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JULIAN ACTION AS A LEGAL AND POLITICAL PHENOMENON IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA *

Julian action (programme) as a legal and political phenomenon in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the XX century, which occurred in the areas inhabited by Hungarians living abroad. It mostly referred to the establishment of Hungarian schools, cultural societies, religious schools and state railways. There are two opposing opinions on its main goals: on the one hand Julian action was perceived as a measure of preserving the identity, culture and language of Hungarians abroad, and on the other it was recognised as the political Hungarisation of Slavs, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Hungarian government incorporated Julian action into the concept of the Hungarian state idea, aspiring to unite the Hungarian state from the Carpathian Mountains to the Adriatic Sea, with a single Hungarian national language. In that context Hungarians from Bosnia and Herzegovina were observed by other nations as imposed foreign bodies and conquerors, while for Hungary they were a "fortress" defending them from South Slavic nations who were uniting in their fight against the Monarchy, as well as a means of spreading the Hungarian influence and opposing Austrian aspirations. Julian action was short lived due to the oncoming World War and failed to accomplish the long term goal in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: *Julian Action. The Idea of Hungarian National State. Hungarian Cultural Policy. Hungarisation.*

Historiography recognizes Julian action (programme) as a political and legal process conducted by the Hungarian government in the regions where Hungarians lived outside their motherland, especially in Croatia and Slavonia, Erdély and Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ The term *Julian ac-*

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¹ I. Balta, *Julijanska akcija u Slavoniji i ostalim hrvatskim zemljama te Bosni i Hercegovini početkom 20. stoljeća* [Julian Action in Slavonia and other Croatian lands at

tion comes from the title of an Alliance, named after St. Julian,² whose fundamental proclaimed political goal was restoration and revitalisation of cultural activities of the people, but it primarily aimed at “restoration of the united empire within its medieval Hungarian borders.”

Julian action was conducted in many different ways since the birth of the so-called Hungarian national idea, most frequently by founding Hungarian schools. Since 1904 (in Slavonia and Croatia), and 1908 (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) the Hungarian educational system was incorporated in the Julian agenda, which was conducted not only by means of establishing Hungarian schools, but also by building the railway, and instituting religious and cultural programmes. Due to the range and particularity of its conduction in the so-called “national defence of Hungarians” as reaction to the alleged endangerment, Julian action was sometimes referred to as “Bosnian action”. It was also a part of Hungarian policy against Austrian aspirations.

In interpreting the justification of Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Hungarian side excused the actions of the *Association Julián* with concern for its people outside of the borders of the motherland (preservation of identity, culture and language), while the other side (e.g. Croatian, Serbian, or Bosnian) visualized the activities of the *Association* as a political form of de-nationalisation and Hungarisation of the local Slavic population. The Hungarian government included the Julian action in the concept of Hungarian national idea, aspiring to unite Hungarian countries from the Carpathians to the Adriatic sea, where all the nations would be incorporated in the Hungarian nation with Hungarian as the official language. In a way, Julian action can be compared to a similar German legal and political project attempting to realise the great German ideas through *Schulverein* in the countries outside Germany, like in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³ The Italians had similar organisations such as *Dante Alighieri* in Dalmatia, or *Cyrilo-methodian Association* in Istria.⁴

the beginning of the 20th century], Društvo mađarskih znanstvenika i umjetnika u Hrvatskoj [Society of Hungarian Scientists and Artists in Croatia], O tisk, Zagreb 2006; S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija, Historiografija od 1860. do kraja 19. stoljeća i od 1900. do 1914.* [Croatian Historiography from 1860 to the end 19th century, and from 1900 to 1914], Matica hrvatska, Zagreb 2004, 175 766. Main sources: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest [hereinafter referred to as: MOL], Miniszterelnökségi [prime minister / hungarian government] [ME], K 26 [Archive fond Archive No.], 1909, XVI, no. 64 792.

² R. Ivančević, *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva i Uvod u ikonologiju* [Lexicon of Iconography and Symbolism of Western Christianity and Introduction to Iconography]. Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb 1990, 307 308.

³ G. Töködy, *Őssznémet Szövetség (Alldeutscher Verband) és közép európai terve 1890 1918* [General or all German pact and its plans in Middle Europe 1890 1918], Budapest 1959.

⁴ M. Čop, “Odnarodivanje naše djece u riječkim školama nametanjem talijanskog i mađarskog nastavnog jezika u razdoblju mađarske uprave od 1868. do 1918. godine” [Estrangement of our children in the schools of Rijeka and imposing Italian and Hungarian

Julian schools could have been founded, organized and run not only according to the Hungarian law, but also according to the local Law on Education (of Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina). The local law permitted, and even enticed establishing of public and private schools, village schools (Hungarian Julian schools), factory schools (Schools of the Hungarian Railways), religious schools (Hungarian Reformatist Schools). All of this has created space for activities of Hungarian Julian action in Slavonia (Croatia), Erdély, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hungarian administration was interested in territorial integration and perseverance of the greater state role, while Croatian, Serbian and Muslim (Bosnian) political elite were driven by desire for integration of the disintegrated national territories.⁵ In political and legal context, Hungarians settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina were perceived as imposed alien elements in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as the bridgehead of Hungarian invasive politics, and for Hungary they have been a fort on the border against South-Slavic union and devastation of the Monarchy.

