

Empire, Nation, and the Islamic World:  
Bosnian Muslim Reformists between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1901-1914

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2019

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## ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is a study of the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Pan-Islamist reform movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, tracing its origins and trans-imperial development with a focus on the years 1901-1914. Its central figure is the theologian and print entrepreneur Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938), who returned to his Austro-Hungarian-occupied home province from extended studies in the Ottoman lands at the start of this period with an ambitious agenda of communal reform. Čaušević's project centered on tying his native land and its Muslim inhabitants to the wider "Islamic World"—a novel geo-cultural construct he portrayed as a viable model for communal modernization. Over the subsequent decade, he and his followers founded a printing press, standardized the writing of Bosnian in a modified Arabic script, organized the country's Ulema, and linked these initiatives together in a string of successful Arabic-script, Ulema-led, and theologically modernist print publications. By 1914, Čaušević's supporters even brought him to a position of institutional power as Bosnia-Herzegovina's Reis-ul-Ulema (A: ra'īs al-'ulamā'), the country's highest Islamic religious authority and a figure of regional influence between two empires.

Methodologically, the project functions on two primary levels. The first is a close reading of the reform movement's multilingual and multi-scriptural periodical press and publishing scene, situating this fin-de-siècle Muslim print culture in its late imperial and trans-regional context. The second is a prosopographical approach to the polyglot generation of writers and theologians who stood behind it, emphasizing networks of collaboration, education, and kinship that tied them both to the wider world and previous generations of Bosnian scholars. The dissertation ultimately argues

that Čaušević and his movement emerged from and represented a locally grounded tradition of Muslim cosmopolitan reform, which insisted on religious instruction in the Bosnian vernacular not at the expense of the classical languages of higher Islamic learning or the Ottoman (and later Habsburg) imperial order, but rather as a foundation that would enable Muslims to pursue the former and buttress the latter as well. In making this case, the project contributes to the wider historiography on empires and nationalism in Eastern and Southeast Europe, reconsidering the role of multilingualism in imperial demise and moving beyond the prevailing top-down focus on Muslims and other ethno-religious minorities as beleaguered subjects of nationalizing states. At the same time, it serves as a Bosnian case study for outstanding concerns in global Islamic intellectual history, arguing that the late and post-Ottoman Balkans played an active and underappreciated role in the formation of transnational Pan-Islamist thought during the late imperial period.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For all the solitary endeavor that it inevitably entailed, completing this dissertation has only affirmed my appreciation for the many others who made it possible. There are so many, in fact, that I worry I will not be able to list all those to whom I owe my gratitude, though the least I can do is try. Whatever this project's merits, they undoubtedly owe much to the mentorship and support of the people listed in the following few pages; its faults, by contrast, are entirely my own.

To begin with, I am indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, and above all to my advisor Mark Mazower. Without Mark, I am not sure I would have even had the opportunity to pursue this project at Columbia in the first place. His mentorship, patience, and support throughout my graduate studies have been invaluable, and his depth of historiographical knowledge and keen stylistic eye remain a model to which I aspire. I am grateful to have been able to train as a Balkanist under a historian of his caliber and intellectual horizons.

I must also thank Rashid Khalidi for joining my committee during the final stretch and making his critical contribution to a successful defense. Ahmet Tunç Şen has similarly been truly selfless in offering his advice and support during these last few years, particularly when it came to the grueling labor of reading and interpreting Ottoman manuscripts. Cemil Aydın first emerged as an important intellectual influence and source of inspiration for this project well before we met, and I am grateful that I can now count him among my academic mentors as well. Last but not least, Edin Hajdarpašić has been a consistent source of support for nearly my entire graduate career, and the work I have produced has significantly benefited from his incisive insights and analysis.

I also owe much to other faculty with whom I studied during my time at Columbia and in New York City more generally. First and foremost, Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, who has been a



colleague, friend, and tireless advocate, both as a fellow graduate student during my earliest days in Morningside Heights and as a faculty member at Rutgers today. Marwa Elshakry also provided me with important insights during a pivotal stage in this project's development, and I am grateful for her generosity and expertise as an intellectual historian of the modern Middle East. Though Elizabeth Blackmar's research focus on the social history of the United States lay further afield from my own, her teaching and work in seminars on grant writing, historiography, and professional development have profoundly influenced my career. My classes with Holly Case and Larry Wolff at Columbia and New York University respectively also stand as highlights of my graduate studies; I am thankful to both of them for their collegiality and models of historical pedagogy.

Over the course of my studies, I have also benefited greatly from the support of mentors and senior colleagues well beyond Manhattan. As an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, I could not have asked for a kinder and more supportive advisor than John Fine, and the years since have only confirmed the enduring influence he has had on my life and studies. At the same institution, Tatjana Aleksić both served as another important mentor and remains today a valued colleague, and I am grateful to have been able to count on the support of a scholar such as Bob Donia as well. Internationally, I am glad to have had the support of Max Bergholz at Concordia and David Henig at Utrecht, both of whom I admire as models of interdisciplinary scholarship on Bosnia and the Balkans. Within the region itself, I want to acknowledge Dubravka Stojanović in Belgrade, as well as Hilmo Neimarlija, Amina Šiljak-Jesenković, and Enes Karić in Sarajevo, all of whom were selfless in their help during my research in these cities.

The nature of this project means I owe a special debt to my language teachers, particularly those who taught me modern and Ottoman Turkish. This refers above all to Züleyha and İhsan

Çolak at Columbia, whom I had the privilege of learning from during my initial years in the program—thank you so much for everything. In addition to the aforementioned Leyla and Tunç, Abdullah Uğur and Abdullah Karaarslan were also instrumental in helping me through critical documents from the Ottoman archives. Here I should also mention my gratitude to the U.S. Department of State and Education’s Critical Language Scholarship and Foreign Language Area Studies fellowship respectively, which were both critical to my professional development.

I also owe thanks to the archivists and staff at the several research institutions where I spent the greater part of my research and which provided the material foundation for this project. Thank you to Osman Lavić and the staff at the Gazi Husrev-beg Library, who tolerated my never-ending requests for turn-of-the-century publications and countless check-outs at the final minute. Thank you also to Amina Rizvanbegović Džuvić, Narcisa Puljek-Bubrić, Mina Kujović, and the wonderful front desk staff at the Bosniak Institute in Sarajevo. I want to also acknowledge the help of Sanja Tomić at the State Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as Atif Mušinović and Saša Beltram at the Sarajevo City Archives, the latter of whom deserves special mention for his eclectic but consistently pleasant taste in music for the reading room. My thanks further go to Zuhdija Hasanović, Dean of the Faculty of Islamic Sciences at the University of Sarajevo, as well as to Ayten Ardel at the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul.

My studies also benefited from the generous support of both Columbia University’s Graduate School of Arts and Sciences as well as a number of external sources and their grants for research and writing. Among the latter, I am grateful for the support of the Council for European Studies and Harriman Institute during the pre-dissertation stage, as well as the American Research Institute in Turkey and the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies during my

research in Istanbul and Sarajevo respectively. In Bosnia I also drew on the U.S. Department of State's Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award, without which I could not have completed research for my project. Last but far from least, I am very grateful for the support of the Institute of Turkish Studies and its Executive Director, Dr. Sinan Ciddi, who provided indispensable support during the critical final year of my studies.

I had the great fortune to be surrounded by a fantastic group of friends and colleagues throughout my graduate studies, both during my time in New York and across my ensuing academic journeys. I want to acknowledge in particular the support of Victor Petrov, who has been a valued friend from practically our first day in Morningside Heights and all the way through my defense. Our fellow Columbia Balkanist, Suzana Vuljević, has similarly been by my side since we were sophomores at Michigan; I am glad that we were able to pursue our studies together. So many others from Columbia deserve mention: Pete Walker and Melissa Morris, Sean O'Neil, Hannah Elmer, Manuel Bautista Gonzalez, Alana Hein, Etienne Stockland, Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, Chien-Wen Kung, Dominic Vendell, Abigail Kret, Samuel Fury Childs Daly, Alli Powers, Adrien Zakar, Mary Freeman, John Chen, and Linda Lee, whose memory I cherish.

