

THE POSAVINA BORDER REGION OF CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DEVELOPMENT UP TO 1918 (with special reference to changes in ethnic composition)

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After dealing with the natural features and social importance of the Posavina region in the past, presented is the importance of this region as a unique Croatian ethnic territory during the Middle Ages. With the appearance of the Ottomans and especially at the beginning of the 16th century, great ethnic changes occurred, primarily due to the expulsion of Croats and arrival of new ethnic groups, mostly Orthodox Vlachs and later Muslims and ethnic Serbs. With the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Pannonian basin to the areas south of the Sava River and the Danube, the Sava becomes the dividing line creating in its border areas two socially and politically different environments: the Slavonian Military Frontier on the Slavonian side and the Ottoman military-frontier system of kapitanates on the Bosnian side. Both systems had a special influence on the change of ethnic composition in this region. With the withdrawal of the Ottomans further towards the southeast of Europe and the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina the Sava River remains the border along which, especially on the Bosnian side, further changes of ethnic structure occurred.



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INTRODUCTION

The research subject in this work is the border region Posavina between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic Bosnia-Herzegovina. The nature of this research is both political and

geographic, and this region was chosen as a research topic because it markedly reflects Croatia's social and political development, particularly after the Middle Ages.

The research is broken down into 5 sections, of which the first three deal with natural features, importance of the region in the past, and region as a Croatian ethnic territory until the beginning of the 16th century. Thereafter the region was exposed to political and social change which caused essential changes in the region's ethnic composition. This later development is presented in the sections The Border Character of Posavina and Continuation of Ethnic Changes in Peri-Pannonian Bosnia up to 1918.

The Development of the Region after 1918 will be presented in the next paper in this Journal, under the same title (with the addition: The Development 1918 – 1991).

The Republic of Croatia has an overland surface area of 56,538 km², and together with its territorial sea (31,421 km²) it ranks among the mid-sized European countries. In comparison with its surface area, its borders are long: the overland border is 2,028 km, while the coastline in the Adriatic Sea is 1,778 km long (if the coastlines of its numerous islands are included, this figure jumps up to 5,855 km!). Croatia's relatively long overland border is the result of its horseshoe geographic form, with a 'deep inlet' on its eastern side. The latter is the outcome of the gradual narrowing of the Croatian ethnic territory and its repopulation with other ethnic groups.

The Hungarian geographer Karoly Kocsis, a renowned researcher of the ethnic structure of the Pannonian basin and neighboring countries, wrote a text to accompany his map on "Changing of the Croatian Ethnic Territory during the Last Half of the Millennium" which reads: "In the middle of the 15th century the Croats could fairly well be separated from their neighbours with the exception of a few zones of transition. Outside of today's Croatia, Croatian settlement territory could be found in most of the area of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina ... The orthodox, decimated Serbian population seeking refuge from the Turks, were still concentrated south of the Danube-Sava line and east of the Drina River." (Kocsis, 1993/94).

The Croatian ethnic territory, began to change at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Actually, it began to contract due to the intense immigration of new populations from the central mountain portion of southeastern Europe caused by the Ottoman invasions¹. The eastern border was determined from the end of the seventeenth century after the conclusion of the Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci) in 1699 (Group of authors, 1991). It can be divided into two parts: the northern border along the Sava River and the southeastern border. The northern border on the Sava is about 200 km long, and it is this border region that shall be the focus of this work.

Given the long and complex development of this region, here only a general overview of its past will be presented. The primary focus of attention will be dedicated to changes in its ethnic composition caused by political changes.

THE POSAVINA BORDER REGION

Regional Features – Natural and Residential

The Posavina border region of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina encompasses the territory of these two neighboring countries from roughly the mouth of the Una River into the Sava in the west to the lowlands of the Bosut River on the east, and between the ridges of the Croatian (Slavonian) highland of Psunj (985 m above sea-level), the Požega hills (618 m) and Dilj (461 m) north of the Sava River and the Bosnian highlands of Kozara (977 m), Trebavac (686 m) and Majevisa (915 m) south of the Sava. There is, therefore, a Croatian (or Slavonian) and Bosnian Posavina.

The Sava flows along a tectonic rift whose current form has been created by more recent erosion and denudation processes. These brought in layers of considerable amounts of material in which it cut out its course. This process of sedimentation was particularly intense during the Pleistocene. The Sava's bed, cut out of its own alluvium, is therefore somewhat higher than the neighboring parts of its valley along the river's left bank in the Slavonian part of Posavina. The relatively short left tributaries cannot directly flow into it from this side, rather they flow parallel to it, creating a considerable amount of wetlands and marshes which are often called "fields" (*polje*). Normally the following larger fields are distinguished, listed in their order in an easterly direction: Lonjsko polje, Mokro polje, Jelas polje and Biđ-bosutsko polje. The northern edge of the valley, meaning the Slavonian part of Posavina, is closed off by the aforementioned hills and highlands and their foothills, which are the main zones of human settlement and agricultural activities in the region.

In the Bosnian part of Posavina, the relief features are somewhat different and generally more favorable for dispersed settlement and for agricultural use. Here the Sava River is not accompanied by wetland "fields"; there are rather spacious, drained alluvial plains that can be found even along the lower courses of its right tributaries. The alluvial plains pass into quite a few but rather spacious river terraces, which pass into the hilly slopes of Kozara, Trebavac and Majevisa along the southern edge of Posavina. The Bosnian Posavina extends considerably toward the south along the valleys of the lower courses of the Una, Vrbas and Bosna rivers up to the central Bosnian Dinaric mountains, thereby forming peri-Pannonian Bosnia, the largest natural region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In

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this extended peri-Pannonian Bosnia, the relief is considerably more complex than in the narrower zone along the Sava River.



➔ FIGURE 1
Posavina as the
border zone between
Croatia and Bosnia
and Herzegovina

This analysis will cover Bosnian Posavina and also peri-Pannonian Bosnia, for both of these Bosnian areas are of interest to the subject matter of this work.

Importance of the Region in the Past

It should be stated at the outset that in the past Posavina has not had the social importance that would have corresponded to its vital transit position. Posavina is located on an important longitudinal transit corridor that links Central and Southeastern Europe. Additionally, a number of important transit routes emerge here which otherwise connect the Bosnian river valleys with the Adriatic coast, i.e. they come out of the Dinaric mountain region, particularly along the central river, the Bosna. The Sava is additionally a river transit route. It was particularly important during the pre-railroad era (18th-19th centuries), when grain from the Danube basin was transported to the city of Karlovac via the Sava and then on the Kupa rivers. From Karlovac grain was then transported to Adriatic ports by carriage. Despite this transit importance, modern transit infrastructure only began to be constructed in Posavina rather recently. The first roads appeared in the 18th century, while the first railroads were built in the second half of the 19th century. The first modern freeway appeared only at the end of the 20th century.

