

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TRENDS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S HISTORIOGRAPHY SINCE THE 1980S: THE SETTING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY DEVELOPMENTS

KRATKI PREGLED TRENDOVA U HISTORIOGRAFIJI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE OD 1980-IH GODINA: OKVIR ZA RAZVOJ EKOISTORIJE

Amir DURANOVIĆ

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Philosophy
Department of History
Franje Račkog 1, 71000 Sarajevo
Bosna i Hercegovina
amir.duranovic@ff.unsa.ba

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Summary

This paper provides an overview of the basic lines of Bosnian historiography as it has evolved in the last forty years. The author starts with conferences and round tables, the usual fora to assess the state and scope of historiography for historians of the older and middle generations. Taking into account the major socio-political changes that have taken place since the 1990s, the author presents recent historiography developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The final section of the paper draws attention to leading pioneers in environmental history research who are either active in Bosnia and Herzegovina or focus their research on this country.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, historiography, history, environmental history

Ključne riječi: Bosna i Hercegovina, historiografija, historija, ekohistorija

The issue of formation, development, current state, and perspectives of Bosnian historiography is also the issue of the contemporary history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their relationship is intertwined, their range and achievements are mutually conditioned. The institutional organisation of higher education institutions and scientific and research institutes after the Second World War and the formation of the University of Sarajevo—regardless of all the previous contributions to the study of history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the achievements of which should by no means be either disregarded or overpraised—are a starting point for understanding the position of historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina today. To understand this position more fully, it is important to emphasize that the development line was interrupted at a time when the socialist bloc of countries in Europe collapsed after the fall of the Berlin Wall, while Bosnia and Herzegovina and its institutions were devastated by the war in the process of the breakup of Yugoslavia. It is imperative, in fact, to understand that such a political and socio-economic breakdown, as well as the post-war political-administrative and institutional restoration of the country, also conditioned a different attitude towards culture and science in general, and consequently towards historiography. Different ethnic approaches influenced post-war historiography and communication among historians in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. Hence, understanding the current moment, recording current trends, and potentially pointing to a wider range of research opportunities and opening different perspectives, above all, necessarily requires a review of previous approaches to Bosnian historiography and of the historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Active institutional development of historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina started right after the Second World War with Bosnian historians' engagement in major Yugoslav historiographic pro-

jects such as *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* [History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia] – a project whose third volume about 19th and 20th century history was never completed. Similarly, historians in Bosnia and Herzegovina were engaged in completing first volume of *Kulturna historija Bosne i Hercegovine* [A Cultural History of Bosnia and Herzegovina],¹ whose other volumes which were planned to encompass cultural history after 15th century were not completed either. Reasons for this should be tackled in separate research paper, though. Since the 1980s to date, several large and small conferences and panels have been held on the topic of historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The initial session was organised in Sarajevo, in February 1982, by the Society of Historians of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Institute for Historical Research and the Department of Social Sciences of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Papers and discussions of this conference were published in 1983 as a separate publication.² Although rich in content in presenting what has been done so far, the book is still much poorer in the assessment of previous historiographical work. This was also emphasized by Radoslav Petrović, former professor at the Department of History – University of Sarajevo, in his introductory speech, saying that in the papers received so far, the authors “[...] provided, above all, a broader or shorter overview of the state of historiography about Bosnia and Herzegovina for certain periods of time, and then some of them provided even more specific assessments. If there were more of these assessments in some papers, it would be better. But it is always like that with assessments [...]”.³ The introduction points out the most significant aspects of understanding the development of Bosnian historiography. In a certain manner, the introduction “announces” the papers that follow in the rest of the book. These contributions chronologically tackle the problems of development of historiography on Bosnian Middle Ages, the Ottoman period until 1850, and then separately its final phase from 1850 to 1875, followed by reviews on the historiography of the Austro-Hungarian period, the interwar period, the Second World War—it was considered a period of “state in the making”, so the paper refers to the “National Liberation War and the revolution”—as well as the “period after 1945”. In conclusion, R. Petrović summed up his views and assessments stating that the results of the development of historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina are “positive, valuable and significant” because institutions have been created, “personnel developed, journals launched, significant collections of sources and monographs on many important questions published, school textbooks written”.⁴ Petrović also claimed that the previous results had been “such that with a greater degree of social responsibility for the tasks set they provide a good basis for further expansion”, the expansion still did not occur due to the war circumstances of the 1990s. Some projects that were initiated in the final phase of the socialist period of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as was e.g. DC XIII / 2, started in 1986,⁵ experienced its historiographical completeness only in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Therefore, the 1982 session was the first, but also the last, to reflect on historiography in the context of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Socialist Yugoslavia. From today’s perspective, it seems that certain views expressed in the discussions at the end of the 1982 conference gave more assessments of individual historiographical papers than the volume itself. As one might expect, mostly due to theoretical shortcomings and ideologically based historiographical perspectives, environmental history as an approach remained an “unknown territory” for almost all historians dealing with different aspects of Bosnian history in the above-mentioned time framework. This claim, however, needs additional explanation. Even though most research has been completed on methodologically well-founded bases, it is still rather unrealistic to expect that historians

¹ *Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do pada ovih zemalja pod osmansku vlast*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, Second edition, (1983).

