

Otvaranje i rad muslimanskih čitaonica u manjim mjestima Bosne i Hercegovine početkom 20. stoljeća

Opening and Operation of Muslim Reading Rooms in Smaller Places of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Beginning of the 20th Century

Hana Younis

Institut za historiju Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina / Institute for history, University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

hana.younis@iis.unsa.ba

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Sažetak / Abstract

U radu na osnovu arhivske građe, relevantne štampe i literature autorica analizira način otvaranja muslimanskih kiraethana širom Bosne i Hercegovine početkom 20. stoljeća. Pod kojim uslovima su se otvarale kiraethane, kakva pravila su imale, koje ciljeve te koliko je vlast nadzirala njihov rad neka su od važnih pitanja u radu. Posebna pažnja je posvećena kiraethanama u manjim mjestima gdje su one predstavljale centar svih društvenih dešavanja. Kiraethane nisu bile samo preteča biblioteka i čitaonica, one su najčešće u samom sastavu imale i druge sekcije poput muzičke i antialkoholne. Autorica također posebno analizira unutrašnje odnose na koje utječe političko stanje u zemlji te lični animoziteti uprave, ali i članova.

Based on archival material, relevant press, and literature, the author analyzes the way of opening Muslim reading rooms throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century. Under what conditions the reading rooms were opened, what rules they had, what goals, and how much the government supervised their work is an important issue in the work. Special attention was paid to the reading rooms in smaller towns where they were the center of all social events. Reading rooms were not only the forerunners of libraries, they usually had other sections, such as music and anti-alcohol sections. The author also analyzes the internal relations that are dependent on the political situation in the country and the personal animosities of the management and members.

1. Uvod

Kiraethane ili čitaonice i njihov značaj u kulturnom, ali i političko-društvenom razvoju društva krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća još uvijek nisu dovoljno istraženi u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji, a to se posebno odnosi na one koje su djelovale u manjim mjestima. Iako je hronološki okvir ovog rada povezan sa periodom austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, potrebno je napomenuti da kiraethane nisu bile novina koju je ta vlast donijela. Naprotiv, one su u Bosni bile prisutne tokom cijelog 19. stoljeća, a u velikim centrima Osmanske države i mnogo ranije. Suljkić (1992, 32) navodi da je tokom 19. stoljeća u vrijeme Osmanske uprave u Bosni otvoreno čak 70 kiraethana. Na to da su ideju otvaranja kiraethana u osmanskom periodu podržavale zvanične vlasti ukazuje i jedan članak iz 1870. godine objavljen u *Sarajevskom cvjetniku* u kojem je pisalo da ukoliko “se želi, da se ova naša domovina oslobodi neznanja, neka se mnoge kavane, kojih se nalazi na svakom uglu, pretvore u čitaonice i u nji-

1. Introduction

Kiraethanas or reading rooms and their importance in the cultural and political-social development of society at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century have not yet been sufficiently researched in historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular for those that operated in smaller places. Although the chronological framework of this paper is related to the period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it should be noted that kiraethanas were not a novelty brought by that government. On the contrary, they were present in Bosnia throughout the 19th century, and in the large centers of the Ottoman state much earlier. Suljkić (1992, 32) states that during the 19th century, during the Ottoman rule, as many as 70 kiraethanas were opened in Bosnia. Indication that idea of opening kiraethanas in the Ottoman period was supported by the official authorities, shown by an article from 1870, published in the newspaper *Sarajevski cvjetnik*, that states: “if it is desired for

ma nalazeće se karte da se zamjene poučnim knjigama i novinama.” (*Sarajevski cvjetnik* II (25): 1) Ovakav stav prema čitaonicama jasno ukazuje na to koliko se polagalo nade na njihov utjecaj na društvo u smislu obrazovnog prosperiteta. Iste godine kada je *Sarajevski cvjetnik* objavio ovaj članak otvorena je kiraethana u Tešnju koja je imala u svom sklopu i biblioteku (Aličić 2014, 109). Međutim, sve čitaonice iz osmanskog perioda prestale su sa radom nakon Austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine.

Sasvim je jasno da je smjena višestoljetne osmanske vlasti za muslimane predstavljala u kulturnom i obrazovnom smislu ogromnu promjenu. Faktički preko noći je veliki broj stanovnika koji je poznao samo arapsko pismo postao “nepismeni” jer nije poznao latinično pismo, koje je dolaskom Austro-Ugarske postalo zvanično. Misleći da prihvatanje novih uzusa pismenosti i kulture znači indirektno i prihvatanje okupacije, mnogi su odlučili *ne uklapati se*. To se posebno odnosi na one u manjim mjestima, koji su svoj strah od *novog i nemuslimanskog* preusmjerili i na mlađe generacije ostavivši ih godinama bez adekvatne naobrazbe.

Na to da je takvo stanje potrajalo decenijama ukazuje članak lista *Bošnjak* iz 1905. godine u kojem se kao “glavni uzrok kolebanja našeg naroda” navodi činjenica da se nalaze na “raskršću starog i novog puta, t. j. da uprav koleba ne znajući, da li da se i u buduće drži starih konzervativnih načela, ili da li da jednom strese sa sebe stare okove i da se prilagodi javnom naprednijem duhu vremena.” (*Bošnjak* XV (50): 1)

Ipak, značajan broj kiraethana koje su otvarane širom Bosne i Hercegovine jasan su znak da je stanovništvo pridavalo važnost kiraethanama smatrajući da su one od ključnog značaja za njihov obrazovni razvoj. Potvrdu za to nam daje i primjer kiraethane u Bosanskom Novom. U tom gradiću je 1901. godine zatvorena kiraethana zbog finansijske neodrživosti. Dvije godine poslije jedna grupa građana obratila se Zemaljskoj vladi sa dopisom da se muslimanska kiraethana ponovno otvori jer im je ta institucija *kao hljeb potrebna*. Potpisnici tog zahtjeva bili su Ali-beg Bišćević, Omer Rušdi Čajić, Ibrahim Fevzi Alagić i Omer Ibrahimbegović, pored čijeg je imena pisalo “student”. Oni su smatrali da je zatvaranje kiraethane u njihovom gradu dovelo do “posvemašnjeg kalašenja osobito muslimanske omladine”. Dalje su napisali kako se ta omladina sastaje “po javnim lokalima i kafanama pijuć i igrajuć pri tom truhunuć u neznanju...” Kao zamjena za tu *dangubu* oni smatraju da se treba otvoriti kiraethana koja bi tu “omladinu kulturnom, moralnom i društvenom napredku povelu” (ABiH, ZVS, k. 16, 1906, 19/53). Potpis Omera Ibrahimbegovića kao studenta trebao je poslati poruku vlastima da obrazovana omladina podržava i slaže se sa ocjenama iznesenim u zahtjevu.

our homeland to be free of ignorance, many taverns, that are located on every corner, should be transformed into reading rooms, where existing cards will be replaced by educational books and newspapers.” (*Sarajevski cvjetnik* II (25): 1) This attitude towards reading rooms clearly indicates how much hope was placed on their impact on society in terms of educational prosperity. The same year when the *Sarajevski cvjetnik* published this article, a kiraethana was opened in Tešanj, which also had a library as its part. (Aličić 2014, 109). However, all Ottoman-era reading rooms ceased their operations after the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878.

It is quite clear that the overthrow of the centuries-old Ottoman rule was a major cultural and educational change for Muslims. Basically, overnight, a large number of residents who knew only the Arabic alphabet became “illiterate” because they did not know the Latin alphabet, which became official script with the arrival of Austro-Hungary. Thinking that accepting new regulations of literacy and culture also means acceptance of occupation indirectly, many decided *not to fit in*. This is especially true for those in smaller towns, who have redirected their fear of the *new and non-Muslim* on younger generations, leaving them without adequate education for years.

Indication that such situation lasted for decades is shown by an article in the newspaper *Bošnjak* from 1905, in which the “main cause of the hesitation of our people” is stated as the fact that they are at the “crossroads of the old and the new road, i.e. the administration hesitates without knowing, whether to adhere to the old conservative principles in the future, or whether to shake off the old shackles once and to adapt to the public, more advanced spirit of the age.” (*Bošnjak* XV (50): 1)

Nevertheless, the significant number of kiraethanas that have been opened throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina is a clear sign that the population has given importance to kiraethana, believing that they are of vital importance for their educational development. Confirmation of this is given by the example of kiraethana in Bosanski Novi. In that town, the kiraethana was closed in 1901 due to financial unsustainability. Two years later, a group of citizens addressed the National Government with a letter to reopen the Muslim kiraethana because they needed that institution as a *daily bread*. The signatories of that request were Ali bey Bišćević, Omer Rušdi Čajić, Ibrahim Fevzi Alagić and Omer Ibrahimbegović – next to his name, it was written *student*. They believed that the closure of the kiraethana in their town had led to the “utter revelry, especially of Muslim youth”, continuing to write that these young people meet “in public joints and taverns, drinking and playing, while rotting in ignorance (...)” As a

Kiraethane su tako u manjim gradovima postale sinonim za “kulturni razvoj i napredak”. To je i logično s obzirom na to da je u velikim gradovima poput Sarajeva, Mostara, Tuzle i Banjaluke postojao veći izbor škola, zatim razna udruženja koja su bila otvorena za cjelokupno stanovništvo, dok u manjim mjestima to nije bio slučaj. S obzirom na finansijske potrebe i broj stanovnika, mnogo jednostavnije od otvaranja škole bilo je formiranje kiraethane.

Ovdje je potrebno posebno naglasiti da je postojanje kiraethana bilo ključno ne samo za stanovnike manjeg grada nego i okolnih sela koja su gravitirala ka njemu. Svakodnevni dolasci zbog rješavanja pravnih ili drugih potreba mnogobrojnog stanovništva omogućavali su i posjetu nekom mjestu gdje se moglo sjesti i porazgovarati. U članku objavljenom u *Gajretu* 1910. godine u želji da se pohvali otvaranje kiraethana pisalo je kako se “ne možeš zamisliti, kako bi danas živio bez njih”. Kako bi pojasnio te svoje riječi, autor kaže da “Kad dogeš u kakvo nepoznato mjesto, odmah pitaš: gdje je Kiraethana, jer znaš da ćeš tu najkomotnije uzeti abdest, klanjati Božiji namaz, naći se, razgovoriti i upoznati sa gragjanima, a i pročitati, šta ima novoga po svijetu.” I na kraju zaključuje: “U svom opet mjestu, Kiraethana ti je, kao nekakva centrala tvog životarenja.” (*Gajret*, III (11): 176-178) Navedeno potvrđuje i pravilnik Islamske kiraethane u Ključu. U njemu je pisalo da do tada u Ključu nije bilo “ni jednog islamskog javnog niti privatnog lokala u koji bi odličniji muslimani, muslimani plemenitijih društvenih nazora i osjećaja mogao u odnosnim časovima danima unići i tu s braćom poraditi o boljitku islamskom i otadžbinskom.” (ABIH, ZVS, k. 52 1906, 19/252)

Cilj nam je ovim radom ukazati na kulturno-političko-društvenu ulogu kiraethana u manjim mjestima širom Bosne i Hercegovine, te kroz nekoliko ključnih pitanja – način osnivanja, ko je bio u upravi kiraethana, njihov socijalni i društveni status, kao i mogućnosti finansiranja – pojasniti njihov rad i djelovanje. Kako bi slika bila jasnija, neophodno je izložiti i šta se sve dešavalo unutar prostorija kiraethana koje nisu bile samo čitaonice nego i mjesta za okupljanje i druženja, prostor u kojem su djelovale razne sekcije, ali i mjesta gdje se odvijao život sa svim kompleksnostima vremena i prostora.

2. Osnivanje kiraethana

Koliki je broj kiraethana aktivno radio tokom austrougarske uprave, teško je precizno utvrditi. Prva kiraethana nakon okupacije otvorena je 1888. godine u Sarajevu, naredna u Banjaluci 1890. godine, a godinu poslije i Tuzla je dobila muslimansku kiraethanu (Traljić 2009, 21). Prema detaljnom popisu muslimanskih kiraethana koji je objavio Suljkić (1992, 33-39), njih je u periodu austrougarske uprave otvoreno ukupno 95. Međutim, izvori ukazuju da

substitute for this *dawdling*, they believe that a kiraethana should be opened “to lead these youth to cultural, moral and social progress.” (ABIH, NGS, b. 16, 1906, 19/53) The signature of Ibrahimbegović Omer as a student should have sent a message to the authorities that the educated youth support and agree with the assessments stated in the request.

Kiraethanas have thus become synonyms for “cultural development and progress” in smaller towns. This is logical considering that in bigger towns such as Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla and Banja Luka, there was a larger selection of schools, and various associations which were open to the entire population, while in smaller places this was not the case. Given the financial needs and the number of inhabitants, opening of kiraethana was much simpler than opening of a school.