Posavina is largely a longitudinal transit corridor, running in an east-west direction. The principal longitudinal transit routes pass through the Croatian section of Posavina, so this is the more important transit portion of Posavina. Even

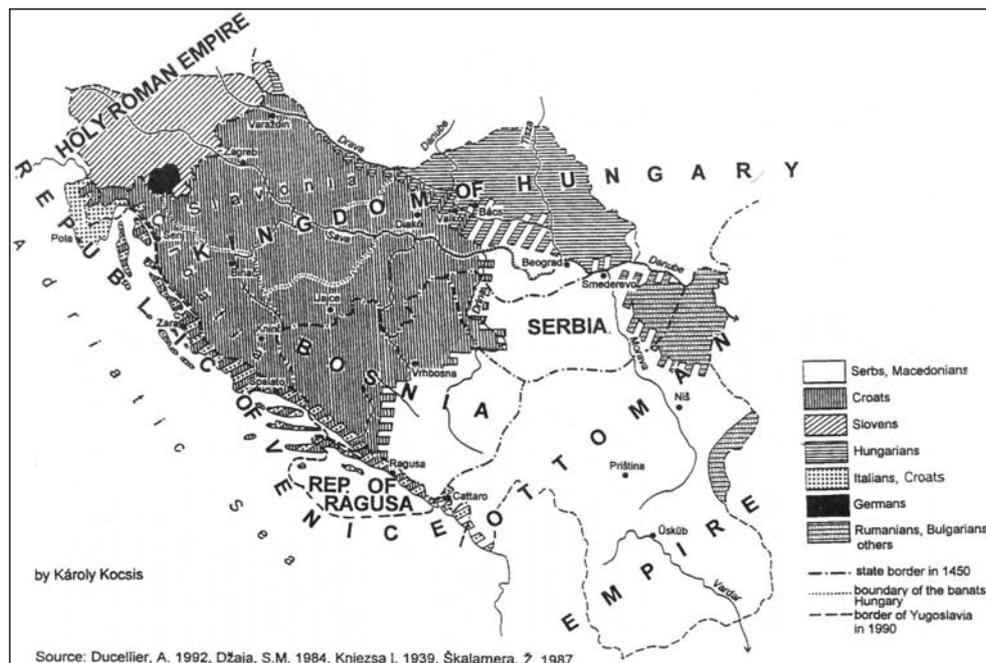
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today, the Bosnian side has no longitudinal transit infrastructure that would link the Bosnian settlements on the Sava River and the surrounding regions. In contrast, the Croatian side is an open space with many transit possibilities.

The Sava connects rather than divides its neighboring shores, which has led to the development of a number of corresponding settlements on both sides of the river at places where transversing transit routes from the south emerge and where it is easiest to cross the river. Among the most important corresponding settlements are Bosanska Dubica and Dubica on both banks of the Una River, and then Bosanska Gradiška and Stara Gradiška, Bosanski Brod and Slavonski Brod and Bosanski Šamac and Slavonski Šamac on both banks of the Sava. All of these settlements are small (less than 17,000 inhabitants according to the 1991 census), which is a consequence of the economic underdevelopment of the region and its administrative and territorial disunity, particularly on the Bosnian side. Only Slavonski Brod (with 58,531 inhabitants in 1991) experienced relatively more intense development, thanks to its position at the intersection of the longitudinal Posavina and transversal Bosnian routes.

FIGURE 2
 Croatian ethnic territory
 in the fifteenth century
 (Kocsis, 1993/94)



It should be stated that Posavina has never been a single administrative and territorial unit. This not only refers to the region as a whole but also its separate Slavonian and Bosnian portions. The Slavonian Posavina became a single administrative/territorial unit for the first time after the creation of the

Slavonian Military Frontier (from 1702 to 1881). Croatia's Posavina once more became a single administrative and territorial unit with the creation of the modern Croatian counties in 1993 with the formation of Brod-Posavina County which encompasses almost the exact same territory as the former Slavonian Military Frontier. The Bosnian Posavina has never been organized into a single administrative and territorial unit.

A Unified Medieval Croatian Ethnic Territory

In the previously-mentioned map made by Karoly Kocsis, the Croatian ethnic territory at the end of the 15th century encompassed not only most of the territory of today's Republic of Croatia, but also much of the territory of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in the north and west. The Croatian ethnic territory of the time in northern Bosnia covered all of peri-Pannonian Bosnia, meaning the region between the Una and Drina rivers and south of the Sava to the central Bosnian mountain region. This means that all of Posavina, both the Slavonian and Bosnian, were at the time a unified area inhabited by Croats.

However, politically Posavina has never been unified. The Slavonian section always belonged to Croatia, while the Bosnian section was divided into two parts, west and east, with a boundary that generally corresponded to the Ukrina River. The western part was a part of Croatia while the eastern part was outside of Croatia, already within the borders of Bosnia in the 12th century.

Western Section of Bosnian Posavina

The fact that this section of Bosnian Posavina belonged to Croatia is proven by the lay and church organization. During the twelfth century a system of royal counties was organized in Slavonia, to which this area belonged. In the western section of the peri-Pannonian Bosnia, i.e. between the Una River and the Ukraine watershed, and south from the Sava to the peripheral mountains of the central mountain region of Bosnia, the counties of Dubica, Vrbas, Vodica, Sana and Glaž are mentioned in the medieval period. Relatively little is known about these counties except that they were a component of the overriding state structure – the extended arm of royal authority. With time the counties gradually passed into the hands of the church and local magnates (Grgin, 1996).

This entire part of Bosnia, and even the area somewhat south of today's Banjaluka, was a part of the Zagreb Diocese. Even some church orders could be found in this region. In Dubica County, whose seat was the town of the same name on the left bank of the Una River, there was a Pauline monastery with the Church of St. Mary. This monastery subse-

quently became the property of the Hospitallers (the Knights of the Hospital of St. John). By the middle of the 14th century, Dubica was held by the Templars, who already had estates here in the first half of the 13th century. In the second half of the same century, Hungary's King Bela IV granted them the entire county (Grgin, 1996). In Glaz County in the 14th and 15th centuries, there was a Franciscan monastery which the Ottomans destroyed. There are also records of Croatian nobles belonging to the Babonić dynasty in Dubica County dating back to the 13th century (Marković, 2001), and there were probably also some Roman Catholic Vlachs living there at the time.