² *Savjetovanje o istoriografiji Bosne i Hercegovine (1945-1982)*. Posebna izdanja, Vol. LXV. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Vol. 12, (1983).

³ *Ibid.*, 13. Citation translated by author.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵ In the terminology of the time, DC stands for “društveni cilj – social goal”, a phrase used in many aspects of social planning, typical for socialist countries.

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABH), Fond: Samoupravna interesna zajednica nauke Bosne i Hercegovine, k. 200, DC XIII/2, Istorija, Izvedbeni projekat istraživanja iz oblasti istorije Bosne i Hercegovine, 1986.

in the Bosnian historiographical context could have been aware of an emerging field in historiography such as environmental history in late 1980s.⁶ This supposition, however, has opened space for new insights in the last three decades.

The post-war restoration of the Bosnian scientific institutions with the employment of junior personnel was accompanied by attempts to present an overview of historiographical production in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also about Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that sense, at the very end of the past century, in 1999, the Institute for Historical Research—a Sarajevo based research center, now a unit of the University of Sarajevo—organised, on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, a scientific conference entitled “Historiography on Bosnia and Herzegovina 1980 – 1998”. Exposés and discussions from the conference were published in the journal of the Institute for Historical Research – *Prilozi*.⁷ This event was “a sort of continuation of the conference held from February 11 to 12, 1982”.⁸ In terms of its content, this volume of *Prilozi* is also a continuation of the 1982 conference, as the papers mainly contain bibliographic data on what was done in that period, with quality and scope assessments, and identical to the first book, the clearest assessments – when available – are in the very discussions. The difference, however, between the first and the second is that some discussions and/or papers from 1999 are much sharper and polemically intoned, and the reason for that, at least at that moment, was the fact that some titles of a synthetic nature appeared for the first time in Bosnian historiography and in a much different socio-political context than the one in which the 1982 session was held. In this sense, as an interesting example, one could observe the critically imbued, although very short review of the historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 19th century by Ahmed Aličić, e.g. in relation to the book *Stvaranje Jugoslavije* [Creation of Yugoslavia] by Milorad Ekmečić, published when the Republic of Yugoslavia was at its end, or to the synthesis of *Historija Bošnjaka* [History of Bosniaks] by Mustafa Imamović, a book written during the war and published in the first post-war years.⁹ In the same way, it is possible to understand the discussions about the character, content and historiographical scope of the book *Historija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata* [History of Bosnia and Herzegovina since the Classical Age Until the end of the Second World War], which was also perceived—and there may still be those who perceive it—as a certain kind of synthesis, although it is difficult to identify all the crucial elements of a historiographical synthesis in it. The examples singled out here, of course, are not the only ones, but they are very important from the point of view of understanding the historiographical debates, especially if in essence we agree with the statement that Bosnian historiography in the Yugoslav context did not have many theoretically based and fruitful discussions. The themes covered by local historians mostly remained within the framework of political and socio-economic topics, thus leaving new perspectives for generations of historians yet to come. In other words, apart from the historiographical discussions about the 1970s stimulated by the book *History of Yugoslavia (Istorija Jugoslavije)*,¹⁰ which were also marked by the political moment in which they were conducted, real impacts of all later debates on historiography were significantly weaker. All these developments are an indicator of the circumstances in which historians acted, how much those circumstances influenced their work, the views and theses they put forward.

Another important and very positive aspect of the 1999 conference and of its subsequently published exposés is that in addition to domestic authors, fellow historians from abroad also took part—from those historiographies with which the Bosnian historiographical community traditionally has good relations and fruitful cooperation. They mostly came from Central European countries, although there were col-

⁶ McNEILL, John Robert, “Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History”, *History and Theory, Theme Issue 42*, (2003): 5–43.

⁷ *Prilozi*, 29, (2000).

⁸ KAMBEROVIĆ, Husnija, *Historiografija u Bosni i Hercegovini u službi politike*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, (2012): 58.

⁹ ALIČIĆ, Ahmed S. “Historiografska literatura koja se odnosi na historiju Bosne i Hercegovine u 19. stoljeću”, *Prilozi*, 29, (2000): 111–116. Also see: DURANOVIĆ, Amir “Savremena bosanskohercegovačka historiografija: na margini povijesti”, *Na margini povijesti. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2018): 11–29.