Hungarian, Bosnian and Croatian archives and museums are important for the studies of the Julian Hungarian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as their documents about *Julián Associations*, books and articles published in different magazines. There is no special and unique collection for Julian association in the most important archive, the *Magyar Országos Levéltár* [Hungarian State Archive, hereafter referred to as: HAS], in Budapest. Archive documents are preserved in different collections, mostly in the archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,⁶ in the archive of the Prime Minister (K-26, ME) and in the memos of the former Hungarian minister of Education and Religion, Kunó Klebersberg (K-27). The sources of special importance are preserved in the *Széchenyi Könyvtár* Budapest [Library Széchenyi], the collection *Boszniai Hírek – Balkáni Tudósító* [Bosnian News – The Balkan Reporter] 1910–1916, which became available just recently. Some documents relating to the Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be found in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. As for the literature on the topic, there are only a few important research and works by the Hungarian⁷ and Croatian authors.⁸

ian languages during the Hungarian rule from 1868 until 1918], *Zbornik Pedagoškog fakulteta u Rijeci*, 5/1983, 41–49.

⁵ L. Katus, *A délszláv magyar kapcsolatok története* [Historical relationship between the South Slavs and Hungarians], Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem, Pécs 1998.

⁶ The crown document of great importance is the Statute of the *Association*, which was amended many times, and can be found in MOL under: MOL, K 26. 1913. XVI. 2 285.

⁷ P. Petri, *A Julián Egyesület története* [The history of Julian Society ...] *33 év küzdelme és munkája: Julián barát kutató útjának 700 ik évfordulójára*, Budapest 1937; P. Petri, *A Julián Egyesület története* [The history of Julian Society] *alapító tagjainak, választmányának és titkárságának névsora* [Foundation Members of Society], Budapest 1937; Ferenc Bernics, *A Julián akció* [The Julian Action] *egy "magyarságmentő egyesület"*

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy annexed the two South-Slavic regions in 1908, as a part of the so-called “Bosnian action.” Consequently, migration to these regions increased, and especially the migration of Hungarians from Slavonia and south Hungary, and Germans from central Germany, Galicia, Bukovina and south Hungary. The action was initiated as a part of governmental programme “for balanced immigration of Hungarians at the end of the XIX century”, with the purpose of organizing the religious and cultural life of Hungarians, and strengthening of national identity of Hungarian immigrants in the USA, Erdély, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The existing Hungarian minority across the Sava river was supported by the government funds.⁹ The planned government legal action started in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of 1909, according to the sources from the registry of the Council of Ministers,¹⁰ but it did not produce any significant results as too few Hungarians immigrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina for the next thirty years after the occupation. In 1910 there were 62.541 Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who immigrated mostly from Croatia, Slavonia and south Hungary,¹¹ the areas inhabited mainly with the “mixed” population of administration workers, and the financial and merchant enterprises employees, including those of Serbian, Croatian and German origin.¹² A part of agrarian population immigrated sporadically into Slavonia and south Hungary, but when the news spread that the land in Bosnia and Herzegovina is was being sold cheaply with the support of the Government of

tevékenysége Horvátországban és Bosznia Hercegovinában és a jelen 1904–1992., Panónia Könyvek, Pécs 1994; B. Makkai, “Végvár vagy hídfő?: “idegenben élő magyarság nemzeti gondozása Horvátországban és Bosznia Hercegovinában 1904–1920.” [“National care for Hungarians in the other countries – Croatia and Bosnia from 1904–1920.”], *Lucidus*, Budapest 2003.

⁸ I. Balta, *op. cit.*

⁹ B. Makkai, *op. cit.*; *id.*, *A Slavoniai actio és horvátországi magyarság: 1904–1920.* [Slavonian action and Hungarians in Croatia], Kandidátusi értekezés, Budapest 1994; M. Szabados, “Julián” iskolák magyar szórványgondozó működése Horvát Szlavónországban 1890–1918 között” [“Julian Schools in Croatia and Slavonia between 1890 and 1918”], *A Hungarológia oktatása*, np. 7–8, Budapest 1990, 7–19.

¹⁰ MOL, K 27, MT jkv., 1910. szept. 29., I., 28

¹¹ “Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények” [“Hungarian State Statistics”], *Új sorozat*, 64. kötet, Budapest 1920, 74–75; J. Margitai, *A horvát és szlavónországi magyarok sorsa, nemzeti védelme és a magyar horvát testvériség* [The fate of Hungarians in Croatia and Slavonia, national defense and brotherhood of Hungarians and Croats], Eggenberger féle könyvkereskedés (Károly Rényi), Budapest 1918.