Eastern Section of Bosnian Posavina

During the Middle Ages the eastern section of Bosnian Posavina experienced different political developments than its western section. At this time, this part of Bosnia changed hands between the Byzantine Empire, the Serbian state and the Kingdom of Hungary, so that already at the time Kulin (1180-1203), the Bosnian *ban* or governor, extended his authority here and thus brought Bosnia to the shores of the Sava River in the north. Thus, the counties of Usora, Koraj, Soli and Mačva came under Bosnian authority. Under such political circumstances the corresponding ethnic structure developed. Although, according to the map made by K. Kocsis, this area fell under the wider Croatian ethnic territory, quite a few members of the Orthodox faith lived here, both Orthodox Vlachs and even ethnic Serbs. A part of the Orthodox Vlachs later became adherents of Bogomilism, and then later converted to Islam with the arrival of the Ottomans. The population of the eastern part of Bosnian Posavina thus became quite mixed, with Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox and Muslims (Marković, 2001).

As opposed to the western section of Bosnian Posavina, which was a part of the Zagreb Diocese, this area belonged to the Bosnian Diocese, whose seat moved during the 13th century from Vrhbosna to Đakovo, in Slavonia. Roman Catholic church orders, such as the Franciscans, and some church estates (terra Tolis, along the Tolise River) are mentioned as existing in the parishes of this area. The oldest written records of Croats in this area date back to the 13th century during the rule of the Hungarian King Bela IV, who, in a deed of donation from 1244, granted the Tolis estate to the Bosnian Diocese. With reference to the links between this area and the Hungarian-Croatian state union, it is important to mention the ruling family of Ban Borić, who assisted the Hungarian kings during the Byzantine wars (1153-1156), for which he was rewarded with estates not only in Bosnian Posavina but also in Slavonia (Živković, 1994).

Appearance of the Ottomans and the Expulsion of Croats from Bosnian Posavina

The border-line character of the region began to develop as the Bosnian state expanded. Under its current name, Bosnia appeared in the 10th century as a small district around the upper course of the Bosna River. It began to expand from there in the 11th century, so that by the reign of Ban Kulin (1180-1203) it expanded in the north to the Sava River, and also between the Bosna and Drina Rivers. There are authors who consider the expansion of Bosnia into this area as a result of its low population density and its use as winter pastures for transhumant stockmen from mountainous central Bosnia (Rogić, 1982). This expansion of Bosnia did not have any significant impact on ethnic changes in Bosnian Posavina.

Ethnic changes only began to occur with the appearance and invasion of the Ottomans in Bosnia, which fell to them in 1463. However, all of peri-Pannonian Bosnia was only conquered by the Ottomans in 1538 with the fall of Dubica. As the Ottomans conquered parts of Bosnia, a large number of Croats fled. The Ottoman authorities then brought in other settlers to these deserted Croatian areas in Bosnia, mostly Orthodox Vlachs. This brought about major ethnic changes, actually a replacement of one ethnic group with others.

The emigration of Croats occurred throughout peri-Pannonian Bosnia, but it was most intense in its western section, in that area that was earlier dominated by the Croatian population. Wartime devastation in this area over the course of two centuries brought about radical social and ethnic changes. The old Croatian Čakavian-speaking population (with some Roman Catholic Vlachs) almost completely disappeared during the wartime years in the 15th and 16th centuries. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottomans brought Orthodox Vlachs to the deserted Croatian settlements. These Vlachs were livestock herders from the central mountain regions of Southeastern Europe. They served as *armatoles* (Christian militiamen), and at the borders they performed military service, or they settled the estates of new landholders, now aghas and beys, as serfs. These Vlachs, under the influence of Orthodox Serbs during the 19th century, began to think of themselves as Serbs. The Ottomans also settled Muslims, mostly as personnel to man fortresses and in towns (Čubrilović, 1982).

The rather great ethnic changes in this region over a relatively short period are indicated by the date from a travelogue by Benedikt Kuripešić from 1530, several years prior to the final conquest of this region in 1538. He wrote that in lower Bosnia, i.e. the area between the Una and Bosna Rivers, he came upon three peoples and faiths. The first were the old Bosniaks who were Roman Catholic (meaning Croats), the

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second were Serbs whom the Ottomans called Vlachs or armatoles and whose faith was Orthodox, and the third were Turks who were soldiers and administrative officials. Their rule over the Christian peoples was tyrannical (Marković, 2001).

Aware that this part of Bosnian Posavina was earlier a Croatian ethnic territory, the Ottomans called it Turkish Croatia (in latin forms *Croata Turcica*). This term was accepted and maintained until the end of the 17th century, and it can be found on various maps made all up until the occupation of Bosnia by Austria in 1878. Austria began to call this area the Bosnian *Krajina* (border region or frontier), primarily because the Serbian population opposed maintaining the earlier term Turkish Croatia (Marković, 2001).

In the end, one is left with the question of how the original Croat inhabitants suffered more, and actually disappeared, in the western section of Bosnian Posavina, even though these lands were inhabited almost exclusively by Croats. At the same time, Croats in the eastern section suffered less, even though earlier they were more interspersed with other ethnic groups there. The most likely reason for this is that the western section of Bosnian Posavina was located close to the line of demarcation between the Ottoman-occupied and free territories of Croatia (a sort of 'no-man's land') for a much longer period. In such a zone, constant battles gradually decimated older ethnic groups and strengthened newer ones.

The Border Character of Posavina

The Ottomans did not, however, stop at the Sava River; they advanced deep into the Danubian basin. Thus, they moved into the Croatian ethnic territory north of the Sava and west of the Una, where there was also much bloodshed and emigration of Croats and resettlement of Orthodox Vlachs, which signified intense ethnic change. The process of ethnic cleansing of the Croatian population was here identical to that in peri-Pannonian Bosnia. The Croatian population was either killed off or fled out of fear of the Ottomans. In their place, the Ottomans brought in Orthodox Vlachs, or later Serbs. These new arrivals occupied deserted or devastated Croatian homes, transforming this until then pure Croatian ethnic territory into a region of mixed settlement. Such changes emerged in the entire Pannonian and peri-Pannonian part of Croatia, but also in the regions of Lika, Banija and Kordun.²

When, in 1527, the Croats accepted Ferdinand of Habsburg as their king, the organized defense of Croatia from Ottoman incursions commenced at the beginning of the 16th century. The establishment of military frontiers began, for the so-called Croatian Military Frontier (from the Adriatic to the Drava River) between the Ottoman-occupied and free territories of Croatia. When the Ottomans began to withdraw

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from the formerly occupied Pannonian areas of Croatia and Hungary to territories south of the Sava and Danube after their defeat at Budapest in 1683, in 1702 (after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699) the Slavonian Military Frontier was established along the Sava River. The Austrian authorities continued the process of ethnic change in Croatian territories as they invited settlers to the Military Frontier, mainly (again) Orthodox Vlachs as well as ethnic Serbs.³



➔ FIGURE 3
 Croatia in its current
 borders with the
 territory of the former
 Military Frontier
 indicated (1)

The border on the Sava River was largely set up for the first time after the Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci) in 1699. After the Treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac) in 1718, the border was modified by the extension of Croatian territory to the narrow edge along the southern shore of the Sava, but this situation did not last long, as the border was returned to the Sava after the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. This border was finally settled with the Treaty of Sistova (Svištov) in 1791.