It is necessary to emphasize here that the existence of kiraethanas was crucial not only for the inhabitants of the smaller town but also for the surrounding villages that gravitated towards it. Everyday visits to address the legal or other needs of a manifold population also made it possible to visit a place where one could sit and talk. An article published in *Gajret* in 1910, wanting to praise the opening of the kiraethanas, said that “you cannot imagine how you would live without them today.” To clarify his words, the author explains that “When you come to an unknown place, you immediately ask: where is Kiraethana, because you know that you will most comfortably perform ablution, offer God’s pray, meet, talk and get acquainted with the citizens, and read what is new worldwide.” And in the end he concludes: “In your town, Kiraethana is to you some kind of your center of existence.” (*Gajret* III (11): 176-178) This is also confirmed by the regulations of the Islamic kiraethana in Ključ. There was written that in Ključ until then there was not “a single Islamic public or private place in which prominent Muslims, Muslims of nobler social views and feelings could enter in the relevant hours in days and work with the brothers on the Islamic and patriotic welfare.” (ABIH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

The aim of this paper is to point out the cultural-political-social role of kiraethanas in smaller places throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and explain their work and operations through several key issues: the way of establishment, who was in the administration of kiraethanas, their social status and funding opportunities. In order to make the picture clearer, it is necessary to present what was happening inside the kiraethana premises, which were not only reading rooms but also places for gathering and socializing, a space where various sections operated but also places where life took place with all the complexities of period and location.

to nije konačan broj. Prema dostupnoj građi možemo reći da je u tom periodu otvoreno najmanje 100 kiraethana, i to:

- 1888. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Sarajevu, godine 1904. preimenovana u Islamsku čitaonicu
- 1890. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Banjaluci; Islamska kiraethana u Brčkom
- 1891. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Tuzli
- 1897. godine – Turska kiraethana u Donjem Vakufu; Muslimanska kiraethana u Brčkom, godine 1905. preimenovana u Islamsku kiraethanu¹
- 1898. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Mostaru; Muslimanska kiraethana u Rogatici; Turska kiraethana u Prijedoru; Turska kiraethana u Goraždu, preimenovana 1908. godine u Islamsku kiraethanu
- 1899. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Prozoru; Islamska kiraethana u Bijeljini
- 1900. godine – Muslimanska čitaonica u Maglaju
- 1901. godine – Islamska kiraethana u Varcar-Vakufu; Turska kiraethana u Kulen-Vakufu
- 1902. godine – Muslimanska kiraethana u Fojnici
- 1903. godine – Islamsko čitalačko društvo u Bileći 1903; Islamsko čitalačko društvo u Ljubinju; Kiraethana naprednih Muslimana u Bijeljini; Islamska čitaonica u Gračanici; Islamska kiraethana u Jajcu
- 1904. godine – Islamska čitaonica u Višegradu; Islamska čitaonica u Bosanskom Novom; Islamska kiraethana u Zenici; Muslimanska čitaonica u Gacku; Muslimanska kiraethana u Bosanskoj Dubici; Muslimanska kiraethana u Zvorniku
- 1905. godine – Islamska čitaonica u Bihaću; Islamska čitaonica u Trebinju; Islamska čitaonica u Vlasenici; Islamska kiraethana u Ključu; Tursko-islamska kiraethana u Bosanskom Petrovcu; Islamska kiraethana u Doboju; Islamska kiraethana u Sanskom Mostu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Orašju
- 1906. godine – Turska kiraethana u Gornjem Vakufu; Islamska kiraethana u Gradačcu; Islamska kiraethana u Nevesinju; Islamska omladinska kiraethana u Žepču; Islamska čitaonica u Duvnu; Islamska kiraethana u Kladnju; Islamska kiraethana u Kozarcu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Bosanskom Šamcu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Modriči; Muslimanska čitaonica i dobrotvorno društvo u Foči; Muslimanska čitaonica u Tešnju; Muslimanska čitaonica u Visokom; Muslimanska kiraethana u Čajniču; Muslimanska kiraethana u Janji; Muslimanska kiraethana u

2. Opening of kiraethanas

It is difficult to determine precisely how many kiraethanas actively worked during the Austro-Hungarian administration. The first kiraethana after the occupation was opened in 1888 in Sarajevo, the next in Banja Luka in 1890, and a year later, Tuzla gained the Muslim kiraethana. (Traljić 2009, 21). According to a detailed list of Muslim kiraethanas published by Suljkić (1992, 33-39), during the Austro-Hungarian rule, a total of 95 were opened. However, sources indicate that this is not a final number. According to the available material, we can say that at least 100 kiraethanas were opened in that period:

- In 1888 – Muslim kiraethana in Sarajevo, in 1904 renamed to Islamic Reading Room
- In 1890 – Muslim kiraethana in Banja Luka; Islamic kiraethana in Brčko
- In 1891 – Muslim kiraethana in Tuzla
- In 1897 – Turkish kiraethana in Donji Vakuf; Muslim kiraethana in Brčko, in 1905 renamed to Islamic kiraethana¹
- In 1898 – Muslim kiraethana in Mostar; Muslim kiraethana in Rogatica; Turkish kiraethana in Prijedor; Turkish kiraethana in Goražde, renamed in 1908 to Islamic kiraethana
- In 1899 – Muslim kiraethana in Prozor; Islamic kiraethana in Bijeljina
- In 1900 – Muslim Reading Room in Maglaj
- In 1901 – Islamic kiraethana in Varcar-Vakuf; Turkish kiraethana in Kulen-Vakuf
- In 1902 – Muslim kiraethana in Fojnica
- In 1903 – Islamic Reading Society in Bileća 1903; Islamic Reading Society in Ljubinje; Kiraethana of progressive Muslims in Bijeljina; Islamic Reading Room in Gračanica; Islamic kiraethana in Jajce
- In 1904 – Islamic Reading Room in Višegrad; Islamic Reading Room in Bosanski Novi; Islamic kiraethana in Zenica; Muslim Reading Room in Gacko; Muslim kiraethana in Bosanska Dubica; Muslim kiraethana in Zvornik
- In 1905 – Islamic Reading Room in Bihać; Muslim Reading Room in Trebinje; Islamic Reading Room in Vlasenica; Islamic kiraethana in Ključ; Turkish Islamic kiraethana in Bosanski Petrovac; Islamic kiraethana in Doboj; Islamic kiraethana in Sanski Most; Muslim Reading Room in Orašje
- In 1906 – Turkish kiraethana in Gornji Vakuf; Islamic kiraethana in Gradačac; Islamic kiraethana in Nevesinje; Islamic Youth kiraethana in Žepče; Islamic Reading Room in Duvno; Islamic kiraethana in Kladanj; Islamic kirae-

¹ Suljkić piše da je Muslimanska kiraethana u Brčkom otvorena 1898. godine. Međutim, u dokumentima jasno piše da su njihova pravila odobrena 21. 3. 1897. godine. (Uporedi Suljkić 1992, 36; Zulić 2014, 411; ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

¹ Suljkić writes that the Muslim kiraethana in Brčko was opened in 1898. However, the documents clearly state that their regulations were approved on March 21, 1897. (Cf. Suljkić 1992, 36; Zulić 2014, 411; ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

- Nevesinju; Turska čitaonica u Bosanskoj Gradišci; Turska čitaonica u Bugojnu
- 1907. godine – Ittihadi kiraethana u Gradačcu; Islamska čitaonica u Glamoču; Islamska kiraethana u Jezeru; Islamska kiraethana u Livnu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Bosanskom Šamcu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Konjicu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Puračiću; Muslimanska kiraethana u Čapljini; Muslimanska kiraethana u Cazinu
 - 1908. godine – Muslimanska čitaonica u Odžaku; Islamska čitaonica i dobrotvorno društvo u Bosanskom Petrovcu; Muslimanska kiraethana u Velikoj Kladuši; Muslimanska narodna čitaonica “Ikdam” u Derventi; Turska kiraethana u Derventi
 - 1909. godine – Islamska kiraethana u Travniku; Muslimanska čitaonica u Busovači; Muslimanska kiraethana u Prnjavoru
 - 1910. godine – Islamska kiraethana u Foči – prva; Islamska kiraethana u Foči – druga; Islamska kiraethana u Rudom; Islamska čitaonica u Srebrenici; Muslimanska kiraethana u Vranograču; Turska kiraethana u Gornjem Vakufu
 - 1911. godine – Islamska čitaonica u Cazinu; Islamska čitaonica u Gornjoj Tuzli; Islamska kiraethana u Kulen-Vakufu; Islamska kiraethana u Rogatici; Muslimanska čitaonica “Sloga” u Zvorniku; Muslimanska čitaonica u Blagaju; Muslimanska čitaonica u Varešu; Muslimanska kiraethana u Kotor-Varoši; Muslimanska kiraethana u Tuzli; Muslimanska kiraethana u Ljubuškom; Muslimanska narodna čitaonica “Rehber” u Visokom
 - 1912. godine – Islamska čitaonica u Otoci; Čitaonica i društvo ujedinjenih Muslimana u Žabljaku; Islamska čitaonica “Itihadi-Islam” u Ključu; Muslimanska čitaonica u Lukavcu; Muslimanska kiraethana “Afuet” u Olovu; Turska kiraethana u Bosanskoj Kostajnici
 - 1913. godine – Islamska čitaonica “Darul-hajr” u Bosanskoj Krupi; Islamska kiraethana u Bosanskoj Krupi; Muslimanska čitaonica u Rogatici; Muslimanska čitaonica u Pazariću; Muslimanska ujedinjena čitaonica u Bosanskom Petrovcu
 - 1915. godina – Islamska kiraethana u Bužimu
 - 1916. godine – Muslimanska čitaonica u Gornjem Rahiću.

Ako analiziramo datume otvaranja kiraethana u manjim mjestima, vidjet ćemo da su se one u jednom periodu otvarale faktički lančano. Možemo slobodno reći da je ekspanzija muslimanskih kiraethana širom Bosne i Hercegovine bila u prvim godinama 20. stoljeća. Posebnu analizu Tuzlanskog okruga napravio je Zulić, a iz nje vidimo da je u Bijeljini 1905. godine bilo ukupno 6 udruženja, dok je do 1912.

- thana in Kozarac; Muslim Reading Room in Bosanski Šamac; Muslim Reading Room in Modriča; Muslim Reading Room and Charity in Foča; Muslim Reading Room in Tešanj; Muslim Reading Room in Visoko; Muslim kiraethana in Čajniče; Muslim kiraethana in Janja; Muslim kiraethana in Nevesinje; Turkish kiraethana in Bosanska Gradiška; Turkish Reading Room in Bugojno
- In 1907 – Ittihadi kiraethana in Gradačac; Islamic Reading Room in Glamoč; Islamic kiraethana in Jezero; Islamic kiraethana in Livno; Muslim Reading Room in Bosanski Šamac; Muslim Reading Room in Konjic; Muslim Reading Room in Puračić; Muslim kiraethana in Čapljina; Muslim kiraethana in Cazin
 - In 1908 – Muslim Reading Room in Odžak; Islamic Muslim Reading Room and Charity in Bosanski Petrovac; Muslim kiraethana in Velika Kladuša; Muslim National Reading Room “Ikdam” in Derventa; Turkish kiraethana in Derventa
 - In 1909 – Islamic kiraethana in Travnik; Muslim Reading Room in Busovača; Muslim kiraethana in Prnjavor
 - In 1910 – first Islamic kiraethana in Foča; second Islamic kiraethana in Foča; Islamic kiraethana in Rudo; Islamic Reading Room in Srebrenica; Muslim kiraethana in Vranograč; Turkish kiraethana in Gornji Vakuf
 - In 1911 – Islamic Reading Room in Cazin; Islamic Reading Room in Gornja Tuzla; Islamic kiraethana in Kulen-Vakuf; Islamic kiraethana in Rogatica; Muslim Reading Room “Sloga” in Zvornik; Muslim Reading Room in Blagaj; Muslim Reading Room in Vareš; Muslim kiraethana in Kotor-Varoš; Muslim kiraethana in Tuzla; Muslim kiraethana in Ljubuški; Muslim National Reading Room “Rehber” in Visoko
 - In 1912 – Islamic Reading Room in Otoka; Reading Room and Society of United Muslims in Žabljak; Islamic Reading Room “Itihadi – Islam” in Ključ; Muslim Reading Room in Lukavac; Muslim kiraethana “Afuet” in Olovo; Turkish kiraethana in Bosanska Kostajnica
 - In 1913 – Islamic Reading Room “Darul-hajr” in Bosanska Krupa; Islamic kiraethana in Bosanska Krupa; Muslim Reading Room in Rogatica; Muslim Reading Room in Pazarić; Muslim United Reading Room in Bosanski Petrovac
 - In 1915 – Islamic kiraethana in Bužim
 - In 1916 – Muslim Reading Room in Gornji Rahić.

If we analyze the dates of the opening of the kiraethanas in smaller places, we will see that in one period they were opened as chain reaction. We can

njihov broj skočio na 20! Slično je bilo i u drugim gradovima. (Zulić 2014, 409) Zašto je to tako, više je odgovora. Mišljenja smo da je ključni bilo formiranje muslimanskih političkih partija u tom periodu i potreba za prostorom gdje bi se njihova politika i ideje širile. Navedeno potvrđuje i podatak da se kao opšta dobrobit postojanja kiraethana uglavnom prvo navode sastanci i razgovori “vrijednih, pametnih i učenih ljudi” a onda tek potreba za obrazovanjem i širenjem pismenosti (*Bošnjak* XVI (2): 1). Potrebno je naglasiti da političke partije nisu čekale da ih neko promovise usmeno. Stranački časopisi koji počeli sa štampanjem ali i časopisi koji su se opredijelili za određeni politički smjer bili su svakodnevno dostavljani u kiraethane, i tu se krio važan motiv za podržavanje kiraethana jer je njihov glas putem štampe mogao doći do mnogih stanovnika daleko od centrala ovih partija ili volje lokalnog uglednika. Sasvim je jasno da su kiraethane bile višestruko korisne kako za novoformirane stranke i partije tako i za vlast. Stoga ne čudi da se kao zadatak prve kiraethane otvorene nakon okupacije navodi između ostalog “da ujedno utiče na stvaranje posebnog bosanskog integriteta u okvirima političkih koncepcija austrougarske uprave” (Pravila 1888, 7-8).

Iako su lokalni časopisi uglavnom krivili obrazovane muslimane za nedovoljan broj kiraethana u Bosni i Hercegovini, potrebno je napomenuti da je i vlast imala velikog udjela u tome.

Najvažniji korak u otvaranju kiraethane ili bilo kojeg udruženja bila je dozvola Zemaljske vlade. U odnosu na to možemo se složiti sa Hadžiosmanović (1980, 174) kada zaključuje da je vlast pojedine kiraethane pomagala, neke tolerisala, a neke zabranjivala. Međutim, ključno je to da je sve njih strogo nadzirala. Kiraethane kao mjesta okupljanja muslimanskog stanovništva bile su pod budnim okom vlasti, bez obzira na to gdje su se nalazile.

Prvi korak za otvaranje kiraethane bilo je pisanje pravila koja bi se slala preko Kotarske oblasti Zemaljskoj vladi na odobrenje, što je predstavljalo zvaničnu dozvolu za rad. Prije toga bilo je neophodno organizovati jedan broj stanovnika koji su bili spremni napisati pravila. To se uglavnom radilo na skupštini koju bi sazvali pojedinci, a pravila su se prepisivala od drugih kiraethana. Tokom skupštine izabrao bi se i privremeni odbor koji je potpisivao zvanični Zahtjev Zemaljskoj vladi za odobrenje rada koji je popratni akt pravilniku kiraethane.

