the whole thing collapsed. My brother died there when he was just 19. We lived in horrible conditions, barely scraping by. We had no money, no work, and no way out. We became beggars, just like all the other Bosnians there. From what I saw, nobody was doing well. Most of them are planning to go back. In Turkey, the locals take care of their own and don't give people like us a chance. We couldn't get decent jobs, and we were struggling just to survive. I couldn't take it anymore, so I left. I walked from Keskin Maden to İzmir—it took

me 23 days, and my feet still hurt. My father Arif, is planning to come back too, as soon as he can."⁷⁵

Furthermore, earlier migrants may have had an easier experience compared to those who arrived later. As Hasib Mizinović noted, "those who had money and better health were among the first immigrants, while those who suffered the most were the ones who came later, particularly those who migrated around 1900."⁷⁶ Many of these latecomers arrived with little to no resources, making their struggles even more severe. Beyond economic hardship, there were also other reasons for their departure.⁷⁷ Many of these latecomers arrived with little to no resources, making their struggles even harsher. Apart from the economic hardship, there were other reasons for leaving too. For instance, the petition of Süleyman Arapović and Mustafa Balić reveals that some immigrants fled Bosnia to escape compulsory military service under the Austro-Hungarian government⁷⁸. Instead of risking their lives for a foreign empire, they sought refuge in the Ottoman lands, hoping for a better future.

These stories highlight the disorder and uncertainty of the migrating process. While some left with tools and a plan, others had to give up all they owned. While some people who stayed made the most of their situation, others tried to hang onto their homes by whatever means required. Whether in Bosnia or the Ottoman Empire, survival was a continual struggle. Another story from an immigrant named Husein Murić⁷⁹, clearly exposes the economic struggles as well as pointing out the combination of all the other problems they had to face, such as the language, cultural adaptation.

When we arrived in Turkey, we realized it was all a lie. The claims that life was good there were completely false—on the contrary, for

75 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Mešinović from Banja Luka, 08.11.1902.

76 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasib Mizinović from Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902.

77 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasib Mizinović from Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902.

78 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Arapović from Prijedor, 12.01.1903; ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa Balić from Kozarac, 20.11.1902. Alija Ležić

79 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Husein Murić, 19.08.1902

us Bosniaks, it was nothing but misery. We couldn't adapt to the climate, many of our people died, and there was no work available for us to survive. We couldn't even communicate with the local people because we didn't know their language. In short, we Bosniaks were trapped in hardship in every possible way. I stayed in Ankara for about ten months. Each person was given a daily food allowance of 12 para. For shelter, the government assigned me a small room, which I shared with another Bosniak. During my stay, I couldn't find any work because there simply was none, and even if there was, Turks would not hire Bosniaks. They preferred their own people. Realizing that there was no future for me there, I decided to leave. I traveled to Karamürsel and worked there for a month on daily wages. From there, I went to Istanbul and worked for eight days. Later, I went to Drama, but since I had no travel permit, I was imprisoned for 11 days."⁸⁰

Alija Ležić⁸¹, who wrote a petition to return to Sarajevo, talks about the economic struggle and the desperation they felt.

However, when we arrived, we realized that everything we had heard was false. There was no mention of free land or financial aid. During my one-year stay in Ankara, the only assistance we received was a daily food allowance of 12 para per person, but even that was not distributed regularly—some days, we received nothing at all. There was no work available, so we spent our days doing nothing. After a year in Ankara, we were relocated to a place called Çoye, where we were given a house made of earth, but it was more like a barn than a proper home. Our food rations consisted of barley. It became clear to me that there was no future for me there; we were practically walking toward death."⁸²

80 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Husein Murić, 19.08.1902

81 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Ležić, 12.09.1902

82 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Ležić, 12.09.1902

The story of Bešlija Čuković is no different, he was one of the economically disadvantaged people who was disillusioned by the idea that Ottoman Empire would offer them accommodation, financial help and employment. “I stayed in Adapazarı for about a month, living by begging. From there, I walked to Karamürsel. The Turkish government provided food rations to migrants, just as they did in İzmit, where each person received one loaf of bread per day. However, this assistance was only given in certain locations, and after that, migrants had to fend for themselves—either by begging for food or facing starvation. I do not remember exactly how long I stayed in Karamürsel, perhaps around three months. Since I had no money, I could not travel overseas, and I survived by begging there as well. There was no work to earn money, and if I did find work, it was only because fellow Bosniaks gave me small jobs. However, they could only offer food, not money—so it was not a real solution.”⁸³

These petitions were generally written by men, who also included the names of their wives and children, if they had, in their statements. Petitions written by women were much rarer. However, one particularly striking example is that of Ajka Suljić-Fazlić from Bijeljina. After migrating to Ankara with her husband and children, her husband decided to stay there to try to earn money, but she made the bold decision to take her children and walk back to Bijeljina—a journey that took her three months⁸⁴. Another very desperate women, who according to her petition was forced by her husband and father to migrate, unfortunately loses the men in her family. Kada Tatarević⁸⁵, the owner of this petition, narrates her dramatic story:

I never wanted to leave the place where I was born, but I saw that my husband—especially my father, Ibro Bahić—was being convinced to migrate. I couldn’t stay behind, so I was forced to migrate as well. At first, we moved to Nallıhan. In the beginning, we received some assistance, but later it was cut off. My husband fell ill there, and after a

83 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Bešlija Čuković, 20.02.1902

84 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ajka Suljić-Fazlić, 05.12.1902.

85 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Kada Tatarević, 03.10.1902

short illness, he passed away. Around the same time, my father, Ibro Bahić, also died. Seeing that I could not stay in Nallıhan, I set out for Inegöl with my children. In Inegöl, I lost two of my children, Derviş and Nefa. In a way, I was still fortunate because I had some money left from my late husband, but other migrants who had nothing suffered immense pain and hardship. I realized that life in Asia was impossible for me—if I stayed any longer, it would cost me my life. So, I headed to Istanbul, where I submitted a petition requesting permission to return, but I never received a response. Because of this, I went to Edirne, where I heard they could prepare the necessary documents for my return to Bosnia.

In addition to personal struggles, these petitions offer invaluable details about the migration routes—information that is difficult to trace in other documents. Many migrants recorded their exact paths, revealing that some walked the entire way, while others traveled on foot until they reached the Ottoman Empire's borders, where they were able to take a train with the help of Ottoman officials. Others relied on assistance from Austrian officers during their return journey. Some petitions even describe obstacles faced along the way. For instance, several migrants recounted how, upon reaching Skopje, Ottoman gendarmes (*zaptiye*) attempted to detain returnees and send them back to Asia Minor. In these cases, the Austro-Hungarian consulate intervened, preventing their forced relocation. Another example is from Serdarović Nuriya from Zvornik

I fled to Turkey on 24 October 1900 with my nephew, as we thought that we would have a better life there. We didn't say anything to anybody, not even to my mother. She learned that I migrated to Turkey when I sent her a letter from Constantinople. I firstly went to Šabac and then we arrived at Belgrade where we met Bosnian Muhajirins. There we talked with the Turkish Consul... We arrived in Constantinople in 17 days. From Constantinople, we crossed the water and went to İzmit and then arrived in Ankara by rail. I stayed there for about a month and then we went to Adapazarı. We lived worse than dogs, not knowing the language. The Ottomans did not consider us

their equals. During the last two years I was in Asia Minor, I met many Bosnians. If they do not have money, they all live in very harsh conditions. Bosniaks are forever Fukara [poor]. Three months ago, I finally decided that I had enough of this life, and I realized that it is best to live in Bosnia and begged my mother to send me travel expenses... That is when I came to the Austrian Consul, who instructed me to wait until an answer comes from Sarajevo. But I did not wait, and I continued to walk for 15 days to Vranje-Niš-Leskovac-Sibenik-Šabac-Loznica-Mali Zvornik. I was so weak that I did not know where I was. I have travelled from Asia Minor over three months on foot. If necessary, I can even serve in the army. Please, therefore, forgive me as I escaped without a license.⁸⁶

The Bosnian emigrant Ömer Agha, who was caught during a regular check by the Zaptiye nazirs in Istanbul, was taken to the police station and interrogated because he had more than 120 travel documents (*tezkere-i Osmaniyye*) on him. Ömer Ağa and his wife had previously been sent to the Edremit district of Aydın province for resettlement by the sultan's will. However, they had not been allocated any land for five years, they had not been shown a suitable place, and for various reasons, they had been asked to be given a land that was rugged and not suitable for living. Therefore, these emigrants had fallen into poverty and misery. Due to this situation, Ömer Ağa expressed his intention to apply to the Austrian Embassy to return to Bosnia using the Ottoman travel documents he had on him. He stated that they had come to Istanbul in order to inform the competent authorities about this matter and their demands. They were also told that the land that should have been allocated to Ömer Ağa and his family was approximately two hundred acres, but that it was not given to them on the grounds that it was *waqf* land. Nevertheless, this land was used for grazing by Yanakov Kiryakov, a member of the Administrative Council, and was allegedly rented out by a person named Hafız Kadri. However, it was found that the land was not registered as a *waqf*. It was stated that Ömer Agha and his family were considering ap-

86 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Nuriya Serdarović, 13.12.1902.

plying to the Austrian Embassy due to the misery they had fallen into and that they planned to return with Ottoman travel documents. In this regard, it was reported that they issued a power of attorney to convey their requests to the competent authorities and declared that they would apply to the relevant places.⁸⁷

After 1900s, the usual initial settlement places of the returnees were Ankara, İzmit and Bursa. Generally, their migration route was Doblin, Mitrovica, Belgrade, Niš, Kumanovo, Skopje, Thessaloniki, İzmit and Ankara. And the main gathering points were Belgrade, Skopje and, Istanbul. After arriving at their destination points, some of them were replaced by the Ottoman Migration Office or they chose to change their first settlement place, opting for places such as İzmir, Adapazarı, Çanakkale or any place in the region of Thrace illegally.

5.4.4 *Disease, Hardship, and Loss*

Among the most serious problems noted in return petitions were health problems and high death rates, which clearly show the challenges migrants encountered. Many stories of widespread disease, insufficient medical treatment, and hostile surroundings that made survival even more precarious point to children and the elderly, most susceptible, suffered especially from disease, starvation, and exposure; many of them passed away. Arguments related to health show particular complicated patterns of narrative structure. In Ankara, through several different petition, it can be observed how different petitioners responded to like situations Huso Muslija's dramatic depiction of mortality in the migrant barracks - "Every day 4-5 or 6 people died"⁸⁸ - gains additional significance. Both stories depict sad events of loss due to lack of medical care or malnutrition.

Osman Čelebić⁸⁹ from Tuzla says in his petition that his wife passed away from illness and starvation resulting from not enough food or medical

87 BOA, DH.MHC, 13/9 (31.01.1893).

88 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Osman Halilbašić from Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902; ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibrahim Hrnić from Turskog Vakuf, Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902.

89 ABH, ZVS, š. 75, 1912, *Osman Čelebić*, 07.01.1909

treatment where they lived. His story records the great sense of desperation experienced by many immigrants who had left their homes expecting a better life in the Ottoman Empire but discovered only hardship and loss. These petitions expose how many migrants' decisions to return home were greatly influenced by emotional sadness, not enough life conditions, and lack of medical support. The story of Vehab Vehabović is another example of the very hardship they had to face due to poor living conditions which might end up with the deaths of family members.

Our stepfather, Suljo Biberić, migrated to Ankara in September 1900, leaving his belongings behind. All of us siblings who stayed behind eventually escaped without permission. Suljo was the first to migrate to Ankara, and when we arrived in Bursa, I traveled to Ankara and then returned to Bursa. Everything we had been promised—an easy life, land, cattle—was nothing but lies and deception. Neither we nor anyone else received land. At first, some migrants received minimal assistance, but soon, even that stopped, and instead, everything fell apart. I was staying in a French company for work, where my job was buying and selling tobacco, earning 40 kurus a month. Suljo did nothing, while my other brothers worked as day laborers. Due to the danger, I was attacked twice by bandits and was eventually forced to leave my job. My stepfather died in Inegöl, and so did my wife, Rabia. At some point, we realized that there was no future for us in Asia and that we could not survive there—it was nothing but a dead end. We decided to return to the place where we were born. We had enough money for the journey, but in İzmir, we were attacked by thieves and were forced to hand over our money.⁹⁰

The petitions show how frequently health issues drove immigrants back home. The narrative of Mustafa Durgutović⁹¹ from Adapazarı clearly illustrates how the disease could interfere with someone's capacity for security and making money. Working for eight months and making thirty kurus a

90 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Vehab Vehabović, 20.10.1902.

91 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa Durgutović, 18.11.1902

month, he became quite sick with a fever that kept him bedridden for more than a month. Unable to work and without means of support, he was forced back to Bosnia. His return was difficult; he passed through Niš and Istanbul, where he had to labor for three months just to cover the trip expenses back home. His narrative demonstrates how quickly illness may change a promising new life into a nervous effort to return to known territory.

