

The 1862 Kanlica Conference and Demographic Changes in Northeast Bosnia in the 1860s



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ABSTRACT:

In this paper, the author links the 1862 Kanlica Conference with the demographic changes in Northeast Bosnia that occurred during the 1860s. The author claims that there was a direct link between these two, or in other words, that the Kanlica Conference was a major factor that contributed to changing the demographics — more precisely, switching the majority between the Christians and Muslims in favor of the latter. It's important to note it here that the Conference itself wasn't the only reason for the changes, but the factor which, intentionally or not, caused them.

KEYWORDS:

Kanlica conference, diplomacy, Muslims, Christians, Bosnia, Serbia, Sanjak of Zvornik, demographics

MUSLIM EXPULSION FROM SERBIA

The process of liberating Serbia and the Serbian people from Ottoman rule was simultaneously also a process of expulsion of the Muslim population from those areas. It started with the First Serbian Uprising,² over the early 1830s³ and ended with the final expulsion of the Muslims in the 1860s. Until that decade, all Muslims were already expelled from the territory of the Principality of Serbia except those living in the towns with castles: Belgrade, Smederevo, Šabac, Kladovo, Golubac, Ada Kala, Užice, and Soko.⁴ According to Safet Bandžović's research, Muslims were a majority in the towns of the Sanjak of Smederevo (i. e. Principality of Serbia) in the 19th century — especially in Belgrade (80%), Šabac and Užice (97%). In the *nahiyas* (the lowest Ottoman administrative units) of the Sanjak of Smederevo there were 58%

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2 L. RANKE, *The History of Servia and the Servian Revolution*, London 1853, p. 114.

3 R. LJUŠIĆ, *Kneževine Srbije (1830-1839)*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Monographs vol. DLXX, Department of Historical Sciences no. 12, Belgrade 1986, p. 323.

4 S. S. H. MUVEKKIT, *Povijest Bosne, Vol. II*, Sarajevo 1997, p. 1106.



of Muslims in total, and on the eve of the 1862 Crisis — according to Serbian assessments — there were 12,500 Muslims in the entire Sanjak.⁵

However, it should be understood that it wasn't only Serbia's state policy or the national program⁶ to expel Muslims from its territory. On the contrary, there were also other factors. One of them was the international diplomacy of the age, and the second one is the Ottoman Empire itself. The Ottoman leaders of that age were not against expelling Muslims from the territories lost by the Empire, and in some cases, even the to-be-expelled Muslims were not against it either. A common reason for both of them is a belief that Muslims should not live under the non-Muslim rule.⁷ An additional reason for the Empire's leaders was a more pragmatical one — the Muslim population should not stay behind the Empire on its lost territories, for they did not want to leave even the possibility for Muslims to realize they could live without the Empire. Another mentioned factor, international diplomacy, also had a significant role, although not all superpowers of the age shared the opinion.⁸ Anyway, international diplomacy played this role in the early stages of the process of liberating Serbia from Ottoman rule also. Indeed, the founding documents of the Principality of Serbia (1829–1833 sultan's decrees, *Hatt-ı Şerif*) very clearly show this point. The 1830 *Hatişerif*, issued by sultan Mahmud II recognizing the autonomous and hereditary Principality of Serbia, ordered all Muslim civilians outside of six towns to move out.⁹ This demand could have come from Serbia itself, but it couldn't be heard without

5 S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *Bošnjaci i deosmanizacija Balkana: muhadžirski pokreti i pribježišta „sultanovih musafira“ (1683.–1875.)*, Sarajevo 2013, pp. 302–303.

6 Moreover, even Ilija Garašanin — author of the infamous *Načertanije*, an 1844 document regarded by many as a birthplace of the aggressive Serbian nationalism and expansionism — took care of the issue of Muslims. He wrote in the document: „*One of the main basis is: the principle of complete religious freedom. This principle will have to be welcomed by all Christians and, who knows, over time by some Mohammedans too.*“ On the other place in the document also: „(...) besides, as a third step, a short and comprehensive people's history of Bosnia could be printed, in which the names and glory of some Muslim-turned Bosniaks must not be omitted. It is assumed naturally that this history would have to be written in a spirit of Slavic ethnicity and completely in a spirit of common unity of the Serbs and Bosniaks.“ Translated (and emphasized) by A.K. from: M. VUKIĆEVIĆ, *Program spoljne politike Ilije Garašanina na koncu 1844 god.*, in: *Delo*, Vol. 11, book 38, Belgrade 1906, pp. 331, 333. These Garašanin's views are completely in accordance with the suggestions from František Zach regarding the Slavic Christians' relation toward Bosnian Muslims. V. ZÁČEK, *Česko i poljko učesće u postanku Garašaninova „Načertanija“ (1844)*, in: *Historijski zbornik*, Vol. XVI, 1963, p. 45.

7 As with the case of the Muslim expulsion from Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia after the 1683 Ottoman military disaster at Kahlenberg and during the subsequent war. Though, the new Christian authorities weren't eager to let those Muslims remain in their homes either.

8 For example, unlike the British, the French and Russian representatives at the Kanlica Conference suggested the **subjugation** of the Muslims to the Serbian jurisdiction, not the **expulsion** of them. J. RISTIĆ, *Spoljašnji odnošaji Srbije novijeg vremena: Druga knjiga 1860–1868*, Beograd 1887, p. 142.

9 The towns (here understood as urban settlements with castles) were: Belgrade, Šabac, Smederevo, Užice, Soko, and Kladovo. V. STOJANČEVIĆ (ed.), *Istorija srpskog naroda, Book V, Vol. 1: Od prvog ustanka do Berlinskog kongresa 1804–1878*, Belgrade 1981, p. 120.

external support. As it is well-known, Serbia's „founding decrees“ were made in the context of Russian military and diplomatic pressure on the Ottoman Empire and indeed resulted from the — for Russia and inherently Serbia — positive outcome of the 1828–29 Russo-Ottoman war. Therefore, the role of the „international community“ of the day shouldn't be neglected.