Iako se dozvola ili odobrenje pravila kiraethane čekala ponekad više od godinu dana, jedan primjer ukazuje na to da pojedine kiraethane nisu uopšte čekale zvaničnu dozvolu za početak rada. Tako je islamska čitaonica u Bileći 1902/3. godine radila 10 mjeseci bez dozvole! Prema pisanju *Behara*, nakon deset mjeseci došla su potpisana pravila od strane Zemaljske vlade te su mogli svoj rad nastaviti le-

freely say that the expansion of Muslim kiraethanas throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina was in the early years of the 20th century. A special analysis of the Tuzla County was made by Zulić, and from it, we can see that in Bijeljina in 1905 there were a total of 6 associations, while by 1912 their number jumped to 20! It was similar in other towns. (Zulić 2014, 409) Why is it so, there are more answers. We thought that the key was the formation of Muslim political parties in that period and the need for a space where their politics and ideas would spread. This is confirmed by the fact that as the general benefit of the existence of kiraethana, meetings and conversations of “hardworking, smart and educated people” are usually mentioned first and then the need for education and the spread of literacy. (*Bošnjak* XVI (2): 1) It should be emphasized that political parties did not wait for someone to promote them verbally. Journals of parties that started to publish, but also journals that opted for a certain political direction were delivered daily to kiraethanas, and there was an important motive for supporting kiraethanas, because their voice through the publishing could reach many residents far from the headquarters of these parties or the will of a local dignitary.

It is quite clear that the kiraethanas were useful in more ways, both for the newly formed parties, as well as for the government. Therefore, it is not surprising that the task of the first opened kiraethana after the occupation, among other things, “is to influence the creation of a special Bosnian integrity within the political conceptions of the Austro-Hungarian administration.” (Pravila 1888, 7-8)

Although local journals have mainly blamed educated Muslims for the insufficient number of kiraethanas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it should be noted that the government also played a big role in it.

The most important step in opening a kiraethana or any association was the permission of the National Government. In relation, we can agree with Hadžiosmanović when she concludes that the government aided some kiraethans, tolerated some, and prohibit some (Hadžiosmanović 1980, 174). However, essentially, they have strictly supervised them all. Kiraethanas as gathering places of the Muslim population were under the watchful eye of the authorities, no matter where they were located.

The first step in opening the kiraethana was to write the regulations that would be sent through the County office to the National Government for approval, which represented an official work permit. Before that, it was necessary to organize a number of residents who were ready to write the regulations. This was mostly done in assemblies convened by individuals, and the regulations were copied from other kiraethanas. During the assembly, a temporary committee would be elected, which would sign the offi-

galno (Suljkić 1992, 39). S obzirom na to da nema podataka o bilo kakvim sankcijama, pretpostavlja-mo da ih nije ni bilo. Međutim, moramo istaći da je ovaj primjer predstavljao izuzetak.

Odobranje pravila zavisilo je od njihovog sadržaja, ali i od imena potpisnika koja su bila sastavni dio. Prva etapa u predavanju pravila bila je kotarska vlast, koja ih je dalje slala Zemaljskoj vladi. Stolačka kiraethana pravila je predala Kotarskoj oblasti 26. 11. 1896. godine, a odobrena su 12. 3. 1897. godine. Kraći vremenski period su čekali u Kozarcu. Oni su predali pravila 19. 12. 1905. godine, a odobrena su bila već 20. 1. 1906. godine. Poput njih, i kiraethana u Puračiću je čekala mjesec dana na odobrenje Pravila, tačnije od 22. 2. 1907. do 29. 3. 1907. godine. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Međutim, odobranje pravilnika ponekad je bilo samo uslovno. Tako je Islamska kiraethana u Kozarcu dobila potvrdu pravila, ali uz uslov da promijeni ukupno pet članova unutar njega (Hadžiosmanović 1980, 174). Od islamske čitaonice u Gračanici 1903. godine traženo je da u pravila unese dodatak “državljanstvo članova i odredba o isključenju iz političkih razloga” (Sarić 2002, 47). Promjene na kojima su insistirale vlasti bile su uglavnom vezane za nadležnost, a jedan od obaveznih članova unutar svih pravila bio je da za rad kiraethane izabrani odbor odgovara i pripada kontroli upravne oblasti (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139). S obzirom na to, svaka promjena unutar kiraethane morala je imati dozvolu nadležnih vlasti.

Pravila su bila dosta detaljna, a sadržavala su, pored naziva i cilja, sve ostale propise koje jedno udruženje treba da ima. Unutar pravila bio je regulisan i rad biblioteke, izbor odbora koji je upravljao kiraethanom, koliko puta se sazivala skupština i svi ostali detalji. Razlike u pravilima između kiraethana bile su uglavnom sadržane u cilju i svrsi rada. Tako je kiraethana u Ljubinju kao svrhu navela “njegovanje zajednice i udruživanje isključujući svaki politički značaj”. Višegradska islamska kiraethana je kao cilj društva napisala “da rasprostire prosvjetu izobraženje, čovječnost i prijateljsko zabavljanje sljedećim sredstvima, čitanjem političkih i poučno zabavnih dnevnika, znanstveno popularnih spisih i rasprava”. Stolačka kiraethana je u pravilima navela kao cilj da “pripravi nepismene članove društva za pisanje i čitanje”. Islamska kiraethana u Livnu je imala cilj da “ustroji muslimansku čitaonicu u kojoj će se pismeni članovi izobražavati čitanjem poučnih i političkih dnevnih listova”, ali i da “pripravi nepismene članove društva za pisanje i čitanje te po mogućnosti da jih upućuje i u druge lijepe nauke raznim predavanjima ... da daje zabave u čitaoničke i različite dobrotvorne svrhe”. Za razliku od ovih najčešćih ciljeva navedenih u pravilima, kiraethana u Bosanskoj Gradiški je kao cilj navedeno “da

cial Request addressed to the National Government for work approval, which is an accompanying act to the regulations of kiraethana.

Although the permission or approval on the kiraethana regulations was sometimes waited for more than a year, one example indicates that some kiraethanas did not wait at all for the official permission to start their work. That is how the Islamic Reading Room in Bileća in 1902/3 has worked for 10 months without a permit! According to *Behar*, after ten months, the Regulations signed by the National Government came and they could continue their work legally. (Suljkić 1992, 39) Since there is no information on any sanctions, we assume that there were none. However, we must point out that this example was an exception.

The approval of the regulations depended on their content but also on the names of the signatories that were their integral part. The first stage in handing over the regulations was the County Government which sent it further to the National Government. Kiraethana in Stolac handed over the Regulations to the County office on November 26, 1896 and were approved on March 12, 1897. Shorter waiting period was in Kozarac. They handed the Regulations on December 19, 1905 and they were approved on January 20, 1906. Like them, the kiraethana in Puračić waited for a month for the approval of the Regulations, more precisely from February 22 to March 29, 1907. (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

However, the approval of the Regulations sometimes was only conditional. That is how the Islamic kiraethana in Kozarac received approval of the regulations, but with the condition of replacing five members (Hadžiosmanović 1980, 174). From the Islamic reading room in Gračanica in 1903 was asked to “add a supplement to the Regulations” the citizenship of the members and the provision on expulsion for political reasons. (Sarić 2002, 47) The changes the authorities insisted upon were mainly related to jurisdiction, and one of the mandatory articles within all the regulations was that the elected committee was responsible for the work of the kiraethana and liable to the control of the administrative county. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139) This said, any change within the kiraethana had to have the permission of the responsible authorities.

The regulations were quite detailed, and they contained, in addition to the name and goal, all other regulations that an association should have. The Regulations also regulated the work of the library, the election of the board that managed the kiraethana, how many times the assembly was convened and all other details. The differences in regulations between the kiraethanas were mainly contained in the objective and purpose of the work. That is how the kiraethana in Ljubinje stated as its purpose “nur-

ustroji jedno tursko društvo". Zemaljska vlada je crvenom olovkom podvukla tursko, ali je pravila odobrila. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139; k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

U Pravilima je stajalo i ime kiraethane, kao i vanjska oznaka, ukoliko je postojala. Možemo reći da su muslimanske kiraethane imale nekoliko standardnih naziva: Muslimanska kiraethana, Islamska čitaonica, Turska kiraethana, Turska čitaonica i sl. Neke, poput one u Livnu, imale su dva imena u pravilima: Muslimanska kiraethana (Islamska čitaonica). Ime je odavalo kome je odbor naklonjen te koju poruku želi narodu da pošalje. U literaturi se navodi da sve do odlaska Kallaya u Bosni i Hercegovini nema čitaonica sa nacionalnim znakom u imenu (Hadžiosmanović 1980, 37). Međutim, analiza izvora ukazuje na to da je ipak bilo muslimanskih kiraethana sa nacionalnim predznakom i prije 1903. godine. Jedna od njih je otvorena u Donjem Vakufu 1897. godine, a druga u Prijedoru naredne godine. Turska kiraethana u Prijedoru je svečano počela sa radom u septembru 1898. godine, a da njen naziv ipak nije bio ustaljen, najbolje govori komentar u listu *Bošnjak* u kojem autor smatra kako bi bilo "pravije" da se zove "Muslomanska" (*Bošnjak* VIII (40): 3). Neke kiraethane su tokom postojanja mijenjale svoje ime iz Turska u Islamska ili Muslimanska i obratno. Kiraethana u Goraždu je tako osnovana 1898. godine pod nazivom Turska kiraethana, ali je 1906. godine promijenila ime u Islamska kiraethana. Ako pogledamo brojčano, najviše njih je u imenu imalo naziv Muslimanska, nešto manje Islamska, dok je Turskih kiraethana bilo ukupno deset u Bosni i Hercegovini. Pored naziva kao jasne oznake, svaka kiraethana je imala i "vanjsku oznaku". Najveći broj kiraethana, poput stolačke i nevesinjske, odlučivao se za zelenu zastavu sa polumjesecom i zvijezdom. Stolačka kiraethana, kao i mnoge druge, imala je i poseban štambilj sa svojim imenom. Kiraethana u Goraždu se odlučila da njeno obilježje bude "barjak u zemaljskom i turskom jeziku" (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139). Barjak je stajao iznad ulaza u prostorije u kojima je kiraethana bila smještena te predstavljao znak raspoznavanja za sve prolaznike. Potrebno je napomenuti da kotarska oblast nije bila samo formalni prvi stepen u prihvatanju pravila, pojedine pravilnike su sami vraćali i prije prosljeđivanja Zemaljskoj vladi. Takav slučaj je bio sa muslimanskom kiraethanom u Jezeru. Derviš-beg Filipović i Smail-beg Kulenović su se u ime 49 stanovnika Jezera žalili Zemaljskoj vladi da njihova pravila kotarski tajnik u Jajcu dr. Radinski nije htio uopšte primiti. Kao razlog naveo je da u Jezeru postoje dvije stranke koje se neće složiti i da će onda i druga stranka zatražiti da se osnuje još jedna čitaonica. S obzirom na to da je Jezero malo za dvije čitaonice, on je smatrao da oni trebaju povući svoja pravila, a

turing the community and associating while excluding any political significance." Islamic kiraethana in Višegrad wrote as the goal of association "to spread education, humanity, and friendly entertainment by the following means, by reading political, educative and entertaining journals, popular science writings, and debates." Kiraethana in Stolac stated in the regulations as the goal to "prepare illiterate members of the society for writing and reading." Islamic kiraethana in Livno aimed to "establish a Muslim reading room in which literate members will be educated by reading daily educational and political newspapers" but also to "prepare illiterate members of the society for writing and reading and, if possible, to refer them to other beautiful sciences with various lectures... to give parties for reading-room and other various charitable purposes." In contrast to these most common goals stated in the Regulations, kiraethana in Bosanska Gradiška stated as goal "to establish a Turkish association." The National Government underlined Turkish with a red pencil, but approved the Regulations. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139; b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

The Regulations also stated the name of kiraethana as well as the external marking if it existed. We can say that Muslim kiraethanas had several standard names: Muslim kiraethana, Islamic reading room, Turkish kiraethana, Turkish reading room, and similar. Some of them, like one in Livno, had two names in the Regulations: Muslim kiraethana (Islamic Reading Room). The name indicated who the board favoured and what message they wanted to send to the people. The literature states that until Kállay's departure, there were no reading rooms in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a national marking in the name (Hadžiosmanović 1980, 37). However, an analysis of the sources indicates that there still were Muslim kiraethanas with a national marking even before 1903. One of them has been opened in Donji Vakuf in 1897, and second in Prijedor in the following year. Turkish kiraethana in Prijedor began ceremoniously its work in September 1898, and that its name was not common, it is best shown by the comment in the newspaper *Bošnjak* in which the author believes that it would be "more correct" to call it "Muslims." (*Bošnjak* VIII (40): 3.) Some kiraethanas changed their name from Turkish to Islamic or Muslim during their existence and vice versa. Kiraethana in Goražde was thus founded in 1898 under the name Turkish kiraethana but in 1906 has changed the name to Islamic kiraethana. If we look at the numbers, most of them had the name Muslim, slightly less Islamic, while there were a total of ten Turkish kiraethanas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to the name with a clear marking, each kiraethana also had an "external marking." Most kiraethanas, like those in Stolac and Nevesinje, opt-

samim tim i ideju za otvaranje kiraethane. Svjesni da je tajnik u pravu, te da bi se među muslimanima Jezera mogla razviti veća nesloga, odlučili su ga poslušati. Međutim, samo mjesec nakon toga “druga strana” je dobila potvrđena pravila za osnivanje društva pod nazivom Udruženje islamske omladine i Tamburaško društvo u Jezeru. Oni dalje pišu da bi se rado priključili tom društvu, ali da oni primaju samo mlađe od 40 godina. Zemaljska vlada je uslišila njihovu molbu i dozvolila im otvaranje Islamske kiraethane. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

S obzirom na to da je svaka promjena u radu morala biti prijavljena, uvidom u građu možemo reći da je najviše molbi upućenih Zemaljskoj vladi bilo vezano za ime kiraethane i promjene u pravilima kome ostaje imovina nakon njihovog gašenja. Islamska kiraethana u Goraždu je šest godina nakon osnivanja tražila izmjenu pravila. U obrazloženju su naveli da su mnogi njihovi članovi u međuvremenu umrli, a da se ostali nisu brinuli za opstanak društva, stoga su predložili da se doda Islamska u naziv, kao i da sav imetak u slučaju zatvaranja društva umjesto da pripadne Uboškoj zakladi gradske opštine u Goraždu, pripadne Sinan-begovoj džamiji u Goraždu. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Još želimo navesti da su pojedine kiraethane u manjim mjestima prerasle iz udruženja. Primjer za to je Srebrenica, gdje je “Udruženje Numunei islahije – pokušaj napredka” nakon nekoliko mjeseci rada sa osnovnim ciljem “da gaji slogu i ljubav širi ideju antialkoholizma obrazuje društvene članove čitanjem raznovrsnih novina i drugih naučnih djela i čitaba” odlučilo ugasiti to udruženje i umjesto njega formirati kiraethanu. S obzirom na detaljan pravilnik o radu biblioteke Udruženja, pretpostavljamo da je ona bila već formirana i bogata, što je umnogome moglo olakšati rad kiraethane. Interesantno je da je Numunei islahije imao u svom pravilniku u članu 35. navedeno da “svaki član izuzev činovnika, časnika i dobrovoljne prinosačke koji zadnji inače nisu članovi društva imade dati poštenu riječ da neće dok je članom društva najmanje za 3 mjeseca piti alkoholna pića”. S obzirom na veliku popularnost alkoholnih pića, ova odredba je možda bila uzrokom što Udruženje nije imalo dovoljno članova čijom bi članarinom bar kiriju mogli platiti. Na to ukazuje i izjava osnivača Udruženja u kojoj kažu da “prama držanju ovdašnje islamske omladine nikakve nade nejma da bi se odnošaji društveni mogli popraviti” te su zbog toga bili prisiljeni udruženje ugasiti. Gašenje Udruženja prisustvovao je službeno ispred kotarskog ureda u Srebrenici Oto Masner, a Islamska čitaonica u Srebrenici je otvorena tek tri godine poslije gašenja Numunei islahije, tj. 1910. godine. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 33, 1907, 19/164)

ed for a green banner with a crescent moon and a star. Kiraethana in Stolac as many others, had a special stamp with its name. Kiraethana in Goražde has decided that its sign should be “a flag in the land’s and Turkish language” (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139). The flag stood above the entrance to the facilities where the kiraethana was housed, and was a sign of recognition for all passers-by.