Furthermore, interesting is the fact that the number of women who wrote petitions regarding the return because of health issues and death is relatively higher than women writing on other issues. Although women are not often seen as the ones writing petitions, when the issue is related to illness and death, it is more common to find female petition owners. The reason for that is most probably the woman who loses her husband chooses to return to Bosnia to live with her relatives since she cannot find a means of survival. Zahida Đulović from Sarajevo.⁹² details in her petition the tragic death of her two small children, who became sick and passed away soon after the family arrived in Anatolia. She says the local community either could not or would not assist and that the villages did not have doctors. Her story highlights the serious health issues migrants experienced and the great emotional distress resulting from the death of loved ones in such unfriendly surroundings—a topic that recurs often in the returnee petitions. Zlata Jerkić-Šašić is one of these women, recounts her very tragic story:

A year and a half ago, I migrated to Turkey from Bosanska Krupa with my late husband, Šaban Šačić. We traveled through Belgrade and arrived in Skopje, where we waited for three weeks until all the migrants were gathered. I do not remember exactly how many of us there were or when we departed from Skopje, but I do recall that when we left Thessaloniki, the mosque was full of migrants [Two days before Ramadan, my husband Šaban was taken to the hospital in Ankara, and two days later, he passed away. I had brought 26 lira with me, but I lost all of it to hospital expenses. My husband was already sick before we left Bosnia—he had wounds on his body, but

92 ABH, ZVS, š, 236, 1906, *Zahida Đulović*, 05.01.1906

after arriving in Turkey, his condition worsened. As I said, on the second day of Ramadan, he died in Ankara. After Ramadan, the migrants who had brought some of their belongings were able to keep them, but the rest of us had nothing left. With no more assistance, we left Stanasa for Bursa, traveling on foot because we had no other way. Along the way, two families of migrants died, and one-third of those who remained starved to death.⁹³

Another female petitioner, Hata Ćelić-Berbić is an example of the desperate women writing petitions of return, after her husband and several children died. “I did not want to leave, but as a wife, I had no choice—I had to go with my husband and children. With the little money left from selling our house, we reached Thessaloniki last year, then took a ship to Istanbul, continued by train to İzmir, then Polatlı, and finally traveled by train and car to Ordoçay and then to Ankara.”⁹⁴ She explains that her husband Huseyin and eleven-year-old daughter Nura were both sick. “Nura died in Ortaçay. Since my husband was also ill, they did not give him land or a job. As migrants, we were given only five loaves of bread a day, morning and evening. During Ramadan, one after another, my son Huseyin died first, then my husband, and finally my little daughter Zahide, who was just two and a half years old.”⁹⁵

Another petitioner, Salih says that his brother moved to Ottoman Empire first and then he wrote several letters for him to join. He prepared for the travel and went to Ankara but where he stayed in Ankara started to fall apart and he had to move to an inn where he had no money for himself, depending on the aid from the government. “Unfortunately, illness struck, and within a short time, both my wife and five of my children died. I soon realized that I could not survive alone in a foreign land, so I requested permission to return to Bosnia. I came back with my two surviving sons.”⁹⁶ Another

93 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Zlata Jezerkić-Šašić, 09.06.1902.

94 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hata Ćelić-Berbić, 12.09.1902

95 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hata Ćelić-Berbić, 12.09.1902

96 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Salih Aliagić, 23.10.1902

er petitioner, Mustafa Agič gives specific information on his journey from Bosnia to Ankara and Haymana where he fell ill. “I traveled to a small town called Haymana, where I fell seriously ill and was bedridden for five weeks in an inn. I did not have to pay for my stay, but during my illness, half of the migrants from Prijedor who had traveled with me died. I was terrified and decided to escape back to Bosnia.” His account gives interesting detail on not only on his illness but also on the fact that immigrants were getting anxious about their health, seeing many other immigrants losing their lives. “I knew that five people before me had escaped from Ankara to Istanbul, had been caught, and were sent back to Ankara, as returns had been forbidden. I realized that escaping from Turkey would not be easy, so I lied, saying that my family was in Skopje, and I needed to fetch them before returning to Istanbul.” He even lied to be able to come back to Bosnia and his apologetic ending of the petition gives an account of how regretful the immigrants can be because of the poor health conditions and disillusion they had through the previous migrants. “The main reason I left Turkey was that people in Prijedor kept saying that Asia had great earning opportunities, but I soon realized that true life was at home, with my father and mother. I will never consider migrating to Asia again, as I understand now that I would have been left disabled or dead due to illness if I had stayed.”⁹⁷

Ale Jagić was among the many immigrants who regretted the fact that he moved to the Ottoman Empire, especially because they were located in Ankara. He recounts the story where many people fell ill, and he also underlines the fact that people had a hard time adapting to the climate “Just before autumn, the local administration built small houses, and the migrants were settled there, with each household being given a small plot of land for 10-15 days. However, the land was not fertile—wheat and barley could be grown, but corn and oats could not. There was no firewood available.” As he underlines, “The climate was unbearable, and the water caused fever and colds. Many died from sickness and suffering. We left Ankara so hungry that some people could not even find a single breadcrumb elsewhere.”⁹⁸ Hasan Bila-

97 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Salih Aliagić, 23.10.1902

98 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ale Jagić, 15.03.1902

lović too is one of the many of the returnees who fell sick and lost his family members. Similar to many other petition writers, he mentions that he was fooled by a relative, his uncle, who promoted Ottoman lands as very wealthy. "On November 19, 1900, I migrated to Turkey with my mother, Ayşe, and my sister, Mejrem. While there, my mother passed away, and my sister got married. The reason for my migration was that my uncle, Smajo Brkić, wrote me a letter inviting me to Turkey, saying that life there was better and easier. Believing his words, I applied for migration, obtained the necessary documents for myself, my mother, and my sister, and we left. We arrived in a place called Ankara, but I immediately fell ill and became bedridden. I remained sick for 14 months, and after some time, my mother passed away."⁹⁹

The petitions capture the several challenges and diseases immigrant people had to go through. Studying these petitions helps readers to better grasp what severe climate conditions, unproductive agricultural land, housing and shelter issues really meant.

§ 5.5 Return to Bosnia

5.5.1 *Financial and Emotional Hardship*

Following years of suffering, material damage, and mental tiredness, many returnees decided to go back to Bosnia. Those who sold their Bosnia properties before leaving sometimes discovered they were bankrupt upon returning. Many returns expressed great sorrow and disappointment about their choices, hence the emotional toll of the failed migration was also quite terrible.

In his petition, Mostar resident Ahmed Begović¹⁰⁰ details the horrible consequences of his family's emigration experience, including how they lost all of their belongings and property and returned to Bosnia in total mess. He regretfully decided to leave Bosnia after realizing too late that the Ottoman Empire's promises of wealth and opportunity were only "empty hopes." Be-

99 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa Batić Sušić, 12.01.1902

100 ABH, ZVS, š, 29, 1906, *Ahmed Begović*, 13.12.1906

govič's narrative not only reflects his own disappointment but also the more general challenges faced by many Bosnian immigrants attracted by false promises and afterwards found in terrible situations. His appeal emphasizes the great emotional and financial expenses of emigration, a topic covered by many other returnees who, like him, had to deal with the terrible facts of suffering, loss, and hopelessness upon their return.

Similarly, Fatima Mehmedović from Sarajevo, in her petition¹⁰¹ describes how her family returned to Bosnia in financial ruin, having sold everything they owned before leaving. Mehmedović expressed his deep regret for displacing his family, stating that the hardships they faced in the Ottoman Empire were much worse than what they had experienced in Bosnia. His petition points to the emotional toll of failed migration, with many returnees struggling to come to terms with the loss of their homes and livelihoods. Mujo Mujanović, who also returned to Bosnia, describes his dire economic situation in his petition. "Before leaving for Turkey, I sold my immovable property for 200 K, my wife's property in Komičana to Mihaylo Tychostup for 1,480 K, and my late father's property to the same person for 100 K. However, I have yet to receive full payment for these sales."¹⁰²

Despite selling his property before embarking on his journey, he never received the full payments. Now that he is back, he is desperately searching for ways to regain economic stability. "If possible, I appeal to the higher state authorities to restore the land I sold to Mihajlo Tychostup and settle the outstanding payments. Alternatively, I request temporary state land to help us rebuild our livelihood. If neither option is feasible, my grown sons and I will seek work and do our best to survive."¹⁰³ Yet, even without securing a stable income in Bosnia, he feels that returning home was still the better choice for him. The sense of material and emotional devastation among returnees illustrates the wider impact of migration on Bosnian families. Many returnees set out with high hopes but found themselves in a worse situation than when they left, leading to a deep sense of regret and disappointment. And yet

101 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, *Fatima Mehmedović*, 12.12.1900

102 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, *Mujo Mujanović*, 06.10.1902

103 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, *Mujo Mujanović*, 06.10.1902

someone held on to the hope that their wealthy relatives would take care of them, even when they returned after leaving all their hopes in Ottoman Turkey. “In Čele, I have three brothers, three sisters, two daughters, my mother, and my uncle. I do not own any property there, but I strongly believe that my brothers will grant me some land, especially my uncle Meho Mešić, who is well-off and whom I trust will support me.”¹⁰⁴

5.5.2 *Bureaucratic Challenges of Return*

The Austro-Hungarian authorities required returnees to go through a lengthy and expensive process to re-enter the country, creating additional financial and logistical challenges for already impoverished families.

In his petition,¹⁰⁵ *Salih Mujić* from Sarajevo describes how his family was stranded in Istanbul for several months while waiting for the necessary permits to return to Bosnia. Mujić's petition highlights the bureaucratic hurdles that returnees faced; many had to rely on charitable organizations to help them navigate the complicated legal process of return.

Husein Hodžić from Banja Luka wrote in his petition,¹⁰⁶ that he had to bribe Ottoman officials to obtain the necessary documents to return to Bosnia because the official channels were slow and not facilitative. Hodžić's experience underscores the difficulties returnees faced in navigating the bureaucratic systems of both the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian governments, which often left them feeling abandoned and without recourse.

The lack of coordination between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman authorities, combined with the financial hardship of emigration, meant that many returnees wanted to return to Bosnia after difficult years abroad.

104 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibro Mešić, 19.05.1902

105 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, *Salih Mujić*, 07.12.1901

106 ABH, ZVS Š 1906, *Husein Hodžić*, 08.08.1905

§ 5.6 Reflections on Experiences

5.6.1 *Feelings of Disappointment and Regret*

The overwhelming psychological emotion expressed in the petitions is disappointment and regret. Many returnees stated that they left Bosnia with high hopes, believing that the Ottoman Empire would offer them better opportunities and a more supportive environment. Upon arrival, however, they found that the reality was much harsher than they had expected.

In her petition,¹⁰⁷ *Fatima Hodžić* from Tuzla expresses her deep regret for leaving her home, stating that the promises of prosperity in the Ottoman Empire were nothing but “lies and illusions”. Hodžić's petition exemplifies the deep disappointment felt by those who were led to make the decision to emigrate by misinformation and social pressure.

Similarly, *Mehmed Alagić* of Travnik admitted in his petition,¹⁰⁸ that he “wished he had never left Bosnia” and that the hardships he faced in the Ottoman Empire were far worse than those he experienced under Austro-Hungarian rule. Alagić's petition underscores the emotional cost of emigration, as many returnees struggled to come to terms with the failure of their attempts to build a new life abroad.

The widespread disillusionment among returnees highlights the gap between expectations of migration and the realities of life abroad. Most returnees were misled by misinformation and social pressure, and their experiences in the Ottoman Empire left them feeling abandoned and regretful.

5.6.2 *Warnings to Future Migrants*

Many returnees were driven to alert others not to follow in their path. Their letters frequently featured clear advice to their Bosnian friends to remain in Bosnia instead of running the danger of Ottoman Empire life. These cautions reflect the increasing knowledge among Bosnian Muslims about the fact that

107 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, *Fatima Hodžić*, 12.12.1901

108 ABH, ZVS Š 1912, *Mehmed Alagić*, 01.03.1912

Ottoman Empire's promises of wealth were mostly untrue. In his petition,¹⁰⁹ *Hasan Brkić* of Mostar urged his neighbors to “stay in Bosnia and endure the conditions there no matter what”, noting that life in the Ottoman Empire was filled with “misery and suffering”. Brkić's petition reflects the deep sense of frustration felt by many returnees who experienced first-hand the hardships of emigration and tried to dissuade others from making the same mistakes.

Ismet Jakupović from Tuzla expressed a similar sentiment in his petition,¹¹⁰ warning others to avoid the “land of promises”, which was “nothing but a land of despair”. *Jakupović's* petition highlights the growing disillusionment among Bosnian Muslims, as the experiences of returnees served as a cautionary tale for those considering emigration. Mahmud Arnautović¹¹¹ who migrated to Ottoman Turkey with his three sons, hoping for a better life, faced hardship, discrimination, and economic struggles. His brother, who had promised to support him passed away before he arrived, leaving him without help. He was unable to earn a living, and he struggled with language barriers, he decided to return home. Returning, he quotes, “Last night, we finally arrived home, and I stayed with my close relatives, Meho and Muharem Kozić. I told them: “Choose death over migration. Say no to leaving your homeland.” And they replied: “People have become wiser now—no one is thinking of emigrating anymore.”¹¹² Whether people became wiser, or the rumors spread quickly that the Ottoman Empire did not offer the emigrants a wealthy living, people started to change their plans of leaving their land. These alerts show the changing view of emigration among Bosnian Muslims and act as evidence of the great disappointment experienced by returnees. Emphasizing the dangers and difficulties of leaving one's country, the experiences of individuals who fled and later returned became a warning for others.

109 ABH, ZVS Š 1912, *Hasan Brkić*, 29.07.1912

110 ABH, ZVS, š, 71, 1901, *Ismet Jakupović*, 12.09.1900

111 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mahmud Arnautović, 08.11.1902

112 ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mahmud Arnautović, 08.11.1902

§ 5.7 Newspapers: Politics between the Pages

Following its occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Dual Monarchy attempted to ensure the effective presence of Bosnian Muslims within the trialist structure it was trying to establish. Although emigration started with the occupation and certain practices (forced conscription, Catholic resettlement, new regulations in religious practices, etc.) offended the Bosnian Muslims, the empire firmly believed that they were necessary for the integrity of Bosnia in terms of their class status. For this reason, since the emigration was seen as a loss for them, Habsburgs attached great importance to the return. In the reports, the numbers of returnees were always given on the front pages, even exaggerated in some cases. Besides, in order to make the returns more visible, newspapers were utilized as much as possible or an anti-migration perception was tried to be created through newspapers.

As early as 1884, the *Bosnische Post*, published with the support of Austria-Hungary, reported on the situation of emigrants in Anatolia and reported how difficult their situation was. In a news article dated February 7, 1884, it writes that there is a settlement called Menemen in İzmir (Smyrna) founded by Bosnian Muslims. Although it was close to the sea and had fertile lands, it mentioned that Bosnians were homesick and wanted to return to their homeland.¹¹³ (BP-Nr.11, p.4). On February 10, the same newspaper's article hardens the language a bit more and mentions the misery, fear and bitter experiences of the Bosnian immigrants who were suffering in a collapsed Turkish empire and tried to return with fear and bitter experiences.¹¹⁴

The newspaper *Bošnjak*,¹¹⁵ which was published with the support of the Bosnian Muslim elite within the framework of the idea of “*bošnjaštvo* (Bosnianness)” that Benjamin Kallay tried to create after his appointment to Bosnia in 1882 as the Joint Imperial Minister of Finance as an Austro-

113 *Bosnische Post*, 07.02.1884, Nr. 11, p.4.

