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ASHKENAZI JEWS FROM GALICIA IN THE WORLD OF BOSNIAN-HERZEGOVINIAN ISLAM*

The migrations of Jews within Austria-Hungary have captured the interest of historians in the past.[1] A large portion of the research has focused on the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria,[2] the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which, following its downfall in 1795, ended up under Austrian rule.[3] The main reason for this is that in that territory out of all the Austro-Hungarian crown lands, Jews constituted the largest percentage of inhabitants.

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1 Jakob Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, (Berlin: L. Lamm, 1908): 49-58; William O. McCagg Jr, *A History of Habsburg Jews 1670-1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989): 140-161.

2 In the 1970s and 1980s, the migration of Galician Jews to Vienna was discussed in the journal Austrian History Yearbook: Anton G. Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880," *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 11, (1975): 43-54; Scott M. Eddie, "Galician Jews as Migrants: An Alternative Hypothesis," *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 11, (1975), 59-63; Marsha L. Rozenblit, "A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna," *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 19, (1983), 143-152.

3 See Zob. Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, (New York: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Their number was subject to fluctuations over the years, but it can be concluded that it oscillated at around 10-11% of the general population, the majority of whom were Poles and Ruthenians.[4]

The reasons for their emigration were very diverse. However, according to the research of historians concerned with this subject,[5] they were mostly of an economic or social nature, such as the anti-Semitism prevalent in Galicia[6] or the attempts to marginalize them by discrimination, as well as having their access hindered to higher administrative positions which, for many Jews, were the high point of their careers[7]. The changes in the *Ostjuden* community itself were not insignificant either.[8] Inspired by the progressive slogans of the

4 Data based on three censuses from 1880, 1890, and 1900: *Special Orts-Repertorium von Galizien herausgegeben von der K. K. Statistischen Central-Commision*, (Wien: Verlag der K. K. Statistischen central-commision, 1886); *Special Orts-Repertorium von Galizien herausgegeben von der K. K. Statistischen Central-Commision*, (Wien: Verlag der K. K. Statistischen central-commision, 1893); *Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrate Vertretenen Kőngreiche und Länder berarbeit auf grund der ergebnisse der volkszählung vom 31. dezember 1900*, (Wien: Druck und Verlag der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907); Krzysztof Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji. Ludność w latach 1857-1910*, (Kraków-Warszawa: Polskie wydawnictwo statystyczne, 1989): 70-71.

5 Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna," 50-54; Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna 1867-1914. Assimilation and Identity*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983): 13-15.

6 Even though antisemitism in Galicia undoubtedly influenced migration, the animosity of the local element toward the Jews was not as pivotal when making a decision to depart as was the case with the migration of Jews from the Russian Empire who were at risk of pogroms; Loyd P. Gartner, "The Great Jewish Migration 1881-1914: Myths and Realities," *Shofar*, no. 4/2, (1986): 13; Samuel Joseph, *Jewish immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, (New York: Columbia University, 1914): 63-64. Unlike their Russian counterparts, the Austrian authorities made attempts to counter the pogrom attempts, such as in 1898 in the county of Nowy Sącz; M. Soboń, ""Hurra, chłopcy!" Pogromy Żydów w Nowosądeckim w 1898 roku," in: *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 2: Studia przypadków (do 1939 roku)*, ed. Kamil Kijek, Artur Markowski, Konrad Zieliński, (Warszawa: POLIN, 2019): 133-134.

7 Łukasz Tomasz Sroka, Żydzi w Krakowie. Studium o elicie miasta 1850-1918, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2008): 61.

8 This term is used to describe Jews from the eastern territories.

Haskalah, they often abandoned their residences and emigrated in an effort to improve their livelihoods. Hence, the reasons why members of the Jewish community left Galicia are quite well researched, but the study of the directions of such migrations remains much more challenging.

Among the countries of destination for the Galician Jews, one must first mention the United States of America, which, in the second half of the 19th century, welcomed a group of over a million Jews from the Austrian Partition[9]. An interesting phenomenon was the internal emigration mentioned at the beginning which took place within the borders of Austria-Hungary. Throngs of *Ostjuden*, who for various reasons had chosen not to emigrate overseas, headed to Austria, especially its capital Vienna, which, due to the influx of migrants from not only the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but in particular from Bohemia and Moravia, increased its Jewish population severalfold, from 6,000 in 1857 to over 180,000 in 1910.[10]

Above all, the *Ostjuden* sought a place for themselves where they had prospects for development. Hence, they opted for wealthy countries that offered well-paying jobs (or, at the very least, the hope of securing one) or developing countries where diverse labor was in demand. On the map of 19th-century Europe, such a place

9 However, the largest number of Jews who emigrated to the USA hailed from the Russian Empire; Lloyd P. Gartner, "Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America: Traditions and Realities," *Jewish History*, no. 1/2 (1986): 49-51; Wojciech Konończuk, "Wykazują największą skłonność do emigracji," Exodus Żydów z Imperium Rosyjskiego. Mikrohistoria wybranych sztetli Podlasia," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 127/3, (2020), 599-601. Most of them departed from the Prussian ports which had direct transatlantic connections with the American destinations. Tobias Brinkmann, "'Travelling with Ballin': The Impact of American Immigration Policies on Jewish Transmigration within Central Europe, 1880–1914," *International Review of Social History*, no. 53/3, (2008): 465-468.

10 William O. McCagg Jr, *A History of Habsburg Jews 1670-1918*: 228; Beatrix Hoffman-Holter, *"Abreisendmachung": Jüdische Kriegsflüchtlinge in Wien 1914-1923*, (Wien: Böhlau, 1995). The difficult living conditions of Jews in Vienna were described in the interwar period by the renowned Austrian writer of Jewish origin, Joseph Roth; Joseph Roth, *Juden auf Wanderschaft*, (Berlin: Die Schmiede, 1927) [reprint 2015]: 33-35.

was the Balkan peninsula, which, having freed itself more or less single-handedly from Ottoman overlordship, was in need of new elites for its administration, education, economy, etc.

Bosnia and Herzegovina – a Jewish promised land?

However, not all countries were willing to accept Jews. On the contrary, some of them, such as the Kingdom of Romania, pursued an anti-Jewish policy which discriminated against the local Jewish community, leading to its exodus.[11] Similarly, their situation was not much better in neighboring Serbia.[12] No country in the Balkans, however, could offer such attractive conditions for development as Bosnia and Herzegovina. In terms of percentage, the Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina showed the greatest population growth, their numbers increasing by 246%, from 3,426 people in 1879 to 11,868 in 1910. It is worth comparing these numbers with those of the Serbs, whose population in the same period increased by 66%, of the Catholics who grew by 107%, and of the Muslims who grew by 36%. In the Austro-Hungarian period, mainly the numbers of city-dwelling Jews increased, since their share of the population grew from 2% in 1879 to 4% in 1910. Most of them were arrivals from various parts of the Monarchy. According to Dževad Juzbašić, the share of Ashkenazi Jews living in the cities exceeded 95%.[13]

11 Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States*: 75-77. After the Berlin Congress, the Kingdom of Romania pursued a discriminatory policy against the non-Orthodox Christians which was primarily targeted at the Jewish community; William Brustein, Amy Ronnkvist, "The roots of anti-Semitism: Romania before the Holocaust," *Journal of Genocide Research*, no. 4/2 (2002): 212-213; Carol Iancu, Jews in Romania 1866-1918: From Exclusion to Emancipation, (New York: Boulder, 1996).