¹² István Burián közös pénzügyminiszter egy 1906 decemberében készített emlíkiratában említette, hogy a közigazgatásban alkalmazott osztrák magyar állampolgárok 82 százaléka szláv nemzetiségű [Istvan Burian, the minister of Finance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, provided financial support to 82 Slavonian children.....], MOL, K 26, ME 713. csomó 1553, 1907, XXXVI. tétel.; F. Bernics, *op. cit.*

Bosnia and Herzegovina,¹³ the immigrants accepted the risk to settle down in Bosnian Posavina, Sarajevo (the capital of Bosnia) and Mostar (Herzegovina), where the small community of a couple of hundreds Hungarians already had lived. Prior to the annexation, Hungarians had lived in Sarajevo and Mostar, and also in Brčko, Bjeljina, Zavidovići, and Vučjak near Prnjavor.¹⁴

It might look strange that the Hungarian government after the annexation initiated an expensive action to the benefit of a small number of Hungarians from South-Slavic countries. The explanation can be found in the Austro-Hungarian stance towards the Balkans. Shortage of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was caused by migrations and by the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This shortage was dealt with by the newly planned politics of the Monarchy, authorised by the Berlin Congress. The preventive occupation and annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was motivated by the possible conflict with Serbia, which thought itself to be the Piedmont of the Balkans. Hungarian political administration emphasized the need that the Austro-Hungarian emperor/king proclaims the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a territory belonging to the former Hungarian kings by their historical right in his declaration of October 5, 1908. Their wishes stayed unfulfilled, and the rivalry of the dualist Monarchy continued in the annexed region. Relations between the two parts of the Monarchy changed to a certain degree when Béni Kállay became Minister of Finances, and the Hungarians succeeded to turn the course of events to their advantage, but in time of István Burián this trend was stopped.

Hungarian political administration and press had a hard time coping with the fact that Austria was perceived as financially advancing, while the press in autonomous Croatia and Slavonia treated the political presence of the Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina to have been unjustified and overexcessive.¹⁵ The old and famous Croatian-Slavonian newspaper *Hrvatsko pravo* [Croatian law] labelled the presence of Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina “collonization.”¹⁶ Meanwhile, the official stance of Budapest was that immigration must be enticed and that the region “that once belonged to the Hungarian sacred crown” can not

¹³ F. Günther, *Bosznia Szávamellékén*, Bittermann és Fia, Zombor 1910, 24.

¹⁴ *Tájékoztató a Julián Egyesületről*: Hatodik jelentés a Julián Egyesület 1913. évi működéséről, Budapest 1913, 7; J. Margitai, *A horvát szlavónországi magyarok sorsa, nemzeti védelme és a magyar horvát testvériség* [The fate of Hungarians in Croatia and Slavonia, national defense and brotherhood of Hungarians and Croatians], Budapest 1918, 353.

¹⁵ Kitérő lelkesedéssel fogadták az annexiót, remélve, hogy a “horvát” tarományok egyesítését, Nagy Horvátország létrejöttét. Ez a kétpólusú monarchia trialista átalakításával jelentett volna egyet.

¹⁶ “Magjarska kolonizatorska politika u Bosni” [Hungarian colonization politics in Bosnia], *Hrvatsko Pravo*, 1909. maj 7.

possibly be perceived as foreign land.¹⁷ Béla Széchenyi, president of the *Association Julián*, emphasised: “until we set foundations to Hungarian influence, Austrians surpassed us greatly with their organization in economics and culture.”¹⁸ Thallóczy, a well known expert for Balkans and an influential person of that time, concluded that if the Monarchy wants to hold on to the role of super-power after the Ottoman Empire is gone from south-east Europe, it will have to arm itself materially and spiritually. It demands presence of Hungarians due to their historical intermediary role amongst the neighbouring nations,¹⁹ especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In spite of wishes and efforts, Julian action remained to be a modest cultural movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not so much because of financial reasons, but mostly due to the unfavourable political standing towards Hungarian expansion.

The preparation of the Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina was conducted stealthily, and therefore one can not find a lot of information about it in the archives. *Association Julián*²⁰ was the one responsible for enforcement of Julian action, and it gathered government officials and scholars. Being an operational organization, *Association* was functioning as an assistant of Hungarian Government, and produced significant effect in Slavonia.²¹ Therefore, it was unnecessary to develop new organisational layouts, programmes and strategies. It was sufficient to find a few secretive and experienced officials and get in touch with the leaders of

¹⁷ “Húsvét című mell.,” *Dunántúl*, 1913. március 23. [“...még a magyar befolyás alapjait sem raktuk le, és az osztrákok úgy gazdasági, mint kulturális szervezkedés terén messze túlszárnyaltak bennünket.”] [“before we have even laid the foundations of Hungarian influence, Austrians defeated us with their advanced organization in the fields of culture and agriculture.”]; I. Balta, “Mađarske škole u hrvatsko-slavonskim županijama u sustavu julijanske akcije krajem XIX. i početkom XX. stoljeća” [“Hungarian Schools in Croatian Slavonian areas as part of the Julian Action at the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century”], *Osijek, Život i škola*, 6/2001, 30–45.