114 *Bosnische Post*, 10.02.1884, Nr. 12, p.1.

115 Aldiana Softić, “Boşnak Milli Kimliğinin İnşasında Bošnjak Gazetesinin Rolü: 1891-1901” (MA Thesis, Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi / Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü / Türkiyat Araştırmaları Ana Bilim Dalı, 2017).

Hungarian official, pursued a policy close to the government. In 1891, the newspaper started publishing news on why continuous emigration was unnecessary and especially on returnees. In only its second issue, the following news appeared:

He followed a vague hope. He thought he would find a better life and work there. And he left his homeland. He was able to return without losing much money (while still having money in his pockets). I hope this will be an example for others. Because people are wasting what their grandparents left behind. You are looking for bread when there is *pogacha* (*trazi hljeba nad pogačom*). They are gaddingly (*avare avare*) wandering in expatriate hands.¹¹⁶

Similarly, in the third issue, when people in Anatolia are unable to live healthy lives, he advises his brothers and sisters who want to leave to research their destinations thoroughly before they go. "No one in their destination knows our language. Those who emigrate must act according to the wishes of Anatolians."¹¹⁷

A reader comment from the twenty-first issue: "Bosnia and Herzegovina ordered to build mosques and buildings for its citizens. Now we are asking if all this is not support not to emigrate? We have always told our brothers and sisters that this is the plot of our enemies and they want to destroy us. The news about Turkey helping Muslim migrants was always a lie. Turkey was not providing support." The newspaper's response to this is in the form of a declaration:

Dear Brothers and Sisters! Now it is clear what is the color of those sympathetic articles and those merciful newspapers in Drina. There is no need to think too much about it, everyone understands whose bread we are buttering and leaving our beloved homeland. Now they are supporting the emigrants and those who stay here are waiting to take the land of those who left. Leaving the land is the most painful

116 Bošnjak, 09.07.1891, Nr. 2, p. 3

117 Bošnjak, 16.07.1891, Nr. 3, p.2.

event in a person's life and before taking this step, it is necessary to evaluate all the news. Whether it is true or false. Let the above be a lesson for everyone. And let everyone see how enemies disguise their intrigues as friends.¹¹⁸

In an article in which they praise the government's land reform initiative, they mention that landless peasants will become landowners and continue their article as one more reason to get rid of the disease of "migration."¹¹⁹ In another news article, it is stated that the Austro-Hungarian authorities are establishing new settlements, there will be mosques in these settlements and life will be more modern. He gives the example of Prnjavor and claims that if there were no such settlements, all Bosnian Muslims would migrate to Asia.¹²⁰ In 1892, they began to publish news about the returnees in the district.¹²¹ In the December 3 issue of the same year, they published Benjamin Kallay's full speech to a delegation in Vienna. Kallay said the following about immigration:

Muslims in Bosnia are mostly descendants of noble families. They trust our administration very much. ...This year the most emigrants were leaving country through Belgrade to Turkey, and this news is true, but this year the most emigrants were from the cities on the Sava river. Since 1883, when we made the records, a total of 11,350 people have emigrated until this autumn... And there have been 643 people who have returned... Those who own more land do not emigrate and agitate so that it does not go to the poor, because they know how black and bitter life awaits them in Turkey. In fact, these migrants are aristocratic poor and their migration is not a problem for the state....¹²²

118 Bošnjak, 19.11.1891, Nr. 21, p. 1

119 Bošnjak, 17.12.1891, Nr. 25, p. 1

120 Bošnjak, 24.12.1891, Nr. 26, p. 2

121 Migrants returned to Visoko. Bošnjak, 01.09.1892, Nr.35, p. 3

122 Bošnjak, 03.12.1891, Nr. 23, p. 1-2.

In publications where there is full confidence in the government, they reminded that the government should be consulted in any problem: "Some people hide the reason for their emigration... Our government wants and strives for the good of everyone, so if we have a complaint, let us present it to the government. Every stone of our homeland was built with the blood of our ancestors. Let us protect our land and not migrate because of lies,"¹²³ they write.

In another article, he explains not to migrate with a hadith: "As for the emigrants, again we say that we should all strive for our homeland and if someone wants to emigrate, we should discourage him from doing so. If someone needs something or lacks something, we all help him because it was said in the past: Brothers build a palace together and sell the furniture separately. Let's forget everything and let's not give up on the words of our Prophet, who said that "to love the homeland is faith."¹²⁴

In 1907, a reader's letter to the *Ogledalo* newspaper wrote about the traumatization of Muslims who wanted to emigrate. He writes that many people from his village have emigrated and he continues to struggle for survival, "Most people would like to keep their grandfather's land, but if these people *-neuzu billah-* start emigrating, we will be forced to emigrate too, because we will be a minority among the *giaour*. The Aghas and Begs have said that if the land reform is not implemented in an orderly manner, they will migrate. When these cowards of ours say that, what will an ordinary person think other than let's migrate immediately? After the Begs migrate, what little land we have will be worth nothing and we won't even know who to sell it to."¹²⁵ Brko, who we think is the editor, responds as follows:

This is the thinking of a primitive Muslim. We put it letter by letter in the magazine, but unfortunately this story is true and in our opinion it is not only for Krajna but for the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

123 Bošnjak, 17.09.1891, Nr. 12, p. 1; Similar examples are as follows: Bošnjak, 05.05.1892, Nr. 18, p. 2; Bošnjak, 12.04.1894, Nr. 15, p. 1. For the news about the returnees by name, see: Bošnjak, 14.04.1892, Nr. 15, p. 2.

124 Bošnjak, 09.02.1893, Nr. 6, p. 1-2

125 Ogledalo, 23.08.1907, nr. 13, p. 5 (letter was written 18.08.1907)

Unfortunately, the voice of successful Muslims is not heard by most people in this situation. Those who want to emigrate hurt the economic situation the most, because they know that the economy is our most vulnerable point...We can immediately see how there is a relationship between hijra and cowardice. Some wimps lower morale even in the smallest war and don't know where to go. The former Krajnans did not think about hijra until they were dead...Even if we are incompetent for this struggle, we can be destroyed more easily in the expatriate. At least we recognize the situation here and have no knowledge of the situation there. Those who think that begging will be easier in expatriation are wrong. Begging is a disgrace everywhere.¹²⁶

In another reader's letter, he writes that the idea of emigrating if we cannot succeed in this land is one of the most harmful thoughts:

Nevertheless, some of us are thinking about emigration, and if we look around a little bit, we can see how pointless this emigration is. The reason for hijrah has always been because of wealth, and those who want to hijrah have to struggle with the economic situation today. They think that they can live more comfortably in the lands of foreigners. How wrong they are. They can see it in thousands of examples, thousands of people have experienced these disappointments. We should not leave Bosnia for many reasons. a) We will find culture in Asia Minor, and if we don't find it immediately, it will be brought immediately through reforms and the Baghdad railway station. b) If we migrate, the borders of Europe will extend to Asia Minor and the war against Islam will not remain in Europe but will move to Asia Minor. c) Such behavior is not in accordance with the Shari'ah.¹²⁷

126 Ibid.

127 Ogledalo, *A Friend*, 20.06.1907, nr. 5, p.5.

Finally, in 1911 and 1912, *Zeman* Newspaper published news about the provinces related to returnees. Compared to other newspapers, *Zeman* does not turn these into a propaganda tool, but since the years in which it was published coincided with the Balkan Wars, it partly carried the news of those who returned from their settlements and sometimes the news of return in other newspapers in its pages during the most intense period of return.¹²⁸

§ 5.8 A Tale of Two Empires: Migrant Ibrahim's *Layiha*

Geoffrey Wawro in his well-known book *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire* compares the “sick men” of the Balkans: Austria and Ottoman Empire.¹²⁹ “The Habsburgs and the Ottomans were engaged in a race to the bottom for the title of Europe’s Sick Man, the great power most likely to wither and die in everyone’s lifetime. Austria’s weakness emanated from its quarreling, disaffected nationalities. The name “Austria” connoted Germanic uniformity, but the sprawling empire was far more than its German-speaking core around Vienna, Graz, Salzburg, and Innsbruck.”¹³⁰ Wawro’s analogy is fitting as the advent of nationalist movements that undermined their political cohesiveness and geographical integrity caused existential crises for both empires during the long nineteenth century. Austria-Hungary battled to contain the centrifugal forces of nationalism inside its own borders, especially among its Slavic, Hungarian, and other non-German people, while the Ottoman Empire battled the loss of its Balkan territories to newly independent nation-states including Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. These concurrent reductions challenged the legitimacy of multiethnic empires by reflecting the larger European trend of nation-state creation, which was not only accidental. For Austria-Hungary, the conflict between its German-speaking elite and its other nationalities

128 Zeman, 14.09.1911, p.1; Zeman, 30.09.1911, p.4; Zeman, 24.10.1911, p.4; Zeman, 04.11.1911, p.2; Zeman, 10.02.1902, p.2; 23.03.1912, p.3; Zeman, 21.09.1912, p.3

129 Geoffrey Wawro, *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

130 Ibid., 15.

became a defining aspect of its internal politics, which finally helped the country to fall following World War I. As a "sick man," Austria-Hungary reflects not only its internal fragility but also its incapacity to change with the political terrain of nineteenth-century Europe, where the imperial model of government was progressively subordinated to ideas of national self-determination and ethnic homogeneity. Often referred to as the "sick man of Europe", the Ottoman Empire struggled as it lost control of its Balkan lands to nationalist upheavals and outside interventions. There is much to compare when it comes to "sicknesses" of these two former multi-ethnic empires in the dawn of nation state building.

This comparison of the multi-ethnic, strong powers of the Balkans was written in twenty first century, as late as nineteenth century an immigrant from Sarajevo, Ibrahim wrote a *layiha* (petition/pleading/report).¹³¹ in 1894 which he compared the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary Empire in terms of institutions especially military since both empires rule in Balkans and compose of multi-ethnic populations. In the middle of the 19th century, it was commonly agreed that a nation's internal cohesiveness and unity were absolutely essential for reaching and maintaining the state of a major European power. By the last third of the nineteenth century, the Habsburg Empire underlined its remarkable ability to create a coherent and successful unity among the cultural variety of its population. In line with this background, as discussed by Mehmet Hacisalihoglu, the army's function as a "civilizing" agent was especially important. Napoleonic forces from 1792 to 1815, as well as the successes of the German and Italian armies between 1859 and 1871, act as evidence to show the importance of the army in civilizing. The Ottoman Empire was at greater risk of falling apart than the British Empire, Tsarist Russia, or the Habsburg Monarchy. As a diverse state with many ethnic and religious groups, it struggled on two fronts—trying to suppress nationalist uprisings from within while also facing stronger military rivals like Russia. Over the "long" 19th century, Ottoman reform efforts revolved mostly around these difficulties. Like its continental contemporaries, the

131 BOA, DH.MHC, 13/34 (15.02.1894)

empire turned into a “nationalizing” empire by adopting policies inspired by European country-states in its struggle for existence.¹³² The nationalism movements and Ottomans losing territory in the Balkans were in the center of discussions related to army and security. Ibrahim’s advice on a strong multi ethnic nationalist empire is the reform the army. He mentions in *lahi-ya* that although Austrian state is made up of different ethnic groups, they are managed to be ruled by the German element, the smallest unit. “Although the various tribes that make up the mentioned state have attempted to break free from its rule, they have not succeeded. The reason is that Austria recruits soldiers from among these very tribes. Whichever tribe it suspects of harboring hostility, it drafts proportionally more of them into the military, assigning them especially to artillery, engineering, bridge-building, and naval units. By doing so, Austria prevents them from growing in numbers through reproduction and from becoming wealthy through trade, thus weakening and impoverishing them. Meanwhile, those who remain loyal to Austria are elevated and honored, allowing the government to maintain control effectively.”¹³³

132 Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, “Inclusion and Exclusion: Conscription in the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift Für Moderne Europäische Geschichte / Revue d’histoire Européenne Contemporaine* 5, no. 2 (2007): 264.