12 Isak Alcalay, "The Jews of Serbia," *The American Jewish Year Book*, no. 20, (1918): 75; Milan Ristović, "Jews in Serbia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Modern European History*, no. 1 (2018): 17.

13 Dževad Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austroguarskom upravom*, (Sarajevo: ANU BIH, 2002): 372. The same figures are cited by another Bosnian-Herzegovinian historian who studied the community development in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities in the 19th century; Ilijas Hadžibegović, Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. Stoljeća, (Sarajevo: Isntitut

These statistics very clearly indicate the substantial impact of migration on the population growth of the Jews. This, in turn, was essential to Austria, which needed the foreign element from the crown lands to efficiently manage Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had fallen under its sovereignty in 1878. To demonstrate its vital role in the Balkan peninsula, Vienna had to use all means possible to modernize the country.[14] The construction of roads and railroads commenced accordingly, and economic reforms were undertaken. Legislation was brought in line with Western European standards by simplifying the taxation system and abolishing the commercial courts (*trgovačke sudove*),[15] a relic of the Ottoman era. The internal market was stimulated by the construction of new state and private factories,[16] and it became possible to obtain loans at newly established bank branches.[17] However, the bulk of the investments went into the cities, which, like the capital Sarajevo, became

za Istoriju, 2004): 2[0].

14 Literature concerning this subject is very extensive; Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina: 1878–1918*, (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1963); Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the double eagle: the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914*, (New York: Boulder, 1981); Michael Palairet, "The Habsburg Industrial Achievement in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1878–1914: An Economic Spurt That Succeeded?" *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 24 (1993): 133-152; Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'civilizing Mission' in Bosnia 1878-1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. Clemens Ruthner, Tamara Scheer, (Tűbingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2018); Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987); Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878 do 1914*, (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976).

15 Amila Kasumović, *Austrougarska trgovinska polityka u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1914*, (Sarajevo, Udruženje za Modernu Historiju, 2016): 45-46.

16 Ilijas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914*, (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980): 82-85; Michael Palairet, *The Balkan economies c. 1800-1914. Evolution without development*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 217-225.

17 Muhamed Nametak, *Bankarstvo Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu austrougarske uprave* (Sarajevo: Institut za Historiju, 2020): 48-50.

hallmarks of the new authorities.[18] The Austrian administration was primarily concerned with convincing European public opinion that their efforts had resulted in a "civilizational leap" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, every step of the way, they emphasized every possible success, an example of which was the world's first full tram network electrification in 1896.[19] The propaganda of success intensified especially during the term of Benjamin von Kàllay, who made sure that the province under his management was seen as an example of the success of the Austrian Balkan policies that led Bosnia and Herzegovina out of the Middle Ages and into the 20th century.[20]

However, none of this could have been accomplished without the enlistment of a foreign element in the form of the new elites who implemented Vienna's ambitious plans. This applies to both small and large entrepreneurs, as well as, perhaps most importantly, the multitude of public officials employed in the civil administration. The bureaucratic apparatus was vital to efficient governance.[21] As noted by Waltraud Heindl, the Austrian civil administration is

18 Mitija Velikonja, *Religious separation and political intolerance in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, (Texas: Texas A&M University Press 2003): 119-121.

19 An electric tram network was to become one of the hallmarks of the city's outstanding development; Mary Sparks, *The Development of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, 1878-1918: An Urban History* (London-New York: Bloomsbury, 2014): 72.

20 For Kallay, the best way to prove the success of the Austrian civilizing mission was to showcase scientific and technological accomplishments. This was achieved by the establishment of the National Museum, one of the most modern institutions of this kind in the Balkans, as well as the organization of scientific conferences, to which the most renowned scholars of the time were invited. Čiro Truhelka, *Uspomena jednog pionira*, (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografijski zavod, 1942): 96-101. Each event was widely communicated to foreign public opinion by inviting journalists who described the modernization process of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Privatnim pismom ministar Kalaj preporčuje baronu Kučeri pariškog publicistu Kupusa, Beč, 22.04.1891 in: *Naučne Ustanove u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske uprave*, ed. Hamdija Kapidžić, (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1973): 132-133.

21 Tomasz Jacek Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie w latach 1878-1918: studium prozopograficzne*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020): 83-85.

underappreciated, yet its responsibility, and consequently its causal role in the implementation of any reforms, was profound.[22] The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was in equal parts based on its strong army and civil administration. Between 1878 and 1882, the army was the primary tool for stabilizing the country, while in the ensuing years, i.e., from the beginning of the tenure of Benjamin von Kàllay up until 1912, the responsibility for leadership shifted to the civil administration. In turn, when Oskar Potiorek became the *Landeschef*, the bulk of power returned to the military.[23] Thus, for 30 years, public officials were the central pillar supporting Vienna's supremacy in the region. Importantly, it bears mention that bringing in public officials from other territories of the Danubian monarchy made it possible, at least temporarily, to solve the problem of a surplus of educated people, especially impoverished youth graduating from the universities. Such people were unable to find work in their hometowns, so leaving for Bosnia was a perfect solution for them.

Among them were many Jews from Galicia. The overrepresentation of people of Jewish faith was noticed a couple of years ago by Mateusz Maleszka, who, while studying the dossiers of officials from the National Archive in Bosnia and Herzegovina, discovered that among those declaring Polish national identity who were employed in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian administration, Jews constituted almost 20%.[24] It must be noted, however, that the share of people in Galicia who professed Judaism and were employed in public offices was merely 5%.[25] When analyzing these figures, one must factor in a large margin of error associated with the small sample studied by

22 Waltraud Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine. Bűrokratie und Beamte in Ősterreich. Band II: 1848-1914*, (Wien-Kőln-Graz: Böhlau, 2013): 20.

23 This state of affairs was much complained about by the Joint Finance Minister Leon Biliński, who griped in his memoirs that the new legislation stripped him of the ability to efficiently administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, while also granting too much power to Potiorek. Leon Biliński, *Bosna i Hercegovina u uspomenama Leona Bilińskog*, (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju, 2004): 11.

24 Mateusz Maleszka, "Procesy akulturacyjne galicyjskich Żydów w Bośni – analiza teczek urzędniczych," *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, no. 22/2, (2015): 95-96.