Outside of Columbia, I am grateful for the many friends I have made and retained from Michigan (Saša Bošković, Vlado Beronja, Nevila Pahumi), NYU (Maddie Fichter, James Robertson, Filip Erdeljac, James Callaway), and my varied Balkan and Turkish odysseys (Ana Sekulić and Evren Sünnetçioğlu, Dženita Karić, David Weil, Jenny Kaiser, Murat Altun, Zoe Griffith, Sam Dolbee, Marijana Mišević, Damien, Christin, and all the rest). Thank you also to my friends at the War Childhood Museum in Sarajevo (Jasminko Halilović, Selma Tanović, Amina Krvavac, Sandra, Bakir, Merima, Almedina), the XT crew (Aldin, Amar, Asad), and my companions on the west stand

of Koševo stadium (Damir, Senad, and the rest), with whom I endured a characteristically neurotic few seasons of braving the elements to follow FK Sarajevo.

I want to close by thanking those closest to me, beginning with my fiancée Leyla Omeragić, without whose love and support it is nearly impossible to imagine these past few years of my life. My work on this project has also underscored the historical importance of family ties in structuring individual lives, and I know that my own is a contemporary testament to the same; thank you to the families Buljina, Čurčić, Fočo, Kuduz, Omeragić, Prohić, Rodop, Taljanović, Tanović, and others for nurturing and supporting me before, during, and after my studies. Finally, thank you above all to my parents, Amir and Taida. In moments of struggle, I have often thought back to the sacrifices they have made—across countries and languages, at war and in peace—to ensure a better life for our family. I dedicate this dissertation to them.

Mojim roditeljima

Amiru i Taidi

## Introduction

The book in my hands was at once foreign and familiar. Standing on the floor of the Kubbealtı bookstore and copy shop in the heart of historical Istanbul, I examined its replicate green binding and faded title. The script was Arabic, but the language underneath it one that only specialists could expect: the letters, some of them subtly modified, spelled out “*Islamske dužnosti*” (“the Islamic Duties”) in Bosnian.<sup>1</sup> A subtitle only slightly lower revealed that the original had been published in the Islamic Shareholders’ Printing Press in Sarajevo in 1907, with the explicit sanction of the Ulema Chairmanship. As I would determine following research in the same city’s archives, this institution’s publications frequently coupled such ritualistic prescriptions with instructions on how to read their modified Arabic script; both the message and the medium, it would seem, represented Islamic duties in the eyes of their publishers.

“*Islamske dužnosti*” was the product of a little studied but far-reaching Muslim reform movement and associated print culture in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century under de jure Ottoman sovereignty but de facto Austro-Hungarian rule. This movement, as well as its defining script, developed between the two empires, with roots stretching deep into the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well—a background embodied in its principal figure, the Islamic scholar Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević. Returning to his home province in 1903 after extended theological studies and journalistic work in Istanbul, Cairo, and perhaps as far afield as Zanzibar, Čaušević launched an ambitious program of Pan-Islamist reform that sought to tie his native land and its Muslim inhabitants to the wider “Islamic World,” a novel geo-cultural construct he portrayed as a viable model for communal

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<sup>1</sup> Muhamed Hifzi Muftić, *Islamske dužnosti: vjerska knjiga za svakog muslimana* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1907) [The Islamic Duties: a Religious Book for Every Muslim].

modernization. Over the subsequent decade, Čaušević founded a printing press, standardized the aforementioned Bosnian-Arabic script, organized the country's Ulema, and linked these initiatives together in a string of successful Arabic-script, Ulema-led, and theologically modernist print publications. By 1914, Čaušević's supporters even brought him to a position of tangible institutional power as Bosnia-Herzegovina's Reis-ul-Ulema (A: ra'īs al-'ulamā'), the country's highest Islamic religious authority and a figure of regional and trans-imperial influence.

On a global scale, Čaušević and his Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement belong to one of the most febrile and influential eras of modern Islamic intellectual history. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and for a number of decades thereafter, European military and political dominance combined with advances in communications technologies to give rise to an unprecedentedly global and interconnected Muslim intellectual domain.<sup>2</sup> The growing literature on the historical origins, functioning, and demise of this Muslim "cosmopolis," however, has taken relatively little stock of Muslims in the late- and post-Ottoman Balkans.<sup>3</sup> On a regional level, late Ottoman and modern Balkan historiography has traditionally focused on processes of nationalization, secularization and state-building with reference to European models; to the extent that it features at all, Čaušević's eastward-facing reformism thus appears as an aberration, with historians focusing more on his post-1914 institutional power and relations with the Yugoslav state. The end result is an artificially fragmented historical terrain, obscuring the extent to and ways in which global Islamic intellectual

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<sup>2</sup> James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Shahab Ahmed's coinage of a "Balkan-to-Bengal complex" has been pioneering in this regard for the early modern period. Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam?: The Importance of Being Islamic*, Reprint edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017); See also: Magnus Marsden and David Henig, "Muslim Circulations and Networks in West Asia: Ethnographic Perspectives on Transregional Connectivity," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2019): 11–21.

currents impacted Balkan history and how Bosnia and the Balkans in turn formed a constitutive part of this wider Islamic intellectual web.

This dissertation addresses these lingering lacunae between Southeastern European and Global Islamic intellectual History with a study of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian Pan-Islamist reform movement of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević. It covers in turn its origins, development, and ultimate fraying alongside the great imperial formations that had enabled it, with a focus on the period 1901-1914. I argue that Čaušević and his movement emerged from and represented a locally grounded tradition of Muslim cosmopolitan reform, intimately intertwined with both the previous century's expansion of the modern state and contemporary intellectual links with the wider world, though not simply a product of either. A "vernacular cosmopolitan" approach to language and learning lay at the heart of this tradition: Bosnian Muslim reformists over the long 19th century insisted on the need for religious instruction in the Bosnian vernacular, not at the expense of the classical languages of higher Islamic learning and the Ottoman (and later Habsburg) imperial order, but rather as a foundation that would enable Muslims to pursue the former and buttress the latter as well. By the eve of the First World War, Čaušević's resurgent championing of this tradition had rallied together a singular generation of young Muslim intellectuals, primarily Ulema but with some polyglot lay literati as well, whose combined efforts carved out substantial ethno-confessional autonomy amidst the era's dynamic political changes. With the assassination in Sarajevo in June 1914, however, the reformists essentially had the rug pulled from under their feet no sooner than they had set it down. Both their brief moment of triumph and the wider world that supported it would be swept away and later obscured by the success of state secularist projects and the post-imperial political order in the wider region.



Methodologically speaking, this project functions on two primary levels, the first being a close reading of the contemporary Bosnian Muslim periodical press and publishing scene. Ironically, some of this scene's own participants, such as the bibliophile Osman Asaf Sokolović, frequently bemoaned its shortcomings, citing a small pool of readers and writers, typically in comparison to the wider uneducated masses and purportedly more cultured Muslim publics elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Such complaints shed a certain light on Bosnian Muslim print culture's material challenges and the social outlooks of its contributors, but in other ways appear unfair. Circumscribed but robust, late Austro-Hungarian Bosnia's Muslim print scene produced nearly 20 publications across two languages, three scripts, and all by and for the small fraction of the country's population that could actually read. These print ventures also went far beyond Bosnia itself, linking Muslim readers from student dorms in Vienna to migrant villages in Anatolia. In some cases, subscribers even appeared from as far away as Chicago, or later yet in China.<sup>5</sup> This cosmopolitan aspect perhaps also explains why such a rich source base has been relatively underutilized: many of the journals featured extensive materials in Turkish or wrote their Bosnian in Čaušević's modified Arabic script, while also networking with and relying heavily on often-obscure publications from other corners of the "Islamic World." Drawing on a knowledge of the relevant scripts and languages, complementary archival research in Bosnia and Turkey, the recent digitization of many of the key periodicals, and insights from the ongoing turn in Middle Eastern and Ottoman Studies toward the study of textual cultures in particular local settings,

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<sup>4</sup> Osman A. Sokolović, *Pregled štampanih djela na srpskohrvatskom jeziku Muslimana BiH od 1878-1948* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1957) [Overview of Printed Works in the Serbo-Croatian Language by Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1878-1948].