The Sava became the border, and both of its shores on the Slavonian and Bosnian sides, became border zones. The Slavonian Military Frontier was created in the Slavonian Posavina under Viennese administration. On the other hand, the *kapitanates* were established in Bosnian Posavina – these were also military territorial units under Ottoman administration. Therefore, on opposite shores of the Sava military territorial organizations were formed with essentially different social circumstances and also greatly altered ethnic compositions. But changes in the ethnic composition continued even later.

The Slavonian Military Frontier

The Slavonian Military Frontier encompassed the entire lowland zone of Slavonian Posavina, i.e. the region north of the Sava River to the foothills of the Slavonian highlands between the settlement of Okučani in the west and Drenovci in the east. The basic elements of this region's relief have already been discussed.

It was established in 1702, but even before the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Viennese Court ordered the erection of military observation posts (*čardaci*) every 2 to 3 kilometers along the Sava's left bank, while each village on the river's bank had to have barracks to care for the staff of these observation posts. Decisions were also made to build powerful fortresses at Bosanska Gradiška and Slavonski Brod.

The Frontier was established in a region which in the preceding period, during its occupation by the Ottomans (from the first half of the 16th to the end of the 17th century) endured ethnic changes. A part of the autochthonous original Croatian population, like the Croatian population that fled to this part of Posavina from the Ottomans in the Bosnian peri-Pannonian region, also left Slavonian Posavina. In their place, the Ottomans resettled Muslims and Orthodox Vlachs, most of whom came during the period from 1560 to 1570. Most of them settled in peripheral highland zones, outside of the territory of the Military Frontier itself.

TABLE 1
Population Trends in
the Slavonian Military
Frontier

| Regiments | Surface area, km ² | Population | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | | 1776 ¹ | | 1827 ² | | 1869 ³ | |
| | | Total | Persons/km ² | Total | Persons/km ² | Total | Persons/km ² |
| Brod | 1,955 | 74,883 | 38.3 | 75,506 | 38.6 | 74,173 | 37.9 |
| Gradiška | 1,677 | 44,077 | 26.4 | 69,426 | 41.6 | 58,651 | 35.2 |
| Total | 3,622 | 118,910 | 32.8 | 144,932 | 40 | 132,824 | 36.7 |

Sources: 1. J. Gelo (1987). *Demografske promjene u Hrvatskoj od 1780. do 1981. godine*. Zagreb: Globus; 2. V. Sabljar (1866). *Miestopisni rječnik kraljevinah Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*. Zagreb; 3. M. Valentić (1986). *Stanovništvo Hrvatsko-slavonske vojne krajine 1846-1869*. Zagreb.

Note: The resident domestic population, without foreigners and soldiers, which means that numerous household members who performed military service were not included in the census (M. Valentić, 1986). The surface area in km² was obtained by multiplying Austrian miles (in 1869 the Brod regiment had 34 and the Gradiška regiment had 29 square miles) by 57.5 km². (M. Valentić, 1986).

With the withdrawal of the Ottomans south of the Sava, the Muslims departed as well. The establishment of a military frontier under Austrian military authority meant the settlement of new populations in order to reinforce defenses in sparsely inhabited areas. These new populations consisted of both Croats and Orthodox Vlachs. This second wave of arrivals of Orthodox Vlachs was the most intense between 1692 and 1706, directly before and after the establishment of the

military frontier (Marković, 2002). However, despite this settlement of new populations, the original autochthonous Croatian population maintained itself quite well, so the newcomers did not greatly alter the ethnic composition of the Slavonian Posavina, and today it is still predominantly inhabited by Croats. This can be seen in the ethnic structure of the current Brod-Posavina County, which largely covers the territory of the former military frontier. On an area of 2,027 km², Brod-Posavina County had a population of 174,998 in 1991, of which 80.6% were Croats and only 11.8% were Serbs.

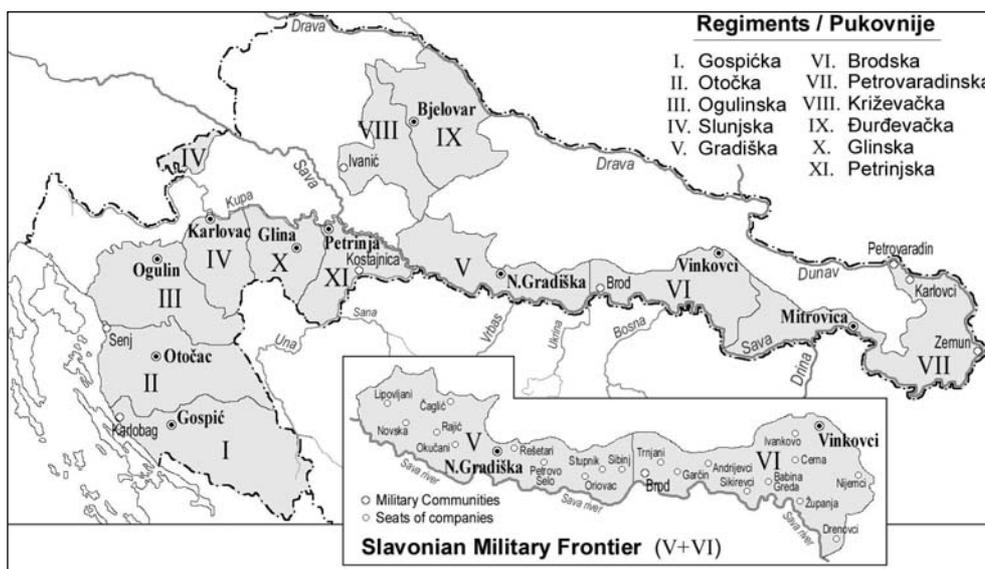


FIGURE 4
 The Croatian Military Frontier prior to decommissioning at the end of the nineteenth century

The organization of the military frontier changed with time, so the Slavonian Military Frontier was divided into two regiments in 1747: the Gradiška Regiment, headquartered in Nova Gradiška, and the Brod Regiment, headquartered in Vinkovci. The boundaries of the Slavonian Military Frontier and its two regiments, as well as the headquarters of their lower command districts, are shown in the attached figure. It is apparent that the extent of the Slavonian Military Frontier corresponds to the extent of the lowland portion of Slavonian Posavina and that the command centers of companies – components of regiments – were located in 12 settlements in the Gradiška Regiment and in 12 settlements in the Brod Regiment. Here it should be noted that the actual settlement of Nova Gradiška was built in the middle of the 18th century precisely to serve as the headquarters of the western part of the Slavonian Military Frontier.