133 *Ma ‘lûm olduğu üzere Avusturya devletini teşkil eden yedi sekiz türlü kavimlerden en azı millet-i hâkimesi olan Alman ‘unsurudur. Böyle az bir ‘unsur ile yani dört beş milyon Alman ile kâffe-i âkvâmı taht-ı itâ‘ate ve inkıyâda [boyun eğme] alınması ve Petro’nun vasiyeti ve planı iktizâsından [ihtiyaç] olan cenubî [güney] ıslav ____ ve Rus ____ İmparatorundan cenubî ıslavlara imparator veya kral ____ tedabirini [tedbirler] Avusturya imparatoru kendi üzerine çevirmek derecesine getürmesi yani bir gün Ferhat-yâb olarak ____ Karadağı istilâ ederse cenûbî Slavların imparatoru kendisi olduğunu i‘lân ve Rusya’nın bunca mesâ‘î ve fedâkârlığı boşa çıkaracağı kullandığı tedâbîr-i siyâsiye ve idâre eylediği umûr-i dâhiliyenin [iç işleri] revîş-i [tarz] hâminden istidlâl [delil ile anlama] olunmaktadır. Devlet-i müşarîûn-ileyhayı tereküb [meydana gelen] eden âkvâmın cümlesi taht-ı ra‘iyetden çıkmağa her ne kadar çalışmışlar ise de muvaffak olamamışlardır. Sebebi ise cümlesinden silâh alub hangi kavim kendisine ‘adâvet [düşmanlık] düşünüyor ise bi’n-nisbeten onlardan daha ziyade efrâd ‘askere alarak topçu ve istihkâm ve köprücü ve bahriye alayları en ziyade bunlardan teşkil ederek tenâsül [üreme] ile teksirlerine ve ticâret ile zenginlenmelerine sekte-i irâs ile ‘unsurlarının tednîsine [kirlenme] ve fakir hale düşür edilmesine ve bu kavimlerden kendisine*

The Austro-Hungarian Empire which, different than Ottoman Empire pursued a policy of Germanization where the goal was to promote German language as unifying element. Where at the same time the Ottoman Empire was struggling with the decline of *Millet* system. Beginning in 1839, the Ottoman Empire launched the *Tanzimat* reforms, a series of modernization efforts aimed at centralizing authority, improving governance, and promoting equality among its subjects. While both empires were multi-ethnic and faced similar challenges of nationalism and modernization, their approaches differed significantly. Austria-Hungary pursued a strategy of cultural unification through Germanization and military integration, whereas the Ottoman Empire struggled to reconcile its religiously based *millet system* with the demands of a modern, centralized state. As quoted in Judson, “In an 1895 interview with a British newspaper, Benjamin von Kállay (1839–1903), Austro-Hungarian minister of finance and administrator of Bosnia- Herzegovina, characterized his imperial mission there in the following words: ‘to retain the ancient traditions of the land vivified and purified by modern ideas. ‘Austria,’ he added, was a great Occidental Empire, charged with the mission of carrying civilization to Oriental peoples.’”¹³⁴ Austro-Hungarian Empire, the new sick men of Europe, also had another big mission of enlightening and civilizing the Balkans in line with accommodating its own borders as unified as possible with a unified language. Austria-Hungary became a colonial power by occupying a piece of Ottoman territory

Ibrahim¹³⁵ provides recommendations on various topics in his report. From his writings, it is clear that he was asked to monitor the developments

sadâkat edenlerini mümtaz ve ser-firâz [yükselten] ederek ahaliyi bunlarla gereği gibi zabt ve idâre eylemekdedir ve bizim eski derebeyliklerin mânendi [benzer] olan ban/yan (dukalık) prensleri ve zâdegânî sipâhî mânendi olan husar alaylarının zâbitânî ve imparatorun yâverleri ve vilâyet muhâfızları oldukları ve bu gibilerin kızları saray-i imparatorîde terbiye görüb zâdegân sınıfa tezvîc ile çırağ çıkarılmaktadır

134 Cited in Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 307.

135 Although there is not much detailed information about the *layiha* or Ibrahim. Ibrahim seems to have experienced emigration and return and to have spent long periods of time in both empires. There is also no information on whether someone from the Ottoman Empire

in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the greatest power of the time and the new owner of some of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans, and to report on the actions of Austria. He starts his report with tribes and Germanization where he gives information about the ethnic make up the Austrian state and how it managed to Germanize the minorities. Ibrahim's section on local governments invests the responsibilities and handling of the public services including the tax collecting. Following that Ibrahim goes with a longer section on taxes on how they are collected and what kind of challenges they face while collecting. Similarly striking, he writes in length about forests, agriculture, land reform, taxation, agricultural techniques, and industry; the importance given to these sections clearly demonstrates the Ottoman Empire's reform agenda. The part where he writes on agriculture and land reform gives information on how they managed to boost their production. As the main focus was given on the military reforms, even when Ibrahim reports on livestock and animal breeding, he describes how to use it for military needs.

With regard to forests, the focus shifts to the management and control of forest resources to ensure sustainability and suitable use. More broadly, land, taxation, topography, agriculture and land reform examines land surveys, agricultural techniques and improvements designed to improve land allocation and production. Industry highlights the state's initiatives to boost home production and compete internationally; livestock focuses on animal breeding and management, particularly for military needs. "...By breeding with such stallions, the foals born from the mares are examined by a veterinarian at the end of the year. If the foal is of good quality, the owner is awarded a bonus of three hundred groschen, and the foal is registered for the Austrian cavalry and artillery. The owner is not permitted to sell the foal to anyone. Once the foal reaches three years of age, it is examined again. If it has no defects or issues, the owner is paid one thousand five hundred groschen. Military officers then take the foal and bring it to the regiment."¹³⁶ Ibrahim

requested the report, but such a detailed report does not seem to have been written out of personal curiosity.

136 *böyle aygırlara çektirmekle tay doğuran kısırakların tayları sene hitamında baytara muayene ettirilip tayı güzel olan sahiplerine üç yüz gurus ikramiye verilir ve o tay Avusturya süvarisi ve*

in his report also makes some recommendations on how to improve. According to his report one of the biggest problems of Ottoman state, is the fact that only Muslims are recruited for the military. "Our state orders only Muslim military duty. So, non-Muslim students attend national schools until age 12 and then further education, industrial, and commercial schools to learn trade and sciences beneficial to their religion and country. Later, they trade and industry, monopolizing sectors and humiliating Muslims by taking their property. This is also stated by the Treasury. Military deployment disrupts traders and businesspeople, who lose capital or sell their homes."¹³⁷ In his report, when Ibrahim mentions the possible reforms and how to improve Ottoman state institutions, he mentions "If an attempt is made to recruit non-Muslims into military service, will rebellion or sedition arise or not? This is a matter for consideration. However, if proper measures are taken, nothing will happen. Furthermore, as Cevdet Pasha did in Bosnia, if wealthy individuals enlist their sons into military service, they should be granted direct officer commissions. Alternatively, those who do not wish to send their sons should be able to pay five hundred lira to be exempt from military service. Meanwhile, the poor should be required to serve actively for a short period, namely one and a half years, after which the service duration could be extended as necessary."¹³⁸ The fact that he was mentioning Cevdet Pasha

topçusu için kay edilüp sahibisi kimseye satmaya mezun değildir. Tay üç yaşını tekmil ettiği gibi tekrar muayene olunur. Bir özü ve kusuru yok ise bin beşyüz gurusu sahibine tediye olunur. Tayı asker zabıtları alıp alaya götürülür.

- 137 *Avusturya devletinin tuttuğu mesleği ve usulü idareyi devlet-i aliyye yapsa iyi mi fena mı olur. Kaffe-i mizan tedkik ve tahkike koymak lazımdır. Devletimiz hidmet-i askeriye yalnız unsur-ı islam üzerine tahmil ve tebay-ı gayri müslime ... yerli olan otuz gurusu virmekle bargıran altına girmekteler ve vareste oluyorlar da çocukları 12 yaşına kadar milli mekteplerine ve daha büyükler mekatip-i aliye ile sanayi-i ve ticaret mekteplerine devam ile ticaretine sanaatine ...*
- 138 *gayri müslimden asker almaya teşebbüs olunursa ihtilal veya fesat zuhur eder mi etmez mi. Burası cayı mülahasadır denilirse hüsn-i tedbir olursa hiçbir şey olamaz. Yine kim Cevdet Paşa Hazretleri Bosna'da yaptığı gibi zenginler evladını askere yazdığında yekten mülazımlık virilürse veyahut evladını virmek istemeyenler beşyüz lira virüp ... hidmet-i askeriye muaf tutulmak ve fukaralar bilfiil hidmet etmeye mükellef kılınıp kısa bir müddetle yani bir buçuk sene müddetle muazzaflık hidmetini takrir ve ... tertibe girdikten sonra müddetin tezyidi kabildir.*

was not a coincidence. Following the significant turmoil between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects in Bosnia, the Sublime Porte faced difficulties and was not able to restore peace and security. When the uprisings started again in 1862, Cevdet Pasha was sent to Bosnia to investigate and suggest recommendations for the land and taxation particularly army. There, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha consulted with the prominent figures of the province, exchanged ideas, and established a military school in Sarajevo. Cevdet Pasha conducted a general assessment of the Bosnians on how to recruit them to the military. Also, he mobilized religious leaders to encourage the Bosnians to join the army. Plans for the assembly of units started when an imperial decree finalized the establishment of a local garrison force in Bosnia. This service gave Cevdet Pasha the *Nişan Medal*—a prize never before bestowed upon an intellectual class member.¹³⁹

Ibrahim's report offers a detailed view into the Ottoman Empire's attempt to modernize and adapt in a time of nationalism and the birth of nation-states. His analysis of Austria-Hungary's administrative policies and military emphasizes Ottomans need urgent reforms. Him being from Bosnia, makes him a good candidate to analyze. Although both the Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman empires were multiethnic and had comparable issues, Austria-Hungary's method of Germanization and rigorous military integration set it apart from the declining millet system of the Ottoman Empire and the difficulty of preserving centralized power. Ibrahim's focus on military conscription as a tool for integration and control reflects the difficulties of running different populations under both empires. He criticizes the Ottoman military system, which left non-Muslim subjects free to concentrate on trade, industry, and education, therefore generating economic and social inequalities by burdening conscription just on Muslims. Inspired by Austrian norms, his suggestion to change the military organization reflects a more general Ottoman concern for state cohesiveness and survival during nationalist unrest.

139 Çağatay Ceylan, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Yönetim Anlayışı" (MA Thesis, Sakarya, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2019), 101–5.

Unlike Austria-Hungary, which tried to establish some unity by military service and language, the Ottoman Empire battled to fit its old systems with the demands of contemporary statehood. Ibrahim's observations, especially his analysis of taxes, land reforms, and government, highlight even more the Empire's pressing need for structural changes to preserve its territory integrity and sociopolitical stability. Ibrahim's *layiha* reflects a more general Ottoman knowledge of Austria-Hungary as a model for Balkan state-building. His report is interesting to study in terms of how nationalism, modernization and military reform were observed *visa vis* Austria-Hungary's success and Ottoman Empire's reason to lose its power.

§ 5.9 Conclusion

Bosnian Muslims' migration and return in the late 19th and early 20th centuries capture a complicated interaction of socioeconomic, political, and cultural changes that reshaped the region. The primary motivation being mostly the political changes, economic challenges, and hope for a better life in the Ottoman Empire, many set off on uncertain trip. But as the petitions examined in this study reveal, the reality of Ottoman life sharply differs from the hopes many immigrants carried. The idealization of the Sultan and the vision of the Ottoman Empire as a great power had faded; the old empire no longer existed, nor did the Sultan of the past. They faced terrible living circumstances, social marginalization, and bureaucratic challenges that finally drove many to go back to Bosnia instead of economic growth, land ownership, and religious security.

One of the findings of this chapter is that, return migration of the Bosnian Muslims under Austro-Hungarian rule was a part of a broader historical and political pattern. The Austro-Hungarian government's marginalization of the small Muslim craftsmen and farmers was one the main reasons for the immigration. And the hope and belief the great power, Ottoman Empire to provide opportunities and wealth as well as land and agriculture opportunities in a land where they can freely practice their faith became an illusion. Instead, the majority of migrants found themselves in isolated, infertile lands with limited resources, facing extreme weather conditions that were unfavourable.

miliar and difficult to endure. The study of the petitions, as a great source of social and economic history, gives first hand testimonies of these migrants who suffered of climatic differences, social marginalization, economic distress.

Apart from the economic struggles, cultural and religious identity played a significant role both in migration and return migration. The Muslims of Bosna, who had lived under the Islamic state for centuries, initially perceived the Christian Austro-Hungarian rule as a threat to their religious identity and lifestyles. The myth of the Sultan as the father of all Muslims did not prove to be true. Their arrival in the Ottoman Empire did not bring the expected sense of belonging. Instead of feeling belonging and welcome, their language barriers, cultural differences, and a lack non non-existent policies made them feel alienated. The Ottoman state, which was also going through a lot of political and economic unrest and more focused on its own integral struggles, was unable to provide the migrants with the necessary material and emotional support. That led them to widespread disillusionment. The petitions studied here display a repetitive theme of the disappointment of being treated as outsiders and not being able to get a place as a Muslim in a Muslim-dominated society.

Moreover, this study demonstrates how manipulation, social pressure and dissemination of misinformation shaped the migration decisions. The letters from the migrants who went earlier, and the very exaggerated promises of Ottoman support were the leading reasons for many Bosnians to sell their belongings just to embark on an unknown journey with unrealistic expectations. It was only upon arrival that they have discovered, they were not going to be placed in Istanbul, Rumeli the arable lands but the land distribution policies were unplanned and inconsistent and the financial aid was either insufficient or non-existent. Furthermore, both before and during the journey the bureaucratic challenges they have face in Austro Hungarian Bosnia and Ottoman empire further complicated their processes and gave them a feeling of stuck in between two empires that neither fully supported them.

The petitions studied in this chapter serve as a very important historical source; like the other petitions in the Ottoman and Bosnian archives, they

offer a "history from below" perspective on migration with a first-hand testimony, and they give an idea of the dominant narratives that led population movements. These accounts offer a detailed view of the difficulties faced by normal, ordinary people who were supposed to navigate through different political powers, economic instability, and especially shifting borders of the empires. Being more than just administrative records, the petitions represent the voices of struggles and give clear data on the hardship of migration.

In summary, it may be argued that the return migration of the Bosnian Muslims generally highlights the complexity of historical migration and also the results of political changes. Apart from reflecting the larger socio-economic changes of the Balkans, the particular stories of these refugees offer insightful analyses of the human expenses of migration. The stories of the people whose names were written down on these pages serve as a reminder of the need to closely examine historical migration experiences and policies. By highlighting the personal struggles and reality faced, this chapter touches upon migration, identity, and resilience during a time of political transformation.

Conclusion

Academic research on migration is most commonly dominated by theories that are state-centered, which portray migrants as passive objects devoid of agency, and their representations were shaped by national and imperial policies. This thesis, focusing on the agency of Bosnian Muslim migrants and return migrants, aims to challenge this old paradigm. This study represents the migrants as active players who had agency in between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, not solely as objects of imperial control power. To present this alternative historiographical framework, this study analyzes migration as a circular processual phenomenon rather than a linear one. By using various sources and methods such as GIS approaches, evaluating petitions, archive records and spatial data, this work aims to contribute to migration. It aims to identify patterns of “return” among individuals with specific identities, names, regions, and attitudes, rather than treating migration as a phenomenon driven solely by faceless masses. The main motivation behind this approach is to understand how individual stories and their connections to migration—a complex issue laden with political, social, economic, and cultural dimensions—can reshape states and structures through a process of negotiation. Moreover, it highlights how these technologies of subjectivity serve as crucial forces in constructing, influencing, and designing overarching categories such as identity and class, including even fundamental class distinctions

This study aims to present how imperial government migrants mediated religious, national, and political identities during an era of changing allegiances and disputed sovereignty. In the case of Bosnian Muslim migrants, the return phenomenon was not simply an anomaly but a fundamental characteristic of late 19th and early 20th-century migration patterns, revealing the ways in which migrants operated within and against imperial frameworks.¹ Moreover, this work aims to emphasize how the approaches of knowledge production are a part of general European imperial systems. Transcending the constraints of the traditional migrational literature by taking migration dialectically vis-a-vis to imperial nationalism, this work provides multidimensional interpretations. Therefore, the inclusion of new theoretical frameworks and conceptual models will deepen academic knowledge production of migration and imperial dynamics. However, if the introduction of new theoretical frameworks and explanatory models is essential in research, then the dialectical analysis of migratory literature and imperial nationalism offered in this study exemplifies both the advantages and difficulties of this methodology.