<sup>5</sup> For subscriptions from Chicago, see: "Zapisnik VI. redovite 'Gajretove' skupštine," *Gajret* 1, no. 10–12 (July 15, 1908): 91 [Notes from Gajret's 6th Regular Assembly]; For the curious appearance of Sarajevo's "Slobodna riječ" Muslim newspaper in republican China, see: John Chen, "Just Like Old Friends': The Significance of Southeast Asia to Modern Chinese Islam," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 31, no. 3 (2016): 694.

this project situates fin-de-siècle Bosnia's Muslim print culture in its late imperial and trans-regional context.<sup>6</sup> In doing so, it ultimately examines what it meant for Bosnia's Muslims to be part of the new, transnational public sphere that underpinned the idea of a wider "Islamic World."

The second major methodological dimension of this project is a prosopography of the generation(s) of multilingual Islamic scholars responsible for the above-mentioned publishing scene. If a close reading of printed works helps trace the reformists' connections and relations to the wider world, a prosopographical perspective also uncovers deeper connections with Bosnia itself: ties of family, mentorship, schooling, and patronage, which cut across the conventional periodization of the region's history and its shifting political boundaries. While this approach has traditionally featured more heavily in classics and medieval studies, its insights prove apt for the late- and post-Ottoman Balkans as well, and in particular for the Ulema class of Islamic scholars at the heart of this project, whose scholarly lineages and influences often pose the same challenges as those of monastic counterparts in previous centuries. Subsequent chapters therefore frequently consider the biographical parallels and relationships between the students, teachers, and writers who drove both the contemporary Islamic reform movement and this dissertation's narrative, gleaning them from obituaries, memoirs, and contemporary references. It highlights, for instance, how Bosnia's primary fin-de-siècle Muslim literary figure and its foremost theologian, representatives of seemingly disparate intellectual strands, were in fact direct scholastic descendants of the same 19<sup>th</sup> century reformist Mufti, or how some of the key early 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamic modernist thinkers in both Bosnia and Turkey could likewise trace their intellectual lineages to a peripatetic preacher in the mountains of Herzegovina nearly half a century earlier. In that sense, this study purposely makes no

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<sup>6</sup> Kathryn A. Schwartz, "Book History, Print, and the Middle East," *History Compass* 15, no. 12 (December 1, 2017).

claim to represent “Bosnian Muslim” (or “Bosniak”) thought as some artificially cohesive ethnic whole. It eschews the “groupist” perspective criticized by sociologist Rogers Brubaker in favor of a stress on these more tangible networks of collaboration and kinship that structured individual lives, ultimately synthesizing them into the history of one important intellectual current in particular and the vision of both local and global community that its adherents sought to achieve.<sup>7</sup>

### Survey of Existing Literature

The historiography of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including topics pertaining to its Muslim population, has largely hewed to an easily identifiable political periodization. From the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463 to 1878, the territory formed part of the Ottoman Empire, leaving these centuries the domain of scholars trained in Ottoman Turkish and the classical Islamic languages. The 1878 Congress of Berlin, which bequeathed the province to the Dual Monarchy, inaugurated the ensuing 40-year Austro-Hungarian period. Culminating with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in June 1914 and the resulting World War, it arguably represents the richest period of Bosnian historiography. The subsequent Yugoslav period covers the two incarnations of the South Slavic state, with the Second World War forming a separate period in its own right. As this project focuses on the roughly decade-and-a-half leading up to the First World War, it technically falls largely within the Austro-Hungarian period as well, though its spatial and temporal reach actually stretches further out as well, incorporating both the late Ottoman period and trans-regional contacts with the Ottoman lands during Austro-Hungarian occupation as well.

The Austro-Hungarian period also represents the focal point for Bosnian cultural and intellectual history as a subfield. According to the established narrative, 1878 stands as a pivotal

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<sup>7</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

rupture, marking the demise of Ottoman influence and a sharp turn toward European models. In the case of Muslims in particular, the literature holds that this definitive break from Ottoman-Islamic civilization provoked an enduring trauma, manifested in mass emigration to the Sultan's remaining domains. It also, however, set the seeds for a "cultural renaissance," as select Muslim youth entered newly built Habsburg public schools and began to re-orient their community toward the West.<sup>8</sup> By the eve of the Great War, these schools, in conjunction with Austro-Hungarian universities, had produced the beginnings of a self-identified Muslim "intelligentsia," which criticized traditional religious authorities and experimented with various South Slavic nationalist ideologies.<sup>9</sup> This stress on Western-style schools as incubators of secular nationalism parallels similar narratives about the origins of Arab and Turkish nationalism, though the former of the two fields in particular has since moved on to more nuanced interpretations.<sup>10</sup> Nuancing this enduring Eurocentric streak in established Bosnian scholarship represents one objective of this project.

Within Bosnian historiography, we can say that this prevailing narrative became entrenched over three distinct waves. The first involved the very participants of the "cultural renaissance" themselves, who either in their anti-clerical polemics at the time or in later memoirs and recollections frequently portrayed their work as a fight against entrenched Muslim conservatism.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Muhsin Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba preporoda (1887-1918)* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1990) [Bosnian Muslim Literature in its Renaissance Period (1887-1918)].

<sup>9</sup> For a representative work in this vein, see: Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga "Gajreta" u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine (1903-1941)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986) [The Role of Gajret in the Social Life of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1903-1941)].

<sup>10</sup> See the introductory essay by C. Ernest Dawn in: Rashid Khalidi et al., eds., *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> Osman Nuri Hadžić represents arguably the foremost published author in this category, though much of the work in this vein appeared in Muslim periodicals such as *Novi Behar*. Osman Nuri Hadžić, "Borba Muslimana za versku i vakufsko-mearifsku autonomiju," in *Bosna i Hercegovina pod Austro-Ugarskom upravom* (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1938)

The second wave occurred during the socialist period, when a new generation of historians and literary scholars revisited many of these earlier intellectuals, particularly in the context of the socialist state's efforts to institutionalize a new "Muslim" nationality during the 1960s and 70s. The last and most recent wave of scholarship developed in the context of the Yugoslav Wars and their aftermath, when Bosnian historians broadly adopted their predecessors' narrative of Westward-oriented proto-nationalization, but this time in the service of "Bosniak" nation building. Notably, the period since the initial recognition of a separate "Muslim" nation in socialist Yugoslavia has also seen a greater scholarly concern for the role of Islam and religious intellectuals in these processes, though not necessarily in opposition to the overarching stress on Europeanization.<sup>12</sup> Broadly speaking, these trends have shaped the current state of the field for domestic scholarship on modern Bosnian Muslim cultural and intellectual history.

Several authors and schools within Bosnian domestic literature deserve special mention, in particular as this project has drawn on their insights and empirical findings. The literary scholar Muhsin Rizvić is responsible for the definitive study of *Behar*, the flagship Muslim literary journal of the Austro-Hungarian period, providing both an exhaustive (and inexhaustibly useful) study of its development and the major statement of the Bosniak-Muslim "cultural renaissance" narrative referred to above.<sup>13</sup> Numerous other works from this late Yugoslav period onward, both on

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["The Muslim Struggle for Religious and Endowment-Educational Autonomy" in Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Administration].

