

# THE EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSE ON JAPAN IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA UNDER HABSBURG MONARCHY

**Mitsutoshi Inaba**

Independent Researcher, Japan  
*abammi@gmail.com*

<https://doi.org/10.7251/FPNDP2203059I>

## **ABSTRACT:**

Mutual relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Japan date back to the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, Japanese interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina was based on the need to establish an efficient model for ruling over Taiwan, i.e. his first colony. In other words, Japan was primarily interested in the system of colonial administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and not in its history and culture. In this context, the paper questions whether there was interest in Japan from the Bosnian side at the same time, that is, the possible reasons for the existence of such interest. The focus of the research is the activities of primary and secondary school teachers who at that time were the main carriers of cultural life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the following research questions: “Why were some teachers from Bosnia and Herzegovina interested in Japan?” and “In what way were they trying to attract the attention of their readers by referring to Japan?”. The research is based on the analysis of the discourse about Japan present in the texts published in the Bosnian educational periodicals of the time (*Školski vjesnik*, *Učiteljska zora* and *Srpska škola*). The results of the research indicate that some Bosnian educators from that period actively observed, understood and used their knowledge about Japan, with the primary goal of sensitizing the public for the improvement of existing educational practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also for promoting other positive solutions for improving the quality of life of its citizens.

**Review Scientific Article**

**UDK:** 323.1(497.6):913(5/9)

## **Keywords:**

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Japan, Habsburg monarchy, education, national identity

## **Introduction**

The Congress of Berlin in 1878 entrusted the governance and occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter called Bosnia) to the Habsburg monarchy under the pretext “to civilize them” to justify its occupation and reign (Okey, 2007, pp. 1-25). Education was one of the main axes for this project, though Mitar Papić (1972) pointed out in the still standard historiography of education in Bosnia that

civilization was a nominal aim and its real purpose was to facilitate the Habsburg monarchy's administration. He specifically explained that the Habsburg authorities anticipated that education in Bosnia would eradicate the nationalistic influence. Furthermore, he also affirmed that the political behaviors of teachers were considered before hiring them. However, it has been pointed out that the teachers were involved in maintaining and developing the traditional culture of Bosnia while making efforts to improve their social status and living conditions (Papić, 1972, pp. 7-12, 73-77). The scholarship on teachers' voluntary and independent activities in Habsburg monarchy's Bosnia has progressed in recent years, sticking to banal research on nationalism in education and to concerns about teachers' activities in the broader context based on a professional or cultural affinity<sup>1</sup>.

The teachers' associations organized in Sarajevo and Mostar in February and May 1904, respectively, were one of their voluntary and active achievements. Both associations, cooperating with those organized in other regions, established the League of Teachers' Associations of Bosnia and Herzegovina in June 1905 (*Savez učiteljskih društava Bosne i Hercegovine*). In October of the same year, an educational journal run by teachers, *Učiteljska zora*, started publishing in Mostar (Papić, 1972, pp. 77 and 183). Through this journal under the League, the teachers, who aimed to widely share the knowledge about contemporary pedagogy, could acquire and disseminate information about the educational affairs in the Habsburg monarchy among themselves and globally.

When we overview the international situation during that time, focusing on the Habsburg monarchy, its relationship with the allies of the Triple Alliance deteriorated from around 1902, namely with Germany over the tariff problem and with Italy over Albania. However, the Habsburg monarchy had a cooperative relationship with Russia due to the Vienna Protocol over the Macedonian issue, which was signed in February 1903, where both states agreed to maintain the status quo in the Balkans. In October 1903, they jointly proposed the Müritz reform program and took up initiative to solve the Macedonian issue, but Germany intensified its opposition to this reform. Under these circumstances, the Russo-Japanese War broke out in East Asia in February 1904. The Habsburg monarchy signed the Austro-Russian Neutral Treaty in October 1904 because of its cooperation with Russia in the Balkans, and it had no territorial interest in East Asia, except for the tiny concession in Tianjin, which was acquired according to the Boxer Protocol in September 1901 to distance from the Russo-Japanese War. Moreover, the monarchy was concerned that Russia's defeat might adversely affect the Macedonian

---

<sup>1</sup> See: Škipina, D. (2011). *Značaj staleške organizacije učitelja za školstvo i razvoj pedagoških ideja u Bosni i Hercegovini (1878-1918)*, Magistarski rad. Pale, BiH: Filozofski fakultet u Palama; Okey, R. (2013). The Primary School Movement in the South Slav Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Era of Dualism. Ideal and Reality. *Godišnjak ANUBiH*, 42, pp. 147-164.

issue, and its ambassador in Petersburg, Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal, expressed this concern (Bridge, 1972, pp. 242-275; Bridge, 1989, pp. 291-305; Palotás, 1989, pp. 620-621; Sowards, 1989, p. 48).

Apart from the ruling elite who chose neutrality, we argue that there were various reactions to the Russo-Japanese War within the Habsburg monarchy. Peter Pantzer (2005), who analyzed the Austrian pictorial postcards on the Russo-Japanese War, notes that both belligerents were equally subject to caricature. We argue that this may reflect the diplomatic stance of the Habsburg monarchy that did not have a large colony in East Asia. However, Pantzer (1984) has also stated in another book that there was an enthusiastic reaction to Japan's victory in Hungary. Additionally, in Lvov, a Jewish individual named Jacob Ehrenpreis published a booklet at the end of 1904 to narrate the story of Japan's victory while satirizing the Russian emperor (Pantzer, 1984, p. 155; Pantzer, 2005, pp. 78-81; Shillony, 2007, pp. 395-396). Such diverse reactions can be observed in the newspaper *Srpska riječ*, which was published in Bosnia. In an article dated February 19, 1905, when a diva sang a Japanese song at the Split Theater in Dalmatia, Jewish and Italian spectators praised it, while Serbs and Croats booed. Furthermore, after the Russo-Japanese War, a strife between two Muslim groups in the Višegrad district of Eastern Bosnia in 1907 was reported to be "in the Russo-Japanese War's style" ("Rus i Japanac", 1905, p. 4; "Rusko-japanski rat", 1907, p. 4). The exact meaning of this specific style is not known, but the Russo-Japanese War was a familiar topic among the contemporary readers to the extent that journalists used similar metaphors in Bosnia.