A lens through which the migration dynamics both within and between the empires should be read is imperial nationalism. Scholars like Anderson² and Burbank & Cooper³ underline how empires themselves searched for nationalist policies aiming to strengthen their power and provide loyalty among their multi ethnic populations. Nationalist policies going hand in hand with imperial ideals oppose the idea that nationalism is a concept that is against the empire and that it leads to the collapse of multi ethnic empires. National imperial policies in Bosnia were visible in legal, administrative, and ideological policies that aimed at incorporating Bosnian Muslims into the

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- 1 Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas, Global Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium, Comparative and International Working-Class History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
 - 2 Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1991).
 - 3 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2010).

fabric of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, hence regulating their movement. This study includes emigration and return under the context of imperial nationalism, therefore transcending the constraints of the well-known migration literature. It offers so more general, diversified perspective. The dialectical approach to examining migration and imperial nationalism highlights the difficulties and possibilities of including fresh theoretical frameworks and shows the complexity of these processes. This approach emphasizes the interaction among governance, loyalty, and migration in disputed imperial environments and deepens our knowledge of how empires handled mobility and identity.

One of the major conclusions of this thesis is that the Austro-Hungarian Empire followed such strategies that aim at redefining the social position of Bosnian Muslims into an imperial national framework despite its multi ethnic rule. Rather than outright exclusion, the empire employed conditional inclusion, offering political and financial rewards in return for Habsburg-oriented support. Particularly in line with Ottoman pan-Islamic mobilization, there was a strategic reaction to the difficulties of running a newly acquired area with a considerably large Muslim population.⁴ Through the use of demographic policies, land distribution, and religious administration, the Austria-Hungary government aimed to include Bosnian Muslims within its imperial framework while stifling nationalist emotions capable of undermining its authority. Furthermore, the economic relations and trade networks should also be examined to understand the policies of how to integrate. The continuation of cross-border trade networks exposed economic structures that went beyond imperial bounds. These economic trends highlight the physical bases of imperial nationalism and how it affected population movements. These revelations taken together help us to better appreciate how imperial nationalism influenced social cohesiveness, migration, and government in Bosnia during this era. The great attention paid by eminent

4 Gerald Stourzh, *From Vienna to Chicago and Back: Essays on Intellectual History and Political Thought in Europe and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

historian Eric Hobsbawm on class relations in historical analysis has been welcomed as a framework that improves the grasp of the several aspects of this study. Although a thorough class study is not done, the class elements of imperial competitiveness are underlined. The continuation of cross-border trade networks reveals socio-economic systems that transcend imperial borders and mapping to capital networks. These economic trends highlight the fundamental foundations of imperial nationalism as well as how it affected population changes. Usually preserving property and family ties in both empires, returnees created what transimperial social spaces.⁵

The Ottoman Empire, grappling with its own imperial crisis, developed a form of unique imperial nationalism that sought to integrate Bosnian Muslim migrants into a broader Ottoman-Islamic identity. Initially, the migration of Bosnian Muslims to Ottoman lands was discouraged but was later facilitated as part of a strategic demographic policy designed to counter Christian majority populations in key provinces.⁶ This approach was not merely a reaction to territorial losses but a deliberate effort to reconstitute imperial sovereignty through population management. Bosnian Muslims returning to Austro-Hungarian Bosnia further complicated this dynamic by highlighting the constraints that both empires experienced in regulating the mobility and allegiances of their Muslim citizens. Though both empires had ideological aspirations, migrants often opposed, negotiated, and moved across these imperial agendas, therefore claiming their agency in forming nationalistic discourses and migratory policies.⁷

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- 5 Hannes Grandits, *Herrschaft und Loyalität in der spätoomanischen Gesellschaft: das Beispiel der multikonfessionellen Herzegowina*, *Zur Kunde Südosteuropas* 2 37 (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2008).
 - 6 Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Selim Deringil, “‘They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery’: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (2003): 311–42.
 - 7 Philipp Ther, *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe*, trans. Charlotte Kreutzmüller, First paperback edition, *War and Genocide* 19 (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2016).

Empires from the Margins: Bosnian Muslim Migrants between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, 1878-1918 took a period in focus where Austro-Hungarian Empire's de facto occupation Bosnia following the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, examined the migration and settlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims, emphasizing how these movements functioned as a form of mobilization within imperial socio-political policies. While migration to the Ottoman Empire involved a double-way movement, many Bosnian Muslims eventually returning to Austro-Hungarian Bosnia added a "circular" perspective, and it offers a valuable subject-centered approach to understanding these dynamics. By framing Bosnian Muslim migration within the broader concept of imperial nationalism, this study contributed to scholarship that reassesses the nature of empire in the modern era. Although politically very different from each other, both the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires sought to nationalize their imperial subjects while simultaneously maintaining their multiethnic and multireligious foundations. These contradictory impulses such as centralization versus pluralism and inclusion versus exclusion underscore the tensions of imperial nationalism and illuminate the complexities of governing diverse populations in the modern age.⁸ This study reveals that migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was not merely a reaction to economic or political pressures but an integral practice within the socio-political structure of the empires. The largely overlooked phenomenon of return migration underscores the persistence of trans-imperial identities that challenge rigid notions of nationality and belonging. Bosnian Muslim returnees navigated intricate legal and political landscapes, leveraging their status as former Ottoman subjects to assert rights and privileges within the Austro-Hungarian legal system. These dynamic highlights the shortcomings of national historiographies that depict migration as a singular event culminating in either assimilation or exclusion. Instead, this thesis argues that migration should be understood as an ongoing negotiation of identity, belonging, and political agency—one that

8 Aristide R. Zolberg, "The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467 (1983): 24–38.

continued to shape both imperial and post-imperial societies well into the 20th century.⁹

A key contribution of this thesis lies in its methodological innovation, particularly its use of GIS technologies to map migration trajectories and spatial patterns of settlement and return. By integrating quantitative data with qualitative archival sources, this study illustrates that migration is best understood as a dynamic process shaped by both imperial structures and individual agency. Apart from that, the personal stories deduced from the petitions analyzed in this research provide critical evidence of how migrants actively negotiated their legal and social statuses within the two empires, challenging the notion that migration was solely dictated by top-down policies. The analysis of petitions sheds light on personal levels of migration that are usually neglected in the historical studies of migration. These documents reveal that migrants were neither passive recipients of state policies nor mere victims of displacement; rather, they were active historical agents who sought to influence their circumstances, seek redress, and assert their rights within imperial legal frameworks.

Ultimately, this study answered three important historiographical concerns and presented a complex picture of Bosnian Muslim migration subverting accepted narratives. First, it showed this migration as a circular, ongoing process across the limits and lifespans of empires rather than as a one-way flow. It underlined the constant character of return as a defining element of migration by using the subject-centered approach where agency was given importance, therefore redefining the temporal and spatial aspects of this very crucial historical phenomena. Second, this research deviated from migration stories showing the process as a unilateral or imperial-driven one. Rather, it focused on Bosnian Muslim migration and return migration within a larger complex sociopolitical and historical process that intertwined Ottoman and Austria Hungarian Empires. This study revealed how the agency and bargaining of migrant groups themselves affected migratory patterns not just by coercive and facilitating elements but also by the changing political and

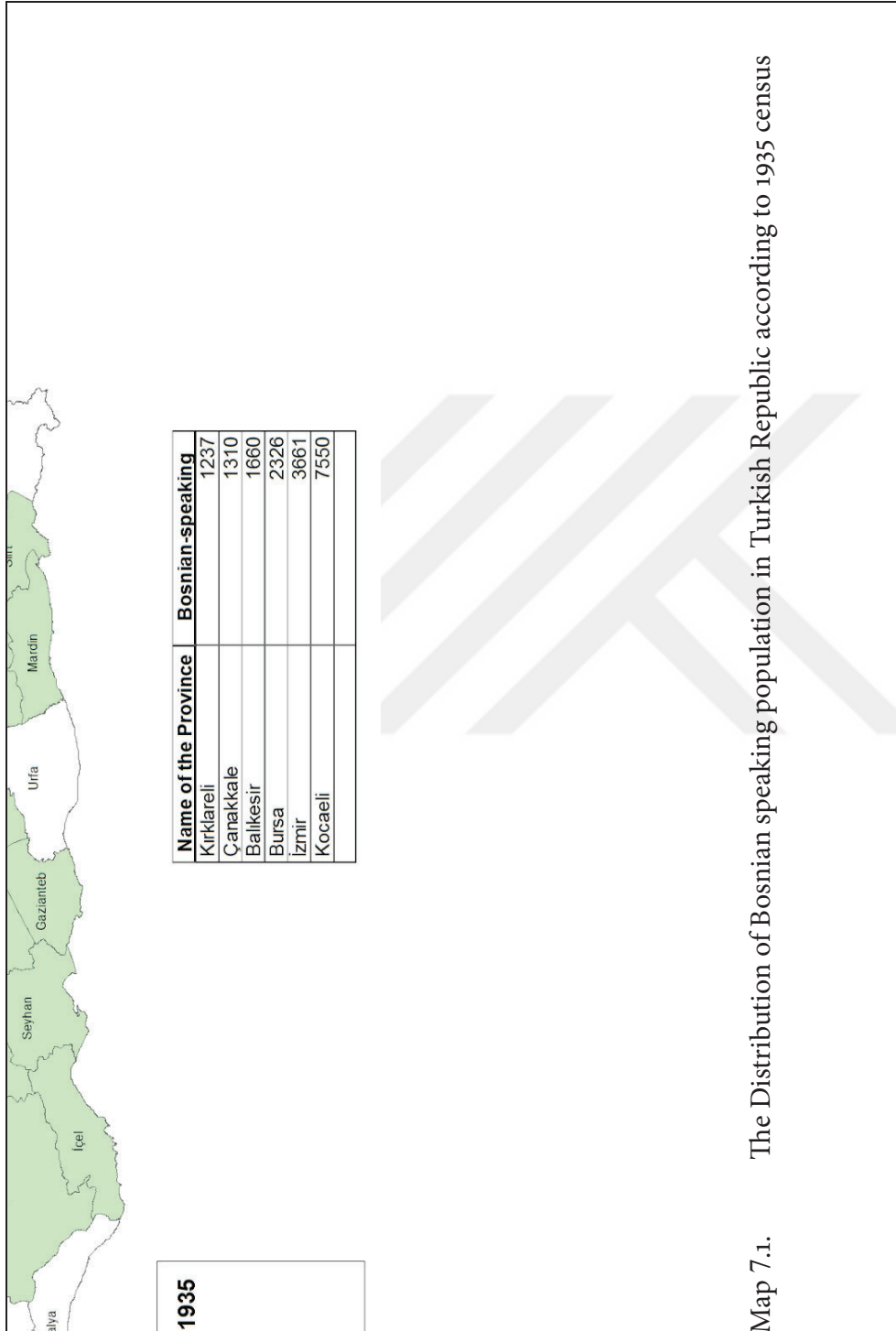
9 Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

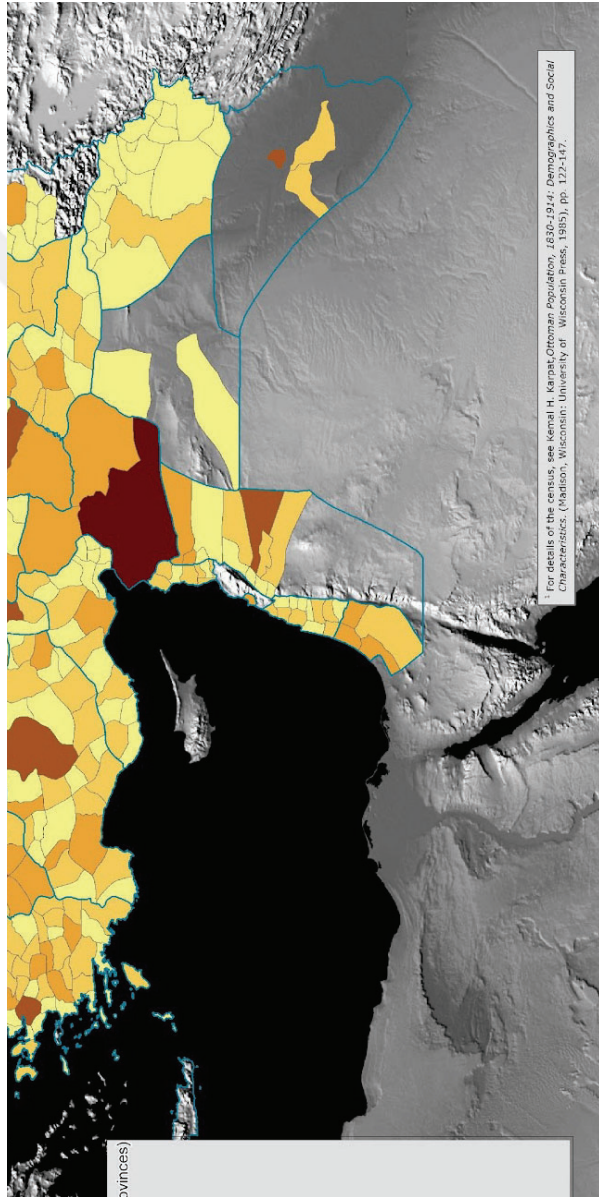
ideological views of imperial authority. This twin concentration on imperial structures and migrant subjectivity offered a more all-encompassing framework for grasping the complexity of migration.

In order to examine qualitative archive materials, including migrant petitions, this study finally used creative approaches, including the comparative quantification of datasets and geographic information systems (GIS). The thesis also clarified limits of Bosnian migration by combining geography with its portrayal by both immigrants and imperial officials. Moreover, it suggested fresh analytical questions outside of domestically focused models and supported a transnational approach to migration history. At its core, this study is based on the foundational principle of revealing migrant subjectivity and offering a fresh perspective on the lived experiences of immigrants and their interactions with imperial authorities.