Despite all these, some Muslims remained in the Principality of Serbia until the 1860s, though under Ottoman, not Serbian jurisdiction. New Serbian Prince, Miloš Obrenović, eagerly tried to fulfill the aims of the Serbian national program.^{10*} With such intentions, a simple way to get a chance to fight for one's aims is to use a seemingly insignificant event or incident. The incident that sparked the Ottoman-Serbian conflict — which consequently initiated the expulsion of the Muslims from Serbia to surrounding lands — occurred in 1862. It is a well-known *Čukur česma* incident of June 15 that year, a local incident in which the Serbian police and Ottoman forces also engaged.¹¹

The incident sparked a wider conflict among the locals, divided by their religious affiliation. Slavic, pro-Serbian newspapers have been accusing the Ottoman side of provoking the conflict,¹² while the Ottoman newspapers pointed to the Serbian side as guilty, referring to the British investigation which saw the Serbs as those who sparked the conflict because they have not respected the obligations from the earlier agreements — which was the reason for the British delegation to support the Serbian side only if they kept respecting their part of the deal.¹³ Moreover, according to the British consul in Serbia, it was the local Serbs, and potentially even the Serbian gov-

10 * The aims here should be understood as a part of foreign policy, not domestic. Serbia, naturally, tried to liberate itself from Ottoman rule, but it doesn't mean that the expulsion of the Muslims was an inherent part of the program itself. On the contrary, in the *Načertanije* there is no mention of the Muslim expulsion from Serbia. The Muslim expulsion issue was part of the state policy, particularly that of Prince Mihailo, not of the program itself.

11 Š. HODŽIĆ, *Migracije muslimanskog stanovništva iz Srbije u sjeveroistočnu Bosnu*, in: Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne, No. II, 1958, p. 66.

Reports the on incident were different. According to the German historian Leopold von Ranke, the incident broke out of the argument between local Muslims and Orthodox Christians over the bizarre question — who will be the first to take water from the *Čukur česma*. One Sava Petrović was killed in the incident. Local Serbian police soon arrived and arrested two Ottoman soldiers suspected of being responsible for the murder. Then local Muslims reacted and started to shoot, which provoked the attention of Serbian and Ottoman administration officers and foreign consuls as well. F. KARČIĆ, *Protokol konferencije u Kanlidži 1862.: pravno-historijska analiza odredaba o muslimanskom stanovništvu*, in: 150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije: zbornik radova sa Naučnog simpozijuma 150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije, 07.–08. 09. 2012. god., Orašje 2013, p. 73.

12 *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 72, Zagreb September 25, 1862; *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 73, Zagreb, September 26, 1862.

13 A. Z. FURAT, *Muslimanske migracije iz Srbije nakon 1862. godine: osvrt na osmansku štampu*, in: 150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije: zbornik radova sa Naučnog simpozijuma 150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije, 07.–08. 09. 2012. god., Orašje 2013, p. 195.



ernment itself, that caused the conflict.¹⁴ In fact, the Serbian government intended to use the incident as an excuse for peaceful expulsion of the Muslims from its territory,¹⁵ and that task was awarded to Prime Minister Ilija Garašanin.¹⁶

Because of these events, representatives of the European Powers of that age on July 8 requested¹⁷ the Ottoman government to organize a conference, to which the Ottomans agreed. Even before the Conference, the United Kingdom and the Empire of Austria sided with the Ottomans,¹⁸ while the French Empire and the Russian Empire sided with Serbia.¹⁹ The Conference²⁰ lasted from July 22 until September 4, when the sides signed a document titled *A Protocol On The Question of Serbia Signed in Constantinople in 1862*.²¹ A question of the Muslims in Serbia was not a hot topic during the negotiations, since other questions were more important, such as the very legality of the bombing of Belgrade from the Belgrade castle, size of the Serbian army, and destruction or preservation of the castles in the concerned towns.²² Eventually, three out of twelve articles of the Protocol directly or indirectly concerned the Muslims, and one sole conclusion was emerging out of them: all remaining Muslims were going to be expelled from the towns they held according to the 1856 Paris Peace Treaty; the towns were going to be transferred to the Serbian authority, and in return for expulsion the Muslims were going to be financially compensated.²³

14 S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *U vrtlozima deosmanizacije XIX stoljeća: muhadžirski pokreti iz Kneževine Srbije u Bosansku posavinu*, in: *Migracije i Brčko: zbornik radova / Međunarodna naučna konferencija Migracije i njihov uticaj na društvena i privredna kretanja na širem području Brčkog od početka XVII do kraja XX stoljeća, održane u Brčkom, 13. i 14. septembra 2019. godine*, Tuzla 2020, p. 39.

15 U. TATIĆ, *Stav Francuske povodom bombardovanja Beograda 1862. godine*, in: *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, No. 1, 2018, p. 15.

16 J. RISTIĆ, *Spoljašnji odnošaji Srbije II*, p. 50.

17 European states requested the convening of a conference based on Article 28 of the 1856 Paris Peace Treaty, according to which Serbia, as an Ottoman vassal principality, was under collective protection of the signatories. A. OAKES, R. B. MOWAT (eds), *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1930, p. 182.

18 U. TATIĆ, *Stav Francuske povodom bombardovanja Beograda 1862. godine*, p. 16.

19 J. RISTIĆ, *Spoljašnji odnošaji Srbije II*, p. 133.

20 Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Empire of Austria, the French Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, the Russian Empire, and the Kingdom of Sardinia participated at the 1862 Kanlica Conference. F. KARČIĆ, *Protokol konferencije u Kanlidži 1862.*, p. 74.

21 N. RAĐENOVIĆ, A. ĐORĐEVIĆ, *Protokol konferencije u Kanlidži*, in: *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Nišu*, No. LV, Niš 2012, p. 118.