Ljuboje Dlustuš testified the fact that Bosnian teachers lived in such a social environment. He was the person in charge of the Bosnian educational administration and the editor of the first educational journal in Bosnia, *Školski vjesnik*. He conveyed, in an article published in 1905, that "when talking about Russia today, Japan is forcibly recalled depending on the association of ideas", and that "the facts to compare the cultural efforts of both countries are naturally researched" (Dlustuš, 1905, p. 935). In this way, we affirm that the Russo-Japanese War allowed Bosnian teachers to turn their attention to Japanese culture and education. However, there are only a few historical studies on the relationship between the Russo-Japanese War and education, especially in Russia and in the Balkans, although they have focused on military education, without discussing its civil counterpart (Wright, 2005, pp. 591-608; Binder-Iijima, 2007, pp. 1-22, especially pp. 4-7). The scholarship intensively analyzed how the texts about the Russo-Japanese War and Japan had contributed to national movements in each Asian country. However, in recent years, various reactions based on region, status, ethnicity, and alike have been studied. For example, the Arabs in the Ottoman Empire sought to convince their claim of their national uniqueness by emphasizing the role played by the Japanese cultural heritage to explain the Japanese development. While the "Young Turks"

appraised Japan's parliamentary system before the Revolution, they changed their approach to emphasize the Japanese racial ties and bushido (spirit of samurai) as factors for Japan's success in the context of post-revolutionary nationalism and military build-up. However, the misery of Turkic nations in Central Asia, who set out compulsively on the Russian side in the Russo-Japanese War, was underscored while touching hardly on Japan that they had to experience hardships in a strange foreign field of Manchuria (Worringer, 2014, pp. 113, 136-139, 184 and 208-209; Dündar, 2018, pp. 216-217). In any case, we affirm that the Russo-Japanese War or Japan(ese) was used as a comparative means to reflect on oneself and one's social position based on each class or nation.

So how did Bosnian teachers represent Japan(ese) in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War, which was also a popular topic in Bosnia? What were the notions on themselves, on their homeland, and on their society that they tried to perceive and reflect through writing about Japan(ese)? In this study, we will not so much analyze how the image of Japan(ese) was brought forth in Bosnia as how the teachers and the main actors of the print media in the Habsburg monarchy's Bosnia purposely consumed Japan(ese) in their educational and social context.

## **1. Bosnia around the time of the Russo-Japanese war**

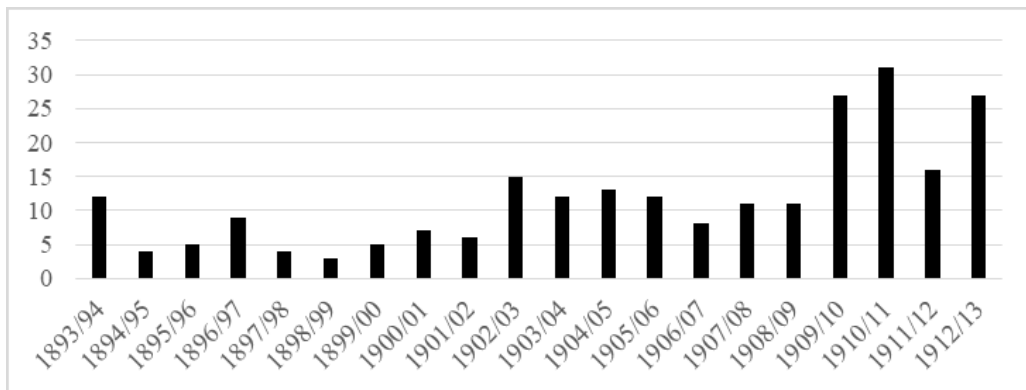
If we consider the Bosnian society around the time of the Russo-Japanese War, with a focus on teachers, we can argue that it was under transformation. The teachers' training institution in Bosnia was introduced as a three-year course during the academic year of 1882/83, and was reorganized as a teachers' school in the academic year of 1886/87. This school existed in Sarajevo as the only teachers' training institution until 1911, except for private ones. The educational curriculum of this teachers' school was expanded from three to four years in 1900<sup>2</sup>. To be hired as a teacher in Bosnia's primary school, a candidate had to take three different exams, and the candidates had to pass oral and written exams every year in the school. Furthermore, the final exam (*ispit zrelosti*) was imposed, and its successful applicants were qualified to take the full-time teacher exam after working for two years at a primary school; they officially qualified as teachers only after passing this exam (*Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, 1906, pp. 172-173). While learning each subject in school, the teaching candidates also had to practice skills and prepare teachers' reports at the primary school attached to the teachers' school, and they usually had to wrestle over many tasks every day. Even after graduating, they had to prepare for the full-time teacher exam while working at primary school as

<sup>2</sup> Regarding Teachers' school see: Papić, (1972). pp. 90-101; Ademović, H. (2009). *Učiteljske škole u Bosni i Hercegovini: Istorijski razvoj od postanka 1882. do njihova nestanka 1972*. Mostar, Hercegovina: Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke; Inaba, M. (2015). *Pedagogija i psihologija u Učiteljskoj školi u Sarajevu (1886. – 1918.) za Austrougarske vladavine. Anali za povijest odgoja*, 14, pp. 31-45.

assistants for at least two years.

As shown in the table below, the number of newly opened primary schools increased rapidly during the 20th century, which meant that it was necessary to ensure the required teachers for these schools.

