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10. Summary

Bosnia in Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies of the 19th Century

Bosnia figured in all Croatian nation-forming and state-building conceptions of the 19th and the 20th centuries as an important part of Croatian or a wider South Slavonic historical, political and national territory. In this book the author characterizes the position and role of Bosnia in Croatian national-integrational ideologies of the 19th century – 1) Illyrism, 2) the original Yugoslavism of Franjo Rački and Josip Juraj Strossmayer, and 3) the first exclusively Croatian national-integrational ideology formulated by Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik, founders of the Party of Right (the original ideology of *Pravaštvo*).

These three ideological systems greatly influenced and contributed to Croatian national integration from the 1830s until the 1890s. Whereas in 1835–1848 this process was marked by the ideology of Illyrism, in the second half of the century the ideology of Yugoslavism followed in this tradition and the competitive ideology of the Party of Right (*Pravaštvo*) developed in opposition. The author examines the status of Bosnia in these ideologies within a necessarily broader context. He considers it important to comprehend the historical-political and ideological grounds of the above mentioned ideological systems. Therefore in the introductory chapter he writes about the Croatian estates' ideology of the defense of the autonomous rights of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the tradition of Renaissance and Baroque Slavism and the ideas contained in the first modern treatise on Croatian politics by Count Janko Drašković. The author has established 1832, the year Drašković's brochure was published, as the lower time limit of his research, which he has ended with the date 1878, the year in which Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Hercegovina. He has done this for two reasons: 1) although Yugoslavism and *Pravaštvo* influenced the Croatian nation-forming process until the 1890s, they did so in their original form defined before 1878; 2) the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina was a milestone in the history of that land, as only after 1878 did the local Catholic population as well as part of the Muslim population begin to identify with modern Croatian national identity. Until that time Croatian national-integrational impulses (coming from the Habsburg Monarchy) were popular only with a few individuals, mostly members of the local Franciscan province of *Bosna Argentina* (*Bosna Srebrena*). Therefore the reception of Croatian national-integrational ideologies in Bosnia is not the subject of this work.

However, the author does consider it essential to set the studied material in the context of Croatian policy towards Bosnia from the 1840s to 1878. Therefore he has supplemented his analysis focused on describing the position of Bosnia within the above-mentioned three national-integrational ideologies with passages giving a brief outline of contemporary policies that Croatian institutions and local government officials applied, or rather declared (due to the very limited possibilities of interfering in foreign political affairs), in regard to this neighboring Ottoman province. He focuses in particular on the periods when there was increased Croatian interest in Bosnia, which was the result of major events in the Monarchy (1848–1849, 1860–1862) or in the development of the Eastern Question (1875–1878). As Croatian policies and national political conceptions of the second half of the 19th century developed in interaction with ideas coming from Serbia, the text also includes sub-chapters briefly outlining the status of Bosnia in contemporary Serbian policy and conception of national identity.

The core of the work is made up of chapters 3, 7 and 8. They give the general characteristics of the national-integrational ideologies of Illyrism, original Yugoslavism and the original Pravaštvo, which is followed by a detailed analysis of the status and role of Bosnia and Bosnians within these ideological systems and in the political thinking of their creators. Each of these main chapters consists of two different, yet related parts. In the first part of each of these chapters the author attempts to describe the basic principles, dogmas, bases and specifics of each ideology. He draws from relevant literature and the reading of selected sources. Several aspects of each ideology that are crucial for understanding the status of Bosnia within it are already discussed. In the second half of each chapter which is divided into several thematic subsections, the author entirely focuses on the Bosnia-related elements of the given ideology on the basis of a detailed analysis of sources.

The main sources used include political treatises, brochures, newspaper articles, political statements and speeches and in some chapters correspondence. For Illyrism and the neo-absolutism period of the 1850s, when the new national-integrational ideologies of Yugoslavism and Pravaštvo were crystallizing, the author has also interpreted literary works. Considering the censorship of the era – which was primarily applied to political texts – writers, politicians and ideologues often expressed their views on Bosnia, Bosnians and the Eastern Question more openly in their poems, novels and travelogues.

A historical work comprehensively characterizing and assessing the status and role of Bosnia in Croatian national political conceptions of the 19th century based on the comparative analysis of period sources has yet to be written even in the Croatian national context, although Bosnia had been a subject of interest for practically all generations of Croatian politicians and ideologues from the beginnings of the formation of modern South

Slavic nations until the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the late 20th century. The aim of this book is to at least partially fill this gap by indicating the transformations and constant ideas in the historical, political and national conceptions of Bosnia in the examined Croatian national-integrational ideologies and by outlining the creation of the image of Bosnia and its inhabitants in the Croatia context in 1832–1878. It also gives a general description of Illyrism, Yugoslavism and the original Pravaštvo, which has yet to be done in such scope and concise form in the Czech language.

Translated by Nicholas Orsillo