The military authorities guaranteed a special status for the population, most of whom were livestock herders. The residents of military frontier settlements along the Sava River

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became border guards with specific obligations to the military authorities. They were dutybound to provide a specific number of soldiers, cultivate the land and undertake certain tasks without compensation, either by providing their own labor or rendering transportation services.

A census was first conducted on the entire population of the Slavonian Military Frontier only 77 years after the military frontier's establishment, in 1776. At that time the region only had 118,910 inhabitants, or 32.8 persons per square kilometer. It should be stated that this population density was high, particularly taking into account the fact that out of the frontier's total territory, the lands belonging to frontiersmen (plough-fields, meadows, orchards, gardens and vineyards, all subject to taxation) only accounted for 43.3%, while the remainder belonged to the state. These were generally pastures, forests and wetlands (Valentić, 1986). This means that the population density on the lands belonging to the frontiersmen was twice as great: it was approximately 70 persons per square kilometer. Given the economic circumstances of the time, such population density was quite high. This latter point is confirmed by the fact that in 1991 population density in the territory of Brod-Posavina County (2,027 km²) was 86.3 persons per square kilometer, only a little more than 215 years earlier.

The Slavonian Military Frontier lasted only 180 years, from 1702 to 1881, when it was decommissioned together with all of the other Croatian military frontiers and reintegrated with the rest of Croatia's territory, where the feudal system had already been abolished in 1848. A period ensued in which the former frontiersmen/border guards had to adjust to their new lifestyle. Upon the termination of the Slavonian Military Frontier, the territory which it encompassed lost its unity, until the establishment of Brod-Posavina County in 1993.

The Ottoman Military Frontier System – Kapitanates

Posavina south of the Sava remained under Ottoman authority after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The Ottomans set up their own defensive military-frontier system in its Sava border zone: the *kapitanate* system. The kapitanates were precisely demarcated territories established to defend the border. Each kapitanate had at least one stronger fortification, and consisted of several levels of military units. They were special territorial units, so their boundaries normally did not correspond to the borders of the nahiye and kadiliks, the basic administrative and territorial organizations of the Ottoman Empire. There were 6: the Dubica, Gradiška, Kozarac, Kobaš, Vrandučka (Derventa) and Gradačac. These kapitanates covered a continuous border zone along the Sava at the beginning of the 19th century. This Ottoman military-frontier system also operated for a considerably long time, although over

a somewhat shorter period than the Slavonian Military Frontier, i.e. until 1835 when it was abolished (Kreševljaković, 1953).

The military-frontier territorial organizations on both sides of the border were abolished, but the Sava River remained the border until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of Yugoslavia. In the course of these developments until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, two periods of ethnic development should be distinguished, the period of Ottoman administration and Austrian administration of Bosnia.

Continuation of Ethnic Changes in Peri-Pannonian Bosnia

The period of Ottoman rule lasted from the beginning of the 16th century to the creation of the border on the Sava at the end of the 17th century, and from the end of the 17th century to just before the end of the 19th century (from the creation of the border to the Austrian occupation of Bosnia in 1878).

The first part of this period of Ottoman governance was characterized by reduction of the share of the original Croatian population and the resettlement of Orthodox Vlachs and Muslims. In the western section of the peri-Pannonian region this change involved the almost complete disappearance of the Croats, while in the eastern section their share in the population declined. During the second part of this period of Ottoman administration, somewhat different conditions prevailed in ethnic changes. The withdrawal of the Ottomans to the region south of the Sava almost meant the withdrawal of the Muslim population. However, the Orthodox population that settled over a broad swath of Croatian territory during the Ottoman incursions into the Danube basin did not depart as well. Despite this, the share of the Orthodox population in the Bosnian peri-Pannonian region increased, most likely due to their arrival from the Dinaric mountain zone. The share of the Muslim population increased due to the arrival of Muslims who were forced to leave Serbia.

There is no data on the times and intensity of individual waves of migration during this period. There are numerous works by many authors, but they are insufficiently detailed and limited to specific regions. They normally contain general data which cannot even be used to obtain some notion of migratory trends. Therefore, it is this author's opinion that changes in the ethnic structure of peri-Pannonian Bosnia can only be shown using the results of the first census of Bosnia-Herzegovina, conducted in 1879, only one year after the end of Ottoman rule.

The results of this census of Bosnia-Herzegovina are shown within the framework of six larger counties (Sarajevo, Banjaluka, Bihać, Travnik, Tuzla and Mostar) with a total of 1,158,164 inhabitants. Out of this 421,363 lived in the peri-Pannonian region alone, and this accounted for 36.4% of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is my conviction

that the administrative-territorial units shown in the table closely correspond to the extent of peri-Pannonian Bosnia, so they can serve as the basis for this analysis of its ethnic change.

| County | Districts | Political outposts | Population ¹ | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
| | | | Muslims | | | E. Orthodox | | R. Catholic | |
| | | | Total | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Banjaluka | Banjaluka | Prnjavor | 86,209 | 12,350 | 14.3 | 64,186 | 74.4 | 9,486 | 11 |
| | Gradiška | Orahovo | 22,337 | 5,592 | 25 | 15,563 | 69.7 | 1,179 | 5.3 |
| | Derвента | Bos. Brod | 39,385 | 7,497 | 19 | 16,815 | 42.7 | 14,989 | 38 |
| | Tešanj | Doboj | 33,220 | 12,697 | 38.2 | 16,300 | 49.1 | 4,210 | 12.7 |
| | Žepče | - | 8,892 | 3,906 | 43.9 | 1,670 | 18.8 | 3,300 | 37.1 |
| | | | 190,043 | 42,042 | 22.1 | 114,534 | 60.3 | 33,164 | 17.4 |
| Bihać | Kostajnica | Dubica, Novi | 28,275 | 6,654 | 23.5 | 20,819 | 73.6 | 802 | 2.8 |
| | Prijedor | Kozarac | 24,664 | 11,698 | 47.4 | 12,411 | 50.3 | 550 | 2.2 |
| | Sanski Most | - | 18,831 | 6,060 | 32.2 | 11,058 | 58.7 | 1,713 | 9.1 |
| | | | 71,770 | 24,412 | 34 | 44,288 | 61.7 | 3,065 | 4.3 |
| Tuzla | Tuzla Gornja- | | 43,656 | 32,073 | 73.5 | 5,247 | 12 | 6,231 | 14.3 |
| | Brčko | - | 23,588 | 10,402 | 44.1 | 7,472 | 31.7 | 5,668 | 24 |
| | Gračanica | - | 20,159 | 12,623 | 62.6 | 6,938 | 34.4 | 572 | 2.8 |
| | Gradačac | Modrića | 27,393 | 12,056 | 44 | 9,980 | 36.4 | 5,333 | 19.5 |
| | Maglaj | - | 24,405 | 8,277 | 33.9 | 14,864 | 60.9 | 1,265 | 5.2 |
| | Orašje | - | 20,349 | 1,644 | 8.1 | 7,420 | 36.5 | 11,242 | 55.2 |
| | | | 159,550 | 77,075 | 48.3 | 51,871 | 32.5 | 30,313 | 19 |
| Total peri-Pannonian Bosnia | | | 421,363 | 143,529 | 34.1 | 210,693 | 50 | 66,540 | 15.8 |