**Table 1.** Number of newly established primary schools in Bosnia per school year:



Source: Papić, 1972, pp. 46-48

The increase in the number of teachers encouraged them to pursue their demands collectively, such as improving their social status. The first teachers' meeting was held in Mostar on January 03, 1901, with the aim of establishing a teachers' association. However, this association had to wait until the state government approved the association's bylaw on April 03, 1904<sup>3</sup>. This association's first congress was held on May 29, 1904, but the first general congress was held in Sarajevo a few months earlier, on February 7, by primary school teachers to set up another teachers' association (Škipina, 2011, p. 57; "Mali vjesnik", 1904, p. 2). Following those associations, similar ones were established on various locations until the outbreak of World War I. However, during a congress held in Sarajevo on November 4, 1905, the teachers' association resolved to organize a league of those associations to vehemently appeal their claims to the public. However, the first move toward its establishment actually took place around February 1906. That League's founding meeting was held in Sarajevo in July, and the League's regulations were adopted on July 8, 1906. These regulations were sent to each teachers' association, and, after having been discussed by each association, the delegations of the teachers' associations in Sarajevo, Mostar, Travnik, Banjaluka, Tuzla, and Derventa arrived in Sarajevo on April 21, 1908. They then decided that they would apply to the Provincial Government to report the League's establishment and obtain its authorization. However, its permission was not granted until July 11, 1910, and eventually on July 15, the Provincial Government was informed about the League's

<sup>3</sup> Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (hereinafter called ABiH), Fond: Zemaljska Vlada u Sarajevu (hereinafter called ZVS). kutija 90/1908, šifra 67-100/2.

founding, with the board as its highest organ (“Za savez učiteljskih društava”, 1905, p. 43; “Društveni život”, 1906, p. 3; Žagrović, 1906, p. 111; Banoža, 1906, p. 178; “Iz zapisnika sjednice delegate učiteljskih društava”, 1908, p. 74; “Skupština ‘Saveza’ učiteljskih društava”, 1913, p. 2)<sup>4</sup>.

The teachers had to establish their own associations because of their anxiety to improve their social status. In fact, on July 2, 1908, Artur Predolin alleged at a principal congress of the teachers’ association in Travnik that the main objective of the association’s establishment should be based on material rather than moral necessity. This is because even public-school teachers were considered to be inferior to other bureaucrats regarding their status as “inferior to police dogs in Germany” (phrase used at Bosnian Parliament 1910). Teachers’ salary revisions were implemented in 1906 and 1908, but remained equivalent as those of the 11th- and 12th-grade bureaucrats. In addition, female teachers had to endure more discriminatory treatment. According to the regulation issued in 1906, only unmarried women were hired as teachers. Additionally, even if teachers were married, they could only work as teachers if their spouses also worked as teachers, and after marriage their salary was automatically reduced by half (“Glavna skupština učiteljskog društva travničkog”, 1908, p. 125; “Stenografski izvještaj XI. sjednice”, 1910, p. 31; Šušnjara, 2013, pp. 68-70).

However, the teachers did not always function together in harmony because of frequent frictions and conflicts among them. The above-mentioned gender-biased discriminatory treatment is a lucid case. Ljudevit Dvorniković, a teacher in the teachers’ school in Sarajevo, confesses in his letter dated January 28, 1904, that he stood apart from forming the primary teachers’ association in Sarajevo because primary school teachers were hostile to outsiders, especially secondary school teachers. At the same time, he testifies that teachers and commercial school teachers “look down on” primary school teachers, while the latter “skew” the former<sup>5</sup>. In addition, the disparity between teachers led to friction within the teachers’ association. As Dvorniković testified, any differences in ethnicity, birth (whether from Bosnia or Croatia), and class, even within an ethnic group, caused considerable discord between teachers. However, there was also a conflict between Serbian teachers and Orthodox priests over the management of Serbian schools<sup>6</sup>.

In any case, during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Bosnia, teachers (candidates) began to seek a balance between their tasks and their economic and social status. This was because of an increase in the number of teachers and their cooperation in parallel

<sup>4</sup> See: ABiH. Fond: ZVS. kutija 130/1910, šifra 67-71 / 4.

<sup>5</sup> Arhiv Hrvatskog Školskog Muzeja (hereinafter called AHŠM). Fond: HR-HŠM-50, šifra A-1913 Pisma Ljudevita Dvornikovića, pismo od 28. siječnja 1904. godine.

<sup>6</sup> AHŠM, Fond: HR-HŠM-50, šifra A-1913 Pismo Ljudevita Dvornikovića, pismo od 31. listopada 1906. godine; AHŠM, Fond: HR-HŠM-50, šifra A-1913 Pismo Ljudevita Dvornikovića, pismo od 1. kolovoza 1907. godine.

with the development of the primary school network as mentioned in the table above. Simultaneously, as a broader social context, we adduce that the idea of economic rationality became prevalent in Bosnia, where the economic development was proliferating. Sarajevo's first power plant was installed in 1893, and a hydroelectric power plant was installed in Jajce in 1897 (Kruševac, 1960, p. 125; Sugar, 1963, p. 118). Additionally, although slowly, from the 1890s, factory mechanization began to progress in Bosnia. Local businesses also grew, and the Chamber of Commerce was established in January 1909. Considering such economic growth, workers needed to improve their work quality (Hauptmann, 1983, pp. 245-250). School education also sought out "rationality", and the sectional chief, Lajos Thallóczy, who inspected the schools in Bosnia, reported the need for criterial justification of school costs in 1904<sup>7</sup>. Such economic rationality was required for the economy and society, and also for improving people's quality of life. Avram Altarac, who graduated from the teachers' school in Sarajevo in the academic year of 1902/03, insisted in 1913 that the primary school curriculum should be based on a "natural division" adapted to human physiological mechanisms because it accorded with the "human economy". Similarly, in 1913, the editor-in-chief of the educational journal *Učiteljska zora*, Stjepko Ilijić, warned that assigning excessive school tasks to pupils had a negative effect on their nervous system (Altarac, 1913, pp. 7-12; Ilijić, 1913, pp. 116-117). As we will examine later, the main concern around the 1900 curriculum revision of the teachers' school was that the quality of teachers would deteriorate due to excessive burden on their candidates. The idea of social milieu was dominant, which socially required the maintenance of a modest yet adequate standard of living, and was commensurate with the physiological mechanism of human beings. In such a context, teachers began to seek out social and economic equality in an appropriate way for the labor and services they provided, and spoke out in public through teachers' associations to satisfy their demands. Indeed, their demands were not immediately fulfilled, as their salaries were hardly improved. For instance, Dvorniković was employed as a commercial school teacher in Sarajevo in 1900, and was later transferred to a teachers' school in 1902. The 1903 decree equated the status of teachers' school teachers with that of secondary school teachers. Dvorniković was granted a ninth-grade bureaucratic salary in 1908, but, dissatisfied with his slow promotion compared to other colleagues, he called for a promotion to the eighth grade in March 1911. Unfortunately, the Provincial Government rejected his request<sup>8</sup>. However, Jagoda Truhelka, a teacher at a girls' high school in Banjaluka, in two letters to her colleague Zdenka Marković in 1902, argued that melancholy tormented the people due to "too much demand", which was the legacy of the century, and advised that anyone can overcome the melancholy and malaise

<sup>7</sup> ABiH, Fond: Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija. Pr. 1282 / 1904.