22 J. RISTIĆ, *Spoljašnji odnošaji Srbije II*, pp. 135, 143, 148.

23 Art. 1.: „(...) *The Ottoman government will completely transfer the property to the Serbian government, under the condition of compensation to the owners, of all land and houses of the town of Belgrade currently belonging to the Muslims (...)*“; Art. 3.: „*The Serbian government will make sure to reimburse, in goods or money, all movables left by Muslims in their homes or shops after they retreated to the castle (...)*“; Art. 8.: „*The Sublime Porte will undertake immediate measures, in co-operation with the Serbian government, so that all Muslim inhabitants, who have lived around the five established points which it (i.e. the Porte) possesses under the Treaty, (...) may be deprived of their possessions and withdrawn from Serbian territory as soon as possible.*“ Translated by author from: F. KARČIĆ, *Protokol konferencije u Kanlidži 1862.*, p. 76. For full English translation of the Protocol see: S. TRIFUNOVSKA (ed.), *Yugoslavia through documents*:



Sultan Abdulaziz officially accepted the expulsion of the Muslims from the Principality by issuing an order (*ferman*) in the second half of September and Prince Miloš Obrenović officially accepted the order on October 6 and published it in the newspapers a day later. Even before the official decision in Kanlica, the Ottoman Empire authorities ordered the expulsion of Muslims from Užice, which indeed started almost immediately after the town went on fire²⁴ on September 8 which lasted for a couple of days. Slavic press, such as *Narodne novine* („People’s news“ in literal translation) from Zagreb, cheerfully spread the news on expulsion of Užice’s Muslims, in such a way that may be hardly understandable even for that time:²⁵

Thank God, there are no more Turks in Užice! Today starts a new life in our borough; — truly it starts from the ashes of our homes, but our soul is calm, and we hope the good days of happiness and progress will come, and they will come for our all Užice, for as I said there are no more Turks there. On September 11 the last transport left. We mourn them as men when we remember how difficult was their farewell, but we don’t mourn them as Turks. Every transport was followed by one or two companies of the people’s army and everything was alright. Turks were transferred to Bosnia in Bajina Bašta by ferries arrived from Zvornik. Since they received the news that they have to move, they completely changed. They aren’t anymore those Turks who once used to roll up their sleeves and proudly walk through the street saying: „Every Turk will chase 20 Vlachs with a knife only!“ One told me these days when I saw him off: „I swear to the Turkish faith, how our Books say and what is the policy of the Miloš’s son of yours, God allows that we stop as far as Syria.

One part of the to-be-expelled Muslims started to move out in September towards Vindija. Expulsion from Belgrade towards Niš started in October, as well as towards Bosnia, that is Sanjak of Zvornik mainly, which was the closest, right across the Drina river. Some of them crossed the Drina, and others crossed the Sava river. Muslims of Šabac started to move out by the end of October, mainly towards Brčko in the north of Bosnia, and before November 15 the Muslims of Soko were also moved out, despite being the ones who protested the most against the expulsion.²⁶ Those Muslims

From its creation to its dissolution, Dodrecht-Boston-London 1994, pp. 44–47. Full text of the Protocol and the *ferman* sent by the Sultan to Prince Mihailo in Serbian language was published in: *Srbske novine*, Vol. XXIX, No. 112, Belgrade, September 12, 1862, pp. 399–400.

²⁴ A fire broke in the town of Užice went on fire on September 8. Ilija Garašanin accused the Muslims of the fire, justifying it by the fact that the Muslims prevented the Serbs from putting the fire out. Muslims, however, prevented Serbs from entering the town, fearing that during the firefighting, Serbs would rob Muslim shops, as happened earlier in Belgrade. H. ORUĆ, *Seoba muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije i formiranje novih naselja u Bosni (1862–1865)*, in: *150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Srbije*, p. 207.

²⁵ *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 95, Zagreb October 22, 1862. Translated and emphasized by author.

²⁶ „I told you in the last letter something about how the Turks of Soko bitterly protest against the Imperial decree, and about how badly they welcomed the envoys who were advised them to peacefully move out.“ *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXVIII, no. 103, Zagreb, October 31, 1862. Translated by author.



who moved towards the Sanjak of Zvornik were settled before the end of November. In that way, all Muslims living in towns of Serbia were moved out, except the small group of about 30 prominent Muslims in Belgrade, and those living in Kladovo, Mali Zvornik, and Sakar.²⁷

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE EXPELLED MUSLIMS

By the end of 1862, 15 households with 36 male members emigrated from Belgrade to Brčko, 134 households to Orašje, and 25 households to Gradačac. From Užice there were a total of 533 households with 1.243 people, of which 235 households with 498 male members moved to Gornja Azizija (Azizija Upper, today Bosanski Šamac), 140 households with 300 male members to Donja Azizija (Azizija Lower, today Orašje), 89 households with 215 male members to Brezovo polje, 23 households to Bijeljina, 22 to Srebrenica, 14 to Gračanica, 12 to Tuzla and 3 households to Vlasenica. From Soko, there were 141 households with 373 male members settled in Kozluk, 32 households with 69 male members in Bosanski Šamac, 31 households with 79 male members in Brezovo polje, and one household in Orašje. Of the Muslims expelled from Šabac, 148 households with 375 male members were settled in Brezovo polje, 25 households with 57 male members in Bosanski Šamac, and 25 households with 47 male members in Orašje.²⁸

Town → Kaza ↓	Belgrade		Užice		Soko		Šabac		Total	
	Homes	Men	Homes	Men	Homes	Men	Homes	Men	Homes	Men
Tuzla Low.	1	3	107	594	8	57	1	5	117	659
Tuzla Upp.			25	143	1	5			26	148
Brčko			34	206	44	158			78	364
Zvornik	3	8	98	497	39	224			140	729
Gradačac	7	25	2	11	27	157			36	193
Gračanica			26	173	1	6	1	9	28	188
Srebrenica	2	6	96	546	199	1219			297	1771
Vlasenica	1	5	13	77	2	14			16	96
Total	14	47	401	2247	321	1840	2	14	738	4148

TABLE 1. A number of the expelled Muslim males settled in the kazas of the Sanjak of Zvornik until the end of 1863.²⁹

²⁷ H. ORUĆ, *Seoba muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije*, p. 207.