In its simplest form this research is motivated by the aim of revealing migrant subjectivity and providing a better knowledge of the actual experiences of immigrants and their contacts with imperial authority. Beyond reevaluating the historical course of Bosnian Muslim migration, it also adds to more general methodological and theoretical discussions in transnational migration study. Through centering migrant voices and experiences, this work questions established historiographical paradigms and creates fresh paths for knowledge of the linked histories of empires and their subjects. With new digital humanities technologies helping to further enrich the discipline, this work hopes to inspire more sophisticated studies positioning migrants as active agents within larger imperial networks.

Appendix A Ottoman Administrative Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Maps Related to Demographics





Map 7.2 Distribution of Ottoman Population among Kazas/Sandjaks according to 1881/82 Official Yearbook



Map 7.3 Administrative map of Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1869/1870.
SOURCE: BOA, HRT.h 0723

Appendix B Road and Emigration Permits, Petitions

ARHIV BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE
SARAJEVO

FOND - ZBIRKA

DEHAGSICA VLADA ZABH

SARAJEVO

SIGNATURA

GODINA

SERIJA -
ORGANIZACIONA JEDINICA

BROJ KUTIJE
U FONDU

BROJ KUTIJE
U GODINI

38

GRANICNI BROJEVI SPISA

20-15

ISELAVANJE MUSLIM

BROJ SPISA U KUTIJI

U TURSKI

BROJ LISTA U KUTIJI

Figure 7.1 Sample Folder containing the documents for emigration.

1910 Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina. 20¹⁵
1085

Nr. 61.979 1910

1 - 3

Behörde: B.A. Banja Luka

St: ... 22.4.7. v. 22/3. 1910

Betreff: Nukic Salih Vorakten Nachakten 1910

Auswanderungs-
Zertifikat.

Nur El. 2247. v. 22/3. 1910 Datum der Erledigung: 4.4.1910

Sub P.Nr. 784 vorgemerkt

In Falle späterer Einbringung
des Repatriierungsgesuches wäre demselben
nach Antrag des Bezirksamtes. keine
... Folge. gegeben.
Bistesteller ist. Landmann
hat seine Realitäten verkauft
und besitzt ... 200 ... K an Reisegeld.

Expediert

Auswanderungs-Zertifikat für:

1. Nukic Salih 36 Jahre alt
2. Sohn Galkin Domba -
3. " Sohn Gjuro 3 -
4. " Tochter Katrin -
5. " Bruder Hro 22 -
6. Zbata Galkin ad 5 -
7. Umer Sohn ad 1.6 - 2 -
8. Zbata Mutter ad 1 -
9. -
10. -
11. -

3308

Figure 7.2 A page from emigration permission issued by Austro-Hungarian authorities to Salih Nukic, 1910

Transcription of Petition of Alija Grčić

ABiH, Zemaljska Vlada za BiH Sarajevo, š, 1902.

1. Alija Grčić

[„Ja sam pred dvie i pol godine preko Metkovića morem u Anadol u Tursku otišao bez da sam inozemnu putnicu posjedovao. Najprije sam došao u Ismir te sam tude samo dva dana ostao, te sam onda odputovao u Dargut i tamo sam tri mjeseca dana ostao. Radio niesam ništa, nego sam svoje gotove pare koje sam odavlen sa sobom ponio trošio, a potom sam otišao u Brusu. Tamo sam samo deset dana ostao. Iz Bruse sam u Inadjol odputovao gdje sam jedan mjesec dana ostao i tu sam kao težak na nadnicu radio. Iz Inadjola sam u Kamosul odputovao gdje sam 10 mjeseci ostao kod svoje tetične i tude sam se bavio kao nadničar, te sam bio namislio da se vratim mojoj kući u Hercegovinu, te doputovao sam u Carigrad te me je tamo turska policija uhvatila i s drugim izseljenicima Bosanskim bacila me u Anadol u Angoru gdje se naseljavaju izseljenici iz Bosne, te sam tamo 4 mjeseca ostao i kao nadničar se bavio. Opet sam se namislio povratiti u Hercegovinu te sam sve suhim putem preko planina i brda do Pljevlja došao, sve proseći, pošto nikakovi novaca imao niesam. U Pljevlju sam se razbolio i tamo sam kod handžije Hadži Saliha Manjge 2 mjeseca ostao, niesam ništa mogao raditi. Iz Pljevlja sam preko Metaljke u Čajnicu došao i u putu do Čajnica jest me oružnička patrola trefila i u Čajnicu kotarskom uredu predala gdje sam u zatvoru jednu noć prenočio te sam obveznu putnicu dobio i ovamo došao“.]

Figure 7.4
Petition of Ahmed Smrić SOURCE: ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902

Transcription of Petition of Ahmed Srnić

ABİH, Zemaljska Vlada za BİH Sarajevo, š, 1902.

2. Ahmed Srnić

[„Ja sam se na 28. februar o.g. zaputio u Pljevlje da tamo posjetim svog brata Mustafu Srnića koji je sluga kod jednog age u Mitrovici i koji u Pljevlje često sa kolima dolazi. Putnicu vadio nisam jer sam držao da ju dobiti neću pošto sam u godinah za stavnju. U Pljevlje putovao sam pješice sa troškom od 10 kruna preko Foče, Magjara i Bukovice i prispio tamo za 6 dana. U Pljevlju bio sam ja 4 dana i stanovao u Jaliji sokaku kod jednog handžije, gdje sam sa svojim bratom sastanak imao. U Pljevlju našao sam ja Avdiju Pašalića, te sam šnjime u Čajnicu pješce došao. U Čajnicu uhvatila su nas obojicu dva financialna stražara, a kotarski ured odpremio nas je u Sarajevo, gdje sam ja na 9 o.m. stigao, dočim sam Avdiju Pašalić na Meškinim njivama (kotar Sarajevo) ostavio“.]

Transcription of Petition of Hamid Čišić

ABiH, Zemaljska Vlada za BiH Sarajevo, š, 1902.

3. Hamid Čišić

[„Ja sam prije godinu dana otišao u Tursku bez putne izprave u društvu sa Salihom Džudžom koji izselio iz Mostara sa dozvolom visoke Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu. Ja sam istog samo hotio izpratiti do u Dubrovnik, kad sam došao s istim u Dubrovnik izpratio sam njega i njegovu obitelj do na parobrod gdje sam sa istima razgovarao. U tome dok sam s istima razgovarao izvadio je Džudža za mene kartu do u Carigrad bez da sam ja za to znao, a u tome je parobrod pošao. Ja sam upitao Džudžu šta je to kaže isti meni hajde ti sa mnom te ćeš uzput viditi amidžu Arifagu Čišića koji se nalazi u Inadjolu, te sam i na oto prisao, te samo putovali parobrodom do u Carigrad, uzdržavao me jest na putovanju Džudža. U Carigradu boravio sam 3 dana te sam odatle odputovao sa Džudžom do u Inidžol što kolima što željeznicom. U Inidžolu bio sam čitavo vrijeme kod svog amidže Arifage Čišića koji jest tamo trgovac i svoj posjednik. Iz Inidžola otišao sam prije 16 dana kolima do u Carigrad a iz Carigrada sa vaporom pravo do u Dubrovnik, a iz Dubrovnika željeznicom u Mostar. Putni trošak dao mi je moj amidža. Na mome putovanju nisam imao nikakovih zaprijeke. Ja niesam imao namjere otići bez putnice u Tursku već kako rekoh po nagovoru Džudže“.]



Figure 7.6 Ottoman Passport, 1902. SOURCE: ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902

Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina. 133

Nr. 10653 1890 Miterledigt

18901 I A Depart 1. Bur A

Gegenstand:

z. 966 Datum 16/1 1901

*Land von der Kreisbehörde Travnik
gekauft von Osman Boric -
Seličević
mit Vorkauf
Visum der Kreisbehörde
in ... 1901
Datum der Erledigung 1/1 1901*

Voract: Nachact: 453 26/101

Termin bis 189

pro domo
Im Falle der Abreise der
Regierung. Es ist zu veranlassen
den auf Erhebung der Angelegenheit
hinaus folgen zu lassen.
Befehl ist. Hodya
für seine Qualitäten bewiesen wurde
und befugt ... 1000 H. von Rief.
galt.

1) Videat: *Regierung - Visitation
wegen Abreise der Regierung
sub N. N. 5. J. ...
Sarajewo. 27/1 1901*

2) p. e. N. N. 5. J. ...
Sarajewo. 27/1 1901

3) p. e. stad. Departement ...
Sarajewo. 27/1 1901

Beischließen:

Zum Expedit gelangt am 189

Mundirt: 25/1

Collationirt: 26/1

Expedirt: 27/1

Zur Registratur gelangt am 27/1 1901

Stücke: 5

Figure 7.7 Emigration Application, 1901. SOURCE: ABH, ZVS, š, 70, 1901

16



Мошк урхтене бегеу Радивоу

Гдега мистау, мистау мистау мистау мистау

мена :

1. Лине, Сагаре, Корача I Дачавоне
2. Меро, Мамурдере, Ондито I Дачавоне
3. Меро, Камидеја, Корача I Дачавоне
4. Маре, Бисара, јуждито I Каме I Дачавоне
5. Меро, Османови, јуждито I Дачавоне,



да ми се рече отплатити јер ио зима, а оне у с нејаким грехом
и другим несплатити сега, доз и каков грехови, јер у не мушви,
као отплатити отплати, и несплатити.

Небога ова мена је брзо дуплати отплати.