<sup>8</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. šifra 81-227/3 ex 1911.

by working regularly, and hence, she “should save power”<sup>9</sup>. With the evident advent of a society that seeks social and economic rationality, teachers began achieving their anticipated rational lifestyle voluntarily and proactively, which is especially clear when we analyze their educational texts and these ideological backgrounds.

## 2. Japan in the educational texts

There are only a few articles on Japan in the educational journals of the Habsburg monarchy's Bosnia, the first of which was “Japanese teachers' seminar”, which was printed in *Školski vjesnik* in 1904. Here, we recognize that the interest in Japan was linked to the international affairs, namely the Russo-Japanese War, although the source for the Bosnian teachers was limited because the article was a translated report about the teachers' training institution in Japan that was published in *Oesterreichischer Schulbote*. After discussing the building, secondary school qualifications necessary for school admission, and the mandatory and elective subjects (e.g., handywork), the article explains that the seminar was a four-year course and that pupils with good grades are eligible for admission to an examination of the national higher teachers' seminar in Tokyo based on their respective school principal's recommendation. If they successfully enrolled in the seminar, they were educated in a three-year teachers' training course. Finally, the reporter lamented that “there is no similar system in Prussian” (“Japanski učiteljski seminar”, 1904, pp. 631-632). As there is no explanation for the article's publication by the editorial board, we assume that it intended to reorganize the teachers' school as mentioned above. According to the minutes of the teachers' school meeting dated March 14, 1900, due to the preparations for the practical lessons at the attached primary school, the candidates were unable to attend the lectures that were being held during this period and participated in the class in the following week. Consequently, those who were in grade three could not keep up with the lectures. Thus, the school principal, Gjuro Bujher, proposed that it was indispensable to expand the school curriculum to a four-year system to alleviate the excessive burden on the candidates in grade three<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, when Dlustuš, after having attended the year-end exam as a school inspector in 1900, severely criticized the decline in the quality of teachers' school students at a teachers' meeting on October 12, 1900, Bujher complained that the teachers were unable to find sufficient time for class lectures because they had to spend considerable time preparing for the exams<sup>11</sup>. The transition to the four-year system started during the academic

<sup>9</sup> 4. pismo (Banjaluka, 11. X 1902) and 5. pismo (B[anja, op. prir]luka, 15. XI 1902). In A, Batinić (Ed.). (2011). *Pisma Jagode Truhelke Zdenki Marković*, (pp. 121-122). Zagreb, Croatia: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.

<sup>10</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 268/1900, šifra 56-380/4.

<sup>11</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 71/1909, šifra 57-14 / 5, *Zapisnik vanredne sjednice Učite. nast. zbora u Sarajevu, koja je držana u subotu 12. oktobra po podne u 3 sata*.



year of 1900/01, but we cannot claim that it had an immediate effect on reducing the candidates' burden and upgrading their performances. Along with this cumbersome state, they were also often absent from classes due to religious holidays, which represents the peculiar and multi-religious society of Bosnia. Therefore, in a report to the Provincial Government, dated August 15, 1903, Bujher submitted the request of the teachers to increase two hours per week for the class. However, he also argued that increasing the number of lectures only in four subjects, such as pedagogy in the first year, was considered desirable because increasing the class hours in all subjects would overburden the candidates. Simultaneously, he rejected Dvorniković's demand to alter the pedagogy class for grade two and above because it might overburden the students by carrying over the lesson of the primary school education methodology to the upper grades, which, consequently, would overlap with their class practice in elementary school<sup>12</sup>. Yet, the teachers in the teachers' school had a problem as the lessons could not be carried out continuously and uniformly even if the curriculum was expanded to a four-year system, in tune with the lifestyle in Bosnian society. Under these circumstances, they struggled to expand the class hours, rearrange the lecture contents, and maintain the quality of the primary school teacher candidates in various ways. However, as the principal rejected Dvorniković's proposal, we recognize that, even in the framework of the four-year system, there were continued conflicts between the candidates' struggles and their overburden, which was the reason why the teachers' school supported the school reorganization in 1900. In this context, we consider that this article might have intentionally served as a reference for the teachers to contemplate on future teachers' schools, where, through the report, the teachers in Bosnia could understand how the Japanese teacher training program was conducted under a system which did not exist even in Prussia and which could secure excellent human resources during the long period of 7 years (4 years for teachers' seminar and 3 years for higher seminar).

The reorganization that Dvorniković struggled with was again proposed by Aleksa Stjepanović, a teacher in charge of pedagogy in grades two and three on August 27, 1905. This time, the school principal Bujher accepted Stjepanović's proposal to transfer a part of the special methodology lectures to grade four<sup>13</sup>. In 1908, the lesson plan was revised to reduce the pedagogy class from 23 hours a week for four academic years to 17 hours a week. At first glance, the burden of cramming seems to have increased, but inasmuch as five hours a week in grades one and two, which mainly taught somatology, were spun off, we argue that this revision could have yielded intensive lectures on pedagogy<sup>14</sup>. The dissatisfaction of the Habsburg

---

<sup>12</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 152/1903, šifra 56-462 / 5.

<sup>13</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 144/1905, šifra 135-131 / 3.

<sup>14</sup> ABiH. Fond: ZVS. kutija 175/1910, šifra 82-10 / 2, *Zapisnik o sastancima učiteljskog zbora učitel-*

authorities with the achievements at the teachers' school was probably behind the reorganization. Indeed, in a report dated September 5, 1904, Dlustuš conveyed his frustration over the final pedagogical exam where the candidates betrayed their indifference to pedagogy and tried to understand it abstractly. Furthermore, he proposed that the teachers should provide concrete solutions for psychological and pedagogical problems, and appropriately utilize the excerpts from elementary school textbooks<sup>15</sup>.