<sup>12</sup> Armina Omerika, "The Role of Islam in the National Identity of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1950-1980," *Islam and Muslim Societies: A Social Science Journal* 2, no. 2 (2006): 351-76; Xavier Bougarel, "Bosnian Islam as 'European Islam': Limits and Shifts of a Concept," in *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 96-124.

<sup>13</sup> Muhsin Rizvić, *Behar: književnoistorijska monografija*. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1971) [*Behar: a Literary-Historical Monograph*].

particular journals and intellectuals as well as on phenomena such as Muslim schooling more broadly, have left new researchers of this era with a broad, if still incomplete, empirical foundation. Scholars working out of the University of Sarajevo's Oriental Institute as well as Islamic institutions such as the Gazi Husrev-beg Library have also produced tremendous work on Bosnia's Islamic manuscripts and other Ottoman-era sources, made all the more valuable by the fact that a significant portion of this cultural heritage got destroyed in the Bosnian War. In more recent times, two authors merit special attention for having made contributions to the intellectual history of Bosnian Islam in particular. Fikret Karčić's work thus represents a pioneering effort to situate Bosnian Muslim reformism, often with a legalist lens, within its global context and engage with wider academic concerns.<sup>14</sup> Enes Karić, meanwhile, has written extensively on the development of Bosnian Islamic modernism, with a particularly keen eye on the history of Quranic translation and exegesis.<sup>15</sup>

Speaking once again more generally, Bosnian works on modern Muslim cultural and intellectual history frequently exhibit one additional problematic tendency, closely related to the Eurocentric streak referred to above: a pronounced skepticism toward the influence of the post-classical Ottoman Empire. More specifically, Bosnian scholarship largely continues to adhere to the now much-maligned "decline paradigm" in Ottoman studies, which holds that the Empire had entered into an all-but-irreversible tailspin no later than the second Siege of Vienna and, in this

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<sup>14</sup> Fikret Karčić, *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma: pokret za reformu šerijatskog prava i njegov odjek u Jugoslaviji u prvoj polovini XX vijeka* (Sarajevo: Islamski teološki fakultet, 1990) [The Socio-Legal Aspect of Islamic Reformism: the Movement for the Reform of Sharia Law and its Echo in Yugoslavia in the First Half of the 20th Century]; Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and Challenges of Modernity: Late Ottoman and Hapsburg Times* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Enes Karić, *Prilozi za povijest islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini XX stoljeća* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2004) [Contributions to the History of Islamic Thought in 20th Century Bosnia-Herzegovina].

particular variant, exercised a largely malign influence on Balkan development ever since.<sup>16</sup> Within Bosniak historiography more broadly, this outlook essentially amounts to a belated internalization of Balkan nationalist tropes long prevalent in the wider region. Perhaps more surprisingly, it also frequently arises among scholars affiliated with Bosnia's Islamic institutions, who over this last post-imperial century have largely emerged from universities in Cairo and elsewhere in the Arab world, leaving Ottoman-era madrasas a convenient historical foil.<sup>17</sup> Several historians working in the Western languages have since made note of this wider discrepancy, with Robin Okey rightly pointing out in his study of Austria-Hungary's Bosnian civilizing mission that "the stress in modern Bosniak historiography on Bosniak detachment from Ottomanism is not altogether confirmed."<sup>18</sup> Edin Hajdarpašić has similarly singled out "the continuing uses of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in Bosnian print" as incongruous with "the framework dominated by Bosnia's national constituencies and their corresponding histories."<sup>19</sup> Through a focus on the Pan-Islamist movement responsible for much of this multilingual Bosnian print, this dissertation shows that Okey's assessment is, if anything, overly cautious.

Unsurprisingly, work in the Western languages on Bosnian Muslim cultural and intellectual history has been more limited in quantity. Robert Donia thus stands nearly alone among American scholars in the earlier period with his influential study of Muslim elite networks and political

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<sup>16</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review* 4, no. 1–2 (98 1997): 30–75.

<sup>17</sup> The work of Husein Đozo is representative here: see footnote 247 in chapter 2.

<sup>18</sup> Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia 1878-1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 243.

<sup>19</sup> Edin Hajdarpašić, "Patriotic Publics: Rethinking Empire, Nationality, and the Popular Press in Ottoman and Habsburg Bosnia," in *Beyond Mosque, Church and State: Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 95.

organizing during the Austro-Hungarian occupation.<sup>20</sup> Working at roughly the same time, Alexandre Popović founded a veritable subfield among his students in Paris, culminating with his defining 1985 work on “Balkan Islam,” an encyclopedic study covering the entire region.<sup>21</sup> In the decades since, several Paris-based scholars have also made relevant contributions, with Xavier Bougarel in particular producing an extensive body of original work on political Islam from the first Yugoslavia onward.<sup>22</sup> More recently, Philippe Gelez at the Sorbonne has written the definitive study of Safvet-beg Bašagić, the leading Muslim literary intellectual of the Austro-Hungarian period, while Fabio Giomi has published on the history of Islam and gender in Bosnia during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> In Germany, Armina Omerika has written the major monograph on Bosnia’s “Young Muslims” Islamic revivalist movement, as well as a number of articles on the academic and intellectual history of Islam in Yugoslavia.<sup>24</sup> Though many of these works have provided important insights for the present study, their distinct focuses mean that they have touched on Čaušević and Bosnia’s pre-1914 Pan-Islamist movement largely in passing.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1981).

<sup>21</sup> Alexandre Popovic, *L’Islam balkanique: les musulmans du sud est européen dans le période post ottomane* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) [Balkan Islam: the Muslims of Southeastern Europe in the Post-Ottoman Period].

<sup>22</sup> Xavier Bougarel, *Survivre aux empires: islam, identité nationale et allégeances politiques en Bosnie-Herzégovine* (Paris: Karthala, 2015) [Surviving the Empires: Islam, National Identity, and Political Allegiances in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>23</sup> Philippe Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934): Aux racines intellectuelles de la pensée nationale chez les musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine* (Athens: Ecole française d’Athènes, 2010) [Safvet-beg Bašagić: on the Intellectual Roots of the National Thought of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina]; Fabio Giomi, “Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918),” *History of Education History of Education* 44, no. 3 (2015): 274–92.

<sup>24</sup> Armina Omerika, *Islam in Bosnien-Herzegowina und die Netzwerke der Jungmuslime (1918-1991)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014) [Islam in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Networks of the Young Muslims (1918-1991)].

<sup>25</sup> Bougarel, drawing on work by some of the Bosnian authors listed earlier, has notably argued that Čaušević represents the last generation of Ottoman-educated Bosnian Muslim theologians, but his analysis focuses on the Yugoslav period as



Despite the generally high level of quality in foreign scholarship on Islam in the Balkans, particularly in the work of the scholars listed above, it also remains fair to say that the nation-state has cast a long shadow over the existing literature. Put differently, the driving concern in Balkan Studies has been with how Balkan Muslims did or did not successfully articulate their own national ideologies, or alternatively, how they did or did not fit into the nation-building policies of the Ottoman successor states, an agenda that in some ways mirrors the concerns of domestic historians. This concern helps explain why, in the Bosnian case, the existing literature in Western languages has disproportionately focused on either intra-Muslim polemics during the first Yugoslavia or the so-called “Muslim Question” in the second, the latter even being the subject of this author’s undergraduate thesis.<sup>26</sup> In that sense, with a few notable exceptions, the literature has not yet fully reckoned with how modern Bosnian Muslim thought developed outside of the context of ethno-linguistic nation-building and associated state-led projects, in particular in regard to the Ottoman Empire and wider Islamic World. In addition to the aforementioned work by Gelez, Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular and Dženita Karić have been pioneering in this regard, writing dissertations on Bosnian Muslim socio-political ties to the Hamidian state and Hajj literature respectively.<sup>27</sup> Here it is also worth mentioning strong recent work in anthropology and other disciplines on Balkan and Bosnian

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well. Xavier Bougarel, “Farewell to the Ottoman Legacy? Islamic Reformism and Revivalism in Inter-War Bosnia-Herzegovina,” in *Islam in Inter-War Europe*, n.d., accessed April 29, 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Harun Buljina, “Belated Nation: Yugoslav Communists and the Muslim Question, 1919-1971” (Undergraduate Thesis, University of Michigan, 2010).