1) Total resident population at census time

Source: *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs Statistik von Bosnien und Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, 1880.

Note: The table encompasses all districts in Banjaluka county. Bihać county consisted of these districts: Bihać, Cazin, Ključ, Kostajnica, Krupa, Petrovac, Prijedor and Sanski Most, with a total population of 176,716 – 82,305 Muslims, 89,256 Eastern Orthodox and 5,078 Roman Catholics. Tuzla county consisted of these districts: Tuzla, Bjelina, Brčko, Gračanica, Gradačac, Maglaj, Orašje, Srebrenica, Vlasenica and Zvornik, with a total population of 268,520 – 122,411 Muslims, 115,527 Eastern Orthodox and 30,312 Roman Catholics.

TABLE 2
Ethnic Composition of
peri-Pannonian Bosnia
in 1879 – Develop-
ment in the Period of
Ottoman Rule

The data from the census show that during the period of Ottoman rule the share of Roman Catholics, meaning the Croatian population, in peri-Pannonian Bosnia fell to approximately 15% of the total population, with somewhat greater than average values in the Tuzla county. A relatively larger concentration of Croats was recorded only in the districts of Orašje, Brčko, Gradačac, Derвента and Žepče. The Croat population only accounted for a simple majority in the Orašje district. A markedly low percentage of Croats was recorded in the Gradiška district, and in the territories of the political stations of Dubica, Novi and Kozarac, in areas that were not only part of the Croatian ethnic territory up to the 16th century, but also a part of Croatia's political territory.

Precisely one half of the total population of peri-Pannonian Bosnia was Serbian, accounting for over half of the populations in the Banjaluka and Bihać districts. The Muslims accounted for only a little over one third of the total population of this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with a relative majority of the population in the Tuzla district.

The period of Austrian rule lasted from the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the creation of Yugoslavia in 1918. The conditions for ethnic change and demographic development altered considerably in relation to the preceding period. Conditions were created for the freer immigration into this region, not only for Croats, Serbs and Muslims, but also for peoples from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The less restricted conditions for settlement by numerous ethnic groups was reflected in the increase in the number of inhabitants not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, but also in peri-Pannonian Bosnia. Peri-Pannonian Bosnia was actually the primary focus of immigration, especially its rural zones. During the 32-year period of Austrian rule, the number of inhabitants in Bosnia-Herzegovina increased from 1,158,164 in 1879 to 1,898,044 by 1910, a 63.9% increase. At the same time the population of peri-Pannonian Bosnia increased from 421,363 to 745,882, which is a 77% increase.

It should be emphasized that the population censuses in 1879 and 1910 were conducted on the basis of different administrative and territorial units (districts). Therefore, data on the number of inhabitants in these two censuses are not completely comparable, particularly not within the framework of the districts and their sections.

The census in 1910 was conducted when the administrative and territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina was a little more detailed and precise than in 1879, and this facilitates a more thorough view into the spatial distribution of the population by districts and district outposts. The 1910 census is based on the division of the country into the aforementioned six large counties, although in the meantime certain districts were moved from the jurisdiction of one county to another, and this is reflected in Tables 2 and 3. During this 32-year period immigration into peri-Pannonian Bosnia considerably enlarged the number of members of all three ethnic groups, but great differences in their respective shares in the total population emerged. The share of Roman Catholics increased from 15.8% to 22.3%, while the share of the Serbian Orthodox and Muslims declined slightly from 50% to 47.9% and from 43.1% to 28.1% respectively.

Roman Catholics accounted for a simple majority only in the district outposts of Bosanski Šamac and Odžak. Roman Catholics accounted for a plurality in the districts of Derventa and Brčko. Their numbers were relatively low in the districts and district outposts of the western half of the peri-Pannonian zone, meaning that even during the period of Austrian rule there was no significant improvement in the representation of Roman Catholics in this once markedly Roman Catholic and Croatian ethnic territory.

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TABLE 3
Ethnic Composition of
peri-Pannonian Bosnia
in 1910 – Develop-
ment in the Period of
Austrian Rule

Austria also conducted a census in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1895, so the population data from this census, when compared to the 1910 data, shows that the population grew in all counties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also that the increased population was the result of both natural growth and a positive migration balance only in the Sarajevo, Banjaluka and Tuzla districts, i.e. the capital and just two rural counties. In the territory of Banjaluka county, the positive migration balance during this 15-year period was 13,985, while in Tuzla county it was 8,978. This means that in only 15 years in peri-Pannonian Bosnia the surplus of immigrants over emigrants was 22,963 persons, which indicates considerably intense im-migration in that period.