In any case, we believe that the teachers who struggled to achieve the best possible results, while on the brink between educational ideal and reality, often proposed changes in class hours and lecture programs. The above-mentioned article, "Japanese teachers' seminar", does not introduce its content in detail, but exclusively focuses on its institutional side. We also perceive a similar interest in such a system in *Učiteljska zora*, the journal of the League of Teachers' Associations in Bosnia. M. Banoža published an article entitled "Japanese schools and folk teachers (*pučki učitelji*)" in 1906. As observed in the table above, the number of newly opened primary schools was increasing in Bosnia during this period, but Banoža argued that primary schools in Japan are established even in remote areas under the government's initiative. After discussing the exemption of school fees for poor families, the content of the lectures, 32 weeks of class per year, and the types of primary schools, he illustrated that there were 54 four-year teachers' schools nationwide in 1902. He further explained the system in which each local municipality supports the teacher candidates on the condition that they work in primary schools under these municipalities for a certain period after graduation (Banoža, 1906, pp. 42-43). At the outset of this article, Banoža, while alleging that "in the Mikado empire, great care is given to the education of its people today", explained that the government had a key role in setting up primary schools and each local municipality also subsidized teachers' candidates. Here, he implicitly criticizes the deficiency of support from the Habsburg authorities for the agents to "civilize" people, namely teachers. As we have already pointed out, teachers set about organizing their league since February 1906, and prepared the First General Teachers' Congress (*I. Opća učiteljska skupština*) which would be held in Sarajevo on February 7, 1906. Additionally, on July 8, where teachers' salaries were planned

---

*jske škole, koji su držani na temelju naredbe visoke Zemaljske vlade od 1. maja 1908. br. 58.288 / I. For instance, the pedagogy textbook for the grade two was *Uzgojslovlje* written by the famous Croatian pedagogue Stjepan Basariček in academic year 1907/08, but the following year it adopted Dvornikovič's *Temelji psihologije. Dvadeseti godišnji izvještaj Učiteljske škole i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne dječjačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1907. / 1908.*, 21; *Dvadesetprvi godišnji izvještaj Učiteljske škole i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne dječjačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1908. / 1909.*, 41.*

<sup>15</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 111/1904, šifra 135-23 / 3, *Relation über den Verlauf und den Ergebnis der Schluss- und Reifprüfungen an der staatlichen Lehrerbildungsanstalt und an der privaten Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt bei den Töchtern der göttlichen Liebe in Sarajevo.*

to be taken up as an important agenda, it was underscored that “today everyone ought to be convinced that teachers are rewarded in a very poor way for their hard work relative to other classes (stališi)” (Žagrović, 1906, p. 112). While the teachers complained that the rewards were not officially given in rational tune with their efforts, in the social context where the public paid much attention to Japan as a victorious country, Banoža affirmed educational support by the government and local municipalities of Japan, especially focusing on teacher training. In another similar article in *Srpska škola*, which was published in 1912, providing a historical overview of modern educational development in Japan, the Emperor Meiji’s initiative to improve the educational system was highly evaluated (“Bilješke”, 1912, p. 43).

The scholarship on the impact of the Russo-Japanese War on education(-discourse) has emphasized the role of Japan(ese) as a spur to change the mentality of students or the nation. For instance, the British society, where the anxiety over “degeneration” of the youth came to the forefront due to the uphill battle in the Second Boer War (1899-1901), lay amid mounting concerns about the inferior stamina of the British people relative to Japanese. Therefore, as the scholarship has pointed out, the British society increased its interest in the Japanese society as a model of “national efficiency” and Inazo Nitobe’s bestseller *Bushido*, which was published in English in 1900, became a reference book to study it (Towle, 2007, p. 327; Ikura, 2007, p. 271). However, Richard C. Hall (2004), who demonstrated the Bulgarian case, alleged that the Bulgarian army was tasked with raising the soldiers’ motivation based on their national ideology, who were mainly conscripted from the illiterate peasant class, whence its officers adopted the “spirit” which the Japanese army had offered in the Russo-Japanese War and the “bayonet” belief that materialized it (Hall, 2004, p. 269). Considering these previous studies, Bosnian teachers focused their attention on the Japanese educational system, which was intimately involved with their economic and social compelling needs. In an environment where they struggled to break free from the predicaments that hinged upon the worse status and life than what they wished for, we believe that they did not specifically use the discourse on Japan(ese) to draw the attention of all nations toward their conduct or to reflect on what the nation should be in the future, as it took convenient Japanese aspects from their claims.

Regarding the educational system in Japan, *Učiteljska. zora* printed an article in 1914 about the training of teachers for primary schools in Japan. Four years had passed since the authorization of the League of Teachers’ Associations, but the teachers in Bosnia still considered the improvements to their status as deficient. On March 12, 1914, this League submitted another petition to the Provincial Government that sought the same salary and status guarantee for the teachers as other bureaucrats, but this petition was rejected at the end of the same month<sup>16</sup>. This

<sup>16</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 182/1914, šifra 67-72.

action was motivated by a sense of crisis that it might be difficult to ensure new teachers and their abiding desire to improve their social and economic status. Even graduates from the teachers' school in Sarajevo did not find employment in primary schools due to the low salary and status, but instead went on to another school to become elite bureaucrats. Furthermore, this action was also backed by the fear that the current situation would only bring low-quality teachers to the field<sup>17</sup>. As we have already seen, during the 1910s, the number of new primary schools doubled compared to the 1900s. Simultaneously, there was an urgency to employ teachers for these primary schools that were to be opened. Indeed, the Female Teachers' School was newly opened at Sarajevo in 1911 and another Teachers' School at Mostar in 1913. In this situation, where it became imperative to recruit primary school teachers, an article entitled "Teachers' exam in Japan" was published in *Učiteljska zora* in 1914. According to this article, a diploma of a secondary or higher school complete with educating primary school teacher was required to become a primary school teacher in Japan; a way to become a teacher was opened even to those without such a diploma. Later, after explaining that there are two types of exams for the latter candidates to become teachers, namely the primary school teacher and secondary school teacher employment exams, this article introduced the contents of each exam. Male candidates over 17 years and female candidates over 15 years were qualified for the primary school teacher employment exam, although being hired as an assistant teacher. After having worked as an assistant teacher for more than a year, they were qualified for the full-time teacher exam. This exam involves ethics, pedagogy, the Japanese language, arithmetic, the Japanese history, geography, science, geometry, music, and physical education, and along with these subjects, the female candidates had to take a sewing test. Anyone who passed the paper and oral exams could attain a diploma and teacher qualification. However, the teacher recruitment exam for secondary school required a more specialized subject exam (L., S., 1914, pp. 182-183). In contemporary Bosnia, the teachers' school diploma was not enough to become a full-time teacher, and after two years of on-the-job experience, any candidate would be eligible for a final exam. Until 1914, there were only three official teachers' schools in Bosnia, among which the one in Mostar did not yet complete its course to supply teacher candidates. In contrast, there were 75 teachers' schools and 21,618 students in Japan in 1908, but only 26% of primary school teachers in the same year had a diploma from those teachers' schools, and the remaining 70% was recruited successfully through the full-time teacher exam (Shinoda and Tezuka (Eds.). 1979, pp. 59, 97-98). Compared with the situation in Japan, the educational situation in Bosnia was poor. Furthermore, during the 20th century, especially during the 1910s, the number of newly founded primary schools increased rapidly, and considering