¹⁸ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 1013, 1911, XVI. t. 560 a(lap)sz(ám); P. Petri, *A Julián Egyesület története* [The History of Julian Society...] 33 év küzdelme és munkája: Julián barát kutató útjának 700 ik évfordulójára [Foundation Members of Society], Budapest 1937.

¹⁹ L. Thallóczy, “A Balkán félszigeten beállott változásokkal szemben Magyarországról követendő eljárás kulturális és gazdaság politikai téren,” *Emlékirat.*, M. Kir. Állami Nyomda, Budapest 1912, 1, 3. OSZK K.t., Fol. Hung./2.

²⁰ “Az 1904-ben létrehozott szervezet valójában a kormány inkognitójának megőrzését biztosító operatív testület volt. Vezetőségében és tiszteleti tagjainak sorában befolyásos politikusokat, főpapokat és közéleti személyiségeket találunk.” Béla Széchenyi, Kunó Klebelsberg, Ignác Darányi, Loránd Eötvös, ifj. Gyula Andrássy, István Tisza stb. “A szakminisztériumok munkatársaiból gonddal kiválasztott referensek (statisztikusok, gazdasági, oktatásügyi és jogi szakértők), valamint a nyelv- és helyismerettel rendelkező tanítói kar szervezte, illetve vitte véghez zömmel mindazt, amit a budapesti kormányzat az akció keretében elérni kívánt.”

²¹ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 1010, 1909, XVI. t.

Hungarian *Julián Association* in Sarajevo, which was founded in 1905, so that the action in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an integral part of the action in Croatia and Slavonia, could commence.

The first goal that *Association Julián* wanted to achieve in Bosnia and Herzegovina was to create conditions for learning Hungarian language in Sarajevo, where the majority of Hungarian community have lived. This was necessary as, according to the census of 1910, 80,05 % of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was illiterate, and only 15 % of pupils attended school even though primary education was compulsory.²² The children attending Hungarian schools in Sarajevo could learn Hungarian language as an elective course in several educational institutions.²³ József Margitái, the foreman of educational system of *Association Julián*, during his visit to the precincts, recommended forming the schools with 2–3 classrooms, and also studying Serbo-Croatian and German language as mandatory course, if possible.²⁴ Margitái even founded suitable school building in Sarajevo, and by 1910 the Government authorized 14.600 krunas for the proposed expenses.²⁵ After the Bosnian Government gave them permission, they rented a two storey building in the centre of the town, which will later be known as the *Hungarian House*.²⁶

There are some evidences of the way in which the Julian action was imagined: “It would not be amiss for our national interests if we could find few of good friends among Muslims and Serbs.”²⁷ Due to this attitude, the classes in Hungarian school in Sarajevo were carried out in three languages. However, out of 180 students enrolled in this school, only 68 of them were Hungarian, and the rest were Germans, Serbs,

²² A. Benisch, “Bosznia Hercegovina iskolaügye” [Schooling in Bosna and Herzegovina], *Magyar Paedagogia*, Budapest 1914, 558

²³ [A Kranken Verein által fenntartott 5 tanítós német iskolában, Mosztárban, Dolnja Tuzlán és Banja Lukán horvát középiskolákban volt elvi lehetőség a magyarnak, mint választható tárgynak a tanulására] [German groups assigned 5 teachers to the schools in Mostar, Lower Tuzla, and Banja Luka...] MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 6119, 1910, XVI. 1010. asz.

²⁴ Margitai (korábban a csáktornyai tanítóképző igazgatója) gyakorlott tantervkészítő volt. Ő hozta összhangba a magyarországi 6 osztályos elemi iskolai tananyagot az 5 osztályos horvátországi s a boszniai 4 esztendőös képzéssel.

²⁵ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 94., 1910., XVI. t.

²⁶ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 1764., 1910., XVI. t. 94. asz.

²⁷ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 1764., 1910., XVI. t. 94. asz. “A szervezés során az egyesület kieszközölte, hogy a bosznia hercegovinai és magyarországi elemi és középiskolákat egyenértékűnek ismerjék el, mivel mint írták: ... kívánatos volna, ha mohamedán és szerb körökben nemzeti ügyünknek jóbarátokat tudnánk szerezni...” [“In the course of Julian Action, the Society managed to introduce the same standards in bosnian and hungarian primary schools and secondary schools. They wrote:... Our national interests would benefit from finding some Muslim and Serbian friends ...”]