¹⁰ JAKŠIĆ, Božidar (ed.), *Istorija Jugoslavije u svjetlu kritike: Polemike u jugoslavenskim časopisima 1973–1976*. Sarajevo: Buybook – Zagreb: Srednja Europa – Beograd: Most Art Jugoslavija, (2022).

leagues from other countries as well. Their main contribution at that time was to reconnect Bosnian historians with their mostly Central European counterparts and their approaches to Bosnian history. Still, one might wonder why these contacts did not result in an earlier acceptance of novel trends in Central European historiographies by historians of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the possible answers lies in the local social and political context of the Bosnian past in the 1970s or early 1980s. Traditionally oriented and politically dominated historiography left almost no space for innovation.

Soon after the 1999 conference, another panel dealing with Bosnian historiography was organised by the Committee for Historical Sciences of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina,¹¹ encompassing the same timeframe as the conference of the Institute for Historical Research. Thus, two conferences on historiography were held in Sarajevo in a relatively short period of time and referred to an almost identical time frame, from the 1980s to the beginning of the new millennium. Although the events and talks should not be viewed in the context of competition, much less disparagement, it is still difficult to avoid the impression that these gatherings then most likely announced a basic trend in Bosnian historiography in the years to come – division and lack of communication among institutions and individuals on equal initial positions, which was further favoured by the administrative fragmentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and institutional pluralism within the Bosnian community of historians in an effort to democratize society. This shift among historians would not necessarily have to mean anything negative, but some results were in fact negative.¹² Bosnian historiography was discussed in a narrower or wider context in Vienna,¹³ and Mostar.¹⁴ In Graz, Austria, a project was carried out resulting in a volume on historiographies in post-communist countries of Southeast Europe, discussing the results and achievements of the Bosnian historiography in detail.¹⁵ Bosnian historiography in the Vienna conference was accurately presented by Dževad Juzbašić, historian and a member of Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose review includes the main contours of the 1990s events and their reflection in the historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, Juzbašić claimed that re-establishing of research in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina took place under very difficult conditions, both political and logistic in nature. He further contended that this was not only due to the pinching financial context in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also due to “nationalist-chauvinist actors among governmental structures” whose main goal was to further divide Bosnian society by creating “separated and exclusive systems” where science, institutions, art, and education would be separated based on the ethnic principle. Juzbašić sadly concluded that research in historiography was focused “exclusively on ethno-national history, political history and/or regional or local aspects of history” thus leaving “social and economic history in occasional coincidences”.¹⁶

Changes over the Horizon

Similar to the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of almost all former Yugoslav republics, historiography has not remained outside flows of change of the 1990s as described by Belgrade University professors Miroslav Jovanović and Radivoj Radić in their joint book *Kriza istorije* [Crisis of Historiography]. Therefore, in the case of historiography in Serbia at a time of great changes, there was a kind of intertwining of the process of turbulent and dramatic social upheavals, then transformations, waves of revision and similar processes.¹⁷ Jovanović and Radić further state that these new challenges

¹¹ *Istorijaska nauka o Bosni i Hercegovini u razdoblju 1990–2000 godine*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, (2003).

¹² See also another collection of volumes discussing historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina and about Bosnia and Herzegovina, JUZBAŠIĆ, Dževad – ŠEHIĆ, Zijad (eds.), *Prilozi o historiografiji Bosne i Hercegovine: (2001–2017)*, vol. 1 & 2. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, (2020).

¹³ *Österreichische Osthefte*, 44, (2002).

¹⁴ *Naučni skup: Historiografija u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1990. do 2003. godine*. Sarajevo: Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, (2003).

¹⁵ KAMBEROVIĆ, *Historiografija u Bosni i Hercegovini u službi politike*, 58. Also see: BRUNNBAUER, Ulf, (ed.), *(Re)Writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Bd. 4, (2004).

¹⁶ JUZBAŠIĆ, Dževad, “Die Geschichtsschreibung in Bosnien-Hercegowina im letzten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts”, *Prilozi*, 31, (2002): 17–31.

¹⁷ For general overview about revisionism and historiography see these volumes: KATZ, Vera (ed.), *Revizija prošlosti na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, (2007); SAMARDŽIĆ, Momir – BEŠLIN, Milivoj – MILOŠEVIĆ, Srđan (eds.), *Politička upotreba*