| County | Districts | Political outposts | Population ¹ | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | | | Total | Muslims | | Serb. Orthodox | | R. Catholic | |
| | | | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Banjaluka | Banjaluka | City municipality | 14,800 | 6,588 | 44.5 | 3,694 | 24.9 | 3,930 | 26.5 |
| | | Village district | 58,360 | 2,436 | 4.2 | 41,414 | 70.1 | 14,052 | 24.1 |
| | | Entire district | 73,160 | 9,024 | 12.3 | 45,108 | 61.6 | 17,982 | 24.6 |
| | Bos. Dubica | | 25,794 | 2,635 | 10.2 | 21,384 | 82.9 | 1,402 | 5.4 |
| | | Bos. Gradiška | 41,868 | 4,839 | 11.5 | 30,143 | 72 | 5,777 | 13.8 |
| | Bos. Novi | Core district | 22,045 | 4,460 | 21 | 16,122 | 73.1 | 1,172 | 5.3 |
| | | Bos. Kostajnica | 7,388 | 698 | 9.4 | 6,267 | 84.8 | 404 | 5.5 |
| | Derventa | Entire district | 29,433 | 5,338 | 18.1 | 22,389 | 76.1 | 1,576 | 5.3 |
| | | Core district | 33,894 | 5,053 | 14.9 | 11,664 | 34.4 | 16,532 | 48.8 |
| | | Bos. Brod | 14,398 | 1,443 | 10 | 6,283 | 43.6 | 6,391 | 44.4 |
| | | Odžak | 17,492 | 2,572 | 14.7 | 5,223 | 29.8 | 9,525 | 54.4 |
| | Kotor Varoš | Entire district | 65,784 | 9,068 | 13.8 | 23,170 | 35.2 | 32,448 | 49.3 |
| | | Core district | 23,780 | 4,238 | 17.8 | 15,088 | 63.4 | 4,452 | 18.7 |
| | | Prijedor | 29,953 | 7,038 | 23.5 | 18,972 | 63.3 | 3,657 | 12.2 |
| | Prnjavor | Kozarac | 14,303 | 6,474 | 45.3 | 7,178 | 50.2 | 390 | 2.7 |
| | | Entire district | 44,256 | 13,512 | 30.5 | 26,150 | 59.1 | 4,047 | 9.1 |
| | | Tešanj | 46,314 | 3,578 | 7.7 | 28,202 | 60.9 | 9,111 | 19.7 |
| | Bihać | Core district | 45,397 | 15,173 | 33.4 | 22,331 | 49.2 | 7,543 | 16.6 |
| | | Doboj | 8,031 | 2,960 | 36.8 | 2,295 | 28.6 | 2,509 | 31.2 |
| | | Entire district | 53,428 | 18,133 | 33.9 | 24,626 | 46.1 | 10,052 | 18.8 |
| Sanski Most | Core district | 403,817 | 70,365 | 17.4 | 236,260 | 58.6 | 86,847 | 21.5 | |
| | Stari Majdan | 26,496 | 6,949 | 26.2 | 16,450 | 62.1 | 3,040 | 11.5 | |
| | Entire district | 11,926 | 3,035 | 25.4 | 7,148 | 59.9 | 1,743 | 14.6 | |
| Tuzla | Entire district | 38,422 | 9,984 | 26 | 23,598 | 61.4 | 4,783 | 12.4 | |
| | Brčko | | 57,788 | 16,332 | 28.3 | 18,649 | 32.2 | 22,473 | 38.9 |
| | | Gračanica | 31,898 | 18,465 | 57.9 | 13,079 | 41 | 253 | 0.8 |
| | Gradačac | Core district | 45,061 | 17,485 | 38.8 | 16,093 | 35.7 | 11,405 | 25.3 |
| | | Bos. Šamac | 12,222 | 1,171 | 9.6 | 4,398 | 36 | 6,608 | 54.1 |
| | Entire district | 57,283 | 18,656 | 32.6 | 20,491 | 35.8 | 18,013 | 31.4 | |
| | Maglaj | | 29,569 | 11,672 | 39.5 | 15,832 | 53.5 | 2,022 | 6.8 |
| | | Tuzla | 12,353 | 5,859 | 47.4 | 1,976 | 16 | 3,839 | 31.1 |
| | Entire district | 57,469 | 39,959 | 69.5 | 7,293 | 12.7 | 10,166 | 17.7 | |
| | Total peri-Pannonian Bosnia | | | 303,643 | 129,599 | 42.7 | 97,711 | 32.2 | 74,779 |
| | | | 745,882 | 209,948 | 28.1 | 357,569 | 47.9 | 166,409 | 22.3 |

1) Total resident population

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und Hercegovina 1910*, Sarajevo, 1912.

Notes. The table encompasses all districts in Banjaluka county. Bihać county consisted of these districts: Bihać, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, Kulen Vakuf, Cazin, Ključ, Sanski Most and Stari Majdan, with a total population of 229,071 – 90,906 Muslims, 125,465 Serbian Orthodox and 12,336 Roman Catholics. Tuzla county consisted of these districts: Bijeljina, Brčko, Gračanica, Gradačac, Kladanj, Maglaj, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Vlasenica and Zvornik, with a total population of 425,496 – 177,649 Muslims, 183,213 Serbian Orthodox and 60,130 Roman Catholics.

The 1910 census in Bosnia-Herzegovina does not provide data on the shares of individual ethnic groups by districts and district outposts. Such data are only cited within the framework of specific counties, but these are not very important to our analysis. The share of peoples of the Roman Catholic faith can only be determined by cross-referencing data on their religion and their mother tongue.

Out of the total population of 425,496 in Tuzla county, those who spoke the Croatian or Serbian language (Croats, Serbs, Muslims) accounted for as many as 414,260 in 1910 (97.36%), so the number of other peoples was only 11,236. In the Banjaluka county at the same time, native speakers of Croatian or Serbian accounted for 371,829 out of the total population of 403,817 (92.08%), while there were only 31,988 inhabitants who belonged to other ethnic groups. These "other" ethnic groups, with a total number of 43,224, were actually ethnic groups who immigrated from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. From these data it can be seen that the immigrant population in 1910 accounted for 5.2% of the total population of these two counties.

Among the largest of these immigrant ethnic groups (43,224), numerically the largest were Germans (12,607), Poles (9,389), Ruthenians (6,735), Hungarians (3,532) and Czechs (3,061). Together these groups accounted for 81.7% of the members of all immigrant ethnic groups. It is worthwhile to stress that 27,265, or 63.1%, members of these ethnic groups settled in the Banjaluka county.

The 1910 census of Bosnia-Herzegovina further shows that among the 43,224 members of immigrant peoples, 28,375 of them were Roman Catholics, and during the census they were included in the Roman Catholic population group. Here it should be noted that in 1910, among the total population of 829,313 in Tuzla and Banjaluka counties, 419,473 belonged to the Serbian Orthodox faith, 248,014 adhered to Islam, and 146,977 were Roman Catholics. The number of Roman Catholics also included the immigrant Roman Catholics.

While the number of Serbian Orthodox and Muslims can largely be equated with the number of Serbs and Muslims (Bosniaks), the number of Croats can be derived by subtracting the number of immigrant Roman Catholics (28,375) from the total number of Roman Catholics. This means that the number of Croats in 1910 in these two counties was 118,602, or 80.7% of the total number of Roman Catholics in that region.

If this computation is applied to the number of Roman Catholics in peri-Pannonian Bosnia (166,409), it follows that approximately 134,000 of these persons were Croats. This fur-

thermore means that the number of Croats in the 32-year period after the 1879 census increased 101.4%. At the same time, the number of Serbs in peri-Pannonian Bosnia increased by 69.7%, while the number of Muslims grew 46.3%. This increase in the number of Croats also increased their share in the total population of peri-Pannonian Bosnia from 15.8% to 18%.