<sup>27</sup> Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular, “Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, 1878-1914” (Columbia University, 2013); Dzenita Karic, “Multiple Paths to the Holy: Continuity and Change in Bosnian Hajj Literature” (Ph.D. Dissertation, SOAS University of London, 2018).

Muslim ties to contemporary Islamic networks.<sup>28</sup> With this dissertation, I hope to contribute to these efforts to better situate the past and present of Bosnian Islam in a transnational context.

### Čaušević and Bosnian Pan-Islamism within Southeastern European History

The handful of broader concerns with the literature on Islam and Muslims in the Balkans outlined thus far—a lingering Eurocentric tendency, corresponding skepticism toward the late Ottoman legacy, and a broader focus on post-imperial nationalization—also help to contextualize the state of scholarship on Čaušević and the Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement in particular. Aside from scattered biographical articles over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the only major study on the scholar to date is a two-part edited volume by Enes Karić and Mujo Demirović from 2002.<sup>29</sup> The book is a strong survey of Čaušević’s thought and reproduces many relevant published and archival primary sources, but it makes little distinction between the different historical phases of his career, emphasizing instead his consistent theological modernism in the vein of Egyptian cleric Muhammad ‘Abduh. Here as elsewhere, scholarship has focused mostly on Čaušević’s career as Reis-ul-Ulema from 1914-1930, during which time he came increasingly under fire both from Muslim conservatives in Sarajevo and centralizing authorities in Belgrade. As a result, Čaušević’s activities in the pre-1914 period have largely escaped the attention of historians, with the scholar consequently appearing as something of an aberration in his origins and worldview. One partial exception is the work of historian Adnan Jahić, whose well-researched books and articles on Bosniak-Muslim history

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<sup>28</sup> Darryl Chi-Yee Li, “Jihad in a World of Sovereigns: Law, Violence, and Islam in the Bosnia Crisis” (University of Chicago, 2013); David Henig, “Crossing the Bosphorus: Connected Histories of ‘Other’ Muslims in the Post-Imperial Borderlands of Southeast Europe,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 04 (October 2016): 908–34; Piro Rexhepi, “Unmapping Islam in Eastern Europe: Periodization and Muslim Subjectivities in the Balkans,” in *Eastern Europe Unmapped: Beyond Borders and Peripheries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018), 53–77.

<sup>29</sup> Enes Karić and Mujo Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević: prosvjetitelj i reformator* (Sarajevo: Ljiljan, 2002) [Reis Džemaludin Čaušević: Enlightener and Reformer].

in the first half of the twentieth century have taken Čaušević's election as Reis-ul-Ulema at the very end of the Austro-Hungarian period as a chronological starting point.<sup>30</sup>

Comparable in scope, the literature on the wider phenomenon of Bosnian Pan-Islamism faces some additional quandaries, not least of which is definitional. Characterizing Pan-Islamism as “an ideology aspiring to the constitution of a political body founded on Islam,” Bougarel thus states that “the appearance of a Pan-Islamist trend in Bosnia-Herzegovina goes back only to the 1930s.”<sup>31</sup> This perspective partly reflects a longstanding focus on political ideology in the academic study of Pan-Islamism more generally, but the Bosnian case in fact acutely highlights the limitations of such an approach, obscuring as it does the vibrant and self-identified Pan-Islamist movement that flourished three decades earlier. These political connotations not only account for the term's readily apparent association with the latter half of the twentieth century in academic and popular discourse, but also a certain enduring stigma therein. Literary scholars from the 1960s onward have therefore either emphasized the purportedly apolitical and locally circumscribed nature of Bosnia's early 20<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamist movement or otherwise criticized it as a deviation from the task of European-oriented nation building.<sup>32</sup> Amir Karić, meanwhile, has produced a more representative historical survey of the phenomenon that includes the Austro-Hungarian period and some of Čaušević's print ventures, but the very title of its English-language translation—“The Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism”—betrays a defensive posture in light of late Yugoslav polemics and the sensationalist

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<sup>30</sup> Adnan Jahić, *Vrijeme izazova: Bošnjaci u prvoj polovini XX stoljeća* (Zagreb: Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica za Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju, 2014) [The Time of Challenges: Bosniaks in the First Half of the 20th Century].

<sup>31</sup> Xavier Bougarel, “From Young Muslims to Party of Democratic Action: The Emergence of a Pan-Islamist Trend in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” trans. Asma Rashid, *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2/3 (1997): 533.

<sup>32</sup> Emina Memija and Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Biser: književno-historijska monografija i bibliografija* (Sarajevo: Nacionalna i Univ. Biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 1998) [Biser: a Literary-Historical Monograph and Bibliography].

accusations of Serb and Croat nationalist propagandists.<sup>33</sup> Taken together, we can conclude that the existing literature in both Bosnian and the Western European languages has not yet fully accounted for Bosnia's first generation of Pan-Islamists.<sup>34</sup>

This study of Čaušević and the Pan-Islamist movement in late imperial Bosnia builds on but differs in several key ways from the existing literature on these topics, ultimately generating distinct claims vis-à-vis certain broader issues in Southeastern European history as well. First, it argues that Čaušević represents the central figure in the development of pre-1914 Bosnian Pan-Islamism, and that this movement, far from anachronistic, was in fact ascendant on the eve of the Great War. Second, it emphasizes his role as a print entrepreneur and takes a more favorable view of his influence on his literary contemporaries. Thirdly, it tempers the portrayal of Čaušević as unusual among the Bosnian Ulema and a product of external impulses. In particular, though his return to Bosnia in the years 1901-1903 represented a surprise for most of his compatriots, a close analysis of his scholarly origins shows that he in fact descended from a long line of local reformist Ulema who profoundly informed his worldview—the nature of Čaušević's Pan-Islamism built on this local foundation. Where Čaušević departed from his predecessors, however, was in the global scope of his vision, introducing to the Bosnian Muslim public sphere the notion of a wider “Islamic World,” centered on Istanbul, as a model and source for communal modernization. This message resonated because it coincided with growing cleavages in Bosnian Muslim society, in particular between

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<sup>33</sup> Amir Karić, *Panislamizam u Bosni* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2006) [Pan-Islamism in Bosnia]; Amir Karić, *Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, trans. Amila Karahasanović (Sarajevo: Center for Advanced Studies, 2015).

<sup>34</sup> One additional author worth citing here is Stijn Vervaet, whose study of national identity construction in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia-Herzegovina makes note of the Pan-Islamist current in contemporary Bosniak-Muslim literature. Stijn Vervaet, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj: dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine na primjeru književnih tekstova* (Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2013) [Center and Periphery in Austria-Hungary: the Dynamic of National Identity Construction in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918 in the Case of Literary Texts].

conservative Ulema and the Habsburg-educated progressive literati. At a time when the latter had begun to put forward increasingly vituperative anti-clerical critiques, Čaušević introduced the idea of the Ottoman “east” as not just a source of tradition but a gateway to modernity as well.