+ . X . 1878

Меро

Figure 7.8 Emigration papers, 1878 SOURCE: HAS, Varia, 47, 1878

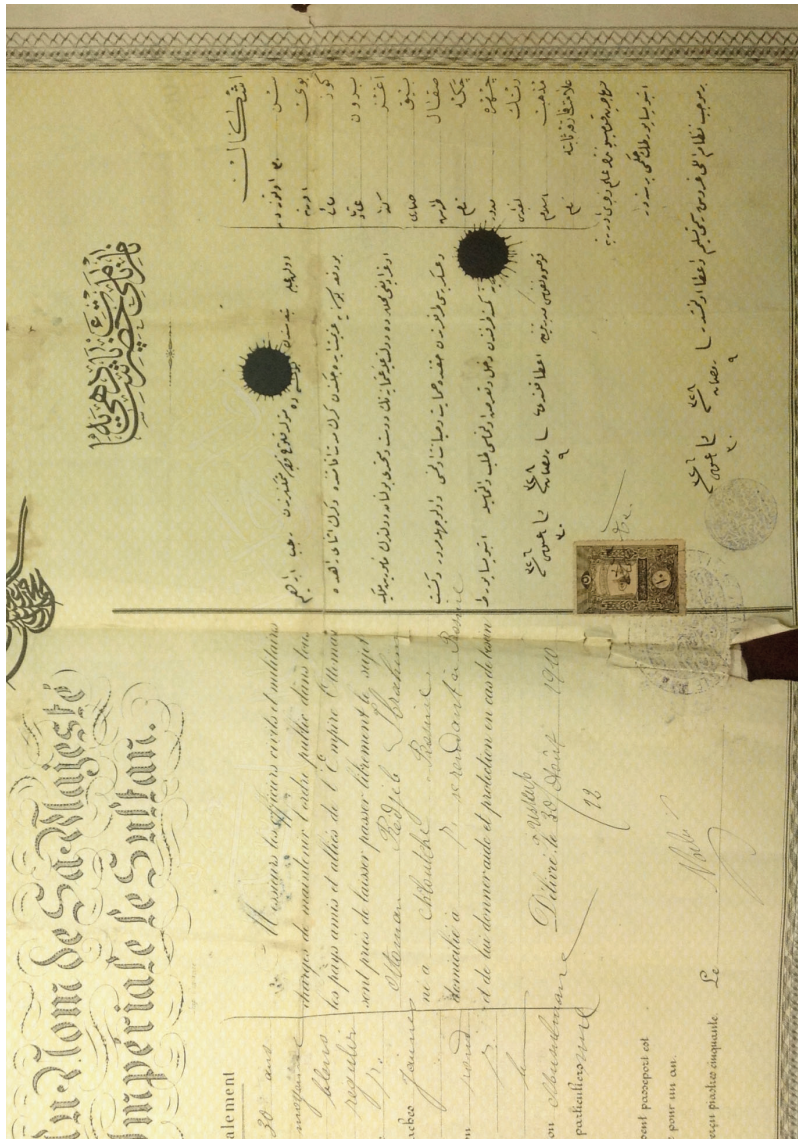


Figure 7.9 Ottoman travel permission paper, 1911. SOURCE: ABH, ZVS, ş, 104, 1911

Figure 7.10 Austro-Hungarian Passport, 1901 SOURCE: ABH, ZVS, š. 71, 1901

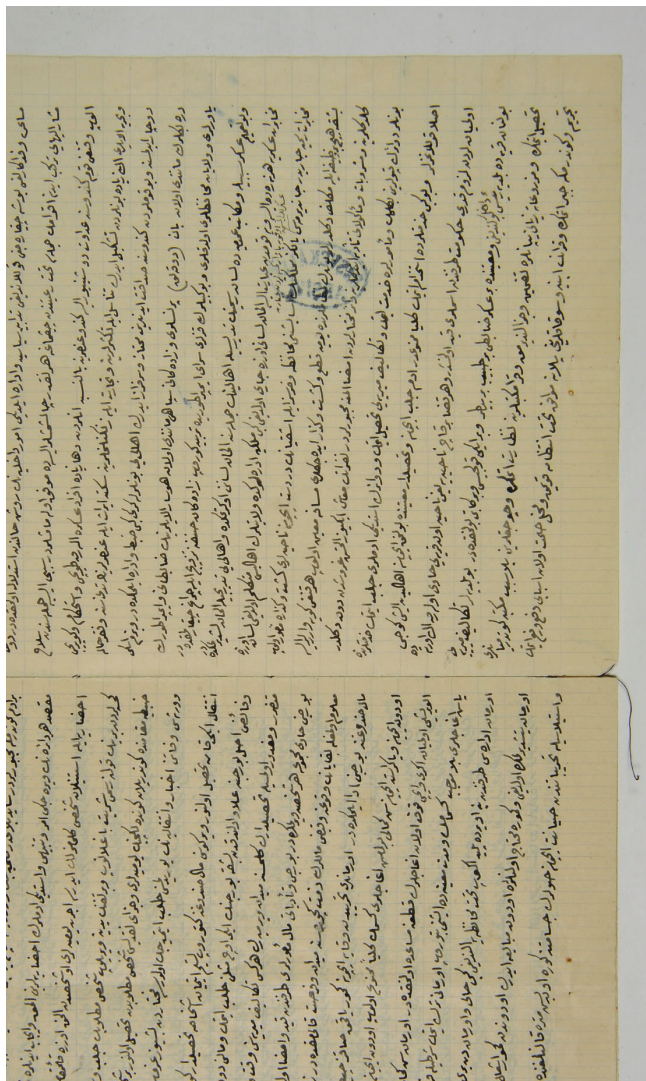


Figure 7.11 First Page of Ibrahim's layiha submitted to Muhacirin İdaresi

[Tribes and Germanization].¹

Ma'lûm olduđu üzere Avusturya devletini teşkil eden yedi sekiz türlü kavimlerden en azı millet-i hâkimesi olan Alman 'unsurudur. Böyle az bir 'unsur ile yani dört beş milyon Alman ile kâffe-i âkvâmı taht-ı itâ'ate ve inkıyâda [boyun eğme] alınması ve Petro'nun vasiyeti ve planı iktizâsından [ihtiyaç] olan cenubî [güney] ıslav ____ ve Rus ____ İmparatorundan cenubî ıslavlara imparator veya kral ____ tedabirini [tedbirler] Avusturya imparatoru kendi üzerine çevirmek derecesine getürmesi yani bir gün Ferhat-yâb olarak ____ Karadağı istilâ ederse cenûbî Slavların imparatoru kendisi olduğunu i'lân ve Rusya'nın bunca mesâ'î ve fedâkârlığı boşa çıkaracağı kullandığı tedâbir-i siyâsiye ve idâre eylediği umûr-i dâhiliyenin [iç işleri] revîş-i [tarz] hâlinen istidlâl [delil ile anlama] olunmaktadır. Devlet-i müşarû'n-ileyhayı terekküb [meydana gelen] eden âkvâmın cümlesi taht-ı ra'iyetden çıkmağa her ne kadar çalışmışlar ise de muvaffak olamamışlardır. Sebebi ise cümlesinden silâh alub hangi kavim kendisine 'adâvet [düşmanlık] düşünüyor ise bi'n-nisbeten onlardan daha ziyade efrâd 'askere alarak topçu ve istihkâm ve köprücü ve bahriye alayları en ziyade bunlardan teşkil ederek tenâsül [üreme] ile teksirlerine ve ticâret ile zenginlenmelerine sekte-i irâs ile 'unsurlarının tednîsine [kirletme] ve fakir hale düşür edilmesine ve bu kavimlerden kendisine sadâkat edenlerini mümtaz ve ser-firâz [yükselten] ederek ahaliyi bunlarla gereği gibi zabt ve idâre eylemekdedir ve bizim eski derebeyliklerin mânendi [benzer] olan ban/yan (dukalık) prensleri ve zâdegânî sipâhî mânendi olan husar alaylarının zâbitânı ve imparatorun yâverleri ve vilâyet muhafızları oldukları ve bu gibilerin kızları saray-i imparatorîde terbiye görüb zâdegân sınıfa tezvîc ile çırağ çıkarılmaktadır ve bu ____ 'askerîsiyle ve mekâtib-i 'umûmiyede lisân-ı resmînin tedrisiyle ahâlinin cümlesine Alman lisânını okutmakta ve ahâliyi tadrîcle [derece derece] Almanlaştırmaktadır. Muhâberân-ı 'askeriyân her nerede ise ve ne kavimden 'ibâret ise Alman lisânı üzere cârî olduđu gibi mülkiye idârelerinde

1 Italic titles in brackets added by me

vilâyetlerin ahâlisi mütekellim olduğu lisan üzere muhâberât-ı resmiye cârîdir.

[*Gendarmerie*]

Jandarması askerlik etmiş okur yazar kimselerden 'ibâret yalnız memleketin asayişini muhafaza ve hırsız ile eşkiyanın derdest için nâhiyeleri keş ü güzâra me'mur olub başka hiçbir vazife ile mükellef değildirler. Bunların nizâmlarında yevmiye kat' ve keş ü güzâr edecekleri mesâfe mu'ayyen olub her hangi köye varırlar ise geldiklerine ve meşrûbât ve me'kûlâtı te'diye ettiklerine dâ'ir muhtârlardan imza almaya mecburlardır. Neferâtın ma'âşı iki yüz altmış guruştan dûn değildir. Bunlar devâ'irin kapularını beklemek ve me'mûrlara hidmet etmek tekâlîf-i mîriyeyi tahsîl etmek ve devâ'irin istediği adamları celb etmek hizmetlerinde asla kullanmazlar. Ve bu gibi hizmetlerde istihdâm etmek külliye memnû'dur.

[*Municipalities*]

Adam celb için ve tahsîldâr ma'iyetinde bulunmak için ahâlden işi gücü olmayanlardan lüzum kadarı hükûmet tarafından isimleri kayd olunmuşdur veher kaza birkaç nâhiyeye yani nahiye on karyeyi hâvî olarak en ortada bulunan karye de Belediye re'isi dâ'imî bulunduğu ve ma'iyetinde bir 'asker zâbiti bir tabîb bir baytar ve bir katibi bulunmaktadır. Bu belediyeler tekâlîf-i mîriyeyi tahsîl etmekde ve mevrû'ata ___ yapanlara tazmîn ve cezalandırmak ve kurâ mekteblerine nezâret etmek ve çocuklarını bilâ-sebeb mektebe getirmeyenleri ___ göndermeye cebr etmekde ve kurânın ebniye ve sokaklarını plana muvafık taht-ı intizâma koymak ve mahal-i sıhhat olan esbâbı def' ve ref' etmek [2] sârî insân ve hayvân hastalıklarının sirâyetini men' etmek ve ___ vâzifeler ile mükellef olub belediyenin ve me'mûriyet-i samiyenin ve köy mektebler ile mu'allimlerin mesârif ve tahsîl-i tekâlîf için ihtiyâr olunan masraflar tekâlîf-i mîriye üzerine zammolunarak virgü ile birlikte tahsîl edilerek belediyeye irâd kaydolunarak istihdâm ettiği me'mûrların ve hademenin ma'âşâtı tesviye olunmaktadır. Gerek nâhiyelerin belediye re'isleri ve gerek karyelerin muhtârları her hafta tahsîs olunan günde mahallî hükûmetine ve kürsü-i kazaya gelmeye mecbur olub kendilerin gelmesine mâni' -i şer'isi zuhûr ederse kendi tarafından bir adam göndermeye mecburlardır. Şâyed bilâ-'övr gelmeyecek olurlar ise üç lira cezâ-yı nakdî vermeye mecburlardır. Bunların her hafta hükûmete gelmelerinden

maksad her dâ'irenin vereceği emr ve tenbihi ve istediği adamların ihzâriyelerini almak ve icâb edenlere tebliğ etmek içindir. Şâyed bunlara virilen ihzâriye ile istinlan şahış gelmemezlik eder ise ücret o şahısdan alınmak üzere ____ veya diğer re'isin kaydında mukayyed olan kimselerden birinin kavline resmî şerît bağlanıb bir tüfenk yedine verilüb şahs-ı matlûbun celb ve sevki için gönderilir. Ve şahs-ı matlûb getirildikten sonra zabtiye makamında götürülen ____ ve cezâ-yı nakdîsi şahs-ı matlûbdan tahsil olunur. Bir şahıs vefât ettikten sonra bir mah zarfında muhtâr ve veresesi vefâtını ihbâr ve intihâliyenin buyurulmasını talep etmeyecek olursa muhtârdan beşyüz guruş cezâ-yı nakdî alınır. Vereseden haricen intihâl iki kât tahsîl olunur.

[Taxation]

Virgüsünü mâl sandığına götürüb teslim etmeyen eşhasa tahsildâr gönderilerek mâlını hacz ile tahsildâriye mesârifi ve fa'iz-i ehl borcuna 'ilâve olunduktan başka borcunun iki üç mislini talep etmek ve mâlını dûn fiyat ile satmak mu'amelesiyle ahâlî mütezarrır ve mağdûr olmasıyla tahsildârın gelmesine meydân vermeyerek herkes tekâlîf-i mîriyesini vakt ve zaman ile mâl sandığına yatırub ve teslimâtıyla borcunu hâvî mecmu'a her şahsa verilmeğdedir. Borcu ve te'diyâtı mâl me'mûrları tarafından kayd ve imzâ olunarak kim edâ eylemiş kim eda eylememiş mâl me'mûrlarına ma'lûm olmağla bakayanın vukû'ata ve kabz malların zimmet geçirilmesine meydân ve fırsat kalmamaktadır. Zirâ ahâli bunlara para teslim etmeyüb herkes bizzat mal sandığına borcunu eda eylemektedir.

[Forestry]

Ormanları tahdidat-ı vakaya için kömür yakmak sakız çıkarmak çıra almak için çamları ____ odun için veya kereste için sinn-i kemâli bulmamış ağaçları kesmek külliye memnû' olub odun için sinn-i kemâli bulub devrilmiş ve kereste olmağa elverişli olmayan eğri ve ucubî fevk olan ağaçların kat'ına müsâ'ade olunmaktadır. Orman sinn-i kemâli bulduktan sonra bir tüccâra fûrûhtuyla ince yaş ağaçları bilâ-mucib kesmemek ve müddet mu'ayenede işini bitirib ormanı terk etmek şartıyla fûrûht olunur. Müddetin intihasında orman idaresi tarafından yine o yerde ____ alındığı gibi hâk ve ormandan berî olan cibâl ve arâzî haliyede pelid [pis] eküb orman yetiştirmekde olduğu ve kömüre muhtac olanlara odun ____ iderek odundan kömür iş'âl etmeğdedirler.

[*Land - Taxation - Topography - Agriculture - Land Reform*]

Arâzîleri suların tугyân [su baskını] ve istilâsıyla tahrîbâtıdan sıyânet için suların cesâmetine göre on beş metre kalınlığında ve icâb eden irtifâ‘da çiftle sedleri [3] yapmak için temmuzda kaffe-‘i ahâlî çalışdırılmakda memâlikinin hudûd-ı ahâlisi yigirmi yaşından altmış yaşına kadar hudud-ı ‘asâkir-i mülkiyesi olup buna mukâbil bazı tekâlifce dâhil-i memâlikdeki ahâlden imtiyâzâtı ve müsâ‘adâtı olduđu ve aşar makamına ve mesarifat-ı askeriye namıyla arazinin kuvve-i inbatiyesine göre be her dönüm araziye maktu virgüsü olup bütün ülkesini topografya fennini kurmuş zabıtan-ı askeriye ve mühendis-i marifetiyle üç kere misaha olunarak haritalar tanzim olunmakta birinci defa misaha olunmak için mürtefi noktalarda ve ovaların nikat-i lazimedede uzun kırışlerden ve tahtalardan ihramlar rekz (yere dikmek) ile bir ihramdan diğer ihrama kadar misaha olunup ne kadar ceribten (hacim ölçüsü) ibare olduđu ve vaziyet-i tabiyesi haritaya tersim ve terkim olunduktan sonra merci-i mahsusa virilür. İkinci mühendisler mesahe ettiklerinde ne kadarı cibal ne kadarı hâlî (boş toprak, tahliye olunmuş) ne kadarı orman ve ne kadar mezru olduğunu ve hali tabisini haritaya tersim ve terkim eyleyüp merciine teslim ederler. Üçüncü mühendisler de ne kadarı miriye ait ne kadarı ahalinin uhtesinde olduđu her ormanın cebellik ve mezru ve gayri mezru arazinin her parçasını ve binalarını misaha ve haritaya tersim ve sahiplerini terkim ve mülkiyetler ile miktar-ı tasarruflarını müşar evrak-ı resmîyeli tahkik ve tedkik ile mübayenet ve ihtilaf zuhur eden evrakı ve netice-i tahkikatı havi muhtıraları merci-i mahsusa teslim ederler. Bu üç defa vuku bulan misahada mühendislerin buldukları misaha-ı sathiresi miktarca binde birine müsavi olursa misahaları kabuldür. Mübayenet [ayrılık] zuhur eder ise tekrar misaha olunur üç defa misaha her olunduktan sonra ziraat mühendisleri her şahsın her tarlası için ... şışler ile iskandil (deneme) iderek kuvve-i inbatiyesini tahkik ile sınıflara tefrik ve komisyon kararıyla her sınıfın dönümüne virgüler tarh (atamak, belirlemek) olunur. Ekmiş ekmemiş, çalışmış çalışmamış, pirinç ekmiş, darı ekmiş, bağ dikmiş, çalı bitmiş, mahsül çok vermiş, az vermiş arazi hacmi maktu olan virgüyü vermeye mecbur olup müşarların ve mültezimlerin teşkilat ve mezaliminden vareste olduklarından ziraatleri günden güne terakki etmektedir. Ve uhtesinden gelemeyeceği ve ziraat edemeyeceği araziye taht-ı tasarrufuna

almaya ve mülkiyetini iddia etmeye kimse ictisar [cesaret] edemez. Hali ve kimsenin uhde-i tasarrufunda olmayup miriye ait ziraate elverişli olan araziler tarlası olmayan ahaliye meccanen [parasız] tarafı hükümetten tevzi olunur.