It should be noted that the County office was not only a formal first step in accepting the regulations, some regulations they have returned on their own even before forwarding them to the National Government. Such case occurred with the Muslim kiraethana in Jezero. Derviš-bey Filipović and Smail-bey Kulenović on behalf of the 49 inhabitants of Jezero, made a complaint to the National Government that the County office secretary in Jajce, Radimsky, PhD, did not want to accept their regulations at all. As a reason he stated that in Jezero has two parties that will not agree and afterwards, the other party will ask for another reading room to be established. Given that Jezero is small for two reading rooms, he felt that they should withdraw their regulations, and thus the idea of opening a kiraethana. Aware that the secretary was right, and that greater disagreement might develop among the Muslims of Jezero, they made a decision to listen to him. However, only a month later, the “other side” received confirmed regulations for opening of association called the Association of Islamic Youth and the *Tamburica* (little tambourine) Society in Jezero. They further write that they would gladly join that association but that they only accept those under 40 years of age. The National Government granted their request and allowed them to open the Islamic kiraethana. (ABiH, NGS, n. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Given that any change in work had to be reported by access to the materials, we can say that most of the requests addressed to the National Government were related to the name of kiraethana and changes in the regulations to whom shall remain the property after their closure. The Islamic kiraethana in Goražde demanded a change in the regulations six years after its opening. In the explanation, they stated that many of their members died in the meantime, and that the others did not care about the survival of the association, so they suggested to add Islamic to the name, and in a case of associations closure, their all assets will go to the Sinan-bey mosque in Goražde instead to the Foundation for poor in Goražde. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

We also want to state that some kiraethanas in smaller places have arisen from the Associations. An example of this is Srebrenica, where the *Udruženje Numunei islahije – pokušaj napredka* (Association of Numunei islahije – attempt to progress) after several months of work with the basic goal of “nurtur-

3. Sastav i struktura članova kiraethana

Ko su bili ljudi koji su stajali iza osnivanja, imena i rada muslimanskih kiraethana i koja je struktura zanimanja preovladavala u njihovom sastavu, veoma su važna pitanja. Odgovori na ova pitanja kriju se u popisima članova koje su kiraethane dostavljale Zemaljskoj vladi. Želimo naglasiti da je jedinstveno za sve kirathane bilo to što su njihovi članovi bili isključivo muškog spola. Ovo naglašavamo zbog toga što u jednom članku objavljenom u *Beharu* 1906. godine autor ukazuje na to da su u Kazanu u Rusiji u jednoj islamskoj kiraethani dozvolili pristup i ženama. Međutim, on navodi da su one su mogle dolaziti u kiraethanu samo u određene dane i određeno vrijeme, ali da u to vrijeme muški članovi nisu dolazili u kiraethanu i obratno. U istom članku se navodi kako je to najvjerovatnije jedinstven slučaj (*Behar* IV (20): 317). Činjenica da se ova vijest prenijela u pozitivnom svjetlu vjerovatno je imala za cilj uliti nadu da bi se to nekada moglo desiti i u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Kada je riječ o članstvu, pored činjenice da su svi bili muškog spola, možemo reći i da su to uglavnom bile najuglednije osobe dotičnog mjesta. To je bilo logično s obzirom na to da se djelovanje kiraethane oslanjalo ponajviše na sposobnost njenih članova. U pojedinim mjestima skoro kompletno članstvo bilo je iz iste porodice.

Prema dostupnim dokumentima broj članova u kiraethanama u manjim mjestima se kretao između 25 i 105 članova. Pojedine kiraethane imale su veći broj članova prilikom osnivanja nego nakon nekoliko godina rada i obratno. Interesantno je da je Islamska kiraethana u Gračanici kada je osnovana 1903. godine imala ukupno 63 člana, a da je Turska čitaonica i knjižnica koja je osnovana u istom gradu sedam godina poslije imala odmah nakon osnivanja čak 240 članova (Sarić 2002, 46). Pretpostavljamo da je Turska čitaonica imala bolju organizaciju i bila atraktivnija širim masama.

Članovi kiraethana su se dijelili na one prvog, drugog, a ponegdje i trećeg reda. Pojedine kiraethane, poput višegradske Islamske kiraethane, imale su i počasne članove (ABiH, ZVS, k. 16, 1904, 19/53). Svaka kiraethana imala je, pored odbora sa predsjednikom i zamjenikom, još i tajnika, blagajnika i knjižničara. U manjim mjestima svaka funkcija je predstavljala veliki značaj, a pojedinci su često zloupotrebljavali tu funkciju i koristeći lični animozitet odnosili se prema ostalim članovima. Do koje mjere je to išlo najbolje govori primjer Omera Čanića, policajca u Odžaku. On je, želeći da postane član kiraethane, došao direktno kod tajnika koji mu je rekao: "Mi ne trpimo odnosno ne primamo osoba sa sabljama!" Nakon toga se Čanić učlanio u udruženje Hubbul-vatan (Ljubav prema domovini). Ovaj događaj komentarisala je i štampa napomi-

ing harmony and love, spreads the idea of anti-alcoholism, educates social members by reading various newspapers and other scientific works and kitābs", decided to close down the association and in its place, establish kiraethana. Given the detailed regulations on the work of the Association's library, we assume that it was already formed and rich, which could greatly facilitate the work of kiraethana. It is interesting that *Numunei islahije* stated in the Regulation's Article 35 that "every member except officials, officers and voluntary contributors who are not members of the society, have to give an honest word that they will not drink alcoholic beverages for at least 3 months." Given the great popularity of alcoholic beverages, this regulation may have been the reason why the Association did not have enough members with whose membership fee they could at least pay the rent. This is also indicated by the statement of the Association founders, in which they say that "according to the attitude of the local Islamic youth, there is no hope that social relations could improve" and were therefore forced to close down the association. Otto Mosner officially attended the closing of the Association in the name of the County office in Srebrenica, and the Islamic Reading Room in Srebrenica was opened only three years after the closure of *Numunei islahija*, i.e. in 1910. (ABIH, NGS, b. 33, 1907, 19/164)

3. Membership constitution and structure in kiraethana

Who were the people behind the establishment, name and work of the Muslim kiraethanas and what structure of profession prevailed in their constitution are very important questions. The answers to these questions are hidden in the lists of members that were submitted by kiraethanas to the National Government. We want to emphasize that uniqueness of all kirathanas was the fact that all their members were exclusively of a male population. This is emphasized because of the article published in *Behar* in 1906, where author points out that women in Kazan, Russia, were allowed access to an Islamic kiraethana. However, he states that they could come to kiraethana only on certain days and at specified time, but that at that time male members did not come to kiraethana and vice versa. The same article states that this is most likely a unique case (*Behar* IV (20): 317) The fact that this news was conveyed in a positive manner, it was probably intended to give hope that sometimes it could also happen in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When it comes to membership, in addition to the fact that they were all male, we can say that they were mainly the most prominent people in the places concerned. This was logical given that the work of kiraethana relied mostly on the ability of its mem-

njući da je “žalosno” da “Jedan tajnik, koji ravna cijelim društvom, da tako odbija članove od M. čitaonice!” Autor članka je sve pripisao ličnom opredjeljenju tajnika navodeći: “Taki je taj gosp. tajnik, ako ne drži, da je dotični – osvjedočeni srbin – on ga ne prima u čitaonicu (kiraethanu.)” (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2).

Čanić je bio samo jedan od mnogih koji su bez razloga odbijeni kao članovi kiraethana. Međutim, pojedini primjeri ukazuju na to da su se odbijeni članovi ponekad grupisali i pristupali formiranju novog udruženja. Takav je primjer Dervente. Nakon što je 19 muslimana odbijeno da bude primljeno u kiraethanu, oni su formirali Muslimansko napredno udruženje *Ikdām*. Jedan od osnivača ovog udruženja u članku objavljenom u listu *Bošnjak* piše kako je to udruženje postalo “trn u oku” lokalnoj kiraethani. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (47): 3)

O odnosima unutar kiraethana također govori i brojnost glasova za članove odbora. Kao primjer navest ćemo izbor odbora kiraethane u Livnu koji se održao u maju 1907. godine. Tom prilikom je Salih Softić izabran za predsjednika sa ukupno 65 glasova, njegov zamjenik Mujaga Dizdar dobio je samo 35 glasova, dok je Hafiz Jusuf Selimović izabran za tajnika sa čak 103 glasa! Nešto malo manje od njega, tj. 97 glasova dobio je Mustafa Latifić kao blagajnik, a Hasan Čefo je za poziciju knjižničara dobio 37 glasova. Najmanje glasova dobio je Hafiz Salih ef. Delalić koji je postavljen na mjesto revizora sa 35 glasova. Dakle, tajnik je dobio 38 glasova više nego predsjednik, što ukazuje na to da Softić i nije imao apsolutnu podršku za tu funkciju. Ovi glasovi također govore da nije bio potreban natpolovičan broj za izbor na neku funkciju. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Kada se radi o kiraethani u Livnu, neophodno je napomenuti da je prema strukturi zanimanja ona bila dosta specifična. Naime, u njenom članstvu bilo je, pored veleposjednika, posjednika i trgovaca, koji su u svim kiraethanama činili većinu članstva, još i opančara, pekara, aščija, imama, terzija, voćara, mutevelija, obučara, mesara... Slična struktura, iako ne tako šarolika, bila je u kiraethani u Goraždu, gdje su u članstvu bili i po jedan urar i postolar. Ovo šarenilo unutar strukture članova jasno ukazuje na to da su u radu kiraethane učestvovala sve zanatlijske grane koje su egzistirale u dotičnoj čaršiji. Za razliku od njih, u Duvnu su od 65 članova samo mesar, kahvedžija i brijač pripadali nekom od zanata, a svi ostali su bili veleposjednici, posjednici ili trgovci. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Dosta specifičan sastav članstva imala je i kiraethana u Jezeru. U popisu članova 1906. godine bili su i kaser, subaša, težak, sin težaka, ali i sinovi posjednika i veleposjednika. Iako se ne radi o djeci koja su bila na školovanju u nekom od centara, Zagrebu ili

bers. In some places, almost the entire membership was from the same family.

According to available documents, the number of members in kiraethanas in smaller towns ranged between 25 and 105 members. Some kiraethanas had a larger number of members at the time of their establishment than after several years of operation and vice versa. It is interesting that the Islamic kiraethana in Gračanica, when it was founded in 1903, had a total of 63 members, and that the Turkish Reading Room and Library, which was founded in the same city seven years later, had as many as 240 members immediately after its founding. (Sarić 2002, 46) We assume that the Turkish reading room had a better organization and was more attractive to the wider masses.