Croats, and Spanish Jews.²⁸ Religious teaching was provided in the Hungarian schools for four religious groups (Catholic, Muslim, Orthodox, and Judaism). Children that lived in remote places could benefit from the organised transport to school and back.²⁹ But, the contemporary Croatian newspaper *Novi list* (published in Rijeka) did not attribute such a significant interest of other nations for the Hungarian schools to their fine organisation, but to the fact that these schools did not charge any tuition, and that they offered free textbooks and school outfits. Furthermore, they claimed that a great number of Croatian children were bribed into going to school with various allowances.³⁰ Although the latter claim was mainly incorrect, newspaper articles like these, having been very common in Croatia and Slavonia, showed that Hungarian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not acquire full understanding. The same was confirmed in the report of the vice president of the *Association Julián* in 1910 after his visit. On that occasion Gyula Vargha said that it is unacceptable to subordinate *Association Julián* to one of Hungarian private schools, because that might sound vulgar. Instead he proposed that society of Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina takes up this duty. He also wanted to found another elementary school for the needs of working class in Novo Sarajevo, and a secondary school, explaining that without expanding the cultural action, all of the invested efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be lost.³¹

Association Julián collaborated with the Bosnian authorities in the beginning, along with the sympathy of the Bosnian minister of finances towards the founding of the new elementary schools. But this was a short-lived phenomenon, because, due to the South Slavs problems, and latter the Balkan Wars, numerous anti-Hungarian tendencies occurred. And in spite of this, in January of 1911, *Association Julián* requested permission and support from the Bosnian Government for foundation of the two secondary schools in Brčko (signing up 60 students from Brčko area, and 30 more from Slavonia), and in Zavidovići, where they wanted to found a school for the children whose parents worked in *Gergersen* wood corporation based in Budapest.³²

At the same time Lajos Thallóczy, foreman of the office of the Joint Ministry of Finances, warned Kunó Klebelsberg, Chief Executive

²⁸ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 6029, 1910, XVI. t. 94. asz.

²⁹ A gyermekek iskolába fuvarozása a horvátországi akcióban bevett szolgáltatásnak számított, de Szarajevóban is megszervezték, hiszen a Boszniai akció 1911. évi költéségtérítési tervében is szerepelt ez a kiadási tétel. [Since 1911, students were increasingly learning Hungarian language in Croatia and in Sarajevo ...] MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 6135, 1910, XVI. t. 94. asz.

³⁰ Idézem a Szlavóniai Magyar Újság 1910. október 10-i számából.

³¹ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 6319, 1910, XVI. t. 94. asz.

³² MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 560. 1911, XVI. t.

Officer of *Association Julián*, that intervention is necessary, after provincial assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina denied public aid to Hungarian school in Vučjak, so to prevent assimilation.³³ In Mostar, school was supposed to be founded immediately, but the problem was that the Hungarian community in that area was meagre, and forming a heterogeneous school indicated that the *Association Julián* should withhold from any other action. In Bjeljina, after visiting the precincts, 250 Hungarian families entered into register, but because of their “troublesome” Serbian neighbours, they lived in constant national unrest.³⁴ Closer cooperation between the school and the *Association Julián* was very much welcome because the statutes of the regional government allowed the local associations to found schools, but not to the *Association Julián*.³⁵ However, anti-Hungarian, and so-called “great-Croatian” press attacked these multinational schools and described them as “centres of Hungarisation”.³⁶ One of the headlines in newspaper *Obzor* (Zagreb) was titled “Anti-Croatian Hungarian Agents”.³⁷ Another article fiercely attacked Hungarian institution in Mostar, accusing it to be a means of constant Hungarization and denationalization of Croatian territories from Rijeka to Mostar and Zemun.³⁸

But, the actual situation in Hungarian school in Sarajevo in the spring of 1911 was quite acceptable. In the neighbourhood of the Catholic Church, in the school that acted within the Hungarian house (*Magyar Házban*), four teachers knew Hungarian, Croatian and German language. They were teaching all together 194 students, 62 Hungarians, 62 Germans, 42 Croats, 1 Serb, 1 Muslim, and 23 Spanish Jews. This educational institution, where the classes were conducted in several languages, and with enviable level of education, many non-Hungarian parents approved of.³⁹

Motivated with success of the school in the centre of Sarajevo, *Association Julián* started to prepare foundation of the school in Novo Sarajevo, inhabited with many workers. While drawing up the budget for the year 1912, Government with Szécheny ahead, urged founding of the four

³³ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs 1013. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz.

³⁴ A szerbiai lapok terjesztették el a hírt, hogy 1906. augusztus 31 én felkelés robbant ki az osztrák magyar elnyomókkal szemben. A hírt egyébként Burián István em lékiratában teljesen alaptalannak nevezte, MOL, K 26, ME 713. cs. 1553. 1907., XXXVI. t.

³⁵ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 5650. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz.

³⁶ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 5420. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz.

³⁷ *Obzor*, 1911. szeptember 8.

³⁸ *Obzor*, 1911. szeptember 15.