25 In 1900, 5.4% of Jews worked in the state and private administration, while in 1910, this share dropped to 4.6%. Soboń, *Polacy wobec Żydów*: 66-67.

the historian from Toruń, a point made by the researcher himself in his work.[26] However, a more extensive analysis of documentation from the archives in Vienna, Kraków, Lviv, and Sarajevo, with regard to the number of Jews from Galicia employed in Bosnia Herzegovina at least at service rank 8, shows that of the 164 individuals, as many as 19 professed Judaism,[27] three of whom converted to Catholicism (Henryk Glűck, Aleksander Glűck, and Hirsch Neufeld), which means that the share of Polish Jews employed in the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina amounted to 11.5%.[28] It must be kept in mind, nonetheless, that the abovementioned studies pertain only to Jews of Polish national orientation. However, this group should not deviate substantially from the entire percentage of Galician Jews employed in the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since as a consequence of the assimilation tendencies caused by, for example, the *Haskalah*, the Polish state-run education system was opened up to the Jewish community, resulting in its Polonization.[29] In other words, a large portion of the followers of Judaism, if they chose to be educated in Polish schools, also assumed a Polish national identity.[30] Another very valuable source, which gives us a slightly broader insight into the number of people of Galician origin who professed Judaism and resided in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Austro-Hungarian period, is the list of members of the Ashkenazi Jewish community in Sarajevo from the interwar period. According to this document, preserved in the archive of the Jewish community in Sarajevo[31], among the 445 members of the

26 Maleszka, *Procesy akulturacyjne*: 96.

27 Cf. Tomasz Jacek Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie*.

28 Author's own research.

29 Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics*, (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 44; Paweł Jasnowski, "Integracja galicyjskich Żydów w świetle lwowskiej "ojczyzny" (1881-1892)" *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 123, (2016): 455-456.

30 For more information on this topic, see Mariusz Kulczykowski, Żydzi – studenci Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie autonomicznej Galicji (1867-1918), (Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 1995).

31 At this point, I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Eli Tauber of the

community, 73 people were either born in Galicia or had parents from that territory, which amounts to 16% of the total. All of them arrived in the Balkans before 1918. This source is important not only because it allows us to provide certain approximate estimates regarding the share of Ostjuden among the Ashkenazi Jews who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also gives us insight into their occupational structure, since in addition to information about the place of birth and year of arrival, there are certain further details available, including their nationality, address, marital status, and occupation. Out of the 72 men and one woman (who was recorded as a widow – *udovica* – in the occupation column), 33% of the individuals recorded in the community were employed as public officials and 30% were involved in various crafts. The last group, also accounting for 30%, were persons engaged in trade or entrepreneurs.

If we compare the above approximate estimations obtained by Maleszka and Tomasz Jacek Lis with the figures from the list of the Sarajevo Jewish community, we may conclude that most Jews from Galicia were employed in the civil administration or represented free professions. While Jewish doctors or lawyers were not uncommon in both Galicia and Bosnia,[32] the significant number of them in public posts is somewhat surprising. All the more so, since in Galicia in 1900, only 5.4% of Jews were employed in public offices, and their percentage share steadily declined – in 1910 it was only 4.6%, even though in absolute figures the number of employed Jews was on the rise. Therefore, the higher percentage of Jews employed in the Austro-Hungarian civil administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina than elsewhere was a result of opening the country to young, well-educated individuals whose background and religion were no impediment, as was the case in other crown lands.

Naturally, in older Yugoslav literature, and sometimes even in contemporary writings,[33] we encounter opinions that Austria-

Sarajevo Jewish Community.

32 Carl Bethke, Dževada Šuško, Percepcija Jevreja u bošnjačkoj štampi, in: *Suživot jevreja i muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini. Primjeri tolerancije od 16. stoljeća do danas*, ed. Dževada Šuško, (Sarajevo: El-kalem, 2021): 135.

33 Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*: 440.

Hungary, especially Benjamin Kàllay, eagerly reached out to newcomers from Galicia, Bohemia, etc., because of the aversion toward South Slavs, especially those of the Orthodox faith, which, however, does not seem entirely accurate. First of all, neither Croats nor Serbs, let alone Muslims, had sufficiently numerous and educated cadres to participate in the shaping of the ″new order″ in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

An Austrian civil servant had to meet certain important criteria. First of all, he had to be proficient in the German language, which was a problem for some of the Slavic subjects, especially those from the southern fringes of the realm,[34] and also well-versed in Austrian legislation. To fulfill these conditions, it was necessary to obtain education, and not only on the secondary level, which provided students with knowledge of the German language, but above all higher education, which allowed one to become acquainted with the Austrian codes of law.[35] Unfortunately, a sufficient number of suitable individuals could not be supplied by neighboring Croatia, even though it had a small university since 1864, nor by Serbia, which lacked an educational institution of this rank until 1905. Therefore, neither Kàllay nor his successors had much opportunity to employ the local populace, but despite this, its share in the distribution of administrative posts grew with each passing year.[36]

Hence, to efficiently govern the former Turkish vilayet, officials from other crown lands had to be brought in to make up for the shortages. Due to their knowledge of the Slavic languages, among the people best suited for work in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the arrivals from Galicia, Bohemia, and Bukovina, who knew German

34 Anna Kobylińska, Maciej Falski, Marcin Filipowicz, *Peryferyjność. Habsbursko-słowiańska historia nieoczywista*, (Kraków: Libron, 2016): 171.

35 Since 1878, the legislation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was modelled on the Austrian law, therefore the knowledge of Austrian codes was required. Eugen Sladović pl. Sladovički, *Upravna nauka i upravno pravo Bosne i Hercegovine: za šerijatsku sudačku školu,* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Vlada, 1916): 88.

36 Fedro Hauptmann, ″Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918″*, Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine*, vol. 59 (1987): 199; *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina für die jahre 1914 bis 1916,* (Wien: Landesdruckerei, 1917): 178.

and had received Austrian higher education.

There were many Jews among them, the number of whom grew year by year. For example, over the 20 years from the 1876/77 semester to 1896/97, the number of students at the Faculty of Law of the Jagiellonian University increased almost fivefold.[37] Not all of them could find employment in their homeland, and even if their efforts were successful, the job was often below their skills, which was actually a common phenomenon not only for Jewish youth, but also for the peasantry who could not find suitable employment due to the lack of appropriate backing, which in Galicia was often more important than the education that they had acquired.