have shown a big gap between science/scholarship in Serbia and the academic community in Serbia. The “very existence of that gap, or disparity, opens up space for various manipulations, for charlatan-ism, careerism etc”, authors claim.¹⁸ In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Husnija Kamberović, now Professor at the University of Sarajevo, also wrote about the relations among historians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosnian context at a time when great structural changes of the 1990s were taking place. He stated that this was a “dangerous silence” related to the events of the time, that was “particularly characteristic of Bosnian historians”. He saw the threat in the fact that “it is possible that, influenced by a certain political current, [silence could] give rise to the same crippled historiography as the Second World War [historiography gave] in this region: while in time of communism, according to the scheme of ‘all history as a history of class struggle’, historiography only sought class relations, inventing the existence of the working class and the labour movement in those times and in those areas where due to the great feudal tradition such a social class and such a social movement could not exist at all. Thus in a country that was devastated by a war driven by national conflicts, there is a danger that in the new social circumstances the whole history research will be reduced to [ethno]national relations. This is equally disastrous for historiography as a science, and perhaps even more disastrous, because it will reduce it only to a manifestation of contemporary political passions, which, in fact, makes history cease to be a science”.¹⁹ In the follow-up text, “Zvona zvone znanosti” [The Bells Toll to Science], he went even further by stating that historiography, if it remains only related to topics of [ethno]national history, may make a big step backwards, because instead of steps towards fruitful interdisciplinary cooperation with other humanities and social sciences “which would provide a multidimensional view of social processes and global society as a whole, historiography returns to the state it was in more than 200 years ago. Historiography again plays a major role in the process of creation of nation states and is fully instrumentalized. It is no longer just a national garment, but it participates in the construction of a political system, not as an active participant but as a blind obedient subject whose task is exhausted on ‘proving’ *a priori* certain results. In methodological terms, such historiography will not be able to be maintained even at the level of traditional, event history [...]”.²⁰ Thus, the problems that Bosnian historiography was facing in the 1990s, and which it still faces today to a degree, are grave, and this is especially important to emphasize if one bears in mind the fact that in the last few decades the presence of history in the public space has mostly been reduced either to “aggressive promotion of history for political purposes” or discussions of history that were not fully scholarly grounded in methodological terms. One could state that the contemporary professional historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in part at the margins of the contemporary Bosnian public history,²¹ as the focus of public discussions about history often comes from very different peripheries. Still, we could claim with a significant level of certainty that, in spite of all, Bosnian historiography has been developing and, more importantly, it has a potential for further and multidimensional development. Many sessions, panels, conferences, roundtables, public presentations of themes, projects, research, and other activities have been organised in the past several years, which make the results and research visible, but, considering the timeframe, it would be too early to speak of the long-term achievements of such endeavours. Some valuable advancements have occurred in Bosnian historiography recently. There is a visible step forward, for example, in the study of topics not only from political, military or diplomatic history but also from social history, as well as other topics assessed in more detail in the collections of papers published recently in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²²

prošlosti: o istorijskom revizionizmu na postjugoslovenskom prostoru. Novi Sad: Alternativna kulturna organizacija - AKO, (2013).

¹⁸ ЈОВАНОВИЋ, Мирослав – РАДИЋ, Радивој, *Криза историје: српска историографија и друштвени изазови краја 20. и почетка 21. века*, Београд. Удружење за друштвену историју, (2009): 8–9.

¹⁹ КАМБЕРОВИЋ, *Historiografija u Bosni i Hercegovini u službi politike*, 12–13. Citation translated by author.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17–18. Citation translated by author.

²¹ DURANOVIĆ, “Savremena bosanskohercegovačka historiografija: na margini povijesti”, 11–29.

²² See, for instance: OMERVIĆ, Enes S., “Velike poplave u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918–1941)”, *Poplava, zemljotres, smog: prilozi ekohistoriji Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. stoljeću. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2017): 17–71; KASUMIĆ, Amila, “Povijest ‘marginalnih’ i ‘neuspješnih’: zašto nam je potrebna?” *Na margini povijesti. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2018): 31–64. See volumes published within the framework of the project “Historiografija i nacionalizam”: DURANOVIĆ, Amir (ed.), *Na margini povijesti*.

Looking “beyond borderlines” both in terms of current and past political borders, but challenging “historiographical borders” between Classical Antiquity, Middle Ages, Early and Late Modern History and Contemporary History seems to be a promising strategy in changing the perspectives we have all been educated in. As elaborated throughout the paper, Jelena Mrgić’s outstanding books *Zemlja i ljudi* and *Sjeverna Bosna*,²³ and innovative papers,²⁴ rightly point to environmental history as one of the emerging fields that could bring substantial change to the historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The following contemporary history projects conducted in last decade or so have taken environmental history into account while introducing new approaches to Bosnian historiography.

Furthermore, for certain areas, such as e.g., medieval and early modern Bosnian history, very significant projects completed in the last few years have resulted in the publication of monographs – including a monograph about horses in medieval Bosnia,²⁵ and historical studies about donkeys,²⁶ collections of original archival documents, but also very successful syntheses of medieval Bosnian history.²⁷ Furthermore, it is the sphere of medieval and early modern Bosnian history that has seen major changes in introducing environmental history approach so far. Compared to other authors, whose expertise in the field of environmental history should not be neglected, Jelena Mrgić is among leading scholars in introducing new models of research and new perspectives presented in her books or papers about different aspects of everyday life and environmental history in medieval and early modern history.²⁸ Some other Bosnian historians such as the previously mentioned Esad Kurtović have given an important insight into the emerging field from a social historian’s perspective. His publications about middle ages and early modern history, however, fully based on archival materials, and therefore very valuable, lack theoretical input. Other historians of medieval Bosnian history added important insights in everyday life and social history, banditry,²⁹ or vineyards and wine production in medieval Bosnia.³⁰ Early modern and modern era in context of Bosnian history, also defined as history of Ottoman Bosnia, was placed in environmental historians’ perspective through research papers written in last couple of years by Jelena Mrgić,³¹ Ema Pašić,³² Dina Pašić,³³ Hrvoje Petrić³⁴, Nenad Filipović, Snježana Šušnjara, and