The centrality of the Ottoman Empire in Čaušević’s reformist vision also speaks to the wider scholarly concern with this empire’s legacy in the Balkans. Perhaps most famously, Maria Todorova has argued that “the conclusion that the Balkans *are* the Ottoman legacy is not an overstatement.”<sup>35</sup> Her attendant argument that the more tangible aspects of this legacy have since substantially withered and come to largely be confined to the realm of culture, however, requires the caveat that historians have yet to fully trace the concrete and consequential courses that this withering took.<sup>36</sup> Contrary to the implication in much of Bosnian historiography, for instance, this study argues that Ottoman influence on Bosnian Muslims not only did not enter a steady decline in the aftermath of the 1878 occupation, but in fact paradoxically intensified on the back of technological advances. Steam travel, postal links and the telegraph, as well as the dizzying growth of publishing in both Sarajevo and Istanbul thus ensured that the two cities in many ways became closer over the subsequent decades. Čaušević’s movement, which deliberately nurtured these links, testifies to this dynamic. It therefore also corresponds to recent work by scholars such as Dominique Reill, which similarly suggests that greater attention to these underlying material and technological factors can yield productive new periodizations in Balkan history.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1997), 12.

<sup>36</sup> Maria Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” *Etudes Balkaniques* 30, no. 4 (January 1, 1994): 66.

<sup>37</sup> Dominique Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012).

This project also follows a number of recent works in Southeastern European and Middle Eastern Studies that have adopted a generational frame for making sense of the transition from empire to nation state.<sup>38</sup> As alluded to earlier, the idea of a pioneering generation of Western-educated Muslim intellectuals has exercised considerable influence on Bosnian historiography, but a focus on Austro-Hungarian graduates has obscured the considerable cohorts of those like Čaušević who continued to pursue studies in the Ottoman lands. These were primarily theological students, but not exclusively so, and they in any case played a more active role in Bosnia's fin-de-siècle cultural scene than scholarship has hitherto allowed—a trend this study demonstrates. At the same time, generations emerge as a slippery category, in a state of constant flux. For instance, Čaušević literary sympathizers, largely born during the first decade of Austro-Hungarian occupation, both looked up to the theologian as a senior authority and down at their even younger peers of Muslim students emerging from Bosnian gymnasia on the eve of the First World War; in the span of barely three decades, three distinct “generations” emerged. The salient divides were thus more tied to experiences in education, which in turn depended greatly on the broader political context, both of which shifted dramatically in the region during this period of study. The crucial factor, it seems, was the role of language in the expansion of modern education during this era: Bosnia's early 20<sup>th</sup> century reformists were both part of the first generation to take up mass-based public education and perhaps the last to see the learning of multiple foreign languages as a fundamental component thereof.

Reconsideration of the role of generational change also encourages a reconsideration of the often-associated stress on “Europeanization” during this period. In this sense, the dissertation builds on the edited volume “Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans,” whose editors suggested that scholars

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<sup>38</sup> Erik-Jan Zürcher, “The Young Turks: Children of the Borderlands?,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, no. 1/2 (July 15, 2003): 275–85.

would do better to consider the phenomenon as a label legitimizing different kinds of agencies rather than a social reality in its own right.<sup>39</sup> A study of the Pan-Islamist reform movement in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnia affirms this view, but also highlights that “Europe” was not the only geo-cultural construct of relevance to the region’s intellectuals. In fact, Čaušević and his sympathizers to a large extent adopted the broader Pan-Islamist movement’s representation of “Europe” as the “other.” At the same time, following the development of local Pan-Islamist and Ottomanist discourse in closer detail also reveals how this category of Europe shifted. For instance, chapter 3 of this dissertation shows that Austria-Hungary’s annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 prompted Bosnian Muslim autonomists to abruptly embrace the label so as to highlight a “European” territory’s anomalous lack of constitutional government. Later on, the expansion of Muslim émigré networks in Western Europe led to Bosnian Pan-Islamist publications running stories from London and Geneva in their reports from the “Islamic World,” testifying to a blurring of conceptual boundaries in an era of global integration.

Finally, this study also contributes to the ongoing reconsideration of the transition from empires to nation states in the wider region—what the above-mentioned edited volume refers to as “the imperial turn.”<sup>40</sup> In part, this is a conceptual point: as the following chapters will demonstrate, the Bosnian Pan-Islamist reform movement, while rooted in one particular territory, fundamentally emerged across regions and empires, while the national framing favored in much of Bosnian historiography effectively leaves these broader dynamics hidden. More fundamentally however,

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<sup>39</sup> Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler, eds., *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 3.

<sup>40</sup> Alan Mikhail and Christine M. Philliou, “The Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 721–45.

Čaušević's movement was a late-imperial phenomenon in its very essence. Though its calls for communal reform and autonomy echoed what scholars such as Hajdarpašić have identified as national-patriotic forms, the movement also assumed the continued existence of a world of pluralistic and multilingual empires from which it had itself emerged.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, it was a distinctly modern project, fundamentally concerned with the challenges and opportunities of a new age and adopting a revolutionary constitutional language to claim the mantle of popular legitimacy. The movement's apogee, Čaušević's election and formal installation as Reis-ul-Ulema in March 1914, epitomized these different impulses, and its later transfiguration and weakening in the embers of war and imperial collapse testify to how much it depended on this particular moment in international history.

#### Čaušević and Bosnian Pan-Islamism within the "Islamic World"

Beyond its foundation in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina—and, correspondingly, southeastern Europe—this study also engages with the wider field of global Islamic intellectual history. In particular, it responds to a number of prominent recent works by authors with diverse regional specializations that have probed the nature of Islamic globalization from roughly the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> through the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> Though the precise methodological approaches and theoretical vocabularies of these studies have varied, they have broadly posited that this period saw the emergence of a newly global sense of Muslim interconnectedness—an "inter-Islamic region," "Islamic World," or "Muslim cosmopolis," to cite some of the specific terminology—and probed the

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<sup>41</sup> Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>42</sup> Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*; Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2015); Faiz Ahmed, *Afghanistan Rising: Islamic Law and Statecraft between the Ottoman and British Empires* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).



nature and consequences of this process on either a macro level or in particular Muslim contexts. This dissertation functions in part as a Bosnian case study of the same phenomenon, addressing some of the prevailing concerns of this nascent subfield of global history.

Speaking to these concerns requires briefly clarifying this project's usage of some of the prevailing theoretical vocabulary: Islamic reformism, modernism, cosmopolitanism, and Pan-Islamism. The first two terms frequently appear interchangeable, but I try to draw a subtle distinction, employing modernism to refer more narrowly to the intellectual discourse of the need to adapt Islamic practice and traditions to the demands of a new scientific age, especially in the thought of theologians such as Muhammad 'Abduh in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. By contrast, I take reformism to refer more generally to the communal activism that followed the implicit or explicit adoption of this stance, including such material measures as the founding of charities, credit unions, newspapers, etc., as well as to self-consciously transformative intellectual and socio-political projects from the previous period of Islamic history.<sup>43</sup> As for cosmopolitanism, I use it here to refer to a sense of belonging to a wider imagined Islamic community, beyond more parochial ethno-linguistic affiliations and in contrast to the long-term historical trend toward territorially circumscribed nation-states. In that sense, while Muslim cosmopolitanism represents a foundational component of the Pan-Islamist movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it also predates it, existing as a more abstract cultural awareness among educated Muslims in earlier periods as well.