Lawyers, doctors, officials, engineers – Ashkenazi elites in a Muslim country

Job opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina were available in the form of notices published at higher education institutions[38] and in the press.[39] In most cases, however, when a person arrived in the Balkans, they would bring their closest or more distant relatives, along with other acquaintances. In the case of doctors, many of them came to the Balkans with the Austrian army as military medics who later decided to practice civilian medicine. To name a few, this was the case with Ignacy Pordes,[40] Bernard Zauderer,[41] and the aforementioned Leopold Glűck.[42] The demand for doctors was substantial, especially since there was a shortage of adequately educated physicians in the country. Although the first hospital in Sarajevo was built when Vizier Šerif Topal Osman-Paša was still

37 Kulczykowski, Żydzi – Studenci Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: 64-65.

38 Janusz Albin, Polacy w Jugosławii, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 1983): 26.

39 Potrzeba urzędników, "Urzędnik" 1879, nr 2, s. 7; M. G., Dokąd po maturze?, "Głos Urzędniczy" 1911, nr 8, s. 64.

40 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Personalni Dosje, [hereinafter: ABH, PD] Ignacy Pordes.

41 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Zemaljska Vlada Sarajevo, 1913, sign. 18/260/21.

42 Edward Stocki, Leopold Glück, in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. 8, no. 36, red. Kaimierz Lepszy, (Kraków: PAN, 1959): 89.

in power, the needs were far greater.[43] In Bosnia and Herzegovina, access to a doctor was much more difficult than in any of the other crown lands. Although the authorities scored some achievements, such as the establishment of a hospital network in the regional capitals or the opening of a specialist care center in Sarajevo (the Koševo hospital),[44] it was still very difficult to receive specialist care because of the lack of doctors willing to work. This was especially true for women, because in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country with a high percentage of Muslims, the medical treatment of women was somewhat of a major moral issue, as they refused to be examined by male doctors who, on top of that, were not Muslim.[45]

Therefore, in the early 1890s, Joint Finance Minister Benjamin von Kàllay, who presided over Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1882 and 1903, decided to employ the first female doctor – Anna Bayer, a Czech.[46] A few years later, more female physicians followed suit. According to Barbara Martin, the Land Government (Zemaljska Vlada), the administrative body of Bosnia and Herzegovina, employed 9 women between 1892 and 1918, 4 of whom were Jewish: Rosa Einhorn-Bloch, Rosalia Sattler-Feuerstein, and Rachela Weissberg,[47]

43 Izet Masic, *History of Medicine in Bosnia and Hercegovina*, (Sarajevo: Avicena d.o.o., 2011): 92-93.

44 *Das Sanitätswesen in Bosnien und Hercegovina: 1878-1901: mit 2 Abbildungen und 2 Karten*, (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1903): 212.

45 Maria Jakubowska z Seredyńskich, *Z pobytu w Bośni. Wrażenia, obrazki i szkice*, (Bytom: Katolik, 1891): 81-82; Csibor Nečas, *Mezi muslimkami. Působení úředních lékařek v Bosně a Hercegovině v letech 1892-1918*, (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1992): 11-15; Jitka Malečková, Civilizing the Slavic Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in: *"The Turk" in the Czech Imagination (1870s-1923)*, ed. Jitka Malečková, (London: Brill, 2021): 118-121.

46 Zdeňka Jastrzembská, Dagmar Pichová, Jan Zouhar, *Czech Women Philosophers and Scientists*, (Cham: Springer, 2021): 47; Brigitte Fuchs, Husref Tahirović, "Dr. Anna Bayerová: The First Official Female Doctor in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Acta Medica Academica*, no. 48/1 (2018): 121-126.

47 B. Martin, *Liste der 9 von Österreich-Ungarn eingesetzten Amtsärztinnen in Bosnien-Herzegowina* 1892-1918 (unter Berücksichtigung des späteren Berufsweges der Ärztinnen)* https://pl.scribd.com/document/336593960/Liste-der-9-von-Osterreich-Ungarn-eingesetzten-Amtsarztinnen-in-Bosnien-Herzegowina-1892-1918-unter-Berucksichtigung-des-spateren-Berufsweges-der-Ar.

who hailed from Kraków and graduated from the Medical Faculty of the Jagiellonian University.[48] In this group, one should also include Gisela Januszewska,[49] who, however, converted to Catholicism under the influence of her husband, also a doctor, Władysław Januszewski. In turn, Rosa Einhorn married Zygmunt Bloch, 22 years her senior, a Jew from Tarnów working as a court councilor in Travnik.[50] In fact, the highest percentage of educated women were Jewish. In 1907, more than 1/3 of the students at the Sarajevo Higher School for Women (Viša djevojačka škola) were Jewish,[51] and among the first female students from this country to receive a government scholarship were the Bergmann sisters, daughters of a Jew hailing from Austria.[52] These women lend support to the theory that Ashkenazi Jewish women were much more emancipated compared to their Sephardi counterparts, who lived in traditional, patriarchal families.[53]

The local populace was very wary of doctors because, especially in rural areas, they believed that healers who practiced folk medicine were much more effective.[54] It was believed that magical powers could restore or take away life from not only people, but also animals, and therefore doctors were regarded with equal distrust as veterinarians. Even though the treatment of animals was not a prestigious profession, it was nevertheless vitally important in a

48 In 1912, she was awarded the degree of a Doctor of all Medical Sciences; Corpus Studiorosum, Universitatis Jagielloniae: T-Ż, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, (Kraków: Historia Iagiellonica, 2015): 407.

49 Januszewska was a sister of the Austrian satirist Aleksander Roda Rode (Šandor Friedrich Rosenfeld); Aleksander Roda Roda, *Roda, Rodas, Roman*, (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1925): 549–550.

50 Tomasz Jacek Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie*: 301.

51 Bethke and Šuško, *Percepcija jevreja u bošnjačkoj štampi*: 134.

52 Amsal Mešić, "Sestre Berta i Marija Bergman, pionierke ženskog obrazovanja u BiH: bez ulice, bez spomena": 11; ABH, ZVS 1914, sign. 68/25/36.

53 Katarzyna Taczyńska, Aleksandra Twardowska, "Płeć emigracji. Bałkańskie żydówki jako mediatorki wiedzy", *Archiwum Emigracji*, no. 28, (2020): 126–127.

54 Marian Udziela, *Z ludowej weterynarii w Bośni*, (Lwów: nakładem autora, 1902): 14–15.

country where most people lived in rural areas and were engaged in either farming or animal husbandry.[55] Galicia was also an agricultural country, so this is where most veterinarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina hailed from. Among them were, for example, Salomon Laufer,[56] Ignacy Bień,[57] and Henryk Schneider.[58]

Ostjuden were also very eager to take up positions in the judiciary. They were members of a free profession – advocates – but also found employment as public officials, judges in district or regional courts and eventually the Supreme Court, or as prosecutors. Notable among them was Moritz Rotkopf, who served as head of the Ashkenazi community in Sarajevo for 30 years (1898-1928).[59] The need for adequately educated law graduates was as great as the demand for doctors. The law of Bosnia and Herzegovina could not be identical to the legislation in other provinces due to the cultural differences and Ottoman traditions. When laws were established and implemented, local specifics had to be taken into account, e.g., by sanctioning polygamy and allowing Sharia courts for Muslims.[60]

55 In 1895, 88.34% of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was engaged in agriculture, in 1910, 87.92%; Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase*: 102.