Zbornik radova. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2018); DURANOVIĆ, A. (ed.), *Nacije i migracije: studije iz bosanskohercegovačke historiografije*. Zbornik radova. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2019); DURANOVIĆ, A. (ed.), *Ogledi o historiografiji i nacionalizmu u jugoistočnoj Evropi*. Zbornik radova. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2019); DURANOVIĆ, A. (ed.), *Poplava, zemljotres, smog: prilozi ekohistoriji Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. stoljeću*. Zbornik radova. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2017). Second edition, (2020).

²³ МРГИЋ, Јелена, *Сјеверна Босна 13 – 16 век*. Посебна издања, књ. 55. Београд: Историјски институт, (2008).

²⁴ MRGIĆ, Jelena; “Wine or ‘Raki’: The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia”, *Environment and History*, 17/4, (2011): 613–637; МРГИЋ, Јелена; “Паде прах са небеса на земљу — ерупција Везува 1631. и балканске земље”, *Balkanica*, 35, (2005): 223–239; MRGIĆ, Jelena–DRAŽETA, Bogdan, “Seeing, sensing, and de/scribing – narratives on weather and climate in preindustrial Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina”, *Ekonomika i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša*, 16, (2020): 184–200; Jelena, MRGIĆ, “Intemperate weather in violent times – narratives from the Western Balkans during the Little Ice Age (17 – 18th centuries)”, *Cuadernos de Investigacion Geografica: Geographical Research Letters*, 44, 1 (2018).

²⁵ KURTOVIĆ, Esad, *Konj u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*. Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, (2014).

²⁶ KURTOVIĆ, Esad, “Magarci u dubrovačkom zaleđu”, *Inicijal: časopis za srednjovekovne studije*, 1, (2013): 137–159.

²⁷ FILIPOVIĆ, Emir O., *Bosansko kraljevstvo: historija srednjovjekovne bosanske države*. Sarajevo: Mladinska knjiga, (2017).

²⁸ MRGIĆ, Jelena; “Wine or ‘Raki’ – The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia”, *Environment and History*, 17/4, (2011): 613–637; МРГИЋ, Јелена; “Паде прах са небеса на земљу — ерупција Везува 1631. и балканске земље”, *Balkanica*, 35, (2005): 223–239; MRGIĆ, Jelena – DRAŽETA, Bogdan, “Seeing, sensing, and de/scribing – narratives on weather and climate in preindustrial Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina”, *Ekonomika i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša*, 16, (2020): 184–200; MRGIĆ, Jelena, “Intemperate weather in violent times – narratives from the Western Balkans during the Little Ice Age (17 – 18th centuries)”, *Cuadernos de Investigacion Geografica: Geographical Research Letters*, 44/1 (2018): 137-169; МРГИЋ, Јелена, *Сјеверна Босна 13 – 16 век*.

²⁹ DURANOVIĆ, Elmedina, *Drumsko razbojništvo u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni prema dubrovačkim izvorima*. PhD thesis. Sarajevo, Filozofski fakultet, (2017); SOPHOULIS, Panos, *Banditry in the Medieval Balkans 800-1500*. Palgrave Macmillan, (2020).

³⁰ KOVAČEVIĆ, Naida, *Vino i vinogradi u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*. Sarajevo: Blicdruck, (2021).

³¹ MRGIĆ, Jelena; “Wine or ‘Raki’ – The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia”, *Environment and History*, 17/4, (2011): 613–637.

³² PAŠIĆ, Ema, *Malo ledeno doba na prostoru Bosanskog ejaleta od 17. do početka 19. stoljeća*, 2019. Available at <https://repozitorij.ffzg.unizg.hr/islandora/object/ffzg%3A1422/datastream/PDF/view>.

³³ PAŠIĆ, Dina, *Glad u Bosanskom ejaletu od 17. do početka 19. stoljeća*, 2019. Available at <https://zir.nsk.hr/islandora/object/ffzg%3A1345/datastream/PDF/view>.