The members of the kiraethana were divided into members of the first and second order, and in some places also into members of the third order. Some kiraethanas, such as the Islamic kiraethana in Višegrad, also had honorary members (ABiH, NGS, b. 16, 1904, 19/53). Each kiraethana in addition to a board, with a president and a deputy, had a secretary, treasurer, and librarian. In smaller places, each function was of great importance, and individuals often abused that function and used personal animosity to treat other members. The extent to which this went is best illustrated by the example of Omer Čanić, a police officer in Odžak. Wanting to become a member of the kiraethana, he came directly to the secretary who told him: “We do not tolerate or accept people with swords!” After that, Čanić joined the *Hubbul-vatan* (Love for the Homeland) association. The press also commented on this event, noting that it was “sad” that “One secretary, who governs the whole association, rejects the members from M. reading room!” The author of the article attributed everything to the personal orientation of the secretary, stating that “That kind is Mr. secretary, if he does not hold that the concerned person – is a certifiable Serb – he is not accepting him in the reading room (kiraethana.)” (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2.) Čanić was just one of many who were rejected as members of the kiraethana for no reason. However, some examples indicate that rejected members sometimes grouped and approached the formation of a new Association. Such example is in Derventa. After 19 Muslims have been refused to join kiraethana, they formed the Muslim Progressive Association *Ikdām*. One of the founders of this association writes in an article published in the newspaper *Bošnjak* that this association has become an “eyesore” of the local kiraethana. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (47): 3)

The relations within the kiraethana are also indicated by the number of votes for the board members. As an example, we will mention the election of the kiraethana committee in Livno, which took place

Sarajevu, te su sasvim logično mogli biti članovi, ovaj podatak ipak jasno ukazuje na to koliko je bilo prestižno biti član kiraethane u malom mjestu. Njihova imena u sklopu članstva trebala su poslati poruku Zemaljskoj vladi koliko Jezero ima pismenih ljudi te da su pojedini, iako na školovanju daleko, još uvijek dio te čaršije, ali i da se čaršija ponosi njima. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Većinski sastav svih kiraethana u manjim mjestima činili su veleposjednici i posjednici. Iako su oni materijalno imali najviše mogućnosti za pomoć kiraethanama, u pojedinim gradovima su upravo oni smatrani preprekom za modernizaciju. Njihov broj je bio presudan za svaku odluku, a pojedini listovi koji nisu podržavali njihove ideje nazivali su ih “sredovječnom i nadutom aristokratijom”, dok su za pojedince navodili kako “dolaze iz 16. stoljeća”. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2)

U sklopu članstva nisu bili samo ljudi iz dotičnog mjesta. U kiraethani u Gacku od 65 članova, više od 10 je bilo iz okolnih sela, ali i iz drugih gradova, poput Gračanice i Stoca. U pojedinim gradovima kiraethanu je faktički vodila jedna porodica. Tako je u Glamoču 1907. godine od ukupno 30 članova njih 18 bilo Filipovića. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139) Ista porodica bila je najbrojnija i u Islamskoj čitaonici u Ključu, gdje je od ukupno 51 člana njih 23 bilo iz porodice Filipovića, a Sulejman-beg Filipović je kao član kiraethane obećao na tri mjeseca besplatno ustupiti kuću za potrebe udruženja. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Moramo istaći da je državna administracija rijetko bila dio članstva kiraethana, osim gradonačelnika i zaposlenika šerijatskih sudova. Pored njih ponegdje se spominje i drugo osoblje, ali izuzetno rijetko. U Islamskoj kiraethani u Srebrenici kao članovi upisani su, pored osoblja šerijatskog suda, kadije i pisara, ovrhovitelj i sudski glasnik. Neke od kiraethana su i osnovane na inicijativu kadija. Višegradska kiraethana bila je jedna od njih, a kadija Hafizović Abdulah ef. je uz Bakarević Zuhdi ef., upravitelja ispostave u Rudom, bio potpisnik i zahtjeva upućenog vladi za otvaranje ove kiraethane. Mehmed ef. Čosović se dvije godine nakon dolaska u Nevesinje, kao mladi kadija, sa 30 godina pridružio grupi koja je zahtijevala otvaranje muslimanske kiraethane. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Pojedine kiraethane su u sklopu pravila imale starosnu granicu, te su se u nju mogle učlaniti samo mlađe generacije. Međutim u većini kiraethana to nije bio slučaj i sve punoljetne generacije su bile uglavnom zastupljene. U Muslimanskoj kiraethani u Nevesinju bila su ukupno 42 člana; najstariji je bio Salih-beg Bašagić sa 62 godine, a obnašao je funkciju gradonačelnika i veleposjednika, dok su najmlađi bili posjednici Muhamed Muftić i Hilmi-beg Bašagić sa po 18 godina. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

in May 1907. On that occasion, Salih Softić was elected president with a total of 65 votes, his deputy Mujaga Dizdar received only 35 votes, while Hafiz Jusuf Selimović was elected secretary with as many as 103 votes! Slightly less than him, i.e. 97 votes, Mustafa Latifić received as treasurer, and Hasan Čefo received 37 votes for the position of librarian. Hafiz Salih effendi Delalić received the least votes and was appointed auditor with 35 votes. Therefore, the secretary received 38 votes more than the president, which indicates that Softić did not have absolute support for that position. These votes also say that simple majority was not needed to be elected to a position. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

When it comes to kiraethana in Livno, it is necessary to mention that according to the structure of professions, it was quite specific. In fact, besides the landowners, proprietors and merchants who made up the majority of the membership in all the kiraethanas, members were also makers of shoemakers of the traditional leather footwear, bakers, cooks, imams, tailors, fruiterers, trustees, shoemakers, butchers... A similar structure, although not so colourful, was in the kiraethana in Goražde, where the membership included one watchmaker and one cobbler. This diversity within the structure of the members clearly indicates that all the artisan branches that existed in the concerned community participated in the work of the kiraethana. In contrast, in Duvno, from the number of the 65 members, only the butcher, taverner and barber belonged to one of the trades, and all the others were landowners, proprietors or merchants. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

The kiraethana in Jezero also had a very specific membership formation. In the list of members in 1906, there were also a cashier, an administrator, a farmer, the son of a farmer, but also the sons of proprietors and landowners. Although these are not children who were educated in one of the centres, Zagreb or Sarajevo, and quite logically could be members, this information clearly indicates how prestigious it was to be a member of kiraethana in a small town. Their names as part of the membership were supposed to send a message to the National Government how many literate people Jezero has and that some of them, although far away, on studies, are still part of that community, but also that the community is proud of them. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

The majority of all kiraethanas in the smaller towns were made up of landlords and proprietors. Although they materially had the most opportunities to help the kiraethanas in some cities, they were considered as an obstacle for modernization. Their number was crucial to any decision, and some newspapers that did not support their ideas called them “medieval and arrogant aristocracy,” while they were suggest-

U pravilima je obično stajalo da “član može biti svaki musliman odrasli neporbeni otmeni te umno razvijen bosansko hercegovački pripadnik”. Prema dostupnim podacima to pravilo se uglavnom i poštovalo. Međutim, uvijek ima izuzetaka. Jedinствен slučaj desio se u Muslimanskoj kiraethani u Stocu 1904. godine. Naime, pred kraj te godine u kiraethanu je kao redovan član primljen predstojnik Draganić. Sama kiraethana napisala je kako je to “prvi slučaj što je ovo mjesni činovnik nemusliman stupio u naše društvo”. Međutim, oni su zbog toga morali mijenjati pravila te dodati da u članstvo kiraethane mogu stupiti činovnici svih vjera. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Većina kiraethana je zvanično ograničenje za primanje u članstvo dovodila u zavisnost od vladanja pojedinca i “moralnih odnošaja”. Na ponašanje se pratilo i nakon primanja u članstvo, te je svaki ispad mogao značiti i isključenje. U manjim mjestima je to predstavljalo veliki problem, jer je izbačena osoba tim činom bila uvrijeđena, ali i ponižena u cijelom mjestu. Stoga ne čudi da su se ti pojedinci žalili i Zemaljskoj vladi zbog toga. Jedna takva tužba na upravu kiraethane u Bosanskom Petrovcu dostavljena je 1907. godine. U žalbi je pisalo kako su 32 osobe podnijele žalbu što nisu primljeni u članstvo kiraethane, nakon čega je samo njih 8 bilo primljeno. Prema dopisima jasno se vidi da su ostali bili članovi, ali da su isključeni jer su stvarali “nered”. Odbor kiraethane je također naveo kako su im davali zapisničke ukore, nakon čega su im izbačeni članovi verbalno prijetili. Kompletan spor je riješen u korist uprave. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

S obzirom na to da se radilo o manjim mjestima, jedan dio članova je bio nepismen, a njihova želja da budu dio članstva kiraethane može se objasniti sa više razloga. Kao prvo, tu su mogli slušati dok neko pismen čita štampu, ali ukoliko žele i naučiti pisati i čitati latinično pismo. Ovo nam potvrđuje i jedan dopis iz Ključa, u kojem se navodi kako imaju “dosta članova koji ne znaju čitati ni pisati, a željni su potrebe za tim uvidjaju, da bi se time smanjio broj analfabeta”. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252) Ovo ne znači da nisu znali arapsko pismo, ali je mjeru pismenosti u tom periodu odražavalo poznavanje isključivo latiničnog pisma.

4. Finansiranje kiraethana

Kiraethane su se finansirale od članarina, donacija i prikupljenih sredstava na zabavama. Iako su članarine bile važan segment u punjenju blagajni, ipak, s obzirom na skroman broj članova u manjim mjestima, taj prihod nije mogao biti ključan za njihov rad. Sama visina članarine zavisila je od mjesta do mjesta i na nju je uticala i materijalna mogućnost članova kiraethane. Visina članarine se kretala od 1 do 2 krune mjesečno. Višegradaska kiraethana je na-

ing for some individuals that “they are coming from the 16th century.” (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2)

The membership did not include only people from the concerned place. In the kiraethana in Gacko, out of 65 members, more than 10 were from the surrounding villages, but also from other towns such as Gračanica and Stolac. In some towns, kiraethana was actually run by one family. Thus, in Glamoč in 1907, out of a total of 30 members, 18 of them were from the family Filipović. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139) The same family was the most numerous in the Islamic Reading Room in Ključ, where out of a total of 51 members, 23 were from the Filipović family, and Sulejman-bey Filipović, as a member of the kiraethana, promised to make his house available for the needs of the association for three months free of charge. (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

We must point out that the state administration was rarely part of the kiraethana membership, except the mayor and the employees of the Sharia courts. In addition to them, other staff is mentioned in some places, but extremely rarely. In Srebrenica, in addition to the staff of the Sharia court, qadi and scribe, in Islamic kiraethana, bailiff and messenger of the Court were registered members. Some of the kiraethanas were also founded on the initiative of the qadi. Kiraethana in Višegrad was one of them, and qadi Hafizović Abdulah effendi, along with Bakarević Zuhdi effendi, administrator of the Branch office in Rudo, was also a signatory of the request addressed to the Government for the opening of this kiraethana. Two years after arriving in Nevesinje, Mehmed effendi Čosović, as a young qadi at the age of 30, joined a group that demanded the opening of a Muslim kiraethana. (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

As part of the rules, some kiraethanas had an age limit, and only the younger generations could become a member. However, in most kiraethanas this was not the case and all adult generations were mostly represented. There was a total of 42 members in the Muslim kiraethana in Nevesinje; the oldest was Salih-bey Bašagić at the age of 62, and he held the position of mayor and landowner, while the youngest were the proprietors Muhamed Muftić and Hilmi-bey Bašagić at the age of 18. (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

The rules usually stated that “a member can be any adult Muslim, undisputed, classy and mentally evolved member of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” According to the available information, that rule was generally respected. However, there are always exceptions. Unique case occurred in the Muslim kiraethana in Stolac in 1904. Before the end of that year, the presiding officer Draganić was accepted as a regular member in kiraethana. Kiraethana wrote

plaćivala svim članovima po jednu krunu mjesečno, dok su kiraethane u Ključu i Gradačcu odredile da iznos članarine bude 1 krunu i 20 helera. Kiraethane u Nevesinju i Brčkom su pravile distinkciju prema redu članova, tako su oni prvog reda plaćali iznos od 2 krune, a oni drugog reda 1 krunu mjesečno. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Ako napravimo komparaciju sa drugim čitaonicama, vidjet ćemo da su one uglavnom imale manji iznos članarine. Tako je Hrvatska čitaonica u Gornjem Vakufu odredila za članove prvog reda 1 krunu mjesečno, dok su članovi drugog reda plaćali samo 40 helera. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 16, 1904, 19/53) Tako nisku članarinu nismo pronašli niti u jednoj muslimanskoj kiraethani u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Kada su u pitanju donacije, dostupni dokumenti ukazuju na to da su ugledni članovi često donirali duple iznose članarine ili sume koje bi bile dovoljne za osnovni rad. Tako su svi članovi Ključke kiraethane, prije nego što su uplatili članarinu, donirali isti iznos od 1 krune i 20 helera za njen rad. Donaciju od po 5 kruna dali su i članovi kirathane u Bosanskoj Gradiški prilikom njenog otvaranja. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 52, 1906, 19/252) Nismo sigurni da li su stanovnici koji su iselili iz Bosne davali posebne donacije za kiraethane, ali Suljkić piše da su iseljenici iz Trebinja koji su se nalazili u Čikagu poslali 1906. godine sumu od 500 kruna za izgradnju mekteba u Gorici kod Trebinja. (Suljkić 1992, 39) Još je potrebno navesti da su se donacije za pojedine kiraethane mogle dati u posebne kutije koje su se nalazile u dućanima i radnjama povjerljivih vlasnika.

Najviše prihoda kiraethane su sakupljale prilikom organizovanja raznih zabava, prodajom karata i igranjem tombole. Zbog masovnih posjeta na njima prihod je bio dosta veliki, ali je njegova podjela uvijek bila najavljena prije same zabave. Polovina prihoda se tako uglavnom dijelila, dok se druga zadržavala u blagajni. Travnička kiraethana je u januaru 1910. godine u prostorijama Grand Hotela "Vlašić" organizovala zabavu. Prihode koje su tom prilikom dobili bili su podijeljeni na sljedeći način: pola od ukupne sume bilo je namijenjeno siromašnima grada Travnika "bez razlike vjere", dok je druga polovina data društvenoj blagajni (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2) Redovna donacija od zarada na zabavama slana je Gajretu. Godine 1905. kiraethana u Gacku je organizovala zabavu, a prihod je podijelila na sljedeći način: pola u korist čitaonice, četvrtina u korist Gajreta, a četvrtina u korist sirotinje. Iste godine u junu kiraethana u Bileći je priredila zabavu, a prihod je bio namijenjen: pola za gradnju nove mektebi-ibtidaije u Zaušlju kod Bileće, a pola u korist društvene blagajne. (*Bošnjak* XV (23): 3) Iako se suma dijelila na više dijelova, njena visina nije bila zanemarljiva. Godine 1909. kiraethana u Cazinu je organizovala zabavu na kojoj je prikupljeno ukupno

that this was "the first time that a local non-Muslim official has joined our association." However, because of that, they had to change the rules and add that officials of all religions could join the kiraethana. (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

Most kiraethanas made the official restriction on membership dependent on an individual's conduct and "moral relations." Behaviour was monitored even after admission to membership, and any excess could mean exclusion. In smaller places, this was a big problem, because the excluded person was offended by this act, but also humiliated throughout a place. It is therefore not surprising that these individuals also complained to the National Government about their exclusion. One such complaint against the kiraethana administration in Bosanski Petrovac was sent in 1907. The complaint stated that 32 people had complained that they had not been admitted to the kiraethana membership, after which only 8 of them had been admitted. According to the letters, it is clear that the others were members but were excluded because they were creating a "mayhem." The kiraethana committee also stated that they were given written reprimands after which the excluded members verbally threatened them. The complete dispute was resolved in favour of the administration. (ABiH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Since these were smaller places, some members were illiterate, and their desire to be part of the kiraethana membership could be linked to several reasons. First of all, they could listen to someone literate while reads the press, but also if they want to learn to write and read the Latin alphabet. This is confirmed by a letter from Ključ, which states that they have "a lot of members who cannot read or write, they are eager and understand that it would reduce the number of illiterates." (ABiH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252) This does not mean that they did not know the Arabic alphabet, but the measure of literacy in that period was reflected only by the knowledge of Latin alphabet.