Muslims of Kladovo were moved out in 1865, mostly towards Vidin. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁸ S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *U vrtlozima deosmanizacije XIX stoljeća*, p. 49–52. Copies of the names of all Muslim males who moved from the Serbian towns to settlements in the Sanjak of Zvornik are being kept in the Archive of the Tuzla Canton (ATK) under signatures: Orijentalna zbirka (OZ) — 44 F, ATK, OZ — 45 F, ATK, OZ — 46 F, ATK, OZ — 47 F, ATK, OZ — 48 F, ATK, OZ — 49 F.

²⁹ Š. HODŽIĆ, *Migracije muslimanskog stanovništva*, pp. 139–141.



The governors of the provinces of Niš, Vidin, and Bosnia were in charge of assisting the accommodation of the Muslim refugees who arrived in their eyalets. On November 18, Bosnian governor Osman-pasha informed the Grand Vizier that about 1.300 households with about 7.000 members had moved to Bosnia. Authorities planned to settle a large number of refugees on the former fiefs of Husein-Captain Gradašević in the Sanjak of Zvornik. It is estimated that each household would receive between 40 and 100 acres of land. In addition to building houses, the state set aside another 400.000 groschens to build other facilities in the settlements that were planned to be built for refugees.³⁰ In the first half of 1863, the construction of the mentioned settlements began in the Sanjak of Zvornik, and those were Kozluk, Brezovo Polje, Gornja Azizija, and Donja Azizija.³¹ According to the plans, the new settlements were to have the shape of a chessboard with wide streets that would intersect at right angles, between which there would be space left for the construction of squares, mosques, and gardens.³²

According to the plan from June 1863, Donja Azizija and Gornja Azizija were going to be built as towns with 200 to 300 houses each, and Brezovo polje and Kozluk as villages with 350 and 210 houses, respectively. After the governor visited the settlements that were under construction in the second half of that year, a report was compiled in November, which showed that the construction of refugee settlements was nearing completion. In the town of Kozluk — which was Osman Mahzar-pasha's farm and which his wife donated without any compensation for the construction of a refugee settlement — 120 houses for Muslims expelled from Sokol had been built by that time, and it was planned that each household would receive one field to cultivate the land. In other places provided for refugee settlements, the land was taken from the owners on the principle of exchange, ie. landowners received compensation in the form of land in other locations. In Brezovo polje, where the immigration had already been completed by that time, 300 houses were built for the Muslims of Užice and Šabac. 200 houses for Muslims from Belgrade, Užice, and Šabac were built in Donja Azizija and 250 houses for Muslims from Užice and Sokol in Gornja Azizija.³³

Although there were some obstacles, the Ottoman authorities were mostly successful in settling Muslims expelled from Serbia in the Sanjak of Zvornik, which the Consul General of Austria described as the most valuable thing of the time spent in Bosnia.³⁴ The gradual but complete expulsion of Muslims showed the attitude of the Serbian national policy towards them, that is, it meant that if the Serbian national program is fulfilled, there will most likely be no place for Muslims in that state. At that time already the animosity towards Serbia began to manifest itself. Austrian sources state that Muslims sensed the danger from Serbia,³⁵ and in case they had to

30 H. ORUĆ, *Seoba muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije*, p. 208.

31 Ibid., p. 208.

32 S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *Bošnjaci i deosmanizacija Balkana*, 327.

33 H. ORUĆ, *Seoba muslimana iz Kneževine Srbije*, pp. 209–210.

34 G. ŠLJIVO, *Naseljavanje muslimanskih prognanika (muhadžira) iz Kneževine Srbije u zvornički kajmakamluk 1863. godine*, in: *Prilozi*, No. 30, Sarajevo 2001, pp. 92–93.

35 G. ŠLJIVO, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1861–1869*, Tešanj 2005, p. 475.



choose between Austria and Serbia, they would prefer to choose Austria if they were promised religious and property security.³⁶

Shortly after the expulsion of Muslims from the aforementioned Serbian towns, the authorities of the Principality of Serbia — and seemingly the Serbian Orthodox people — began to put pressure on Mali Zvornik and Sakar, two small Muslim-populated settlements on the right bank of the Drina. In late 1862, the Serbian government complained against the Ottoman government about, among other issues, the fact that the two settlements were still under Ottoman rule.³⁷ On this occasion, at the beginning of next year, negotiations began on the border, more precisely on the issue of Mali Zvornik, which Serbia wanted to take over, and the Ottoman state did not want to cede.³⁸

This dispute lasted throughout the year,³⁹ and even the next few of them, since Serbia did not intend to give in. In fact, the then Prime Minister of the Principality of Serbia, Ilija Garašanin, believed that Serbia must always have an unresolved issue with the Ottoman state. In 1865, he wrote to Jovan Ristić: “*Mali Zvornik, as little as it is,*⁴⁰ *is to become the subject of great events*”, and again in 1866 that for Mali Zvornik, he will “*ask Ali-pasha to empty this place of the Turks. It doesn’t matter if he succeeds or not.*”⁴¹

These words are the best indicator of the attitude of Serbian state politics towards this issue. Taking as an argument the fact that the trade route passes through Mali Zvornik, from the very beginning of this dispute, the Serbian government intended to expel the remaining Muslims from its territory by occupying these two settlements. In his speech at the opening of the National Assembly in 1864, Prince Mihailo said, among other things: *The Turks, who lived outside the towns of Belgrade, Šabac, Užice, and Sokol, were expelled, and the towns of Užice and Sokol were destroyed, but there are still Turks to emigrate from Mali Zvornik and Sahar, and the Castle to tear down. (...)*⁴² to which he received an answer from the Assembly on behalf of the Serbian people: “*(...) but you, bright lord, will not be surprised when you hear, that we are very sad that the Turks still live in Sakar and Mali Zvornik (...)*.”⁴³ Although in 1867 certain solutions were reached to the satisfaction of the Serbian side,⁴⁴ these two settlements remained under the Ottoman rule as a part of the Sanjak of Zvornik until the occupation of Bosnia in 1878.⁴⁵

36 G. ŠLJIVO, *BiH 1861–1869*, 2005, p. 494.

37 *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 141, Zagreb December 17, 1862.