---

<sup>17</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 182/1914, šifra 67-71.

the context where it was urgent to ensure and employ primary school teachers, the report that Japan had a system to employ teachers even outside the teachers' schools, it could be inferred that this was intended to serve as a reference for the teachers struggling to improve their own condition. In 1915, amid World War I, the retention of students in teachers' schools was a serious issue. On July 7, the principal of the teachers' school in Mostar, Đuro Pavičić, considering that most teacher candidates refused to work in primary schools in rural areas and indicating "the Government's intention to raise the standard of primary school teachers not only quantitatively but also qualitatively", proposed a plan to enroll all new candidates for teachers' schools only from local areas. Against this, on July 22, the principal of the teachers' school in Sarajevo, Viktor Pogačnik, criticizing Pavičić's approach, alternatively proposed a plan to accept high-scoring secondary and commercial school students into teachers' schools<sup>18</sup>. Japan was not distinctively cited in this debate on the issue of securing primary school teachers. However, its arena, namely *Učiteljska zora*, functioned as a source of information for reflecting themselves and publicly appealing for improvements and revisions in the context. This was considering the fact that the League of Teachers' Associations in Bosnia, which was authorized in July 1910, enabled the teachers to appeal their common claims to the Provincial Government and Parliament as one social group (Papić, 1972, p. 183; Škipina, 2011, pp. 139-141). Considering this, the cause behind the printing of an article entitled "Teachers' exam in Japan" may not be far from our inference. Similarly, the fact that this same article was also published in a newspaper *Sarajevski list* suggests its teachers' intention to widely share this information with the Bosnian society (V., Kr., 1914, p. 3).

## CONCLUSION

Japan's victory in the "World War Zero"<sup>19</sup>, which ended in 1905, evoked various reactions worldwide. The Habsburg monarchy, which had a cooperative relationship with Russia over the Macedonian issue, remained neutral in the Russo-Japanese War, but there were various reactions within the monarchy. Serbs and Croats, who felt ethnic sympathy for Russia, showed anti-Japanese attitudes, while Hungarians, Italians, and Jews displayed a pro-Japanese stance. Furthermore, Hugo Máltaš, a civil servant in Čapljina, in the region of Herzegovina, also sent a congratulatory message concerning the Japanese occupation of Lushun to Maresuke Nogi, a general of the Japanese Army during the Russo-Japanese War. Even in Bosnia under the Habsburg monarchy, the Russo-Japanese War was of great interest ("General

<sup>18</sup> ABiH, Fond: ZVS. kutija 190/1915, šifra 82-36, br. 160 and br. 282.

<sup>19</sup> See: J, Steinberg, B. W, Menning, D. S, van der Oye, D, Wolff and S, Yokote (Eds.). (2005). *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill; D, Wolff, S. G, Marks, B. W, Menning, D. S, van der Oye, J. W, Steinberg and S, Yokote (Eds.). (2007). *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*, vol. II. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Nogi”, 1906, pp. 1-2).

During the 20th century, the number of newly founded primary schools increased rapidly in Bosnia, and while ensuring that teachers for them became an urgent issue, the teachers themselves developed camaraderie and began organizing their own professional association. Thus, in June 1905, the League of the Teachers' Associations in Bosnia was established. In October 1905, *Učiteljska zora*, an educational journal run by teachers, was published, and it functioned as a part of the League. Although the official authorization of the League was delayed until July 1910, through the League's activities teachers would remodel their social and economic status and working conditions to suit rational ones that match their contributions. For this purpose, they independently and actively appealed to the Provincial Government and Parliament. In the Bosnian society, industrialization began to take off, and the market required workers to be qualitatively cultured. Such economic rationality came to be regarded in the market and in psychological and physiological activities, such as in schools and other public institutions. In this context, we affirm that teachers also proceeded to achieve their own rational lifestyle proactively and voluntarily.

The *Školski vjesnik*, for which those teachers were both authors and subscribers, was the oldest educational journal in Bosnia and commenced publication in 1894. Here, the article that titled Japan was first published in 1904, and we recognize that the Russo-Japanese War became an opportunity for teachers to turn their attention to Japan, similar to the public opinion. The “Japanese teachers' seminar”, published in *Školski vjesnik*, introduced the teachers' training system in Japan. Concurrently, in Bosnia, the teachers at the teachers' school in Sarajevo mainly discussed the changes in the educational schedule and programs for the teachers' school. The fact that in such a context, this article presented the teachers' school system in Japan, which consisted of a four-year normal course, and then a three-year high course enables us to understand that it was used as a reference material for these teachers in the above discussion. *Učiteljska zora*, which was first published in 1905, posted “Japanese schools and folk teachers” in 1906, and, as was the case with “Japanese teacher's seminar,” the teachers' school system in Japan again occupied the attention. Here, it was emphasized that the central and local governments in Japan provided ample financial support for the development of educational institutions, such as primary schools. Similarly, in *Srpska škola*, which was first published in 1907, we also find out the similar support for the development of educational institutions in Japan, particularly in an article entitled “From the history of Japanese education” in 1912. Dissatisfied with the irrationally given social and economic status in return for their hardships, the teachers lobbied the Provincial Government through the League to improve their status. Under these circumstances, the information on the intimate relation between the education system and the national and local

governments of Japan would have been instructive as a comparison and reference point for them. Furthermore, although the League was officially authorized in July 1910, the social and economic status of teachers remained unstable, and their petitions were repeatedly handed up to the Provincial Government to improve their status. Furthermore, *Učiteljska zora* printed an article entitled “Teachers’ exam in Japan” in 1914. Here, besides the fifty-four teachers’ schools introduced in “Japanese schools and folk teachers,” it also explained how the teacher’s recruitment exam system in Japan opened the way to become primary school teachers, even for those who were aspiring to become teachers but were not graduates of teachers’ schools. However, during the 20th century, while the number of primary schools increased rapidly, just three teachers’ schools were opened in Bosnia, and it was very difficult to ensure that there were enough teachers due to their socially and economically volatile status. Indeed, in July 1915, consulted by the Provincial Government, teachers’ schools undertook going through ways to ensure primary school teachers, especially in rural areas. In this context, we validly allege that the “Teachers’ exam in Japan” was intended to serve as a reference.