[*Husbandry*]

Davarcılar ve hayvan besleyenler için hayvanat merası diye terk olunan köyün davar ve saire hayvanat besleyenler kendi mülkleri olan meralarda ve çiftliklerde hayvanatını ra'y [otlatma] etmektedirler. Hâlî bir araziye karye inşâ ve iskân için tabîb-i baytar zirâat mühendisi ve eczacı ve ebniye mühendisinden ibaret komisyon ma'arifetiyle karye ittihas olunacak mahalın suyu havası ve arazinin kuvve-i inbatıyesi adel tahkik havası en güzel mahal-i karye için ittihab olunduğu gibi o mahalde hiç su yok ise veyahut suyu olup da mahal-i sıhhat ise ve kuyu suları fena ise eğer uzaktan hıfz-ı sıhhate su götürülmek kabil değil ise cesim (büyük) sarnıçlar yaptırılarak ve haneler kaide-i hendese ve hıfz-ı sıhhat fennine muvaffık inşa olunarak ahali iskân olunuyor da. O mümbet (bol veren) araziler muattal (terk edilmiş) bırakılmayıp taht-ı ziraate alınmakla ahali ve hazine istifade eylemektedir. Ve bu suretle (4) iskân olunan ahali hastalıktan ve kırılmaktan ve zarurettten vareste olurlar. Nasıl ... ihlası için her kazanın baytarı muayene etmek için ahalinin kaffesi (tümü) kısıraklarını merkez kazaya götürüp baytara muayene ettirirler de baytar tenasüle elverişli olan kısırakları sahibinin ismiyle ve numerosuyla defterine kayd ve beylik aygırına çıkmak için kangî mahın (ayın) kaçınıcı günü getüreceğini müşar kısırakların sahiplerine birer pusula virir de herkez pusula mucebince kısırağını getirip beylik aygırına çektirir. Ve bir senede bir aygır yalnız kırk dane kısırak aşar. Ziyade aşmasına müsade olunmaz. Zira elli altmış yahut seksen kısırak aşacak olursa aygır zayıflayıp ve ... fenalık gelüp ... olur böyle aygırlara çektirilmekle tay doğuran kısırakların tayları sene hitamında baytara muayene ettirilip tayı güzel olan sahiplerine üç yüz guruş ikramiye verilir ve o tay Avusturya süvarisi ve topçusu için kay edilüp sahibisi kimseye satmaya mezun değildir. Tay üç yaşını tekmiil ettiği gibi tekrar muayene olunur. Bir özü ve kusuru yok ise bin beşyüz guruş sahibine tediye olunur. Tayı asker zabitleri alıp alaya götürülür. ... ıslahı için dahi her karyeye lüzumu miktarı boğa tevzi ve kıymeti her ne ise karye ahalisine tediye ettirildiği gibi ağnamın ıslahı için dahi sürü sahiplerine

koçlar ve tekeler tevzi ve birli tescil olunmaktadır. Döl için yaramayan boğalar ve tekeler ve koçlar burdurulmaktadır.

[*Industry*]

Evvelki sene hariçten para girmek için ve sanayi-i dahiliye ve sevet-i umumiyenin tezahit ve terakki için fabrikatörlere sanaatkarlara kumpanyalara metalarını ecanibten daha ucuz virebilmek için devletleri tarafından iane verilmekte ve ecanibin malı içeriye gelmemek için ... tahvil olunmak ve dahili memalikte sürülen metanın üzerinden bir kimsenin vazıyla bu yüzden hasıl olan akçeyi rekabet etmekle malını dün (düşük) fiyatla ve zararına virmeğe mecbur olan fabrikatörlere ve sanaatkarlara ve kumpanyalara ianeten verilmektedir. Farz edelim bir şeker fabrikasının yaptığı şeker dört kuruşa mal oldu ise beş kuruşa satmak için ecnebiden müşteri bulamaz. Zira başka devletin fabrikaları malı ziyanına vererek ve birbirine rekabet ederse ol devletin fabrikatörleri onlardan daha ucuz virmeyecek olursa evvelki sene hariçten para giremeyeceğinden fabrika memalik-i ecnebiyeye şekerini 100 paraya verebilmek için devleti tarafından okka başına yüz para iane almakta ve bu ianenin birli evvelki senede satılan ve istihlal olunan şekerin fiyatı üzerine tahmil olunan gümrük hasılatından ödenmektedir. Devletin virdiği ikramiye sebebiyle dışarıdan 100 para virmekle birkaç milyon kiloye şeker harice fûruht ile ve buralar için iş eksik olmamaktadır. Rekabet için devletler iane virmeyecek olsa ve daha zengin fabrika sahibi kendinden servetçe dün olan fabrikayı köreltmek ve iflas için malını ziyanına vermeseler her evvelki de sanayi ve mamulat terakki edecekti. Bu ecanibin rekabetine (5) set çekmek için iane etmeyen devletin sanayi ve fabrikaları terakki itmedikten başka mevcut olanlar da muattal kalır.

[*Reform*]

Avusturya devleti ve vükelasının bazı erkan-ı devletin ve nüzzarın memuriyeti mahsusalarına ilaveten birkaç vilayetin teftiş ve ıslahının tevdi ile bunlar her sene kendi hassaları olan vilayetleri devr ve teftiş ile nevakısın (eksiklerin) ikmaline ve yapılmış veya yapılacak olan ıslahatı her ne ise program-ı tanzim ile imparatorlarına takdim etmektedirler. Bunların icraatı ve taahhüd ve hanedan-ı imparatorlarla en büyükler ve bazen imparator geştügüzarı esnada teftiş ve muayene etmekte oldukları gibi bazen bu tedbirleri öğrenmek için ve sair devletlerin usûl ve idarelerini görmek ve münasabat-ı siya-

siyesine metanet (sağlamlık) vermek için memalik-i ecnebiyeli ve taahhüdler ve hükümdarlar hanedanı seyahat etmekten hali olmazlar ve menfaatleri müşterek olan devletle hicret peyda etmekteledir.

[*Military Service, Status of Non-Muslims*]

Avusturya devletinin tuttuğu mesleği ve usülü idareyi devlet-i aliyye yapsa iyi mi fena mı olur. Kaffe-i mizan tedkik ve tahkike koymak lazımdır. Devletimiz hidmet-i askeriye yi yalnız unsur-ı islam üzerine tahmil ve tebay-ı gayri müslime ... yerli olan otuz gurusı virmekle bargiran (yüklenilen) altına girmekteler ve vareste (boş olmak, yükü olmamak) oluyorlar da çocukları 12 yaşına kadar milli mekteplerine ve daha büyükler mekatip-i aliye ile sanayi-i ve ticaret mekteplerine devam ile ticaretine sanaatine ... yarayacak. Fenleri ve dinlerine ve milletine hadm olmaya ve hıfz-ı sıhhate ve İslamiyet-i aleyhine dair asar-ı ve desayis (oyunlar) istimali öğrendikten sonra sanata ve ticarete süluk ile her guna (çeşit) sanayi ve kispi tahtı inhisara almaya ve İslamları aldurup kendilerine medyun (borçlu) etmeğe mülklerini ellerinden almaya her ne tedbire mutavaffık ise icra ile serveti İslamiye ve bütün kazançlar ve ala irad (bir malın getirdiği kazanç) ve yarar emlak ve akarat ve çiftlikleri ve ... kendi yetti tasarruflarına ve temellüplerine geçirmekte oldukları defterhanenin kuyudatıyla müspettir. İşte bunlar vakt ve zamanıyla evlenmekle zürriyet yetiştirerek bizim İslam neferi askerlik azimetini ifa edinceye kadar bunlar dört beş çocuk yetiştirmekte olduğu gibi memleketin ab-ı havasına mugayyir veyahut vehim yerlere gitmeğe mecbur olmadıklarından ve meşak-ı askeriye çekmediklerinden ve harbe gitmediklerinden zaiyatıyla telefâtı ve vefâyatları İslama nispetle hiç hükmünde olup eğer yaşı ömrünü ikmal edinceye sekiz on olan evlat yetiştirmekte ve tekessür (çoğalmak) itmekte oldukları hasebiyle bundan yüz ve elli sene evvel hiç Hristiyan bulunmayan ve sarf-ı İslam bulunmuş olan kasaba ve köylerde Hristiyan unsuru kaim olmakta bulunduğu mekabir ve meabir-i İslamiyeden istibdal ve ihtiyarların tevatüratına vakıalarından anlaşılmaktadır. İslamlar hidmet-i askeriye muhassar olduğu hasebiyle 8 yaşına giren çocuk babası veyahut ömrü (?) askerden gelinceye kadar inasıyla (kadınıyla) birlikte (6) çalışmaya mecbur olduğundan bir kere mektebe devam etmekten mahrum kaldığı gibi sayika-ı ihtiyaç ve zaruret akvat-ı yevmiyeyi (geçim) kazanmaya sevk ettiği hasebiyle ekserisi tahsil-i sanaate furceyab (imkan

bulan kimse) olamamakta ve sanaate ve ticarete sülûk (gruba girme) eden-lerde askerlik vazifesi hulûl (içine girme) ile eğer bedeli nakdi virir ise ya sermayesini mahv edecek yahut medarı taayyüş (geçinmek) olan tarlaları ve emlakı mahv etmeye mecbur olduktan sonra yine işini gücünü bozup ve muattal bırakup ... beş altı ay ifa-ı hidmete mecburdur. Bir de bedel-i nak-tisini virdikten sonra redif cem olunursa yine bakaya kurtarmamış oluyor. Bedel vermeyüp te askere giderse maiyeti ittihaz olunan ihtiyar babası veya kayın atası veya kayınlar kendi idaresinden aciz olurlar ise veyahut aciz olmayup ta yaptıkları gibi hiç muavenet etmeyecek olurlar ise işte askere giden neferin ailesi ve ihtiyar atası ve babası kendilerini beslemek ve ona hariçlik yollamak üzere var ise elde olan mülklerini ya satmak veyahut ağır faizle para ödünç alıp terhin (rehin vermek) etmeye mecbur olması ile herif hidmet-i askeriyesini ifâ edinceye kadar bıraktığı mülkler ya satılmış veyahut borç için satılacak mekteb görememiş sanat öğrenememiş bir de sari bir illet bulduysa veya diğer suretle alil olduysa zürriyet için ve çalışmaya riyakat kalmadıysa bir de kendi ikliminin hilafı olan iklimlerden birine sevk olu-nurlarsa ve tabur amiri hıfz-ı sıhhati askeriyeye isnat değil ise alınan efradın yüzde yetmiş orada burada hastalanıp kırılırlar. Bilfarz bir hanedanın iki sürü koyunu olsa hem gelen giden misafir ve hane idare ... bir sürüden ko-yun kesip diğerinden kesmez olursa tabidir ki kesilen sürü üremeyip inkıraz bulur ve kesilmeyen sürünün koyunu üreyüp tekessür eder ama devlet asker-siz olamaz ve gayri müslimi askere alıp talim öğretir isek bir gün isyan eder-ler de öğrettiği askerliği ve mahareti aleyhimizde istimal ederler. Bunu yap-mak liyakatına askere alınmadıkları halde kesp etmekten geri kalmadıkları nevad-ı bedihidendir. Servet ve sanayi-i kesp ... silah ... gayrimüslim ahalis-inde görüyoruz. Müslümalar da nadir bulunur bir ... önde bulunan silah ve hazırlık bir Müslüman mahallesinde bulunamaz. Servette öyle emlak ve hakeza bunlar kendi kendine pekâlâ talim görüyor. Her birisinde kırma çifteler, altıpatlarlar ve hakeza gûnâ-gûn (çeşit çeşit) silahlar mevcut olup sayd-ü şikare (av) veya bera-ı ticaret geşt-i gûzarları esnada birbirine silah istimalini güzel öğretiyorlar da her birisi silah kullanmasını ve hedefe isa-betini ve uçan kuş vurmayı öğrenir. Daha bu nire arz ideceğe bir Ermeni (?) terzisi (?) Macarlar Avusturya'ya karşı kıyam etmezden birkaç gün evvel (7) münaverede ve ayak talimi yirmi sekiz saatte tarifnamelerden öğrenip

Avusturya'ya karşı isyan ile eğer Rusya'nın imdadı yetişmeymiş. Macarlılar Avusturya'yı malup ve perişan edüp hükümeti gasp edecekmiş. Acaba bu vakayı kulaklarına kim doldurdu ve bunların bu fikirde olmadıklarına malum Rumlar da belki bunlardan ziyade aleyhimizde hazırlanmakta oldukları merhuzdur. Demek ki bunlar nasıl olsa bize düşmanlık etmekten gerü kalmayacaklardır.

[*Suggestions*]

Öyle ise ne yapmak lazım gelir işte yukarıda Avusturya devletinin yaptığı gibi Müslim ve gayri müslimden asker alınır ise nesillerinin tenakuzuna veyahut adem-i tekessürüne çoğunun kâr-ı kespinden devr olup fakru zarurete düşer olmalarına baiz olur ve bir de adüvv-i tabii (düşman) bulunan teba-i gayrimüslimeyi biraz İslam'la mahlut topçuluğa, köprücülüğe istihkam sınıfına ab-ı ... vehim ve İslamlara kalınırsa selamdan ellerine geçen servet ve emlak aheste aheste İslam'a vücu ve avdet edeceği ve şerid-i nizam ile bağlandıkları surette pek de hainlik edemeyecekleri dergardır. Gayri müslimden asker almaya teşebbüs olunursa ihtilal veya fesat zuhur eder mi etmez mi. Burası cayı mülahasadır denilirse hüsn-i tedbir olursa hiçbir şey olamaz. Yine kim Cevdet Paşa Hazretleri Bosna'da yaptığı gibi zenginler evladını askere yazdırdığında yekten mülazımlık virilürse veyahut evladını virmek istemeyenler beşyüz lira virüp ... hidmet-i askeriyeden muaf tutulmak ve fukaralar bilfiil hidmet etmeye mükellef kılınıp kısa bir müddetle yani bir buçuk sene müddetle muazzaflık hidmetini takrir ve ... tertibe girdikten sonra müddetin tezyidi kabildir.

Ve nizamına virdiği memleketlere ve semtleri ve lisanları muhtelif bir Müslüman bir Yahudi'den bir Hıristiyan'dan ibaret her memleketten devşirme taburlar teşkil olunursa birbirine hemşehri olan Hıristiyan, Müslüman Yahudi birbirini kardaş gibi sevecekleri ve şimdiki münafaret ve mübayanet-i meshebiyye ortadan kalkacağı ve taksib-i diniye ve milliyelerinin ehemmiyetsizliklerini anlayarak devletine sadık ve muhabbebe olacakları dergardır. Umumiyye ömrümün devamına en kutlu sahika ve sebebi taammüm askerliktir.

Saray ve Bosna Muhaciri İbrahim

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Mesihat Dairesi Maruzatı (Y..PRK.MŞ..)

Umumi (Y..PRK.UM..)

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