38 *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Zagreb January 5, 1863.

39 *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXIX, No. 229, Zagreb October 8, 1863.

40 Literally translated Mali Zvornik is Little Zvornik.

41 G. ŠLJIVO, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1861–1869*, Planjaj, Tešanj 2016, pp. 429–430.

42 *Domobran*, No. 93, Zagreb September 5, 1864; *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXX, No. 203, Zagreb September 6, 1864.

43 *Domobran*, No. 95, Zagreb September 7, 1864; *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXX, No. 205, Zagreb September 9, 1864.

44 *Novi Pozor*, Vol. I, No. 36, Vienna October 16, 1867; *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 239, Zagreb October 17, 1867; *Novi Pozor*, Vol. I, No. 41, Vienna October 22, 1867.

45 S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *U vrtložima deosmanizacije XIX stoljeća*, p. 33.

DEMOGRAPHICS IN NORTHEAST BOSNIA

CENSUS DATA AND PROJECTIONS

The events in Serbia during 1862 regarding the issue of Muslims in that country, influenced the demographic picture in the northeastern area of Bosnia, back then administratively known as the Sanjak of Zvornik. The demographic picture can be traced back to the introduction of the *tanzimat* in Bosnia when the first official census was conducted. According to that census, in the Eyalet of Bosnia, including Herzegovina and Novi Pazar, there were 547,155 male heads*, of which 119,288 in the Sanjak of Zvornik or 21.8%, which made this sanjak the most populous in the entire eyalet. In religious terms, the majority of the population in the Sanjak were Christians (Orthodox and Catholics together). There were 64,030 or 53.68% of them, and 52,918 or 44.36% Muslims. The rest of the population were Roma — 2,340 or 0.85%, and Jews.⁴⁶

There were, however, some doubts regarding the accuracy of this census. In May 1861, the *Narodne novine* from Zagreb wrote: „Entire population was counted immediately after Omer-pasha implemented the *tanzimat* in Bosnia in 1851 and 1852; but those numbers are very unreliable, for according to Mr. Giljferding, that number is much smaller than the actual one.”⁴⁷ Special Ottoman governmental agents Ahmed Dževdet-pasha and Pasko Vasa-efendi, who were on a mission in Bosnia during the 1860s, also had similar doubts.⁴⁸ Next data was brought by the official 1865 projections. According to it, 639,425 males⁴⁹ lived in the Vilayet of Bosnia — excluding the Sanjak of Novi Pazar — out of which 177,685 lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik or 27.79%. The largest religious community in the Sanjak were still Orthodox Christians, with 85,697 male heads, which means that they made up 48.23% of the total number of men in this sanjak. They were followed by Muslims, which numbered 62,563 males or 35.21%, and then Catholics with 29,332 males or 16.51%. There were 93 Jewish men and they made up 0.05%. Comparing these with the corresponding data in other sanjaks, it can be concluded that almost one-third of all Muslim males (29.82%) and all Orthodox males

46 P. VASA, *Bosna i Hercegovina za vrijeme misije Dževdet-efendije*, Sarajevo 1958, p. 28.

47 *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXVII, No. 120, Zagreb May 27, 1861. Mr. Giljferding mentioned here is the Russian consul, Aleksandar Fjorodovič Giljferding, who wrote a travelogue originally titled *Pojezdka po Gercegovine, Bosnii i Staroj Srbii*. *Bosna v načale goda. 1858 opiski Imperatorskago ruskovo geografičeskago obšestva*. Kniúka izdana pod redakcii A. F. Giljferdinga. translated into Serbian by Branko Čulić. Regarding the 1851 census, the consul noted: „Population was counted soon after Omer-pasha enforced *tanzimat* (1851 and 1852), but the results are very unreliable and the population number, according to this census, is much smaller than in reality.“ Also: „I repeat that this census is not correct and the numbers don't match the reality. However, it provides a picture of numeral relation between the Muslim and Christian population.“ A. GILJFERDING (trans. B. ČULIĆ), *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji*, Sarajevo 1972, pp. 330, 332.

48 P. VASA, *Bosna i Hercegovine za vrijeme misije Dževdet-efendije*, p. 30.

49 Counting the same men-to-women ratio (1:1) as in 1851/52, roughly 1,278,850 inhabitants lived in the Vilayet of Bosnia in 1865.



(28.88%) in the Vilayet of Bosnia actually lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik, while among Catholics this ratio was between one quarter and one fifth (22.75%). As a percentage, Jews were rarely settled in this sanjak — only 2.40% of them out of the total number of Jews in the entire vilayet.⁵⁰

The following projections were recorded in 1867. According to them, in the Vilayet of Bosnia, there were — in this case including women — 1,211,772 inhabitants, of which 229,290 in the Sanjak of Zvornik, or 18.92%. By religious affiliation, again the most numerous were Christians together (125,980), of which 89,380 were Orthodox and 36,600 Catholics. Christians together made up 54.94% of the population of the sanjak, and by denomination, 38.98% were Orthodox and 15.96% Catholic. There were 102,230 Muslims in the sanjak and they made up 44.59%, which means that they were more numerous than other religious communities separately. There were also 1,080 members of the Roma community, which accounted for 0.47%. Looking at religious communities in the Sanjak of Zvornik concerning their total number in the entire Vilayet, we see that of all Muslims in the Vilayet, 23.12% of them lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik. Speaking of the Orthodox, this share was 15.63%, among Catholics it was 19.73%, and among Roma 10.35%.⁵¹