56 ABH, PD, Salomon Laufer.

57 ABH, PD, Ignacy Bień.

58 ABH, PD, Henryk Schneider.

59 Sonja Dujmović, "Uzajamna lojalnost – državna politika i jevrejstvo u Sarajevu u međuratnom period," *Prilozi Instituta za Historiju u Sarajevu*, no. 48, (2019): 153.

60 In 1885, the method of inheritance of a widow's pension by several wives of a deceased official was determined, a precedent in the Austro-Hungarian Civil Code. *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu za 1885*, (Sarajevo: Landesdrukerei, 1885): 540-541. A much more pronounced legacy of the Ottoman tradition was the existence of Sharia courts for Muslims, administered by judges of Islamic law; Franjo Kruszelnicki, *Gragjanski postupak za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, (Mostar: Umjetnički zavod Pachera i Krisića, 1903): 33; Mehmed Bećić, "Austrougarska reforma pravosuđa i građanskog postupka u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Godišnjak Pravnog Fakulteta u Sarajevu*, no. 48 (2015): 107-124; Enes Durmišević, "Šerijatski sudovi u Bosni u drugoj polovini XIX stoljeća," *Anali Pravnog Fakulteta Univerziteta u Zenici*, no. 12 (2013): 75-89.

The administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina was structured in such a way that power – excessive power according to some[61] – was vested in the regional governors who, until 1906, in addition to administering the regional office were also responsible for the operation of district courts – the so-called courts at district offices. A similar form of administration existed in Galicia until the 1867 reform.[62] Both before and especially during the war, the governors, as managers of the local structures, were responsible for implementing the laws prescribed by the ministers in Vienna and Sarajevo, which brought upon them the anger of the locals who were discontented with the changes.[63] Consequently, after the war, some officials became victims of repressions, such as the policemen and detectives involved in the investigation and trial of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand.[64]

Adherents of Judaism were not only active in local politics, but also engaged on the national level. In the structures of the Sarajevo Land Government, the executive body under the Joint Finance Ministry in Vienna, we find many Ashkenazim, who were the finest members of this community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was there that the largest number of people with doctoral degrees were employed, which was also true for Galician Jews. For example, Henryk Roettinger was a clerk in the Department of Administration, while Juliusz Kehlman held the post of government councilor in the Department of Economy. For some time, Leopold Glűck and Jakub Seidenfeld served as government councilors for health, and the latter prepared a report on the health condition of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1918.[65]

61 Teodor Kasparek, *Bośnia a emigracja galicyjska*, (Lwów, Druk. "Slowa Polskiego" 1903): 31.

62 Krzysztof Broński, "Rola samorządu w rozwoju prowincjonalnych miast galicyjskich w dobie autonomicznej," *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie*, no. 548, (2000): 64.

63 ABH, ZVS 1912, sygn. 10 7/35.

64 Tomasz Jacek Lis, "Wiktor Leo Iwasiuk – simbol austrougarskog zvjerstva ili žrtva vremena?", *Prilozi Instituta za Historiju u Sarajevu*, no. 49, (2020): 137-165.

65 ABH, ZVS 1918, sign. 95/38.

Although there is no doubt that the Ashkenazim from Galicia had a better chance of being successful in Bosnia and Herzegovina, even there a "glass ceiling" prevented them from reaching the highest and most prominent positions. Despite the handsome representation of Ostjuden among the judges, it is impossible to find any Jews holding the office of court president at the regional level, and the highest rank reached by any of them was the position of court councilor (e.g., Isaac Nick). The same was true in the case of officials employed by the ministries, where we also find many public servants professing Judaism who reached positions corresponding to civil service rank 6 or above. Even such prominent individuals as Leopold Glück, who was one of the most respected scientists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Jakub Seidenfeld, the government sanitary councilor, were unable to achieve anything above rank 7. Not only the absence of Ashkenazim from Galicia in the highest administrative positions, but the lack of Jews in general is indicative of a prejudice which, although far less prevalent than in other regions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, did in fact exist. By comparison, the first two presidents of the Bar Association established in Sarajevo, which was not under the direct authority of the government, were Jews, namely Dr. Josip Fisher and Dr. Moritz Rotkopf, who was also the head of the Ashkenazi community in Sarajevo.[66] It is therefore not true that Jews who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina had free access to all positions and could perform whichever function they pleased.

Following the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authorities in Vienna quickly opened the country to foreign investments. The imperial officials knew well that it was impossible to move the country forward without industry. Therefore, successive Joint Finance Ministers adopted policies aimed at encouraging foreign entrepreneurs to invest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including through the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce,[67] as well as by introducing modern legal solutions. As a result, for some time these lands became a venue of several private financial

66 Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*: 379.

67 Kasumović, *Austrougarska trgovinska politika u Bosni i Hercegovini*: 256–258.

initiatives, which owed their success to their low labor costs and cheap land. Among those who decided to invest their money in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also a small group of wealthy Jewish entrepreneurs, including Bernard Landau, the founder of the first soda water plant, and Josip Štokhamer. The owners of small workshops, such as glassmakers, printers, storeowners, shoemakers, etc., gained greater prominence.[68] They failed to monopolize the market, however, as the Serbian craftsmen and entrepreneurs remained significant competitors. A similar situation obtained with regard to merchants who migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the cities and towns, they encountered competition from the locals,[69] so it was more difficult for them to dominate the local trade or small-scale manufacturing. Nevertheless, it was the Ashkenazim who founded the first drugstore in Sarajevo, and they were also involved in shaping the clothing tastes of the city residents. The third segment of the Jewish migration from Galicia to Bosnia and Herzegovina were people without specialist qualifications. They usually became laborers or worked as auxiliary staff (janitors, couriers, etc.).[70]

Acculturation processes

While in Galicia the poor living on the very edge of survival were, in large part, Jewish, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Sephardi Jews, and especially the Ashkenazim who came from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were usually educated and well-off. Therefore, they quickly became a permanent element of the new

68 Julije Hahamović, Aškenazi u Bosni i Hercegovini, in: *Spomenica 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, ed. Samuel Kamhi, (Sarajevo: Jevrejska zajednica, 1966): 142–152.

69 In the 18th century, trade in the cities and towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina became monopolized by Sephardi Jews and Serbs. R. J. Donia, Sarajevo: biografija grada, (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju, 2006): 56–57. One such merchant family were the Jeftanovićе, a prominent member of which was Gligorije Jeftanović, one of the wealthiest Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and owner of the first modern hotel in Sarajevo, the "Hotel Europa," completed in 1882.