4. Kiraethana financing

Kiraethanas were funded by membership fees, donations and funds raised at parties. Although membership fees were an important segment in treasury uploading, given the modest number of members in smaller towns, this income could not be crucial for their work. The amount of the membership fee itself depended on the place and was influenced by the material possibility of the members of the kiraethana. The membership fee ranged from 1 to 2 kronas per month. Kiraethana in Višegrad charged all members one krone per month, while the kiraethana in Ključ and Gradačac determined that the membership fee was 1 krone and 20 hellers. The kiraethanas in Nevesinje and Brčko made a distinction accord-

168 kruna, od čega su Gajretu poslana 42 kruna. (*Gajret* III (5): 39) Iste godine Islamska kiraethana povodom Bajramske zabave sakupila je 12 kruna i 91 heler koje je također poslala Gajretu. (*Gajret* III (1–2): 10) Pored Gajreta, koji je redovno dobivao dio prihoda od kiraethana širom Bosne i Hercegovine, određena suma povremeno se slala i drugim za muslimane važnim institucijama i projektima. Tako je Banjalučka kiraethana samo za hidžasku željeznicu 1905. godine sakupila čak 5.000 kruna. (*Bošnjak* XV (50): 1)

Interesantno je da su ukupni prihodi kiraethana u manjim mjestima bili dosta solidni u odnosu na velike gradove. Na to nam ukazuje podatak da je Sarajevska kiraethana tokom 1903. godine ostvarila prihode u iznosu od 1740 kruna i 75 helera, dok su im rashodi iznosili 1654 kruna i 82 helera (*Behar* IV (19): 302), dok je Turska čitaonica u Bosanskoj Gradišci 1906. godine ostvarila prihod od 3053 kruna i 25 helera! (Suljkić, 1992)

Potrebno je još napomenuti da su pojedine kiraethane imale svoje prostorije koje su dobile kao donaciju ili su ih kupile od vlastitih prihoda, što je olakšavalo rad jer su prostorije bile sigurne, a kirija se nije morala plaćati.

5. Zabave i druge sekcije unutar kiraethane

Jedan on načina na koji su se sakupljala materijalna sredstva bilo je organizovanje zabava, predstava i drugih kulturnih dešavanja. Pojedine kiraethane su u pravilima kao cilj upisivale “davanje zabava u čitaoničke i različite dobrotvorne svrhe”. Druge su naglašavale da je svrha postojanja vidna kroz priređivanje “zabava, izleta, diletantskih predstava...” (ABiH, ZVS, k. 16, 1904, 19/53) Gledano u cjelini organizovanje društvenih događaja bilo je izuzetno važno za opstanak kiraethana, jer su oni bili jedan od načina punjenja blagajne.

Iako su u manjim mjestima kiraethane dosta rjeđe priređivale zabave, one su predstavljale posebne događaje, te je posjećenost bila izuzetno velika. Posebno velike proslave sve kiraethane su organizovale povodom bajramskih praznika. Neko od prisutnih je o onome što se dešavalo na zabavi redovno izvještavao različite časopise. Najdetaljnije izvještaje sa zabava je prenosio list *Bošnjak*. Tako iz ovog lista saznajemo da je Islamska kiraethana u Nevesinju 1906. godine održala zabavu u hotelu “Bilić”. Na zabavi je učestvovala “c. i kr. vojnička muzika pješačka pukovnija broj 82.”, a nakon toga je pred publikom izvedena pozorišna predstava “Abdullah Paša” “od našeg hvale vrijednog Safetbega Bašagića” kako je stajalo u objavi. (*Bošnjak* XVI (27): 2) Da se repertoar nije mijenjao godinama jasno pokazuje obavijest o zabavi Travničke kiraethane u januaru 1910. godine u prostorijama Grand Ho-

ing to the order of members, so those of the first order paid the amount of 2 kronas, and those of the second order 1 krone per month. (ABIH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252)

If we make a comparison with other reading rooms, we will see that they generally had a smaller membership fee. The Croatian Reading Room in Gornji Vakuf specified 1 krone per month for members of the first order, while members of the second order paid only 40 hellers. (ABIH, NGS, b. 16, 1904, 19/53) We did not find such a low membership fee in any Muslim kiraethana in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When it comes to donations, the available documents indicate that distinguished members often donated double amount of the membership fee or sums that would be sufficient for basic work. That's how all members of kiraethana in Ključ donated the same amount of 1 krone and 20 hellers for its work before they have paid the membership fee. During the opening of the kirathana in Bosanska Gradiška, every member gave a donation of 5 kronas. (ABIH, NGS, b. 52, 1906, 19/252) We are not sure whether the inhabitants who emigrated from Bosnia made special donations for kiraethanas, but Suljkić (1992, 39) writes that the emigrants from Trebinje, who were in Chicago, sent in 1906 a sum of 500 kronas for the construction of a maktab in Gorica near Trebinje. It should also be noted that donations for certain kiraethanas could be given in special boxes located in the shops and stores of a trusted owners.

The kiraethanas collected the most income by organizing various parties, selling tickets, and playing raffle. Due to the massive attendance on them, the income was quite large, but its sharing was always announced before the party itself. Half of the income was mostly shared while the other part of income remained in the treasury. Kiraethana in Travnik organized a party in January 1910 in the premises of the Grand Hotel “Vlašić”. The income they received on that occasion was divided as follows: half of the total amount was intended for the poor of the city of Travnik “regardless of religion” while the other half was given to the social treasury. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2.) A regular donation of earnings at parties was sent to *Gajret*. In 1905, kiraethana organized a party in Gacko, and the income was divided as follows: half in favour of the reading room, a quarter in favour of *Gajret*, and a quarter in favour of the poor. In June of the same year, the kiraethana in Bileća organized a party and the income was intended: half for the construction of a new ibtida'i mekteb in Zaušlje near Bileća, and half for the benefit of the social treasury. (*Bošnjak* XV (23): 3) Although the sum was divided into several parts, its amount was not insignificant. In 1909, kiraethana in Cazin organized a party and a total of

tela "Vlašić". Tokom zabave je planirana izvedba muzičke numere "Džezair orientalna koračnica", a zatim ista predstava "Abdullah Paša" autora Safvet-bega Bašagića. Kao posljednja tačka te večeri bila je planirana tombola, a nakon toga su prisutni mogli plesati i zabavljati se po volji, kako je naznačeno u objavi. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2)

Pored ovih predstava, na zabavama su se izvodile i predstave autora Hamida Šahinovića-Ekrema. On je jednom prilikom čak objavio i oglas u kojem je pisalo da ukoliko neko "društvo ili kiraethana kani prilikom koje zabave predstavljati koji od mojih komada 'Gjavopod cergom', 'Orden' i 'Punicu', to umoljavam, da se prije dotično društvo javi kod uredništva 'Behara'". Uz napomenu da će se izvedba dozvoliti svima te da je cilj javljanja "samo onako da znamem, dokle dopiru moje komedije". (*Bošnjak* XIV (39): 3)

Pojedine kiraethane, poput one u Jezeru, imale su u svom sklopu i tamburaška društva. Turska kiraethana u Bugojnu 1910. godine putem oglasa u listu *Musavat* tražila je "Zborovogju za tamburice". U oglasu su naveli da pružaju besplatnu sobu za smještaj uz koji nude i "ogrev i svetio". Kandidati su trebali poslati odgovore na sljedeća pitanja "1. Za koliko može naučiti notalno. 2. Za koju cijenu mjesečno. 3. Svjedodžbe." Oglas je ponavljan više puta. (*Musavat* V (9): 4)

Međutim, u sklopu kiraethana nisu egzistirale samo muzičke i dramske sekcije, dosta često u njihovom sklopu su bila i antialkoholna društva. U jednom broju časopisa *Gajret* objavljeno je pojašnjenje kako je najbolje da "čitaonička i antialkoholistička društva" budu zajedno te da bi se "lahko mogle sve naše kiraethane u takova društva pretvoriti. Svrha bi tih društava bila, da šire blagotvornu ideju protiv pića, da rade na kulturnom podizanju našega naroda, da bude uspavane narodne sile i oživljuju naš zamrzli život..." Na kraju članka autor nudi da ukoliko bi "koja kiraethana ili ko drugi pokušao ovako društvo osnovati, neka se obrati na potpisanog preko; 'Gajret'-a, koji će im po jedan primjerak pravila poslati i time im mehanički posao olakšati". (*Gajret* II (1 i 2), 3) I zaista veliki je broj ovih društava koja su bila u sklopu kiraethana. To ne čudi s obzirom na to da je jedan broj kiraethana u svojim pravilnicima predviđao borbu protiv alkoholizma. Muslimanska kiraethana u Brčkom je 1906. godine samo nekoliko dana nakon otvaranja formirala antialkoholno društvo u koje se upisalo 50 članova kiraethane. To je ujedno bilo treće antialkoholno društvo u sklopu kiraethana u Bosni i Hercegovini. Interesantno je da su pored Brčkog još samo kiraethane u Foči u Višegradu imale ovo odjeljenje. (*Behar* VI (20): 317) Potrebno je još napomenuti da je godine 1907. u Brčkom Suljaga Eminagić formirao posebno antialkoholno društvo *Ikbal*. Nije nam poznato da li se

168 kronas was collected, of which 42 kronas were sent to *Gajret*. (*Gajret* III (5): 39) In the same year, the Islamic kiraethana on the occasion of the Eid party collected 12 kronas and 91 hellers, which were also sent to *Gajret*. (*Gajret* III (1-2): 10) In addition to *Gajret*, who regularly received part of the income from kiraethanas throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, a certain amount was occasionally sent to other institutions and projects important to Muslims. That's how, in 1905, kiraethana in Banja Luka collected as much as 5,000 kronas just for the Hejaz railway. (*Bošnjak* XV (50): 1)

Interestingly, the total income of kiraethanas in smaller towns was quite solid compared to large towns. This is indicated by the fact that the kiraethana in Sarajevo in 1903 generated revenues in the amount of 1740 kronas and 75 hellers, while their expenditures amounted to 1654 kronas and 82 hellers (*Behar* IV (19): 302), while the Turkish reading room in Bosanska Gradiška in 1906 generated income of 3,053 kronas and 25 hellers! (Suljkić 1992)

It should also be noted that some kiraethanas had their own premises which they received as a donation or bought from their own income, which facilitated the work because the premises were safe and the rent did not have to be paid.

5. Parties and other sections within kiraethana

One of the ways in which material assets were collected was the organization of parties, performances and other cultural events. Some kiraethanas wrote in the regulations "giving parties for reading room and various charitable purposes." Others emphasized that the purpose of existence is visible through the organization of "parties, excursions, amateur performances..." (ABIH, NGS, b. 16, 1904, 19/53) Taken as a whole, the organization of social events was extremely important for the survival of kiraethana, because they were one of the ways to fill the treasury.

Although in smaller places kiraethanas held parties infrequently, they were special events, and the attendance was extremely high. Especially big celebrations were organized by all kiraethanas on the occasion of the Eid holidays. Some of attendees were reporting to the various journals, on regular basis, about what went at the party. The most detailed reports from the parties were circulated by the newspaper *Bošnjak*. That is how we learn from this paper that the Islamic kiraethana in Nevesinje in 1906 held a party at the "Bilić" hotel. The "Imperial and Royal Military music of Infantry regiment no. 82" participated in the party, and later, the theatrical play "Abdullah Paša" (Abdullah Pasha) "from our praiseworthy Safvet-bey Bašagić" was performed in front of the audience, as it was indicated in the announcement. (*Bošnjak* XVI (27): 2) That the repertoire has

nakon toga ono koje je djelovalo u sklopu kiraethane ugasilo. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 33, 1907, 19/164)

Godine 1911. u sklopu Islamske kiraethane u Nevesinju organizovan je i gimnastički odsjek sa imenom Đerzelez. Vijest o formiranju tog odsjeka prenijela je i Muslimanska sloga naglasivši da “s oduševljenjem pozdravljamo ovaj korak ‘Islamske kiraethane’ u Nevesinju uz poklik: ‘I drugi se u vas ugledali!’ U zdravu tijelu – zdrava duša.” (*Muslimanska sloga* II (51): 3)

U većim gradovima kiraethane su imale i više sekcija tako je na jednoj od sjednica sarajevske kiraethane Safvet-beg Bašagić predložio da se u sklopu Islamskog omladinskog udruženja koje su željeli osnovati formiraju i sljedeće sekcije “za gombanje, potpomaganje siromaha, literarnu sekciju, sekciju za tamburanje i pjevanje i druge...” (Sarić 2005, 260)

6. Život unutar kiraethane

Kiraethane su u manjim mjestima predstavljale centar društvenih zbivanja. Koliko su bile važan segment svakodnevnog života ilustruje i tekst objavljen povodom otvaranja kiraethane u Žepču 1906. godine, u kojem se ukazuje kako su u manjim mjestima “primitivne prilike” te kako su kiraethane izuzetno važne za napredak i obrazovanje. (*Behar* VI (21): 333) Hazim Muftić u jednom od svojih poučnih tekstova iz 1910. godine piše kako su kiraethane centri života te kako pored čitanja u njima svaki član može da uživa u čaju, kahvi, limunadi ili sirupu od ruže. Uz odabrano piće čitale su se novine, ali i razgovaralo o politici i ostalim dešavanjima ne samo u Bosni nego i mnogo šire. Muftić piše kako si “htio ne htio” morao saznati “Šta je s Sirijom, Grčkom, Makedonijom, šta je novog u Engleskoj ili Njemačkoj”. (*Gajret* III (11) :176-178) Veoma je važan odabir uživanja koji je Muftić naveo. Naime cilj je bio kiraethanom zamijeniti kafanu te uz koristan razgovor i bez alkohola družiti se. Kafana, birtija ili mehana smatrane su mjestima gdje se “vjerski moral potkapa”. (*Behar* VI (21): 333)