At the end of this and the beginning of the next, the Ottoman authorities left another official projection on the number of inhabitants. Again, only males were counted. In 1870/71 there were 621,229 males living in seven sanjaks of the Vilayet of Bosnia, which would mean that there were approximately 1,242,458 inhabitants in total (counting the 1:1 ratio between men and women). Of the total number of men in the province, one fifth (19.99%) lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik, or 124,181, of whom 63,661 were Muslims (51.26%), 46,767 Orthodox (37.66%), 11,663 Catholics (9.39%), 126 Jews (0.10%) and 1,964 Roma (1.58%). Concerning the total number of men in the province, regarding their religious affiliation, in the Sanjak of Zvornik lived an almost equal share of Muslims (20.57%) and Orthodox (20.66%), while the share is slightly lower among Catholics (14.88%) and Jews (9.65%), and higher among Roma — one-third of all Roma in the Vilayet, according to this census, lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik (34.42%).⁵² Using the data from the *salname*,⁵³ and taking into consideration the ratio of men and women in the neighboring Vilayet of Kosovo, Justin McCarthy calculated that 1,746,339 inhabitants lived in the Vilayet of Bosnia in 1870, out of which 349,098 belonged to the Sanjak of Zvornik.⁵⁴

50 Đ. PEJANOVIĆ, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Srpska akademija nauka: Posebna izdanja — Knjiga CCXXIX, Odelenje društvenih nauka: Nova serija — Knjiga 12*, Beograd 1955, pp. 71–74.

51 G. THOMMEL, *Geschichtliche, politische und topographisch-statistische Beschreibung des Vilajet Bosnien das ist das eigentliche Bosnien nebat Turkish Croatien, der Herzegovina und Rascien*, Wien 1867, pp. 76–77.

52 *Salname Vilajet-i Bosna* (S. V. B.) 1287, pp. 144–145; S. V. B. 1288, pp. 134–135.

53 Ottoman annual report. These reports for the Vilayet of Bosnia were being published since 1866. Bosnia was indeed the first Ottoman province to have such a report.

54 J. McCARTHY, *Ottoman Bosnia, 1800–1878*, in: M. PINSON (ed.), *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1994, p. 58.

Census Year/ Community	1851 (P. Vasa)	1865 (Đ. Pejanović)	1867 (G. Thommel)	1870 (Salname)
Muslims	52,918	62,563	51,115	63,661
	44.36%	35.21%	44.59%	51.26%
Christians (both denominations)	64,030	115,029	62,990	58,430
	53.68%	64.74%	54.94%	47.05%
Orthodox	No data	85,697	44,690	46,767
		48.23%	38.98%	37.66%
Catholics	No data	29,332	18,300	11,663
		16.51%	15.96%	9.39%
Jews	No data	93	No data	126
		0.05%		0.10%
Roma	2,340	Nema podataka	540	1,964
	1.96%		0.47%	1.58%
Total	119,288	177,685	114,645	124,181
Sanjak of Zvornik	21.8%	27.79%	18.92%	19.99%
Total V. of Bosnia	547,155	639,425	605,886	621,229

TABLE 2. A number and percentage of the population of the Sanjak of Zvornik by religious affiliation, 1851–1870⁵⁵

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

That one census and three projections, together with the period of twenty years provide enough opportunities to draw some conclusions about demographic trends in northeast Bosnia, though conditionally. At first, it should be noted that the data came from different sources, so that certain deviations can be partly attributed to this fact: the data for the 1851 census were brought by the Russian consul Aleksandar F. Giljferding,⁵⁶ Belgrade news *Srbske novine*,⁵⁷ and later Pasko Vasa; for the 1865 projections by Đorđe Pejanović from *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva*, for the 1867 projections by Gustav Thommel based on his own sources (he was the only one to provide data on the total population, not just the number of men) and they agree with the data included in

⁵⁵ The table is made in accordance with the data from: P. VASA, *Bosna i Hercegovine za vrijeme misije Dževdet-efendije*, p. 30; Đ. PEJANOVIĆ, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, pp. 71–74; G. THOMMEL, *Beschreibung des Vilajet Bosnien*, pp. 76–77; S. V. B. 1287, pp. 144–145; S. V. B. 1288, pp. 134–135.

⁵⁶ His data differs from those left by Pasko Vasa. Giljferding wrote that 17,749 Christian families with 59,025 males and 15,857 Muslim families with 53,112 males lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik in 1851. Compare: A. F. GILJFERDING, *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji*, p. 331, and P. Vasa, *Bosna i Hercegovine za vrijeme misije Dževdet-efendije*, p. 30.

⁵⁷ According to that data, which also slightly differs from other, there were 50,970 Muslim males and 63,050 Christian males in the Sanjak of Zvornik, or 114,020 males in total. *Srbske novine*, Vol. XXIX, No. 27, Belgrade March 3, 1862, p. 104.



the *Bukvar za osnovne škole u vilajetu bosanskom* from 1867;⁵⁸ while the data for 1870/71 were taken from the *salnames* and they agree with the data recorded by the consul of the German Reich, Otto Blau.⁵⁹ It should also be noted that not all recorded data for the same year match. For example, while Đorđe Pejanović claimed there were 639,425 male heads in the entire Vilayet (177,685 in the Sanjak of Zvornik) in 1865, consul Blau claimed the province had only 446,692 men (119,861 in the Sanjak of Zvornik).⁶⁰ Also, author Galib Šljivo stated, according to the reports of the Prussian and Russian consuls, that in 1867 there were a total of 1,035,836 inhabitants (male and female) in the entire vilayet, of which 213,797 in the Sanjak of Zvornik,⁶¹ which again differs significantly from the data which was left by Gustav Thommel and the data given in the mentioned *Bukvar*. Having this in mind, in no case can we talk about the definitive state of demographic trends in the Vilayet of Bosnia or any of its sanjaks in the specified period. However, if we assume that the above data are at least approximately accurate, a rough picture of demographic trends in this part of the Ottoman Empire can be made.