70 Hamanović, *Aškenazi u Bosni i Hercegovini*: 150–152.

middle class which started to form in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1878. Perhaps it was precisely because of the mostly elitist nature of this emigration that, despite the enormous increase in the number of Jews, especially in urban centers,[71] there was no rise in anti-Semitic sentiments, as was the case, for example, in Vienna, which also became a destination of Jewish migrations. Neither is it irrelevant that along with the Ashkenazi Jews, a sizeable group of people of other nationalities also arrived: Poles, Germans, Czechs, Moravians, Hungarians, etc., who were collectively referred to by the locals (including the Sephardim) as Schwabs,[72] regardless of their cultural or linguistic differences. It was only later that these "Schwabs" were distinguished into Slavs and non-Slavs. Even though this emigration was initially treated homogenously, later some differences became evident. Bosnian Serbs, Croats, or Muslims were far more negatively disposed toward, for example, Austrians than they were toward Czechs or other Slavs.[73] Therefore, Jews from these countries were regarded more as Hungarians, Austrians, or Poles professing Judaism than as a separate category of Jews. Besides, the Ashkenazim quickly "grew" into the community of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The enlightened Jews who came from Galicia not only did not alienate themselves from the local populace, but actually stimulated its development. They sent their children to secular schools, frequently becoming teachers themselves, as in the case of Dr. Josip Goldberg, an accomplished physicist born in the capital city to a family of Ashkenazi Jews, who for a time was a teacher in gymnasia in Mostar and Sarajevo.[74]

71 Elijas Tauber, "Jevreji kao nerazdvojeni dio razvoja privrede i kulture u Bosni i Hercegovini": 237.

72 Bethke and Šuško, Percepcija jevreja u bošnjačkoj štampi: 133.

73 Enes S. Omerović, Stosunek państwa jugosłowiańskiego do mniejszości w Bośni i Hercegowinie w okresie przełomu 1918/1919, in: *W kręgu dyplomacji i polityki. W 100-lecie nawiązania stosunków dyplomatycznych między Polską i Jugosławią*, ed. Bojan Dimitrijević, Paweł Wawryszuk, Andrzej Zaćmiński, (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy, 2020): 333-334.

74 Snješka Knježević, Aleksander Laslo, Židovski Zagreb: kulturno-povijesni vodič, (Zagreb: Ždovska opina Zagreb), 2011: 79.

It bears mention that from the beginning of the migration of Jews from Austria-Hungary to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the relations between the Sephardi Jews and the Ashkenazi Jews were tense. The differences between the Jews who came from outside and the descendants of the community that had emigrated to the Balkans from Spain in the fifteenth century were so significant that both communities, especially in the first years of the Viennese "occupation," were wary of each other, and in some cases even hostile. Ashkenazim were definitely more liberal and open to Western European influence. They often used the languages of the countries from which they came: German, Hungarian, Czech, or Polish. The Sephardim remained faithful to their centuries-old culture and language, which was an important element of their national identity. This can be seen perfectly in the analysis of student catalogues called the Nationale, where in the 1913/1914 semester at the Faculty of Law of the University of Vienna 17 Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina studied, of whom 13 declared "Spaniolish" to be the language they used on a daily basis, while the others declared it to be German, Serbo-Croatian, or Jewish "Judish."[75]

Also significant is the fact that it was the Ashkenazim, and not the local Sephardim, who more often were part of the town or local government authorities. It was the Jews that came from different parts of the monarchy who constituted a significant percentage of the officialdom, as was the case, for example, among doctors or lawyers, while Sephardic families earned their living by renting out real estate and, above all, by trading.[76] It was only later, at the turn of the 20th century, that the situation began to change slightly and

75 Archiv der Universität Wien, Juridischen Fakulät Nationale 1913/1914 A, sygn. 562; [Next Jur. Nat.] 1913/1914 B, sygn. 563; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 C-E, sygn. 564; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 F, sygn. 565; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 G, sygn. 566; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 H, sygn. 567; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 I-J, sygn. 568; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 Ka-Kn, sygn. 569; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 Ko-Ky, sygn. 570; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 L, sygn. 571; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 M, sygn. 572; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 N-O, sygn. 573; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 P, sygn. 574; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 R, sygn. 575; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 Sa-Sch, Sygn. 576; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 Se-Sz, Sygn. 577; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 T-V, sygn. 578; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 W, sygn. 579; Jur. Nat. 1913/1914 Z, sygn. 580.

76 Dž. Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda...*, 371.

also among the Sephardim lawyers, doctors and scientists began to appear.

In the consciousness of the other autochthons, i.e., Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, there was also a division into "their" Sephardic Jews as opposed to the "foreign" Ashkenazim, which also hindered the integration of the Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite this, over time the divisions began to blur, the best example of which were Jewish associations, which began to open up to all Jews, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi

Leonarda Odrzywolska, a missionary from the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Felix, who resided in the Polish colonies near Banja Luka from 1903 to 1904, noted that the local town lacked "dirty Jewish shacks,"[77] which was true insofar as there were no poor Jews living there, though Jews were nonetheless present. According to Austrian statistical data, in the early 20th century, Banja Luka was the fourth largest city in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of its Jewish population.[78] They accounted for less than 3% of the inhabitants, yet almost half of the town's Jewish population was Ashkenazi. Her erroneous remark resulted from the fact that she failed to notice any poor Jews such as she had previously encountered in her homeland of Galicia. Therefore, she concluded that there were no Ashkenazim there at all. In other cities, the percentage of Jews ranged from 2% to 7%, except for Sarajevo, where in 1910 they made up over 12% of all residents. It bears mention that the capital was home to as many as 62% of all Jews, 22% of whom were immigrants from various corners of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. On the national level, out of 10,204 Jews inhabiting Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2,854 were Ashkenazi, most of whom arrived after 1878. Before that, only approximately 30 Jews who were not Sephardi lived in the country,[79] which shows even more clearly the great impact of the aforementioned migration on the development of the Jewish

77 Archivio generale della Congregazione delle Suore Feliciane in Roma, Korespondencja s. Leonardy Odrzywolskiej, sign. 2173/903.

78 Avram Pinto, *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*, (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987): 16.

79 Ibidem.

community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The fact that the Ashkenazi Jewish arrivals from Galicia coalesced into the social fabric of the cities and towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not mean that they abandoned their traditions or customs. Nevertheless, some cases of conversion did occur, especially if the significant others of those involved were of a different faith. In such cases, the husband was usually baptized, as was the case with the veterinarian Ignacy Bień[80] and the Mostar court councilor Abraham Goldfinger, who, having been influenced by his Serbian wife, not only converted to Orthodox Christianity, but also changed his first name and surname to Alexander Alexandrović.[81] Others, like Leopold Glůck and his wife Paulina Fink, Jews from Nowy Sącz, decided to renounce the religion of their forefathers and raise their sons as Catholics, although they arrived at this decision only when the boys reached gymnasium age.[82] This was not, however, the general rule. Bernard Zauderer, a physician from Travnik and privately a friend of Leopold Glůck, was not only a deeply religious Jew but also an avid supporter of the Zionist movement.[83] In turn, Isaac Nick, while still a student at the Lviv University, declared his nationality to be Polish, while in the interwar period he remained in Sarajevo, stating that he was a Jew.[84] Ignacy Pordes, a physician, considered himself a Pole[85] and raised his sons, who spoke Polish on a daily basis, in this culture, and yet they still referred to their nationality as Jewish.[86] It is worth noting that Ignacy's grandson

80 ABH, PD, Ignacy Bień.

81 ABH, Vrhovni Sud, Personalni Dosje, Aleksander Aleksandrović.

82 Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie*: 190.