³⁹ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 2044. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz. Így nevezték a Fischer József által bérebe adott emeletes épületet, ahol a magyar iskola és a különböző közművelődési csoportok működtek, egészen az iskola “túlfejlés” éig. [Fischer Jozsef, the head of Sarajevo Society influenced the hungarian schools...]

schools justifying it with a large number of those who wanted to enrol.⁴⁰ At the end of 1911, after easily gained working licenses for the schools and kindergartens, *Association* leadership believed that the ice was broken. Still, the projection was a bit too optimistic, as barely three months have passed before the fierce anti-Hungarian press campaign began. Anti-Hungarian press attacks did not surprise *Association Julián*. Therefore, two influential members of the regional political society, leaders of the *Association*, József Fisher and Elek Feichtinger, started to re-publish Hungarian newspapers in Bosnia to neutralise ever-growing anti-Hungarian attitude.⁴¹ The potential editor-in-chief was György Bálássá, high school professor of Hungarian language, with “good connections in other media”. On the other hand, Thallóczy expressed concern explaining that Bálássá’s activity in politics, and teaching in high school at the same time, could lead to an unpleasant outcome.⁴² However, Government backed him up on this matter.

On February 19, 1912 huge anti-Hungarian demonstrations occurred, and one of the main figures protested against was György Bálássá. Newspaper *Hrvatski dnevnik* [Croatian Daily]⁴³ wrote about the brutal intervention of the authorities, dishonourable deeds of Hungarian soldiers and “full-blooded Hungarian” Bálássá, which all transformed into several weeks long student riots. Serbian newspaper *Srpska riječ* [Serbian Word] mentioned that Bálássá’s life was in danger, and that principal Kudlich (Bálássá’s boss) could be personally responsible for it,⁴⁴ while, on the other hand, another Serbian newspaper *Narod* [People] supported Bálássá, saying that Gyula Bako, substitute teacher, along with students, was planning to take Bálássá’s place.⁴⁵ As a consequence of assimilation, Hungarian schools were put on the spot, and statements about Julian action well known in Slavonia, started to appear in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴⁶ Austrian newspaper *Sarajevo Tagblatt* entered the campaign in April, fiercely attacking *Association Julián*,⁴⁷ which defended itself with Elek

⁴⁰ Hiszen 1911 őszén a belvárosi iskolában 192, az óvodában 60 gyermek, a kül városi iskolában pedig 80 tanuló, illetve 50 óvodás oktatását, illetve felügyeletét kellett el lássa az alkalmazott 6 tanító és 2 óvónő, MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 5777. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz.

⁴¹ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 6322. 1911, XVI. t. 560 asz.

⁴² Thallóczy Balassa megbízását illetően a közvetlen politizálással szemben a szakmai munkát részesítette előnyben, mint írta: “Én sokkal jobbnak tartanám, hogyha György Balassa a szerb horvát bosnyák iskolák számára jó magyar nyelvtant szerkesz tene és ebbeli hivatását teljesítené, amiért bővebben megérdemelné a neki szánt segélyt.”

⁴³ *Hrvatski Dnevnik*, 1912. február 20.

⁴⁴ *Srpska Riječ*, 1912. március 5.

⁴⁵ *Narod*, 1912. március 27.

⁴⁶ *Hrvatska Zajednica*, 1912. március 20.

⁴⁷ “Mert Szlavóniából most már jól tudjuk, hogy milyen (magyarosító !) célt szolgál a Julián.” [Through Julian action Slavonia should become more Hungarian in its nature...], *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, 1912. április 4.

Fichtinger's articles in *Bosnische Post*.⁴⁸ *Association Julián* was forced to revise the situation and its points of view, after realising that their biggest support, Hungarian-Muslim friendship, was not more than a mere slogan: "People watch us: whose friendship is not useful, and whose hostility is not harmful."⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the new Hungarian school in Mostar was opened in 1913,⁵⁰ and started to work in the fall of 1914.⁵¹ During the first year it enrolled 39 students, and additional 15 students in the second year (37 Catholics, 13 Jewish, 2 Evangelists, and 2 Muslims). In the meanwhile, three more schools were founded in the southeast Bosnia. The first school to be opened in response to the request of the Julian society of Hungarians in Bjeljina was the school for 82 students of the neighbouring Ljeljanča.⁵² The school started to work in 1912, and 75 children declared themselves as Hungarians.⁵³ Hungarian school was also opened in Brčko in September 1912, in a building shared with *Association Julián*.⁵⁴ In 1913 the classes also began in the Hungarian school in Vučjak at Prnjavor,⁵⁵ while there are no historiographical information on Hungarian school in Zavidović.

Along with their advanced educational system, Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina also founded prominent cultural and social institutions, associations and literary circles. The most famous one was the Association of Hungarians in Sarajevo, which was founded spontaneously in 1905, well before the Julian action began.⁵⁶ The Association changed its

⁴⁸ "A közlemény felróta a német nyelvű lapnak, hogy miért vonja kétségbe magyar pénzen szervezett iskolák létjogosultságát, miközben a két tartományban 13 német tannyelvű iskola háborítatlanul működik, köztük a Franz Joseffeld i, a tartományi kormány pénzügyi támogatását is élvezve" [Hungarians must be financially stronger, Germans have 13 teachers in some places, for example in Franz Joseffeld...], *Bosnische Post*, 1912. április 30.

⁴⁹ MOL, K 26, ME 1120. cs. 160. 1913, XVI/a. t.