The first thing worth mentioning certainly is the growth of the total population. From Omer-pasha's census in 1851 to 1870/71, the population of the Sanjak of Zvornik increased by only 4,893 adult males, or 4.1%, which is significantly less than the average growth in the Vilayet, where the number of adult males increased by 13,54%. The natural increase and the immigration of Muslims expelled from Serbia to the Sanjak of Zvornik are the most important factors that contributed to the growth of the population, but the other two factors caused the growth not being higher, namely the emigration of Orthodox Christians from this sanjak⁶² and the change of administrative status of the *Kaza* (Subdistrict) of Kladanj, which was moved from Zvornik to the Sanjak of Sarajevo after the Ottoman Vilayet Law was introduced in Bosnia in 1865.⁶³ Also, the share of the population of the Sanjak of Zvornik in the total popula-

58 For comparison and analysis with other censuses and projections, the data from Gustav Thommel and the *Bukvar* from 1867 were decreased by half, counting the approximate men-to-women ratio as 1:1.

59 Otto Blau was a consul of the Kingdom of Prussia in Bosnia until the 10th of December, 1867, when the flag of the North-German Confederation was raised at the Consulate building. (*Bosna*, no. 84, Sarajevo, December 25, 1867 — January 6, 1868). Naturally, later he was a consul of the German Empire in Bosnia.

60 G. ŠLJIVO, *Bosna i Hercegovina u XIX stoljeću: studije i izvori*, Tešanj 2016, p. 21.

61 G. ŠLJIVO, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1861-1869*, 2016, pp. 485-487.

62 „Seeing what the vizier (i. e. governor of the Vilayet of Bosnia) was doing and how he has been investigating the cause of the exodus, the pasha of Tuzla (i. e. governor of the Sanjak of Zvornik) hurried to do the same in his district, in order to find out what were the causes of the exodus of the people into Serbian land (...)“ *Narodne novine*, Vol. XXXI, No. 143, Zagreb June 24, 1865. Translated by author.

63 The Vilayet of Bosnia was established by the Imperial Government decree (*nizamname*), which was published in the official Empire's newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* on May 27, 1865. godine. Z. GÖLEN, *Tanzîmât döneminde Bosna Hersek: Siyasî, İdarî, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durum*, Ankara 2010, p. 140. In the 1866 annual report for the Vilayet of Bosnia, these kazas were listed as ones belonging to the Sanjak of Zvornik: Donja Tuzla, Zvornik, Brčko, Bijeljina, Gradačac and Gračanica, Srebrenica, Birče, and Maglaj. In the same list, *Kaza Kladanj*

tion of the Bosnian vilayet has indeed decreased in these twenty years — from 21.8% to 19.99%.

As we can see, the most prominent demographic change in this period in the Sanjak of Zvornik is certainly the increase in the number of Muslims, and the decrease in the number of Christians, which led to the switch of the majority in the Sanjak in favor of the Muslims. From 52,918 adult males in 1851, the number of Muslims by 1870 increased to 63,661 — an increase of 20.3%. More precisely, this growth was mostly recorded in the short period from 1867 to 1870/71. By percentage, the Muslim population went from a slight minority (44.36% in 1851, 44.59% in 1867) to a slight majority in 1870 (51.26%). At the same time, the number of Christians fell not only in percentage but also in an absolute number — from 64,030 male adults (Catholics and Orthodox combined) in 1851 to 58,430 in 1870, which was a drop of 8.75%. Even if the data from the mid-1860s is not absolutely accurate, the fact is that the number of Orthodox Christians in the Sanjak of Zvornik significantly fell, with their emigration — happening simultaneously with the Muslim immigration — being the primary reason for such trends. The number of Catholics was also decreasing between 1867 and 1870/71 — it fell from 18,300 to just 11,663. Data for other communities, Jews and Roma namely, were not available for every year. The Jews were listed in 1865 when only 93 adult males lived in the Sanjak of Zvornik. Five years later, however, there were 126 of them, which shows a significant percentage increase of 35.48%. The share of the Jews in this sanjak in relation to the total Jewish population in the entire Vilayet has also increased from 1865 to 1870/71 — from 2.4% to 9.65%. When it comes to the Roma community, we can notice a large deviation of their numbers, which makes it difficult to conclude anything on their demographic trends. However, if we count the available data from the first and last year of the period of concern here, we see that the percentage number of Roma in the Sanjak of Zvornik fell by 16.07%. But, since the total number of Roma in the Vilayet was pretty much stable (a little bit over five thousand adult males), drastic changes in their number in the Sanjak of Zvornik could be explained as a consequence of their frequent relocations inside the Vilayet of Bosnia.

It is easy to notice the deviations in the data, though. The most obvious deviation is the official 1865 projection, as it significantly differs from both the previous and the next census data, which casts doubt on its accuracy. The first explanation for the huge 1865 projection deviations could simply be that these projections were inaccurate and did not represent the real situation. Another possibility is that the Ottoman authorities intentionally showed higher numbers than they actually were. However, this could hardly be the case here, for in the 1865 projection there were a lot more Orthodox Christians; it's hard to find any reasonable explanation for Ottomans to intentionally show the higher number of Orthodox Christians. Also, why the 1865 projection data in total differs so much from 1867 could be explained by looking at the source of the data. The 1865 projection was an official Ottoman, while 1867 was 'private', by

was listed among the ones belonging to the Sanjak of Sarajevo. S. V. B. 1283, p. 105., S. V. B. 1283, p. 47. See also: A. S. ALIČIĆ, *Uređenje Bosanskog ejaleta od 1789. do 1878. godine*, Sarajevo 1983, pp. 121–122; H. ŠABANOVIĆ, *Bosanski pašaluk — postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo 1982, pp. 233–234.



Gustav Thommel, therefore there might be different methods of counting. The same happened again in 1870/71. Although, the 1870/71 projection doesn't deviate too much from the 1879 official census conducted by the new Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁴ Also, if the increase from 1851 can be understood, the decrease from 1865 to 1870 is very problematic, especially when we look at the number of Christians, and Orthodox Christians in particular. This decrease may be explained by a high death rate in the late 1860s due to plagues, as Đorđe Pejanović did,⁶⁵ but it can hardly be the case that the plagues reduced only the Christians' numbers, for at the same time Muslims did have an increase. However, Pejanović's explanation could indeed be true if we consider the influx of the expelled Muslims. Settlement of the expelled Muslims from Serbia in the territory of the Sanjak of Zvornik could likely be the reason why the number of Muslims was reduced much less than the number of Orthodox and Catholics.