83 Tihomir Knežiček, *Nacionalne manjine u Bosni i Hercegovini – Izvještaj VNMBiH o položaju nacionalnih manjina 2010-2015*, (Sarajevo: Parlamentarna skupština Bosne i Hercegovine, 2015): 72.

84 Державний архів Львівської області спр. 60: Главный каталог студентов, Юридический факультет ф. 26, оп. 15, спр. 85, № 415; Jevrejska opština grada Sarajeva, *Popis opstinara jevreja opštine aškenazijskog obreda*, Isak Nick, no 269.

85 ABH, PD, Ignacy Pordes.

86 Historijski Arhiv Sarajevo, SUGO-2, Feliks Pordes; Universitätsarchiv Wien, Jurisdische Fakultät, Nationalien 1895/1896, Pordes Sigmunt, sygn. 269.

was Alfred Pordes, an accomplished musician who worked at the Belgrade opera house.[87]

Despite having their roots in various crown lands (Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, but also Croatia and Dalmatia), Ashkenazi Jews felt a common linguistic (Yiddish), religious, and cultural heritage. Therefore, they began to assemble into a variety of societies whenever possible.[88] This was true regardless of gender, as many Jewish women were very socially active.[89] They were involved in women's associations, which were neutral in terms of nationality, such as the Frauenverein, and founded their own societies, such as the Oester-Ungarishe Israelitischer Frauenverein "Nächstenleiben".[90] The first and largest Jewish association, La Benvolencija, was established by the Sephardim, but before long Jews who came from outside Bosnia began to establish their own organizations[91].

Sarajevo		**Banja Luka**		**Tuzla**		**Travnik**[92]	
Sephardi	Ashkenazi	Sephardi	Ashkenazi	Sephardi	Ashkenazi	Sephardi	Ashkenazi
588	77	222	199	80	269	427	*

Table 1: Number of Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews affiliated with Jewish associations in selected cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1913

Although the Ashkenazi arrivals are generally treated by historians as a homogenous group, the situation was actually far more complex. As was outlined at the beginning of this article, the assimilation processes caused many educated Jews from Galicia to

87 Serbian and Greek Art. Music. A Patch to Western Music History, red. K. Romanou, Chicago 2009, s. 30-31.

88 Đorđe Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini za vreme austrijske vladavine*, (Sarajevo: Bosanska pošta, 1930), 5-7.

89 Samija Sarić, *Jevrejska kulturna i druga društva u Bosni i Hercegovini 1885-1945*, (Sarajevo: Državni arhiv, 1995): 6-9.

90 Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 85.

91 In 1913, 585 individuals and 10 Sephardi families operated in Jewish associations in the Sarajevo province, while the number of Ashkenazim was 77. ABH, ZVS, 1913, sign. 1913, sign. 57/2/7.

92 In the Travnik society, there was no distinction between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews.

assume a Polish identity. The same was true for Jews from Hungary, Bohemia, and other territories. Such distinctiveness, in addition to their individual declarations (Czech Jew, Hungarian Jew, etc.), is also evidenced by the presence of organizations such as the Jüdischer Verein Achdus – an association of Jews from Galicia and Bukovina, who, seeking to emphasize the individuality of their community, decided to establish their own society in 1906.[93] In addition to the aforementioned associations, 11 other Jewish organizations operated in Sarajevo, and there were 24 in total in all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them were founded by the Ashkenazim for the purpose of charitable activities, one example being Humanidad, to which all Jews could belong, whether Sephardi or Ashkenazi. The Israelite Society of Bosanski Brod operated on similar principles.[94] Even though most organizations subsisted on membership dues, associations could also count on state funding, especially when they ran into financial difficulties.[95]

Jews and Muslims

Ashkenazi Jews arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina were confronted with a reality that was new to them. Regardless of where they came from, the world of Islam was unfamiliar to them. They knew it from numerous travel stories, books, and the press, but such depictions were riddled with stereotypes, often lacking any connection to reality. This was the land of the Orient, which, according to Said, was tantamount to barbarism for Western Europeans,[96] and not only Western Europeans, to be precise. People of Central and Eastern Europe also adopted the British, German, or French stereotypes when it came to the Balkans. The crossing of the border of Western civilization was described by Galician journalists[97] who came to

93 Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini:* 83.

94 ABH, ZVS, 1912, sign. 57/3.

95 ABH, ZVS, 1913, sign. 57/1/6.

96 Edward W. Said, Orientalism, (London: Penguin, 2003): 54-61.

97 Antonii Stadnicki, *Zapiski z podróży po Bośni*, Czas, no. 99, (1904) Kraków: 1.

Bosanski Brod, where the border checkpoint was located.

Despite all that, the authorities attempted to garner sympathy from the Muslims. Following the conclusion of the Nowy Pazar convention with the Sultan in 1879,[98] the Austro-Hungarian Emperor became responsible for his Muslim subjects. Therefore, not only were the Muslims not persecuted, but they enjoyed freedom of religion and had their own judiciary,[99] as well as numerous privileges resulting from the nature of Islam in the military,[100] public administration, and schools.[101] During his visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910, Emperor Franz Joseph stopped at a mosque,[102] thus expressing his respect for the followers of Islam in this country. Hence, at least in theory, Muslims enjoyed the same rights as the rest of the population. The government policy was to win the trust of Muslims, who were supposed to become a group which was nationally distinct from the Croats and Serbs and loyal to the authorities.[103] Despite the Westernization and de-Ottomanization

98 Dženana Čaušević, *Pravno-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine. Dokumenti sa komentarima*, (Sarajevo, Editio Juristica), 2005: 198.

99 Enes Durmišević, "Šerijatski sudovi u Bosni u drugoj polovini XIX stoljeća," *Anali pravnog fakulteta u Zenici*, no. 6/13, (2013): 75-89; Mehmed Bečić, "Novi pogled na transformaciju šerjatskih sudova u Bosni i Hercegovini: Da li 1883. godine nametnut kolonijalni model primjene šerjatskog prava?" *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu*, no. 50, (2017): 59-82.

100 In the military, they had a specific, pork-free diet. In addition, the army employed Muslim ministers. On Fridays, they were relieved of duty. Zijad Šehić, *U smrt za cara i domovinu! Boanci i Hercegovci u vojnoj organizaciji habsburške monarhije 1878-1918*, (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2007).