⁵⁰ "Az egyesület volt[!] tanfelügyelője tudtunk és beleegyezésünk nélkül ígéretet tett a Mosztári Magyar Kultúregyesületnek az iránt, hogy Mosztárban is szervezzünk polgári iskolai tanfolyamot, s így (...) kénytelenek voltunk Mostarban is kísérletet tenni." állt az Julián Egyesület jelentésében] [Hungarian cultural group in Mostar influences the state schools, and Mostar itself, through the Julian society...], MOL, K 26, ME 1185. cs. 3580. 1913, XVI/a. t. 3137 asz.

⁵¹ Az intézménybe 29 diák iratkozott. MOL, K 26, ME 1185. cs. 7439. 1913, XVI/a. t. 3137 asz.

⁵² MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 3224., 1911., XVI. t. 560 asz.

⁵³ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 7707., 1912., XVI. t. 84 asz.

⁵⁴ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 3772., 1913., XVI/a. t.

⁵⁵ MOL, K 26, ME 1085. cs. 6961., 1913 XXV/a. t. 832 asz. és 992. cs. 1522. 1914, XVI. t.

⁵⁶ MOL, K 26, ME 854. cs. 1010. 1909, XVI. t. Az egyesület társas összejöveteleket szervezett, közművelődési, jótékonyági, idegenforgalmi és humanitárius tevékenységet folytatott, és egy könyvtárat is működtetett.

name into the Association of Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1912 out of the practical reasons, so that it could establish the schools in the whole country.⁵⁷ The Association of Hungarians in Sarajevo cooperated with the Association of Hungarians in Herzegovina, which was founded in 1910 under the name of Cultural society of Hungarians in Mostar,⁵⁸ and with the Association of Hungarians in Brčko.⁵⁹ Development of the Hungarian institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina ceased with the fall of the Monarchy in 1918.

This is what Béla Makkai had to say on the matters of Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “Action in Bosnia and Herzegovina represented those Government programmes, which were formed in the beginning of XX century, concerning Hungarians that lived outside of Hungary, in terms of their well being and preventing their assimilation. According to the available historiographical sources, we can ascertain that Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina was an extension of such action in Slavonia, which was incited on the same lingual region and with the similar political interests, and supported by the joint financial sources within the societies that were based on the same principles, and equipped with the same human resources... In Croatia, Slavonia and the USA there were about 100.000 Hungarians, but not more than couple of thousands of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such a small number of Hungarians in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not justify initiation of the programme that was so expensive.”⁶⁰

The true reasons of Hungarian politics, historically motivated and oriented to increase the influence of Hungary in the Balkans, can be attested in the correspondence of Lajos Thallócy and other leaders of the Julian action. The same motivation was upheld by the Government in Budapest. Other actions, like migration of the Hungarian people across the rivers of Drava and Sava, was not supported by the Hungarian Gov-

⁵⁷ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 1977. 1912, XVI. t. 84. sz.

⁵⁸ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 660. 1911, XVI. t. 560. sz. Az egyesület keretei között magyar nyelvtanfolyam, dalárda, tánc- és vívótanfolyam és könyvtár is működött.

⁵⁹ MOL, K 26, ME 968. cs. 2772. 1913, XVI/a. t.

⁶⁰ Költségvetési kimutatásaiban a Julián Egyesület szét sem választotta a két akció tételeit. Margitai a két terület magyar iskoláinak közös tanfelügyelője volt. Mindkét akció kalendáriumát Sándor Ágoston lelkész szerkesztette stb.] [Julian culture must act in double strength ...]; B. Makkai, *A Slavonai actio és horvátországi magyarság: 1904–1920.*: Kandidátusi értekezés, Budapest 1994. “A boszniai akció azon kormányprogramok sorába tartozott, amelyeket “az idegenben élő magyarság nemzeti gondozása” címén a határokon túl élő szóránymagyarság beolvasásának meggátolása érdekében indítottak a századelőn. A források ismeretében megállapítható, hogy a boszniai akció a szlavóniai akció szerves folytatásaként bontakozott ki azonos nyelvterületen, sok tekintetben hasonló politikai viszonyok között, közös költségvetési forrásból táplálkozva, egyazon elvek szerint működő szervezeti keretekben és személyi állományi közreműködéssel (lásd: Julián Egyesület). A hasonlóságok és összefonódások ellenére a boszniai akció több szempontból mégis eltérő fejlődést mutatott.”

ernment. The fundamental strategic goal of the Hungarian government was strong Hungarian and German resistance to the South-Slavic separatist tendencies.⁶¹ The most efficient means of keeping the national identity was education in mother tongue, and the Hungarians gained a lot in that respect in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the ten years of Julian action (1908–1918).⁶²

Altogether, Hungarian educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina consisted of nine institutions,⁶³ and it was formed by the *Julián Association* and the Minister of Finances, with the help of the Hungarian government and different Hungarian associations. The Regional Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not set any obstacles to this action. On the contrary, it had issued the work permits and did not attempt to close down the existing schools. In the eve of the World War I, massive anti-Hungarian demonstrations broke out, and the press attack on Hungarian schools and associations put the survival of the Hungarian schools in danger.⁶⁴