Therefore, there are the plagues⁶⁶ that could have been the main reason for the decrease of the population in general. Then we have the emigration of the Christians, mainly into Serbia, so we can assume that it was mostly the Orthodox Christians that emigrated. It is understandable because it was exactly this decade when Serbia managed to *de facto* liberate itself from the Ottoman rule, so that might be a reason strong enough for many Orthodox Christians from Bosnia to move to the newly liberated land instead of remaining under Ottoman rule.⁶⁷ On the other hand, we have the influx of the expelled Muslims from Serbia, which in a significant part covered the potential losses for the Muslim community caused by plagues. In addition, during the late 1860s, more Muslims — all the remaining ones — moved out from Serbia, as the Principality managed to *de facto* completely liberate itself from the Ottoman

64 Compare: S. V. B. 1287, pp. 144–145; S. V. B. 1288, pp. 134–135. with *Haup-Uebersicht der politischen Eintheilung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina. / Glavni pregled političkoga razielenja Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 4.

65 Đ. PEJANOVIĆ, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 36.

66 I don't know what were the sources for Đorđe Pejanović to assume that plagues were the main reasons for the population decrease between 1865 and 1870. In the references that were available to me, I have found no indications of a plague. However, cholera was mentioned several times. In his chronological history of Bosnia, S. S. H. Muvekkit noted: „On the 3rd of Jumadā al-`Ūlā, 1283 (the 13th of September, 1866) cholera appeared in Sarajevo and its surroundings. It was there for more than two months and it has killed a lot of people.“ MUVEKKIT, *Povijest Bosne*, Vol. II, p. 1125.

Also, there were mentions of cholera in the semi-official newspaper of the Vilayet of Bosnia during 1866. *Bosna*, No. 17, Sarajevo September 5–17, 1866; *Bosna*, No. 59, Sarajevo July 3–15, 1867.

67 After the expulsion of Muslims from Serbia, there was much vacant land, which became attractive for many Serb-Orthodox men in the surrounding, still Ottoman territories. The Principality of Serbia has passed a law on the settlement of foreigners, which contained a lot of privileges for the settlers that caused a massive influx of them. It was so massive that by the end of 1865, the Serbian government imposed restrictions on immigration, in order „not to thin out the Orthodox population in the still unliberated areas.“ S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *Muslimani u Smederevskom sandžaku: progoni i pribježišta (1804–1862.)*, in: *150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz Srbije*, pp. 45–46.

rule,⁶⁸ additionally increasing the number of Muslims and covering the losses caused by plagues. Eventually, combining all these factors, by the end of the 1860s Muslims turned majority in the Sanjak of Zvornik.



CONCLUSION

Issues of demographics, population changes, and migrations are always the ones that include various factors that must be considered. Almost every political, social, economical, cultural, technological, or military event or process has its reflections on the population and demographic picture of a certain area. Therefore, even secondary events — here understood as those events not directly connected with the consequences — may often cause significant demographic changes not just in the area concerned, but also in other areas. It was likely the case with the event and the area concerned in this article.

The 1862 Kanlica Conference was an event on its own, caused by certain issues not directly related to the demographics of Northeast Bosnia. Therefore, for the demographic picture of the area, the Conference itself was the 'secondary' one. The main questions of debates at the Conference were not in any way linked to the potential demographic changes in Northeast Bosnia. Those were: whether the Ottoman bombing of the Belgrade from the castle — after the *Čukur česma* incident — was legal at all, whether the castles in Užice and Soko should be torn down, or given to the Serbian authorities, what should be the size of the Serbian army. On the margins of these questions, there were debates and decisions regarding the Muslim population in the concerned Serbian towns. Eventually, those decisions were simple — total expulsion and not subjugation to the Serbian authorities.

The expelled Muslims were expected to move to the closest Ottoman territories. Therefore, many of them — naturally not all of them — moved to the Sanjak of Zvornik, a northeastern part of the Vilayet of Bosnia. Meanwhile, on the left bank of the Drina river, other events and processes were happening almost simultaneously with the Muslim expulsion from Serbia. Natural diseases and emigration of, mostly, Orthodox Christians seriously decreased the share of Christians in the total population of the Sanjak. And while Christians' number was decreasing heavily, Muslims' number was decreasing much less. Whatever the reasons for the decrease were — whether it was due to the plagues as some authors claimed (and as the newspapers noted) or just because the data for previous years were inaccurate — one thing is certain. The influx of the Muslims expelled from Serbia, their actual settlement in the

⁶⁸ As a diplomatic victory of Serbia in the 1862 Kanlica Conference was not enough, its leadership continued to demand more freedom constantly pressuring the Ottomans and the international diplomatic factors. They kept pointing out the remaining Ottoman garisons in Serbia as a cause of disturbances and crisis, demanding their retreat. Eventually, the Sultan issued a ferman on surrendering Belgrade and the remaining towns to the Serbian authorities. The keys of the towns were symbolically given by commander Ali Riza-pasha to the Prince Mihailo in April 1867. S. BANDŽOVIĆ, *Muslimani u Smederevskom sandžaku*, p. 46.



Sanjak of Zvornik, was the main factor that put weight balance in favor of Muslims. Thousands of formerly Serbian Muslims switched the religious majority in Northeast Bosnia.

Therefore, decisions at the 1862 Kanlica Conference had significant reflections on the neighboring areas. Although being a diplomatic victory for Serbia, it was this conference that, intentionally or not — and certainly not — changed the demographic picture in Northeast Bosnia, not only in percentage, by increasing the number of Muslims, but by decreasing the number of Christians as well. That was unquestionably a negative consequence of the events on Ottoman-Serbian relation, and the Serbian authorities realized that in the mid-1860s and took actions to stop the outflow of the Orthodox Christians (who were supposed to be Serbs by Serbia's state policy and its national program of foreign policy) from „*the still unliberated lands*,“ caused by the Conference in part (with Serbia's law on the settlement of foreigners — adopted also due to the Conference decisions, because much of land remained vacant after the Muslims left — being the other part).