³⁴ PAŠIĆ, Dina, PAŠIĆ, Ema i PETRIĆ, Hrvoje, “Povezanost razdoblja gladi sa indikacijama malog ledenog doba u Bosanskom ejaletu”

others. Those authors discuss climate changes and famine in Bosnia from the 16th until the beginning of the 19th century, but also impacts of volcanic eruptions in the Mediterranean area on Bosnian Eyalet in the 17th and 18th century Balkans.³⁵ More particular research about the plague in mid-18th century Bosnia was written recently by Nenad Filipović,³⁶ while two decades ago Snježana Šušnjara discussed the Franciscan perspective about natural disasters in Bosnia and neighbouring territories in the 18th century.³⁷ Dina and Ema Pašić added an urban and environmental history insight about Sarajevo in the 19th century thus making industrial era also one of the areas within the reach of historians' interests as can be seen in a volume edited by Filip Šimetin Šegvić and Marta Janković.³⁸ Ivo Lučić also added important insights into the research field with his book about karst landscapes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹

As described by Jelena Mrgić, and deriving from leading environmental historians, it is the new perspective, the new discussions of primary historical sources “from the point of historical research methodology”, along with online literature availability, that can set historians free and probably shape what has been addressed as a “happier future” for historians in the region of Southeast Europe.⁴⁰ In that context, to offer another example, projects conducted by Drago Roksandić, professor at the University of Zagreb, such as “Triplex Confinium” that dealt with the territories at the Habsburg-Ottoman-Venetian frontier, and follow ups by his colleagues, Hrvoje Petrić, for instance, shall be regarded as an outstanding and admirable success.⁴¹

Other areas of Bosnian history have not lagged behind in terms of development, although neither can all be said to be developing at the same pace nor that the results achieved are of equal historiographical value. In the context of the post-war development of Bosnian historiography, there are noticeable tendencies to change the course which are quite slow or at least not at the pace of neighbouring historiographies. Nonetheless, this comparison is tricky since it is difficult to compare phenomena characterized by more differences than similarities. However, numerous examples of cooperation of Bosnian historians with colleagues from neighbouring countries, but also much wider than that, show that Bosnian historiography is not closed for trends of change coming from outside. It is possible to show that new trends exist in Bosnian historiography, both positive that open a completely new thematic framework,⁴² and negative, such are ideologically motivated revisionist accounts of the past, primarily of the recent past.⁴³ However, a vigilant reader will notice the great difference between the circumstances in Bosnian historiography and the ones in the neighbouring countries. Examples of observable difference are the level of comprehension of the history and lack of developments of Bosnian historiography in the field

Ekonomika i ekohistorija, 19 (1), (2023): 55-68. Preuzeto s <https://hrcak.srce.hr/320198>

³⁵ PETRIĆ, Hrvoje – PAŠIĆ, Ema – PAŠIĆ, Dina, “Impacts of the Volcanic Eruptions of Vesuvius (1771) and Icelandic Laki Fissure Eruption (1783–1784) on the Bosnian Eyalet in the Northwestern Part of Ottoman Empire”, *Ekonomika i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša*, 16, (2020): 133–145; МРГИЋ, Јелена; “Паде прах са небеса на земљу — ерупција Везува 1631. и Балканске земље”, *Balkanica*, 35, (2005): 223–239.

³⁶ FILIPOVIĆ, Nenad, “Oko kuge u Bosni 1763–1764. godine”, *Prilozi* 49 (2020): 45–87.

³⁷ ŠUŠNJARA, Snježana, “Izvori bosanskih franjevaca o prirodnim nepogodama u Bosni i na Trameđi u 18. stoljeću”, ROKSANDIĆ, Drago – ŠTEFANEĆ, Nataša (eds.), *Triplex Confinium (1500–1800): ekohistorija. Zbornik radova s 3. međunarodne Projektne konferencije održane od 3. do 7. svibnja 2000. godine u Zadru*. Split-Zagreb: Književni krug Split; Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, (2003): 109–124.

³⁸ ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, Filip, JANKOVIĆ, Marta, *Gradovi 19. stoljeća i urbana historija: teme, pristupi, metode*. FF Press, CKHIS, Zagreb, (2021).

³⁹ LUČIĆ, Ivo, *Presvlačenje krša: povijest poznavanja Dinarskog krša na primjeru Popova polja*. Zagreb – Sarajevo – Široki Brijeg: Synopsis – Multi-trade (2019).

⁴⁰ MRGIĆ, Jelena, *Zemlja i ljudi: iz istorije životne sredine Zapadnog Balkana*, 123.

⁴¹ FÜRST-BJELIŠ, Borna – CVITANOVIĆ, Marin – PETRIĆ, Hrvoje, “Što je povijest okoliša u Hrvatskoj?” Afterword in J. Donald HUGHES, *Što je povijest okoliša? Zagreb: Disput*, (2011): 175–198. See also: ROKSANDIĆ, Drago – ŠTEFANEĆ, Nataša (eds.), *Triplex Confinium (1500–1800): ekohistorija, Zbornik radova s 3. međunarodne Projektne konferencije održane od 3. do 7. svibnja 2000. godine u Zadru*. Split-Zagreb: Književni krug Split; Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, (2003).

⁴² E.g., DURANOVIĆ (ed.), *Na margini povijesti*; DURANOVIĆ (ed.), *Nacije i migracije*; DURANOVIĆ (ed.), *Ogledi o historiografiji i nacionalizmu u jugoistočnoj Evropi*; DURANOVIĆ (ed.), *Poplava, zemljotres, smog*.