In our literature review, we found no evidence in the historical documents supporting the claim that Bosnian teachers willingly drew on Japan as a reference in their movement to improve their social and economic status. However, when considering a few articles about Japan within the framework of the teachers’ activities during that time, we reasonably explain that each article was deliberately published as a material that contributed to such activities. The scholarship on the impact of the Russo-Japanese War on educational texts in Britain and Bulgaria has emphasized the aspect of culturing national consciousness. However, in Bosnia, we point out that teachers, namely the bearers of educational discourse, would primarily share Japan’s examples with their colleagues as a useful instrument, while actively and proactively working to improve their financial and economic status. There were disputes and frictions due to ethnicity, religion, and school’s type among the teachers, and they did not always behave themselves only up to the unified class consciousness. However, instead of confining themselves to such a narrow social field in Bosnia, they proactively and initiatively endeavored by strengthening their self-consciousness as teachers and improving their life environment, while going through educational systems all over the world. Therefore, we believe that Japan occupied a small place in the independent struggles of the teachers to develop a sense of camaraderie that rose above those discords.

## REFERENCES

### UNPUBLISHED

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABiH)  
Fond: Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija (ZMF)  
Fond: Zemaljska Vlada u Sarajevu (ZVS)  
Arhiv Hrvatskog Školskog Muzeja (AHŠM)  
Fond: HR-HŠM-50, šifra A-1913 Pisma Ljudevita Dvornikovića

### PUBLISHED

- Ademović, H. (2009). *Učiteljske škole u Bosni i Hercegovini: Istorijski razvoj od postanka 1882. do njihova nestanka 1972.* Mostar, Hercegovina: Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke.
- Altarac, Avram. (1913). *O obrazovanju mladeži.* Sarajevo, Bosnia.
- Banoža, M. (1906). Škola i pučki učitelji u Japanu. *Učiteljska zora*, 2, 42-43.
- Banoža, M. (1906). Vijesnik: I. opća učiteljska skupština u Sarajevu. *Učiteljska zora*, 2, 178-179.
- Batičić, A. (Ed.). (2011). *Pisma Jagode Truhelke Zdenki Marković.* Zagreb, Croatia Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.
- Bilješke: Iz istorije japanskog obrazovanja. (1912). *Srpska škola*, 5(3), 43.
- Binder-Iijima, E. (2007). Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg und die Orientalische Frage. In M. H, Sprotte, W, Seifert und H.-D, Löwe. (Eds). *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg 1904/05: Anbruch einer neuen Zeit?* (pp. 1-22). Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz.
- Bridge, F. R. (1972). *From Sadowa to Sarajevo: The Foreign Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1866-1914.* London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bridge, F. R. (1989). Österreich(-Ungarn) unter den Grossmächten. In *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Bd. VI. Die Habsburgermonarchie im System der internationalen Beziehungen, 1. Teilband*, (pp. 196-373). Wien, Austria: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Dlustuš, Lj. (1905). Svjetska izložba i internacionalni nastavni kongres u Parizu g. 1900. *Školski vjesnik*, 12, 935-942.
- Društveni život: Gl. skupština učiteljskog društva za grad Sarajevo i kotar. (1906). *Sarajevski list*, 29(22), 3.
- Dündar, A. M. (2018). The Effects of the Russo-Japanese War on Turkic Nations: Japan and Japanese in Folk Songs, Elegies, and Poems. In S, Esenbel. (Ed.). *Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia.* (pp. 199-227). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Dvadeseti godišnji izvještaj Učiteljske škole i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne dječjačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1907. / 1908.*
- Dvadesetprvi godišnji izvještaj Učiteljske škole i s njom spojene I. narodne osnovne dječjačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1908. / 1909.*
- General Nogi schreibt nach Čapljina. (1906). *Bosnische Post*, 23(292), 1-2.
- Glavna skupština učiteljskog društva travničkog. I. zapisnik predskupštine članova učiteljskog udruženja za okružje travničko, održavane u Travniku (I. nar. osn. škola) dne 2. jula 1908. (1908). *Učiteljska zora*, 4, 121-125.
- Hall, R. C. (2004). The Next War: The Influence of the Russo-Japanese War on Southeastern Europe and the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 17(3), 563-577.
- Hauptmann, F. (1983). *Die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878-1918. Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsentwicklung.* Graz, Austria: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz.
- Ilijić, S. (1913). Uzgojni problem u našim školama. *Učiteljska zora*, 9, 115-117.
- Ikura, A. (2007). Japan under Paternalism: The Changing Image of Japan during the Russo-Japanese War. In J, Chapman and C, Inaba. (Eds.). *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5, vol. II The Nichinan Papers.* (pp. 257-273). Folkestone, England: Global Oriental.
- Inaba, M. (2015). Pedagogija i psihologija u Učiteljskoj školi u Sarajevu (1886. – 1918.) za Austrougarske vladavine. *Anali za povišest odgoja*, 14, 31-47.
- Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906.* (1906). Zagreb, Croatia: Kr. zemaljska štamparija.
- Iz zapisnika sjednice delegata učiteljskih društava Bosne i Hercegovine, održavane u