The Julian action in Bosnia and Herzegovina lacked in any coherent financial planning and such deficiency was its major difference comparing to the Julian action in Croatia and Slavonia. The banks represented a rare exception. The only planned and successfully realized economic initiative of the *Julián Association* in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the program of practical education of the craftsmen.⁶⁵ Even the most promising part of the Julian action, scholarships for the students, remained inefficient. Regardless of the Hungarian schooling background, Muslims were unable to develop or preserve Hungarian connections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Julian action in scholarship issues was nothing more than, as Klebelsberg said:⁶⁶ “very expensive and infertile cultural-diplomatic effort, which had only that much significance, that today, when we intend to make contacts, we do not have to start from the beginnings of king

⁶¹ “A ...németiségnek... éppen az lenne a hivatása, hogy a szlavóniai magyarsággal egyetértve, együtt érezve mindketten védgátul szolgáljanak a mind inkább erősödő délszláv törekvésekkel szemben.” írta József Tarkovich egyik 1918 ban kelt levelében, [“The reception of Hungarians in Slavonia, among the South Slavic people, was successful ...” said Jožef Tarković in 1918...], MOL, K 26, ME 1185. cs. 779, 1482. számnál, 1918, XVI. t

⁶² MOL, K 26, ME 855, cs. 1004., 1909., XVI. t. és i MOL, K 26, ME 855. cs. 3850. 1910, XVI. t. 3389 asz.

⁶³ Six elementary schools, one high school and two kindergartens.

⁶⁴ Damonja, tartományi képviselőnek a Sarajevoer Tagblatt 1913. szilveszteri számában is közzétett javaslata, [Damonja, a Sarajevo newspaper reporter, on Sylvester day 1913.], MOL, K 26, ME 992. cs. 130. 1914, XVI/a. t..

⁶⁵ 1913 ban a Julián Egyesület szervezésében “hazahozott” 64 iparosinasból 20 volt boszniai hercegovinai, [In 1913 Julian society had 64 corporations in the homeland, and 20 in Bosnia and Herzegovina.], MOL, K 26, ME 967. cs. 3592. 1913, XVI. t.

⁶⁶ OL, K 26, ME 1185, cs. 4578. 1913, XVI/a. 3137 asz.

Matijas Korvin, but we can start them on foundations of *Bosniai áctio*". According to some contemporary Hungarian authors, *Bosniai áctio* of the Hungarian government was oriented towards taking care of Hungarians in the annexed regions and fortifying and expanding the Hungarian influence in Bosnia and Balkans. In spite of their view of the "false accusations of hungarisation," and their conviction that Hungarians were directly affected by assimilation, we would like to call attention to the fact that the results of the Julian action were not lasting. The Julian action was short-lived due to the oncoming World War and it failed to accomplish its long-term goals in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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DIE JULIANISCHE AKTION ALS RECHTLICH-POLITISCHES PHÄNOMEN IN BOSNIEN UND HERZEGOWINA

Zusammenfassung

Die Julianische Aktion ist ein rechtlich politisches Phänomen in Bosnien und Herzegowina am Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts. Sie war spezifisch für die Gebiete mit ungarischer Bevölkerung außerhalb Ungarns und bezog sich hauptsächlich auf ungarische Schulen, ungarische Kulturgemeinschaften, ungarische Kirchenschulen und auf die staatliche ungarische Eisenbahn. Gegensätzliche Ansichten über die Rolle der Julianischen Aktion manifestierten sich in der Rechtfertigung ihrer Wirksamkeit in Hinblick auf den Schutz der Identität, der Kultur und der Sprache der Ungarn außerhalb Ungarns beziehungsweise "Madjarisierung" der slawischen Bevölkerung außerhalb Ungarns, d. h. in Bosnien und Herzegowina. Die ungarische Regierung hat die Julianische Aktion in das Konzept der ungarischen Staatsidee eingeschlossen. Die Idee war ein einheitlicher ungarischer Staat von den Karpaten bis zur Adria, in dem alle Volksgruppen ein Bestandteil der ungarischen Nation werden mit einer einheitlichen ungarischen Staatssprache. In diesem Kontext wurden die bosnisch herzegowinischen Ungarn zu einem aufgedrängten Fremdkörper für Bosnien und Herzegowina, d. h. zu einem "Brückenkopf" der ungarischen Eroberungspolitik. Für Ungarn waren sie eine Bastion gegen die jugoslawische Vereinigung und die Zerstörung der Monarchie sowie eine Stütze für die Stärkung und Verbreitung des ungarischen Einflusses besonders gegen österreichische Expansionsbestrebungen. In Bosnien und Herzegowina hat die Julianische Aktion kein langfristiges Ziel erreicht und hat sich nicht als dauerhaft erweisen.

Schlüsselwörter: *Julianische Aktion. Ungarische Staatsidee. Kulturpolitik in Bosnien und Herzegowina. Hungarisierung.*