⁴³ KATZ, Vera (ed.), *Revizija prošlosti na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije*. Sarajevo, Institut za istoriju, (2007). SAMARDŽIĆ, Momir – BEŠLIN, Milivoj – MILOŠEVIĆ, Srđan (eds.), *Politička upotreba prošlosti: o istorijskom revizionizmu na postjugoslovenskom prostoru*. Novi Sad: Alternativna kulturna organizacija - AKO, (2013).

of digital history. The good news is that there are more and more regional and international projects in which Bosnian and Herzegovinian historians of the middle and younger generation are involved. They allow for intensive international communication between members of the same profession that should direct Bosnian research towards modern historiographical trends.

As can be assumed, none of the abovementioned reviews of Bosnian historiography tended to address environmental history separately or as an emerging field. However, with the beginning of a new millennium, a new generation of historians, mostly educated at home universities in the region of Southeast Europe, but with projects and specializations conducted in the Western academic context, have started to shape the contours of what might become, a new research field of Bosnian historiography – environmental history. To highlight just one example, Jelena Mrgić's book *Zemlja i ljudi: iz istorije životne sredine zapadnog Balkana* [Land and People: From the Environmental History of the Western Balkans] rightly points out all potentials in developing environmentalist perspective in historiography. In her own interpretation of the first reactions to her research, she has managed “to escape to a happier future”.⁴⁴ Mrgić discusses ecological crisis and current trends, but then goes back to Middle Ages of the Balkans to discuss historical geography and environmental history and their interconnections, followed by landscapes, her “favourite” topic, as well as the climate, etc. It was in 2014, right after big floods in Bosnia, that both public discourse as well as professional historians stressed the importance of new approaches to climate change and its repercussions in Bosnian context. Public opinion makers remained active for a couple of weeks while historians decided for a long run by organizing a round table to discuss certain environmental history issues of the river Krivaja and surrounding area. As a result of a roundtable, a volume of proceedings *Rijeka Krivaja kroz prošlost* [The River Krivaja Through History],⁴⁵ became a starting point of research that later became the foundation for two additional research projects conducted mostly by Sarajevo-based contemporary historians. Among them, Aida Ličina Ramić and Vera Katz subsequently published a research paper focused on big floods in contemporary Bosnian history. By focusing on the example of a big deluge in Doboju and Olovo back in 1965, they examined the influence of floods on “21 municipalities and three districts in Bosnia and Herzegovina” which left “disastrous effects on settlements, population, agriculture, industry, transport, labour productivity as well as life in local communities and society in general”. In conclusion, Aida Ramić and Vera Katz claimed that the disaster was “the result of inadequate protection from flooding rivers, their tributaries and torrential waters, unplanned construction of residential and industrial buildings in floodplains without adequate infrastructure...”.⁴⁶ These findings led us as a group of historians to start a new research project that eventually resulted in proceedings entitled *Poplava, zemljotres, smog* [Flood, Earthquake, Smog]. On the examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina, texts in this publication illuminate the relationship between man and nature in times of great floods, earthquakes, and air pollution, bringing Bosnian contemporary historiography closer to current trends. It explores the possibilities of novel environmental history research.⁴⁷ The volume includes a cutting-edge paper by Enes Omerović on big floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1918 to 1941, a veritable model for research in the Bosnian context.⁴⁸ Vera Katz researched floods and environmental protection in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1965 to 1976.⁴⁹ Aida Ličina Ramić wrote a paper about air pollution in Sarajevo during 1970s and 1980s thus making this topic a trendy one in historiography, and not only in public discourse during winter.⁵⁰ Finally, as Bosnia has witnessed many earthquakes in its history, such as the 1969 Banja Luka earthquake, in north-west-

⁴⁴ MRGIĆ, *Zemlja i ljudi*, 123.

⁴⁵ RAMIĆ, Aida (ed.), *Rijeka Krivaja kroz prošlost. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu – Udruženje za modernu historiju, (2016).

⁴⁶ KATZ, Vera – LIČINA, Aida, “Velike poplave u Doboju i Olovo – primjer iz maja 1965. godine”, *Historijska misao*, 3/3, (2017): 321–375.

⁴⁷ DURANOVIĆ (ed.), *Poplava, zemljotres, smog*.

⁴⁸ OMERVIĆ, “Velike poplave u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918–1941)”.

⁴⁹ KATZ, Vera, “Poplave u Bosni i Hercegovini – posljedice i pokušaji zaštite (1965–1976)”, *Poplava, zemljotres, smog: prilozi ekohistoriji Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. stoljeću. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2017), 73–113.