Of all these terms, Pan-Islamism has the most readily discernible historiographical lineage. Rooted to a significant degree in colonial anxieties and orientalist discourse from the fin-de-siècle, an

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<sup>43</sup> Ahmad S. Dallal, "The Origins and Early Development of Islamic Reform," in *Muslims and Modernity: Culture and Society since 1800*, vol. 6, The New Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 110.

earlier generation of academics typically focused on the claims to global Islamic leadership by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, portraying their global popular appeal as the outgrowth of axiomatic religious sentiments. By the 1990s, this perspective had given way to a revisionist approach, which stressed that the Sultan had adopted Pan-Islamist rhetoric as a defensive strategy in response to European high imperialism. Other scholars within the revisionist camp broadened the field of inquiry. Kemal Karpat thus notably described Pan-Islamism as “a form of nationalism in Islamic garb,” stressing its domestic Ottoman function.<sup>44</sup> Adeb Khalid, meanwhile, distinguished further between three aspects of Pan-Islamism: European colonial-orientalist anxieties, the Ottoman state’s foreign policy, and a public Pan-Islamism, which entailed a new form of affective solidarity uniting Muslim elites around the Ottoman state.<sup>45</sup> The recent literature on Islamic globalization referenced at the outset of this section has largely built on the work of Karpat, Khalid, and others to focus on this last aspect of Pan-Islamism, probing in particular its structural foundation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century expansion of communications technologies, print publishing, and steam travel—what James Gelvin and Nile Green have termed “the age of steam and print.”<sup>46</sup>

The Bosnian Pan-Islamism of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević falls plainly into this last category as well, which is why I often refer to it as a “Pan-Islamist reform” movement. Among its key characteristics was that it professed loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan Caliph and posited the existence of a wider “Islamic World” as a distinct civilizational bloc. The Bosnian movement, however, also had its own distinguishing features, and treating it as a focused regional case study

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<sup>44</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

<sup>45</sup> Adeb Khalid, “Pan-Islamism in Practice: The Rhetoric of Muslim Unity and Its Uses,” in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 370.

<sup>46</sup> Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*.

provides certain conceptual benefits. On a methodological level, Bosnia is both small enough and home to a refined enough source base to allow for a thorough treatment of the subject in a single study. At the same time, it holds a certain historical logic as well, highlighting the nature of the wider Pan-Islamist movement outside of the traditional centers of Islamic intellectual history. Ultimately, this dissertation strives to deepen scholarly understanding of certain enduring issues in the wider field, including in particular: the longer-term roots of this turn-of-the-century phenomenon, its novelty vis-à-vis earlier traditions of Islamic reform and cosmopolitanism, the role of language and vernacularization, and the relative weight and influence of various Muslim intellectual centers, e.g. Istanbul and Cairo, on more peripheral regions of the Islamic World.

While the bulk of the dissertation focuses on the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, chapter one addresses this question of origins and precedents in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Here the Bosnian case corresponds closely to the work of Ahmad Dallal, who argues that distinct “regional traditions of reform” arose gradually over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, prior to overt European influence.<sup>47</sup> Similar to such settings as West Africa, this period thus saw local Islamic scholars in Bosnia experiment with using the vernacular language to reach broader audiences. Where Dallal draws a contrast between these earlier, pre-colonial traditions of reform and the defensive posture of late 19<sup>th</sup> century reformers, however, I highlight how the embrace of vernacularization represented an important element of continuity between the two, drawing out the intellectual and scholarly lineage between these earlier reformers and Čaušević and his Pan-Islamist movement. In this sense, this project echoes the work of Seema Alavi, who similarly argues that the vernacularizing efforts of members of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century provided the intellectual foundation

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<sup>47</sup> Ahmad S. Dallal, *Islam Without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Thought* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

for a newly expansive Muslim cosmopolitanism in the aftermath of British colonial rule. At the same time, this dissertation argues that the “defensive” sensibility of late 19<sup>th</sup> century Islamic reformism appears to have hinged here at least as much on the rise of Russian-backed Orthodox Christian nation states in the Balkans over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as on the trauma of Austro-Hungarian (quasi) colonial rule in 1878. Given that the very Ottoman Turkish term for Pan-Islamism (OT: *ittihad-i İslam*) appears to have first entered popular currency in the 1870s in response to Russian expansion in Central Asia, these findings underscore the need to consider these developments along the Ottomans’ “Northern Tier” alongside the expansion of the Western European colonial empires when considering the origins of Pan-Islamist discourse.<sup>48</sup>

The Bosnian case is also instructive in regard to the influence of the Ottoman Tanzimat. Within Ottoman studies, the Pan-Islamism of the Hamidian period has traditionally been portrayed as a reactionary reversal of the secularizing tendencies of the Tanzimat reforms. Karpat’s study of the role of Islam in Ottoman state and identity formation notably challenged this position, arguing that the Tanzimat trend toward secularization and a concept of territorial nationhood in fact set the stage for Hamidian Pan-Islamism. Writing in the context of South Asia and the Indian Ocean, Alavi has similarly argued for a more complex relationship, suggesting that the Tanzimat provided the “pan-Islamic global public sphere” of the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century with a “politically reformist shell.” This study corroborates this more recent emphasis on the continuities between Tanzimat and Pan-Islamist thought, suggesting that the former directly influenced Čaušević’s generation of reformists in two distinct ways. First, on the local level, the Tanzimat actually empowered the aforementioned vernacularizing reformists among provincial Ulema, who provided religious legitimacy to state

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<sup>48</sup> Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 18.

centralization while pursuing their own pro-vernacular agenda within the the new state-backed educational institutions. Many of the key reformers during the Austro-Hungarian period directly descended from these collaborationist Ulema, ultimately including Čaušević himself. Second, and more broadly, this dissertation suggests that Tanzimat-affiliated intellectuals, including in particular the statesman Ahmed Cevdet Pasha but also extending to the Young Ottoman writers such as Namik Kemal, provided an important reference point for later generations of Islamic reformists as well, especially those more inclined to literary than theological pursuits.<sup>49</sup>

Although this dissertation argues that Čaušević's movement built on these deeper roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, his reformist project was nevertheless distinctly novel in that, for the first time, it situated Bosnia's Muslims on a truly global scale. While his predecessors in the early modern period understood that the Islamic ummah consisted of diverse ethno-linguistic communities, Čaušević posited the existence of a discernible "Islamic World," making a central point of familiarizing his local audience with previously unconsidered Muslim communities in places such as China and Japan. In that sense, this dissertation provides detailed, local-level corroboration of Cemil Aydin's thesis that the cultural construct of the "Islamic World" dates back only to the era of high imperialism; in fact, digitalization of Bosnia's Latin-script Muslim newspapers even allows for precisely tracing how, shortly following Čaušević's return from studies in the Ottoman lands, the very term "Islamic World" (BCS: *islamski svijet*) shifted from referring to local "Muslim people"

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<sup>49</sup> Here the Bosnian case corroborates Kasuya Gen's point in his text on Mehmet Akif, himself another key influence on the Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement. Kasuya Gen, "The Influence of Al-Manār on Islamism in Turkey: The Case of Mehmed Âkif," in *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006).

(analogous to the French “*le monde*”) to referring to this broader geo-cultural construct.<sup>50</sup> This study also reinforces Aydin’s point that Pan-Islamism, while encouraging spiritual loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph, did not necessarily entail a rejection of European empire. In fact, Čaušević promoted his Pan-Islamist reform project from within Bosnia’s Austro-Hungarian institutions—much as ‘Abduh had been the Mufti of the British, he became the Austrians’ Reis—seeing no contradiction between political loyalty to the Habsburgs and a spiritual solidarity with the Ottoman Empire.

This study also serves to illustrate the local appeal and functioning of this idea of a wider Islamic World. I argue that Čaušević’s project resonated because it addressed salient cleavages in Bosnian Muslim society, and in particular the growing divide between younger generations of Western-educated intellectuals and more conservative Ulema and wider social strata. In other words, Pan-Islamism did not simply urge Muslim unity on a global level, but on a domestic one as well. In this latter context, Čaušević’s reformist project represented a viable middle ground, echoing the intelligentsia’s insistence on communal modernization but rejecting the notion that it required the adoption of European models or curbing of Ulema influence. Instead, Čaušević and his allies portrayed the “Islamic World” as a model for negotiated modernity, citing purported Muslim commercial, economic, and political successes in more far-off locales and urging Bosnian Muslims to follow suit. Moreover, as part of this project, Čaušević specifically encouraged the education of a new generation of Ulema, who would acquire both a modernist theological outlook and knowledge of worldly subjects through studies in intellectual centers such as Cairo and Istanbul. It was here in particular that Čaušević built on the reformist work of his 19<sup>th</sup> century predecessors, insisting on the

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<sup>50</sup> Cemil Aydin, “Globalizing the Intellectual History of the ‘Muslim World,’” in *Global Intellectual History* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2013), 159–86.

vernacularization of local Islamic learning in Bosnia as a stepping-stone toward multilingual modern studies in the wider “Islamic World.”