Although the number of Croats in the period of Austrian administration increased considerably in the peri-Pannonian region, some authors have been rash in stating that the period of Austrian administration was a golden age in the immigration of Croats into Bosnian Posavina (Živković, 1994). This was a period when the emigration of Croats from Croatia to transoceanic countries began as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy settled ethnic groups from other parts of the Monarchy throughout Croatia. This was, furthermore, a period of further intensification of the ethnic diversity of the Croatian ethnic territory. If there was space for settlement in peri-Pannonian Bosnia, why was the greater immigration of Croats into this region not encouraged more? There was, as shown herein, sufficient space. The immigration of Croats into peri-Pannonian Bosnia was not, therefore, caused by some particular incentives on the part of the authorities, but rather by the desire of Croats to return to the country of their ancestors.⁴

NOTES

¹ For more on the geopolitical position of the Republic of Croatia, see: Rogić 1993/94, Topalović 1996, Crkvenčić and Malić, 1996, Crkvenčić 1997.

² Such ethnic changes are portrayed using the example of Western Slavonia (Crkvenčić and Pepeonik, 1996).

³ Numerous works from varying standpoints and of varying extent have been written about the Military Frontier. It is impossible to list even the most important of them. Here I feel at liberty to turn attention to the three following works which provide comprehensive treatment of the Military Frontier from different points of view: Roksandić 1988, Rogić 1991, and Valentić 1986. The Military Frontier played an important role in the development and life of Croatia. It should be stated that its extent in the second half of the 18th century covered a surface of 20,910 km², which is 37% of the current territory of the Republic of Croatia. Besides the administratively separate Military Frontier, Croatia was also divided into Dalmatia (under the rule of Austro-Hungary) and Civil Croatia (under the rule of the Croatian ban in a Union with Hungary). In accordance with this administrative and political division in Croatia at the time, in 1875 out of a total population of 1,936,625, there was a population of 415,305 in Dalmatia, 845,503 in Civil Croatia (not including Istria and the Kvarner islands), and 675,817 in the Military Frontier (not including the Petrovaradin regimental territory) (Valentić, 1986). Such a small but so politically divided Croatia could not even devel-

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op. The Military Frontier was a special problem. The Military Frontier extended and interspersed throughout the entire Croatian territory in the southwest-northeast and west-east direction. It lasted from the 16th century until its decommissioning in 1881. The original autochthonous Croatian population was gradually resettled with members of other ethnic groups, largely Orthodox Vlachs, who began to consider themselves Serbs during the subsequent ethnogenesis process. A formerly pure Croatian ethnic territory began to gradually turn into a territory with a mixed ethnic composition. The consequences of this mixed ethnic composition were felt by the Croats during the Homeland War which ended in 1995 with the restoration of these territories formerly occupied by the Serbs. The inhabitants of the Military Frontier, the *krajišnici* or frontiersmen, were simultaneously soldiers and farmers. As soldiers they were needed by the government to defend the borders from the Ottomans and to maintain the territorial integrity of the Habsburg Monarchy. The frontiersman was also a peasant who worked his own land and thus fed himself. He defended himself and Europe, but he had to provide for his own needs as well. There is no other nation in Europe the size of Croatia, which suffered so much and despite this fact participated so extensively in the defense of others.

⁴ The emigration of Croats abroad and the simultaneous intense immigration of other ethnic groups into Croatia, primarily by ethnic groups from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, is covered in Crkvenčić 1998 and Crkvenčić 2000.

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Posavsko prigranično područje Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine: razvoj do 1918. godine (s posebnim osvrtom na promjene etničkog sastava)

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Nakon prikaza prirodnih obilježja i društvena značaja Posavine u prošlosti, prikazan je značaj kraja kao jedinstvenog hrvatskog etničkog teritorija tijekom srednjeg vijeka. Pojavom Osmanlija a naročito početkom 16. st., dolazi do velikih etničkih promjena, poglavito izraženih izgonom Hrvata i dolaskom novih etničkih skupina, uglavnom pravoslavnih Vlaha, a kasnije i Muslimana i etničkih Srba. Povlačenjem Osmanlija iz Panonskog bazena na prostore južno od Save i Dunava, Sava postaje granica u čijem se prigraničnom području stvaraju dvije društveno i politički različite sredine: Slavonska vojna krajina na slavonskoj i osmanlijski vojno-krajiški sustav kapetanije na

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bosanskoj strani. Oba su ta sustava imala poseban utjecaj na promjenu etničke strukture kraja. Povlačenjem Osmanlija dalje prema jugoistoku Europe i austrijskom okupacijom Bosne i Hercegovine Sava ostaje granicom a uz koju se, naročito na bosanskoj strani, vrše daljnje promjene etničkog sastava.

Der Grenzbereich zwischen Kroatien und Bosnien und Herzegowina: Etnwicklung bis 1918 (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der veränderten ethnischen Zusammensetzung)

Ivan CRKVENČIĆ
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Nach einer Darstellung der landschaftlichen und der gesellschaftlichen Merkmale der Posavina (Saveniederung) im Laufe der Geschichte präsentiert der Verfasser die Bedeutung dieser Region, die als kroatisches Stammesgebiet im Mittelalter einen einmaligen Status hatte. Mit Einbruch der Osmanen in diesen Raum, vor allem aber zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts kommt es zu tief greifenden ethnischen Wandeln, hauptsächlich infolge der Vertreibung der Kroaten und Zuwanderung neuer Volksgruppen: Dies waren in erster Linie orthodoxe Walachen, später auch Muslime und ethnische Serben. Nach dem Abzug der Osmanen aus dem Pannonischen Becken in südlich von Save und Donau liegende Gebiete wird die Save zur Grenze, in deren Einzugsbereich zwei Gesellschaftssysteme entstehen, die in sozialer und politischer Hinsicht sehr voneinander abweichen: die Slawonische Militärgrenze auf slawonischer Seite und die Osmanische Militärgrenze auf bosnischer Seite. Jedes dieser Gesellschaftssysteme beeinflusste auf besondere Weise die ethnische Struktur des jeweiligen geografischen Raumes und bewirkte dementsprechende Veränderungen. Nach dem weiteren Abzug der Osmanen tiefer in den südosteuropäischen Raum und nach der Annexion Bosniens und der Herzegowina durch Österreich-Ungarn bleibt die Save ein Grenzfluss, in dessen Einzugsbereich, zumal auf bosnischer Seite, es zu fortlaufenden Wandeln in der Bevölkerungszusammensetzung kommt.