- predmetu regulacije beriva i ustanove društvenog „Saveza“. (1908). *Učiteljska zora*, 4, 70-75.
- Japanski učiteljski seminar. (1904). *Školski vjesnik*, 11, 631-632.
- Kruševac, T. (1960). *Sarajevo pod Austro-Ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*. Sarajevo, Bosnia: Muzej grada Sarajeva.
- L., S. (1914). Učiteljski ispiti u Japanu. *Učiteljska zora*, 10, 182-183.
- Mali vjesnik: Učiteljsko udruženje. (1904). *Sarajevski list*, 27(17), 2.
- Okey, R. (2007). *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia, 1878-1914*. Oxford, England: Oxford University press.
- Okey, R. (2013). The Primary School Movement in the South Slav Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Era of Dualism. Ideal and Reality. *Godišnjak ANUBiH*, 42, 147-164.
- Palotás, E. (1989). Die ausenwirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zum Balkan und zu Russland. In *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Bd. VI. Die Habsburgermonarchie im System der internationalen Beziehungen, I. Teilband*. (pp. 584-629). Wien, Austria: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Pantzer, P. transl. by Takeuchi, S. and Serizawa, Y. (1984). *Nihon-Ōsutoria kankeishi*. Tokyo, Japan: Sōzōsha.
- Pantzer, P. (2005). Der russisch-japanische Krieg 1904/05 im Spiegel deutscher und österreichischer Postkarten und Sammelkarten. In *Der russisch-japanische Krieg 1904/05 im Spiegel deutscher Bilderbogen*, (pp. 76-87.). Tokyo, Japan: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien der Stiftung Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland.
- Papić, M. (1972). *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)*. Sarajevo, Bosnia: Veselin Masleša.
- Rus i Japanac u pozorištu. (1905). *Srpska riječ*, 1(20), 4.
- Rusko-japanski rat u Višegradu. (1907). *Hrvatski dnevnik*, 2(171), 4.
- Shillony, B.-A. (2007). The Jewish Response to the War. In R, Kowner. (Ed.). *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05, vol. I. Centennial Perspectives*. (pp. 393-400). Folkestone, England: Global Oriental, 2007.
- Shinoda, H. and Tezuka, T. (Eds.). (1979). *Gakkō no rekishi, vol. 5, Kyōin-yōsei no rekishi*. Tokyo, Japan: Dai'ichi hōki syuppan.
- Skupština 'Saveza' učiteljskih društava. (1913). *Hrvatski dnevnik*, 8(189), 2-3.
- Sowards, S. W. (1989). *Austria's Policy of Macedonian Reform*. New York, NY: Columbia University press.
- Steinberg, J. W, Menning, B. W, van der Oye, D. S, Wolff, D, and Yokote, S. (Eds.). (2005). *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Stenografski izvještaj o sjednicama bosansko-hercegovačkog sabora god. 1910. I. Zasedanje. Svezak I. Od I. do uključivo XXIV. sjednice*. (1910). Sarajevo, Bosnia: Vogler i drugovi.
- Sugar, P. F. (1963). *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878-1918*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington press.
- Škipina, D. (2011). *Značaj staleške organizacije učitelja za školstvo i razvoj pedagoških ideja u Bosni i Hercegovini (1878-1918)*, Magistarski rad. Pale, Bosnia: Filozofski fakultet u Palama.
- Šušnjara, S. (2013). Učiteljstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske. *Anali za povijest odgoja*, 12, 55-74.
- Towle, P. (2007). British War Correspondents and the War. In R, Kowner. (Ed.). *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5, vol. I Centennial Perspectives*. (pp. 319-331). Folkestone, England: Global Orient.
- V., Kr. (1914). Učiteljski ispit u Japanu. *Sarajevski list*, 37(85), 3.
- Wolff, D, Marks, S. G, Menning, B. W, van der Oye, D. S, Steinberg, J. W. and Yokote, S. (Eds.). (2007). *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*, vol. II. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Worringer, R. (2014). *Ottomans imagining Japan: East, Middle East, and Non-Western Modernity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wright, D. (2005). "That Vital Spark": Japanese Patriotism, the Russian Officer Corps and the Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War. In J. W, Steinberg, B. W, Menning, D. S, van der Oye, D, Wolff and S, Yokote. (Eds.). *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective:*

*World War Zero.* (pp. 591-608). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Za savez učiteljskih društava u Bosni i Hercegovini. (1905). *Učiteljska zora*, 1, 43-44.

Žagrović, M. (1906). I. Opća učiteljska skupština u Sarajevu. *Učiteljska zora*, 2, 111-114.

## OBRAZOVNI DISKURS O JAPANU U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI POD AUSTROUGARSKOM UPRAVOM

### Micutoši Inaba

Nezavisni istraživač, Japan

[abamnmi@gmail.com](mailto:abamnmi@gmail.com)

#### APSTRAKT:

Međusobni odnosi između Bosne i Hercegovine i Japana započeli su početkom 20. vijeka, tj. tokom perioda austrougarske uprave nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom. U to vrijeme japanski interes za Bosnu i Hercegovinu je bio zasnovan na potrebi za uspostavljanjem efikasnog modela za vladavinu nad Tajvanom, tj. njegovom prvom kolonijom. Drugim riječima, Japan je prevashodno bio zainteresovan za sistem kolonijalne uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, a ne za njenu istoriju i kulturu. U tom kontekstu, u radu se propituje da li je istovremeno bilo interesovanja za Japan sa bosanske strane, odnosno mogući razlozi za postojanje takvog interesovanja. U fokusu istraživanja su aktivnosti nastavnika osnovnih i srednjih škola koji su u to vrijeme bili glavni nosioci kulturnog života u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosno sljedeća istraživačka pitanja: “Zašto su se pojedini nastavnici iz Bosne i Hercegovine zanimali za Japan?” i “Na koji način su pokušavali da privuku pažnju svojih čitalaca kroz pozivanje na Japan?”. Istraživanje je zasnovano na analizi diskursa o Japanu prisutnog u tekstovima koji su objavljeni u tadašnjoj bosanskohercegovačkoj obrazovnoj periodici (Školski vjesnik, Učiteljska zora i Srpska škola). Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da su pojedini bosanski prosvjetitelji iz tog perioda aktivno posmatrali, razumjeli i koristili svoja saznanja o Japanu i to sa prvenstvenim ciljem senzibiliranja javnosti za unapređenje postojećih obrazovnih praksi u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i za promovisanje drugih pozitivnih rješenja za unapređenje kvaliteta života njenih građana.

#### Ključne riječi:

Bosna i Hercegovina, Japan, Austro-Ugarska, obrazovanje, nacionalni identitet