101 In Vienna, there was a special house for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina where they could stay during their studies. Inside, there was a dedicated place for Muslims to pray. In addition, the menu was tailored to the Muslim students' needs. Otto Paul, *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Institutes für bosnisch-hercegowinische Hochschüler in Wien in den ersten zehn Jahren seines Bestandes* (Studienjahre 1899/1900 bis 1908/1909) (Wien 1910).

102 Zijad Šehić, *U mojoj Bosni. Povodom stogodišnjice posjete cara Franje Josipa I Bosni i Hercegovini od 30 maja do 4 juna 1910*, (Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2013): 89.

103 For more on this problem, see Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under The Double Eagle: The Muslim of Bosnia and Hercegovina (1878-1918)*: Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*: Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can still find some architectural allusions to Islamic traditions in newer construction, both in public buildings, such as the famous Vječnica city hall, and in religious architecture, such as the synagogue designed by the architect Karel Pařík and completed at the beginning of the 20th century on the right bank of the Miljačka river.[104]

Individuals arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially public officials and representatives of free professions, had to adhere to the local rules. Benjamin von Kàllay, the de facto founder of the bureaucratic apparatus in the country,[105] called on the bureaucrats to treat the local populace with kindness, as they were an extension of the monarchy's policy.[106] Therefore, officials were expected not to look down on the Muslims, and in the case of any complaint about religious discrimination, the courts did not hesitate to hold the responsible persons accountable.[107] For these reasons, Jews coming to Bosnia and Herzegovina treated Muslims with respect. On certain occasions, such as the Emperor's birthday, Jewish officials participated in mosque prayers on an equal footing with the others, while Muslims attended the services in synagogues. Orthodox and Catholic churches were visited as well.[108] Muslims and Jews interacted with each other on a daily basis, e.g., in the streets, public offices, and shops, since they participated in building their country on a par with other nationalities.

In the first municipal elections in Sarajevo in 1884, 113 Jews participated in the voting process, while three of them were actually elected. Jews were also elected to the local bodies in other cities as well. However, this was mostly limited to the Sephardim, because until 1918 attempts were made to restrict the possibility of outsiders influencing the local elections, so officials without Bosnian

104 Božić Jelena, "Jevrejski aškenaski hram u Sarajevu," *Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja*, no. 8, (2003): 314-315.

105 Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*, (Leipzig: Veit & Comp, 1914): 55-60.

106 Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie*: 96.

107 ABH, ZVS 1900, sign. 107/688.

108 Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie*: 129.

citizenship and other arrivals from outside the country could not participate in the voting. This was a consequence of the struggle that the Sarajevo Land Government waged against the Serbian and Croatian newcomers to Bosnia, who, according to the authorities, could successfully elect nationalist politicians. The Ashkenazim fiercely protested against this,[109] but they were too weak to stand up to the injustice of the authorities on their own. Therefore, they decided to cooperate with the Serbs, whom they supported in their struggle for religious independence waged between 1899 and 1902.[110] This support, however, culminated in an anti-Semitic press campaign inspired by the government.[111]

Many Ostjuden won the sympathy of the locals, including Muslims who were inclined to cooperate with the Austrians. As representatives of the "new elite," they, like doctors or engineers, were considered to be heralds of progress and contributed to positive changes in the country. Some of them were involved in the local communities, thus winning the sympathy of the locals, such as Bernard Zauderer, who was awarded honorary citizenship of Travnik for his contributions to the town.[112] Not all of them, however, merited such treatment. Nachum Fast of Jarosław, the regional governor of Ljubinje and Bosanska Dubnica, was interned in 1919 on charges of having served the Austrian "occupier" with excessive zeal.[113]

109 Francine Friedman, *Like Salt for Bread. The Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Boston: Brill, 2021): 200–205.

110 Nusret Šehić, *Autonomni pokret muslimana za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980); Božo Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu*, (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982); Dževad Juzbašić, "Pokušaj stvaranja političkog saveza između vođstva srpskog i muslimanskog autonomnog pokreta u Bosni i Hercegovini", *Prilozi Instituta za Istoriju u Sarajevu*, no. 14/14-15, (1978): 141–203.

111 Francine Friedman, *Like Salt for Bread*: 206.

112 Fatima Maslić, *Bolnica Travnik, 100 godina postojanja i djelovanja*, (Travnik: Borac, 1999): 23.

113 Enes S. Omerović, *Političko nasilje u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918-1921)*, (Sarajevo, Institut za Hisstoriju, 2015): 70.

Therefore, after World War I, many Ashkenazim decided to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina. Along with the trains full of Czechs, Austrians, Hungarians, and Poles, the Jews who saw no place for themselves in the Balkans also left the country. They had to find their bearings in the new nation-states, such as Hungary and Poland, which were completely unlike the multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy. For many people, especially the young, born or raised in the Balkans, it was a clash with a reality they had not previously dealt with. They experienced firsthand the anti-Semitism prevalent in the interwar period, something they had not faced before.

Conclusion

Several factors make the Ashkenazi Jewish community that arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 20th century an interesting group. First of all, this was a migration comprised primarily of intelligentsia; officials and representatives of free professions, and to a lesser extent – merchants and businessmen. Moreover, the immigrants came to a country in which a Jewish community (the Sephardim) had already been well-established for centuries, and therefore it was much easier for them to function. The Ashkenazim, most of whom had not only secondary but also higher education, found themselves perfectly integrated into the multicultural mosaic of the "new elite" comprised of persons who, after 1878, ended up primarily in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian cities.

For the Ashkenazim, living in a country with Islam as one of its dominant faiths was a new experience. Despite that, we do not observe any blatant examples of conflict between the Ashkenazim and Muslims, quite the contrary in fact. Most of the female doctors who were sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina to provide care for Muslim women were Jewish. Every year, they helped hundreds of women[114]

114 According to government reports prepared by female physicians, each year they admitted several hundred Muslim women. In 1900, Gisele Januszewska had over 900 female patients, most of whom were Muslim: Brigitte Fuchs, Husref Tahirović, "Gisela Januszewska (née Rosenfeld), an Austro-Hungarian

who, until then, could not count on medical assistance because of religious considerations. One more reason for mentioning them is the fact that they were the pioneers of women's rights, since their example showed Muslim women that despite their gender, they could be educated persons thriving in jobs outside their homes. Despite the lack of research on this subject, the emancipation of Bosnian Muslim women in the interwar period[115] certainly benefited from the influence of women who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from different corners of the monarchy, including well-educated Jews.

'Woman Doctor for Women' in Banjaluka, 1899–1912," *Acta Medica Academica*, no. 49 (2020): 79.

115 Brilliant research on the emancipation of women in Yugoslavia was carried out in the interwar period by Vera Erlih, who conducted surveys among women, asking them about the changes in their lives at the turn of the century: Vera S. Erlih, *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages* (Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1966).