⁵⁰ LIČINA RAMIĆ, Aida, “Od ekološke katastrofe do olimpijskog grada – Sarajevo 1971–1984”, *Poplava, zemljotres, smog: prilozi ekohistoriji Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. stoljeću. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2017), 115–147.

ern Bosnia, and its socio-political consequences, these are presented in the paper by historian Dino Dupanović.⁵¹ That paper stimulated further research by Mihad Mujanović who published a book about the 1969 Banja Luka earthquake and the 1963 Skopje earthquake in comparison.⁵² Earthquake in Banja Luka still triggers the interest of historians as can be seen in a recently published paper by Nikola Ožegović, young historian from Banja Luka.⁵³ The previously mentioned historians Dina and Ema Pašić added valuable contribution to our knowledge about floods during 1960s as they elaborated in details the issue of urban development and extreme events such as floods. Their thorough urban-environmental-history research paper builds on diverse types of archival sources and reports by republic and federal hydrological institutions, statistics, and media reports about flood in Sarajevo in 1968.⁵⁴ It is a case study aimed at analysing the interaction of modified natural and constructed environments in the context of urbanization.

Given the abovementioned remarks, it is quite clear that recent Bosnian historiography suffers from transitional shortcomings and institutional gaps. It is also fair to say that tradition still prevails over innovation, institutional conservatism over contemporary trends, but it would be unfair not to notice changes that have been taking place in last couple of decades. A great collapse of institutionalized research, staff shortage, and political divisions in the 1990s are slowly becoming a matter of the past. New generations of historians, both in Bosnia and abroad, educated in new research paradigms, could become agents of major transformations in historiography. They could tackle challenges ahead of them, establish new agendas and cornerstones, including environmental history. As elaborated by Donald Worster in his paper “Doing Environmental History”,⁵⁵ in the old days, “the discipline of history had altogether easier task. Everyone knew that the only important subject was politics, and the only important terrain was the nation-state. One was supposed to investigate the conniving presidents and prime ministers, the passing of laws, the struggles between courts and legislatures, and the negotiations of diplomats”. He further notices that history as “past politics” began “to lose ground, as the world evolved toward a more global point of view, and, some would say, toward a more democratic one”. In that context, Worster concludes that environmental history is “part of a revisionist effort to make the discipline far more inclusive in its narratives than it has traditionally been”.⁵⁶ This paper somewhat resembles the abovementioned observations by Worster in the specific case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aim of the paper was to give an overview of the trends in historiographical developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the 1980s and explain the setting for environmental history developments in Bosnian historiographic context. Departing from exclusively political and ideological narratives about Bosnian history in 1980s, the last decades, as shown throughout the paper, signal changes over the horizon. This signal, however, needs additional nurturing and support. Papers and volumes about migrations, traditional and non-traditional minorities, environmental issues like floods, earthquakes, air-pollution, famine, natural disasters, climate change and others, as reviewed in this paper, give credence to Worster’s key theses. In that context, Bosnian environmental history examples justly elaborated by historians mentioned in this paper, open the floor to a history which, “if it is to be balanced and accurate” would “inevitably consider the natural environment and the myriad ways in which it has both affected and been affected by human activities”.⁵⁷

⁵¹ DUPANOVIĆ, Dino, “Političke posljedice zemljotresa u Bosanskoj krajini 1969. godine”, *Poplava, zemljotres, smog: prilozi ekohistoriji Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. stoljeću. Zbornik radova*. Sarajevo: UMHS, (2017), 149–194.

⁵² MUJANOVIĆ, Mihad, *I zemlja se potrese: odjek zemljotresa u Skoplju 1963. godine i Bosanskoj krajini 1969. godine*. Sarajevo: UMHS, Studije za historiju BiH, (2019).

⁵³ OŽEGOVIĆ, Nikola, “Zemljotres u Banjaluci i Bosanskoj krajini 1969. godine”, *Istorija 20. veka*, 40, 2/2022, (2022): 495–512.

⁵⁴ PAŠIĆ, Ema – PAŠIĆ Dina, “Na sučelju urbanog razvitka i ekstremnog događaja: Sarajevo i poplave rijeke Miljacke i Željeznice 1968. godine”, *Ekonomika i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša*, 17, (2021): 95–108.

⁵⁵ WORSTER, Donald, “Doing Environmental History”. WORSTER, Donald (ed.), *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, (1988): 289–299, 301–303, 305–306.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

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SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad donosi pregled temeljnih smjernica bosanskohercegovačke historiografije u posljednjih četrdeset godina. Autor polazi od znanstvenih skupova i okruglih stolova, kao uobičajenih foruma za procjenu stanja i dosega historiografije, osobito među povjesničarima starijih i srednjih generacija. Uzimajući u obzir velike društveno-političke promjene koje su se dogodile od 1990-ih godina, autor prikazuje recentna kretanja u historiografiji Bosne i Hercegovine. U završnom dijelu rada posebna se pozornost posvećuje vodećim pionirima istraživanja ekohistorije koji su ili aktivni u Bosni i Hercegovini ili svoja istraživanja usmjeravaju na taj prostor.

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Mailing addresses / Adresa uredništva:
Hrvoje Petrić (editor/urednik)
Odsjek za povijest, Filozofski fakultet
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb
e-mail: hrvoje.petric@ffzg.hr
ili Vinka Vošickog 5, HR-48000 Koprivnica

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