Upravo ovi razgovori unutar kiraethana gdje se redovno čitala štampa i pratila dešavanja bili su izuzetno važni za širenje političkih ideja i priključivanje određenim partijama nakon njihovog osnivanja. Iz mostarske kiraethane je pokrenut bunt pokreta za vjersko i vakufsko-mearifsku autonomiju. (Hasan-dedić 2001, 200). U tome ni male kiraethane nisu zaostajale. Svaki glas i svaka čaršija bili su izuzetno važni ne samo za muslimanske partije i organizacije koje su formirane nego i za vlast koja je nadzirala situaciju. Posebno jer su članovi bili iz raznih profesija. Sve što bi čuli u kiraethani oni bi dalje mogli širiti svojim mušterijama. Također su u članstvu manjih kiraethana bili i ljudi iz okolnih sela tako

not changed for years is clearly shown in January 1910 by the party announcement of the kiraethana in Travnik in the premises of the Grand Hotel “Vlašić.” During the party, a performance of the instrumental performance “Cezayir Oriental March” and then the same play “Abdullah Paša” by Safvet-bey Bašagić is planned. As the last act of that evening, a raffle was planned, after which attendees could dance and have fun as they want, as it was indicated in the announcement. (*Bošnjak* XVIII (5): 2)

In addition to these plays, at the parties were also performed plays by the author Hamid Šahinović-Ekrem. On one occasion, he even published an advertisement in which it was written that “if any association or kiraethana intends to present any of my pieces ‘Gjavo pod cergom’ (Devil under tent), ‘Orden’ (Medal) and ‘Punica’ (Mother-in-law) at the party, I ask the concerned association to contact Behar editorial office.” With the remark that the performance will be allowed to everyone and that the goal of reporting is “just to know how far my comedies reach.” (*Bošnjak* XIV (39): 3)

Some kiraethanas, such as the one in Jezero, also had *tamburica* (little tambourine) societies. In 1910, the Turkish kiraethana in Bugojno, through an advertisement in the newspaper *Musavat*, asked for “Conductor for tambouras.” In the advertisement, they stated that they provide a free room for accommodation, along with which they also offer “heating and lights.” Candidates were required to submit answers to the following questions: “1. For how long can he learn notal. 2. For what price per month. 3. Certificates.” The advertisement was repeated several times. (*Musavat* V (9): 4)

However, not only music and drama sections existed within the kiraethanas, quite often anti-alcohol societies were also their part. An issue of journal *Gajret* clarified that it was best for “reading-room and anti-alcohol societies” to be together and that “all our kiraethanas could easily be transformed into such societies. The purpose of these societies would be to spread a beneficial idea against liquor, to work on the cultural upliftment of our people, to wake up asleep folk’s forces and to revive our frozen life...” At the end of the article, the author offers that if “any kiraethana or anyone else would try to establish such society, should turn to the undersigned ‘Gajret’, which will send them a copy of the regulations and thus make their mechanical work easier.” (*Gajret* II (1 and 2): 3) And there are indeed a large number of these societies that were part of kiraethanas. This is not surprising given that a number of kiraethanas in their regulations foresaw the fight against alcoholism. In 1906, just a few days after its opening, the Muslim kiraethana in Brčko formed an anti-alcohol society with 50 members of the kiraethana. It was also the third anti-alcohol society within kiraethana

da se vijest i misao kiraethane mogla proširiti dosta brzo i dosta daleko.

Kako bi se povećao broj članova, odbori su pokušavali vrijeme u kiraethani učiniti što zanimljivijim. Pojedini su predlagali veće aktiviranje svih članova “naučnika” ili onih koji “proučavaju” knjige. Oni su trebali bar jednom sedmično organizovati “učevne zabave”. Također je predloženo da odbor kiraethana nabavi tablu na kojoj bi pojedinci pisali neko interesantno ali poučno pitanje o kojem bi se naknadno moglo raspravljati. (*Bošnjak XVI* (2): 1)

Nakon formiranja političkih stranaka, kiraethane su se podijelile, a sam odabir časopisa koji je dolazio redovno u kiraethanu govorio je kojoj političkoj opciji članstvo pripada. Kiraethana u Mostaru je u martu 1907. godine izbacila listove *Glasnik* i *Musavat*. (*Bošnjak XVII* (10): 2) List *Samouprava* redovno je kritikovao Ujedinjenu muslimansku organizaciju zbog čega se kiraethana u Ljubinju obratila javnosti sa obavještenjem da je njihova “kiraethana izbacila ‘Samoupravu’ radi njenih drskih napadaja na predstavnike ‘Ujedinjene Muslimanske Organizacije’”. Oni su također apelovali “na sva islamska društva, da ‘Samoupravi’ ne dozvole pristup u njihove prostorije”. (*Zeman I* (26), 3) Propaganda protiv listova bila je prisutna u svim kiraethanama širom Bosne i Hercegovine. Bojkot se nije odnosio samo na štampu. I druga izdanja su zavisno od sadržaja bila zabranjena. Tako je nakon izlaska “Safija-hanumine brošure” 1911. godine kiraethana u Brčkom objavila da neće tu “gnjusnu brošuru” rasprodavati. (*Zeman I* (14): 3)

Probleme unutar kiraethana najbolje ilustruje sljedeća rečenica “Manjkavost novina..., samovolja nametnutih tutora i političkih pristanika...” Ona ukazuje na to da je problem međuljudskih odnosa i prenošenje ličnih animoziteta za upravu kiraethane bilo veliki problem. To potvrđuje i list *Bošnjak* koji piše kako se nakon odlaska Akif ef. Biserovića iz Travnik u “kiraethani počinju bivati koje kakove nekorektnosti i stvari, koje se protive društvenim pravilima”. Kao primjer za to navodi se kako su tri člana te kiraethane udaljila jednog “gjaka iz višeg razreda srednje škole” rekavši mu da se “u interesu društva udalji iz čitaonice”. List je smatrao da je to samo mržnja koju su oni imali prema tom đaku i to zbog toga jer je on “kao i svaki inteligentan čovjek – naprednjak, a ova trojica, bar za dvojicu znamo pozitivno, da su srbofili”. Članak dalje navodi kako je za takvo ponašanje kriv predsjednik koji nije poduzeo ništa te da “riba s glave smrdi” aludirajući na to da je i predsjednik kiraethane istih uvjerenja. (*Bošnjak XVIII* (5): 2)

Tursko-islamska kiraethana u Bosanskom Petrovcu je 1905. godine bila optužena kod Kotarske oblasti u Bihaću zbog nekorektnog odnosa prema pojedincima. Naime, 32 osobe su podnijele zajedničku mo-

in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is interesting that in addition to Brčko, only the kiraethanas in Foča in Višegrad had this department. (*Behar VI* (20): 317) It should also be noted that in 1907 in Brčko Suljaga Eminagić formed special anti-alcoholic society *Ikbāl*. It is not known to us if the anti-alcohol society within the kiraethana was closed after formation of *Ikbāl*. (*ABIH, NGS*, b. 33, 1907, 19/164)

In 1911, as part of the Islamic Kiraethana in Nevesinje, a gymnastics department called *Đerzelez* (*Gerzelez*) was organized. The news about the formation of that department was also conveyed by the *Muslimanska sloga*, emphasizing that “we enthusiastically welcome this step of the ‘Islamic kiraethana’ in Nevesinje with the cheers: ‘Others should looked up to you!’ In a healthy body – a healthy soul.” (*Muslimanska sloga II* (51): 3)

In larger towns, kiraethanas also had several sections, so at one of the sessions of the kiraethana in Sarajevo, Safvet-bey Bašagić suggested that “the following sections, which they wanted to have, be formed within the Islamic Youth Association: exercising, helping the poor, literary section, section for playing *tamburica* (small tambourina) and singing, etc...” (*Sarić* 2005, 260)

6. Life within kiraethana

Kiraethanas were the centres of social events in smaller places. How important segment of everyday life they were, it is illustrated by a text published on the occasion of the opening of kiraethana in Žepče in 1906, which indicates that in smaller places there are “primitive opportunities” and that kiraethanas are extremely important for progress and education. (*Behar VI* (21): 333) In one of his educational texts from 1910, Hazim Muftić writes that kiraethanas are the centres of life and that in addition to reading in it, each member can enjoy tea, coffee, lemonade or rose syrup. Along with the chosen drink, newspapers were read, but also politics and other events not only in Bosnia but a much wider area, were discussed. Muftić writes that “whether you wanted or not” you had to find out “What is up with Syria, Greece, Macedonia, what is new in England or Germany.” (*Gajret III* (11): 176-178) The choice of enjoyment mentioned by Muftić is very important. The goal was to replace the tavern with kiraethana and socialize with useful conversation and without alcohol. A tavern, inn or meyhanes were considered as places where “religious morality is undermined.” (*Behar VI* (21): 333)

These conversations within the kiraethana, where the press was regularly read and events were followed, were extremely important for spreading political ideas and joining certain parties after their establishment. A revolt of the movement for religious

lbu da budu primljeni kao članovi te kiraethane, ali ih je samo osmero dobilo pozitivan odgovor. Iz zapisnika tokom saslušanja uprave i podnositelja žalbe saznajemo da su oni već bili članovi kiraethane, ali da su *pravili nered* te da su redovno “zapisničke ukore dobivali”. Svaka strana je demantovala optužbe, a nažalost nismo uspjeli pronaći dokumente koji pokazuju kako se ovaj spor riješio. (ABiH, ZVS, k. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Pojedinci se nisu žalili samo Kotarskoj oblasti, oni su prava redovno tražili i putem štampe. Godine 1907. u Muslimanskoj kiraethani u Ključu došlo je do kulminacije problema između uprave i pojedinih članova, tako da je na skupštini u prisustvu 40 članova traženo da se Kulenović izbací iz članstva. Kao razlog navedeno je da je on “na jednom mjestu rekao, da mi je odbor kiraethane i članovi ‘leder’ od cipela”. Kulenović dalje piše kako je on to zaista i rekao “ali ne članovima i svemu odboru, nego samo nekima, koji zbilja boljeg epiteta i ne zaslužuju” imenično navodeći ljude za koje je smatrao da su razlogom što se “kiraethana pretvorila u prostu kafanu; psovke, svagja i prostota” te one koji napadaju “sve one koji s njima u isti rog ne pušu...” On na kraju zaključuje: “Mene ste gospodo, uprav počastili, što me izključiste iz toga društva... Kakvi red u našoj kiraethani i prostote vladaju i to baš od samog odbora, dosti je to reći, da se isti od strane kotarske oblasti globe radi bezobraznih psovki. Zato na takvom društvu sto put hvala.” (*Bošnjak* XVII (45): 5) Ova objava trebala je široj javnosti ukazati na razloge isključenja Kulenovića, ali i na njegov stav prema odboru kiraethane. Međutim, ona ponajviše govori o svakodnevnim problemima koje su kiraethane unutar svog rada i djelovanja imale i sa čim se sve članstvo trebalo boriti. Ovakvih primjera bilo je još, ali svi oni poput navedenih upućuju na to koliko je kompleksan odnos unutar kiraethana vladao, posebno u malim mjestima gdje su se privatni, politički i društveni animoziteti ispoljavali na malom prostoru, a svaka izgovorena riječ prenosila i dosta često postajala javna.

Da situacija nije svugdje bila ista pokazuje primjer Trebinja, gdje se islamska kiraethana “ušljed neprijateljskog rovarjenja – razdvojila”. Međutim, članovi su shvatili da je bolje da su ujedinjeni pa su predali zahtjev odborima da “se obje kiraethane opet sjedine”. Oni su naveli da “nije sad već nužno da smo razdvojeni obzirom na to, pošto je sada ukinuta ona zapreka, koja nas je dovela doвле...” (*Bošnjak* XVIII (44): 3)

S obzirom na to da su se u kiraethanama držala i politička predavanja, vlast je strogo nadzirala ko će govoriti. Olakšanje je došlo nakon aneksije i formiranja Bosanskohercegovačkog sabora. Nakon toga su uglavnom članovi sabora posjećivali kiraethane u manjim mjestima, kako bi propagirali političke

and waqf-educational autonomy was launched from the kiraethana in Mostar (Hasandedić 2001, 200). In this sense, even the small kiraethanas were never far behind. Every vote and every community were extremely important not only for the Muslim parties and organizations that were formed but also for the government that controlled the situation. Especially since the members were from various professions. Everything that they would hear in kiraethana they could further spread to their customers. Also in the membership of the smaller kiraethanas were people from the surrounding villages so that the news and thought of the kiraethana could spread quite quickly and quite far.

In order to increase the number of members, the committees tried to make the time in kiraethana as interesting as possible. Some suggested greater activation of all members “scientists” or those who “study” books. They were supposed to organize “educational parties” at least once a week. It was also suggested that the kiraethana committee provide a board on which individuals would write an interesting but instructive question that could be discussed later. (*Bošnjak* XVI (2): 1)

After the formation of political parties, the kiraethanas split, and by the choice of the journals that came regularly in the kiraethana, spoke to which political option membership belonged to. In March 1907, kiraethana in Mostar removed the journals *Glasnik* and *Musavat*. (*Bošnjak* XVII (10): 2) The newspaper *Samouprava* regularly criticized the United Muslim Organization, for which the kiraethana in Ljubinje addressed the public with the information that their “kiraethana excluded ‘Samouprava’ because of its insolent attacks on the representatives of the ‘United Muslim Organization’.” They also appealed to “all Islamic societies not to allow ‘Samouprava’ access to their premises.” (*Zeman* I (26): 3) Propaganda against the press was present in all kiraethanas throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The boycott was not just about the press. Other editions were also banned, depending on the content. That’s how, after the publication of the “Safija-hanumina brošura” (Mrs. Safiyya brochure) in 1911, the kiraethana in Brčko announced that they would not sell this “awful brochure”. (*Zeman* I (14): 3)

The problems within kiraethanas are best illustrated by the following sentence: “Lack of newspapers..., arbitrariness of imposed tutors and political supporters...” It points out that the problem of interpersonal relationships and the transmission of personal animosities to the administration of kiraethana was a big problem. This is also confirmed by the newspaper *Bošnjak*, which writes that after the departure of Akif effendi Biserović from Travnik, in the “kiraethana some inaccuracies and things are starting, which are contrary to social rules.” As an

stavove, ali i upoznali se sa životom stanovnika. Jedan od njih bio je Čamil ef. Karamehmedović, član Bosanskog sabora iz Mostara. On je 1911. godine posjetio kiraethanu u Ljubinju, a njegova posjeta je izazvala veliko interesovanje, što je bilo specifično za manja mjesta. Kiraethana je "bila dubkom puna naših gragjana, i ako nisu ni pozvani bili toliki posjetioci. Ali pošto je bilo svakome mило, da svoga poslanika vidi, radi toga su društvene prostorije bile prepune muslimana. Tom nas je prilikom g. Karamehmedović u kratko izvjestio o svom dosadašnjem radu u zemaljskom saboru. Prisutni su bili veoma zadovoljni sa radom svoga poslanika, te se moglo na licima prisutnih čitati veliko zadovoljstvo. Obito se naših gragjana ugodno dojmila fuzija, koja je učinjena među našom 'narodnom organizacijom' i 'musl. samostalnom strankom'." Iz ovog teksta jasno vidimo koliko je važna bila kiraethana za muslimane iz manjih mjesta. Ona im je predstavljala ne samo mjesto za razgovor i čitanje nego ih je i uključivala u društveno-politički život i direktno ih upoznavala sa njima.

7. Zaključak

Nakon austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine sve do tada otvorene kiraethane širom Bosne i Hercegovine bile su zatvorene. Novoj upravi bila je potrebna cijela decenija da formira prvu muslimansku kiraethanu. Njeno otvaranje dalo je poticaj da se kiraethane počnu otvarati u svim mjestima, smatrajući da su one od ključne važnosti za obrazovni razvoj. Kiraethane su vrlo brzo postale sinonim za razvoj kulture i njen napredak, posebno u manjim mjestima, gdje je izbor obrazovnih institucija, udruženja i društava bio ograničen.

Tačan broj muslimanskih kiraethana koje su aktivno radile tokom austrougarske uprave teško je precizno definisati. Međutim, na osnovu dostupnih izvora možemo tvrditi da ih je bilo najmanje 100. Prvi korak u otvaranju kiraethane bilo je pisanje pravila koja su preko kotarske oblasti adresirana na Zemaljsku vladu. Uz pravila Zemaljskoj vladi dostavljana su i imena svih prijavljenih članova i privremenog Odbora. Pravila su se uglavnom prepisivala od kiraethane do kiraethane, ali je Zemaljska vlada provjeravala svaki član. Tako je odobravanje pravilnika ponekad bilo samo uslovno do ispravke određenih članova koje bi Zemaljska vlada zahtijevala. U Pravidima je obavezno stajalo i ime kiraethane, kao i obilježja, ukoliko su ih imali, to su uglavnom bile zastave. Muslimanske kiraethane imale su nekoliko standardnih naziva: Muslimanska kiraethana, Islamska čitaonica, Turska kiraethana, Turska čitaonica i sl.

Nakon osnivanja kiraethane, birao se odbor i otvarala mogućnost za primanje novih članova. Članovi kiraethane bili su uglavnom najuglednije osobe dotičnog mjesta. Broj članova se kretao između 25 i

example of this, it is stated that three members of that kiraethana distanced one "high school student from senior class", telling him to "leave the reading room in the interest of society." Journal thought that it was only the hatred they had towards that student, and that was because he was "like any intelligent man – a progressive, and these three, at least for two, we know positively, that they are Serbophiles." The article further states that the president, who did nothing, is to blame for such behaviour, and that "a fish rots from the head down" alluding that the president of the kiraethana is of the same beliefs. (*Bošnjak XVIII (5): 2*)

In 1905, a Turkish Islamic kiraethana in Bosanski Petrovac was accused by the Bihać County for improper treatment of individuals. 32 people submitted a joint application to be accepted as members of that kiraethana, but only eight of them received a positive answer. From the minutes during the hearing of the management and the complainant, we learn that they were already members of the kiraethana but *that they made a mayhem* and that they regularly "received reprimands from the minutes." Each side has denied the allegations, and unfortunately we have not been able to find documents indicating how was this dispute resolved. (ABIH, NGS, b. 31, 1907, 19/139)

Individuals have not only complained to the County, they regularly sought rights through the press. In 1907, in the Muslim kiraethana in Ključ, the culmination of the problem between the management and individual members took place, and at the assembly in the presence of 40 members was requested that Kulenović be expelled from the membership. As a reason, it is stated that he "said at one location that the board of kiraethana and the members for him are shoes 'leather'." Kulenović further writes that he really said that "but not to the members and the whole board, but only to some, who really do not deserve a better epithet." Directly listing people he considered to be the reason why "kiraethana turned into a common tavern; curses, quarrels and profanity" and to those who are attacked "all those who don't blow their trumpet as them..." In the end, he concludes: "Gentlemen, you have honoured me with exclusion from that society... It is enough to say what kind of order and profanity rule in our kiraethana, from the committee itself and the same are fined for rude swears by the County. Therefore, thanks a bunch for such association." (*Bošnjak XVII (45): 5*) This announcement was supposed to point out to the general public the reasons for Kulenović's exclusion, but also his attitude towards the kiraethana committee. However, it mostly talks about the everyday problems that the kiraethanas had within their work and activities and what all the membership had to deal with. There have been more such examples, but all

105, a u pojedinim mjestima većina članova bila je iz iste porodice. Članovi kiraethana su se dijelili na one prvog, drugog, a ponegdje i trećeg reda. U pojedinim kiraethanama bili su i počasni članovi. Prema zanimanjima najviše je bilo veleposjednika, posjednika i trgovaca. Pored njih, redovni članovi su bili pripadnici raznih zanata koji su egzistirali u dotičnom mjestu, poput opančara, pekara, aščija, imama, terzija, voćara, mutevelija, obučara, mesara itd. Iako je državna administracija rijetko bila dio članstva kiraethana, osoblje šerijatskih sudova bili su redovni članovi, ali i inicijatori otvaranja kiraethana.

Kiraethane su se finansirale od članarina, donacija i prikupljenih sredstava na zabavama. Iako su članarine bile važan finansijski prihod, njihova ukupna suma nije bila dovoljna za funkcionisanje kiraethane. Visina članarine zavisila je od mjesta do mjesta i na nju je uticala i materijalna mogućnost članova kiraethane, a kretala se od 1 do 2 krune mjesečno. U pojedinim kiraethanama visina članarine je zavisila od reda kojem je član pripadao. Donacije su uglavnom dolazile od najuglednijih članova kiraethane, ali najviše prihoda sakupljalo se prilikom organizovanja raznih zabava, prodajom karata i igranjem tombola. Zbog masovnih posjeta na njima prihod je bio dosta veliki. Tačna podjela prihoda sa ovih zabava bila je najavljena prije njenog početka. Pojedine kiraethane su jedva uspijevale finansijski opstati, dok su druge imale sasvim solidne prihode, koje su mogle dijeliti i u razne dobrotvorne svrhe. Određeni iznos redovno se slao Gajretu, društvu za kulturno-prosvjetno podizanje muslimana.

Razna kulturna dešavanja su bila ključna za sakupljanje materijalna sredstva. Pojedine zabave poput bajramskih bile su redovne, dok su pojedine organizovane povremeno. Prilikom organizovanja zabave, večer je bilo podijeljena na nekoliko sekcija, najčešće su to bile predstave i tombola. Pojedine kiraethane su imale u svom sklopu i tamburaška društva. Dosta često je unutar kiraethana bilo organizovano i antialkoholno društvo. Godine 1911. u sklopu Islamske kiraethane u Nevesinju po prvi put je organizovan i gimnastički odsjek sa imenom Đerzelez.

Sasvim je jasno da su kiraethane u manjim mjestima predstavljale centar društvenih zbivanja. Iako se smatraju pretečama modernih biblioteka, moramo istaći da su one u isto vrijeme bile preteča i kulturno-umjetničkih društava i drugih udruženja koja će tek decenijama poslije zaživjeti u pravom smislu. One su trebale biti zamjena za kafane u kojima se *dangubilo*, mjesto gdje se redovno čitala štampa i pratila razna političko-društvena dešavanja. Posebno važne su postale nakon formiranja političkih stranki koje kiraethane vide kao mjesto za širenje ideja. To je uticalo i na odabir časopisa koji je dolazio redovno u kiraethanu, a sve zavisno koju je

of them indicate how complex the relationship within kiraethana was, especially in small places where private, political and social animosities manifested themselves in a small space, and every spoken word was transmitted and often became public.

That the situation was not the same everywhere is indicated by the example of Trebinje, where the Islamic kiraethana “due to enemy plotting – separated.” However, the members realized that it was better to be united, so they submitted a request to the committees that “both kiraethanas unite again.” They stated that “it is not necessary to be separated now, since the obstacle that brought us to here, has been removed now...” (*Bošnjak* XVIII (44): 3)

Given that political lectures were also held in the kiraethanas, the Government strictly controlled who would speak. Relief came after the annexation and formation of the Diet of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After that, members of Diet mostly visited kiraethanas in smaller places, in order to propagate political views but also to get acquainted with the life of the inhabitants. One of them was Ćamil effendi Karamehmedović, a member of the Diet of Bosnia from Mostar. He visited kiraethana in Ljubinja in 1911, and his visit caused great interest, which was specific to smaller places. Kiraethana “was chock-full of our citizens, although so many visitors were not even invited. But since everyone was glad to see their representative, the common rooms were full of Muslims. On that occasion, Mr. Karamehmedović briefed us on his work so far in the National Assembly. Those present were very satisfied with the work of their MP, and great satisfaction could be read on the faces of those present. Our citizens were especially impressed by the fusion, which was made between our ‘national organization’ and ‘musl. independent party’.” From this text we can clearly see how important kiraethana was for Muslims from smaller places. It was not only a place for them to talk and read, but it was also including and introducing them directly into socio-political life.

7. Conclusion

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, the hitherto opened kiraethanas throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina were closed. It took the new administration a whole decade to form the first Muslim kiraethana. Its opening gave incentive for kiraethanas to start opening in all places, believing them to be crucial for educational development. Kiraethanas very quickly became synonym for the development of culture and its progress especially in smaller places where the choice of educational institutions, associations and societies was limited. The exact number of Muslim kiraethanas who actively worked during the Austro-Hungarian rule

političku opciju podržavao. Pored političke podijeljenosti, problem međuljudskih odnosa i prenošenje ličnih animoziteta na članove predstavljao je veliki problem. S obzirom na to da su se u kiraethana držala i politička predavanja, vlast je strogo nadzirala ko će govoriti. Olakšanje je došlo nakon aneksije i formiranja Bosanskohercegovačkog sabora. Nesumnjivo je da su kiraethane za muslimane iz manjih mjesta predstavljale ne samo mjesto za razgovor i čitanje nego i mjesto gdje su bili uključeni u društveno-politički život ma koliko daleko bili od centra. Nažalost podjele unutar kiraethana i lični animozitet članova često su bili najveći problem za ugled kiraethane, ali i njen rad i napredak.

is difficult to define precisely. However, based on the available sources, we can claim that there were at least 100 of them. The first step in opening the kiraethana was to write regulations that were addressed to the National Government through the County. In addition to the regulations, the names of all registered members and the temporary Committee were submitted to the National Government. The regulations were mostly rewritten from kiraethana to kiraethana but the National Government checked each act. That is how, the approval of the Regulation was sometimes only conditional until the correction of certain articles that the National Government required. The Regulations obligatorily stated the name of the kiraethana as well as the markings, if they had them, and they were mainly banners. Muslim kiraethanas had several standard names: Muslim kiraethana, Islamic reading room, Turkish kiraethana, Turkish reading room and similar.

After the establishment of kiraethana, a committee was elected and the possibility of accepting new members opened up. The members of the kiraethana were generally the most eminent persons of the concerned place. The number of members ranged between 25 and 105, and in some places most members were from the same family. The members of the kiraethanas were divided into those of the first, second, and sometimes third order. In some kiraethanas there were also honorary members. According to professions, most were landowners, proprietors and merchants. In addition to them, the regular members were members of various trades that existed in the concerned place, such as: shoemakers of the traditional leather footwear, bakers, cooks, imams, tailors, fruiterers, trustees, shoemakers, butchers, etc. Although the state administration was rarely part of the membership of the kiraethanas, the staff of the Sharia courts were regular members but also the initiators of the kiraethanas establishing.

Kiraethanas were funded by membership fees, donations and funds raised at parties. Although membership fees were an important financial income, their total amount was not sufficient for the functioning of kiraethana. The amount of the membership fee depended from place to place and was influenced by the material possibility of the members of the kiraethana, and ranged from 1 to 2 kronas per month. In some kiraethanas, the amount of the membership fee depended on the order to which the member belonged. Donations mostly came from the most prominent members of kiraethana but most income was collected by organizing various parties, selling tickets, and playing raffle. Due to the massive attendance on them, the income was quite large. The exact distribution of income from these parties was announced before its beginning. Some kiraethanas

barely managed to survive financially while others had quite a solid income, which they could share for various charitable purposes. A certain amount was regularly sent to *Gajret*, the Society for the Cultural and Educational Raising of Muslims.

Various cultural events were key to raising material funds. Some parties, such as parties for Eid, were regular, while some were organized occasionally. During the organization of the party, the evening was divided into several sections, most often they were performances and raffles. Some kiraethanas also had *tamburica* (little tamboura) societies. Quite often, an anti-alcohol society was organized within the kiraethana. In 1911, as part of the Islamic kiraethana in Nevesinje, a gymnastics department called *Derzelez* (Gerzelez) was organized for the first time. It is quite clear that the kiraethanas in smaller places represented the centre of social events. Although they are considered as the forerunners of modern libraries, we must point out that at the same time they were the forerunners of cultural and artistic societies and other associations that will only come to life in the true sense decades later. They were supposed to be a substitute for taverns where people

were *dawdling*. A place where the press was regularly read and various political and social events were followed. They became especially important after the formation of political parties that saw the kiraethana as a place to spread ideas. This also influenced the choice of a journals that came regularly in kiraethana, all depending on the support of the political option. In addition to political separations, the problem of interpersonal relations and the transmission of personal animosities on members was a major problem. Given that political lectures were also held in the kiraethanas, the government strictly controlled who would speak. Relief came after the annexation and formation of the Diet of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is no doubt that kiraethanas for Muslims from smaller places were not only a place to talk and read but also a place where they were involved in socio-political life, no matter how far from the centre they lived. Unfortunately, the separations within kiraethana and the personal animosity of the members were often the biggest problem for the reputation of kiraethana but also for its work and progress.

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