Finally, the rise of Čaušević’s movement speaks to what historians such as Faiz Ahmed have described as the “re-regionalization of Muslim-majority societies and minority communities” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> Rule from Vienna did not simply entail an orientation toward the Habsburg capital and other European centers, but in fact coincided with intensified ties to a variety of other Muslim-inhabited regions, including not just the Ottoman Empire, but also Egypt, parts of the Russian Empire, and even South Asia. At the same time, a close reading of Bosnia’s Pan-Islamist press reveals shifts in the relative weight of these various regions that existing studies have frequently overlooked. In particular, this dissertation suggests that allusions to the influence of Cairo on Bosnian Muslims in the pre-1914 period are somewhat overstated, in large part due to the disproportionate influence of the Egyptian metropolis when compared to Istanbul in the nearly century since the Kemalist reforms. To be certain, Cairo—and the Islamic modernist current headed by Muhammad ‘Abduh in particular—did exercise an important influence on Čaušević and the Bosnian Pan-Islamists, but this influence also rested in significant measure on Egypt’s relatively liberal press regime at a time of Hamidian censorship in Istanbul. In addition, Ottoman and Russo-Turkic Muslim reformists such as İsmail Gaspiralı featured just as prominently in contemporary Bosnian publications as ‘Abduh and their Arab counterparts, an influence that is rarely reflected in present-day scholarship. The Bosnian case thus suggests that the enduring consequences of the Kemalist reforms and Soviet secularization may have obscured the degree to which Turkic Pan-

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<sup>51</sup> Ahmed, *Afghanistan Rising*, 8.

Islamists in the Ottoman and Russian Empires influenced Muslims in certain other world regions alongside the Cairene modernists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Dissertation Structure and Chapter Summaries

This dissertation consists of four chapters and a brief epilogue. Chapter 1 considers the deeper roots of Bosnia's early 20<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamist reform movement, identifying them in the development of a local tradition of "vernacular cosmopolitanism" among provincial Ulema in the long 19<sup>th</sup> century. I use this term to describe how these scholars, many of them tied to the Naqshbandi Sufi order, promoted popular religious instruction in the Bosnian vernacular within a broader commitment to the Ottoman imperial order and multilingual Islamic learning. The first major figure in this tradition was the poet scholar Abdulvehab "Ilhamija" (1773/4-1821), whose commitment to local Muslim autonomy on the Ottoman frontier ultimately led him into rebellion against the centralizing measures of Sultan Mahmud II. By contrast, Ilhamija's Naqshbandi successors entered into a more collaborative relationship with the Ottoman central state, culminating in the Travnik Mufti Derviš Muhamed "Sidi" Korkut's endorsement of the Tanzimat during Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's mission to the province in 1863. Under the aegis of the central state's resulting efforts at educational reform, members of the Ulema continued their experiments with pedagogical vernacularization, including in pioneering print ventures between Sarajevo and Istanbul. In this regard, the Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878 did not represent a marked departure, as members of the same network of "transitional pedagogues" entered into a collaborative relationship with the new Viennese authorities; the Sarajevo Mufti Mustafa Hilmi Hadžiomerović, who had once threatened a fatwa against anyone opposing conscription into the new Ottoman regular army, now issued one encouraging Muslims to serve in the Austro-Hungarian equivalent. At the same time, the



rapid expansion of the Latin script under Habsburg oversight lent a new ideological charge to Muslims' trans-imperial efforts to standardize the writing of the Bosnian vernacular in the Arabic script; what had once been default for the likes of Ilhamija had become a defensive maneuver in the hands of his successors.

Chapter 2 turns to the origins and early career of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938), the key figure in Bosnia's early 20<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamist reform movement. Born in the northwest frontier region of the country, Čaušević began his madrasa studies under Ahmed Sabit Ribić (1845-1907), one of the Austro-Hungarian authorities' key collaborators in efforts to reform Muslim education and himself a student of the above-mentioned pro-Tanzimat Mufti Korkut. Leaving to pursue his studies in Istanbul around 1887, Čaušević came under the wing of the Ottoman capital's modernist Ulema, ultimately completing both a traditional madrasa education and legal studies at the imperial law school. During the latter, he also worked as a journalist and reported on the construction of the Hejaz railway—a consummate representative of the “age of steam and print”—taking the opportunity to spend time in Cairo and study under 'Abduh and other reformist figures around the journal *Al-Manār*. Returning to Bosnia by 1903, Čaušević advocated an agenda of Pan-Islamist reform that stressed Muslim unity on both a local and global level. In terms of the former, his project appealed in particular to Habsburg-educated Muslims intellectuals, self-styled “progressives,” reconciling their insistence on communal modernization with the broader Muslim public's esteem for Ulema authority and the Ottoman state. The resulting “Pan-Islamist Progressivism” saw Čaušević lead the way in establishing an Islamic printing press and launching multilingual print ventures that both advocated local reform and strove to tie Bosnia's Muslim to the

wider “Islamic World.” By standardizing the printing of Bosnian in the Arabic script, Čaušević’s reformist project was both fundamentally novel and deeply rooted in the work of his predecessors.

Having followed Čaušević’s career through the late summer of 1908, chapter 3 of the dissertation turns to the impact of two seismic political events at the year’s close: the Young Turk Revolution in Istanbul and Austria-Hungary’s annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although typically standing for the further severance of Bosnia from its former imperial domain, I stress how these events actually led to the entanglement of the Ottoman and Bosnian Muslim public spheres, with the drastic liberalization of the former suffusing the latter with its revolutionary constitutionalist idiom. The primary agents of this entanglement were Bosnian theological students between Istanbul and Sarajevo, many of them directly descended from the same enduring network of state-collaborationist and vernacular cosmopolitan reformists discussed so far. Deeply committed to Čaušević’s program of Ulema-led Pan-Islamist reform, their print activities during the subsequent period linked his Arabic-script press from chapter 2 with the new publications of Istanbul’s likeminded modernist Ulema, most notably *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (after 1912 *Sebilürreşad*). In the context of the new constitutional regimes and nascent mass politics in both cities, this exchange unleashed a process of uneven reciprocal promotion for their respective reformist projects: the link with Sarajevo buttressed the Istanbul Ulema’s claims of global Pan-Islamist solidarity, while ties to Istanbul allowed their Bosnian counterparts to enhance Čaušević’s prestige as a spiritual authority among the Ottoman-sympathizing Muslim public. In 1913-14, this promotion had tangible political consequences, with the Bosnian students pushing their mentor to a position of institutional power as the country’s Reis-ul-Ulema. In effect, the Young Turk Revolution in Istanbul had enabled a micro-revolution in Sarajevo, establishing Čaušević as Bosnia’s (and thus Austria-Hungary’s)

supreme Islamic religious authority and providing an unprecedented platform for the realization of his agenda of Muslim communal reform.

Chapter 4 covers roughly the same timespan as the dissertation thus far, but with a focus on Čaušević-sympathizing literary intellectuals. The traditional protagonists in the narrative of a Westward-facing Bosnian Muslim cultural and literary renaissance, I stress that many of the key writers from this period had in fact studied in Istanbul and embraced Čaušević's calls for Pan-Islamist solidarity. Combining studies in Ottoman Gymnasia and Habsburg universities, they formed a singular generation of multilingual literary intellectuals, proficient in both eastern and western languages. This unique background then allowed them to carve out an important niche in the expanding Bosnian Muslim publishing landscape upon returning home, working alongside their Ulema peers to translate materials from Turkish. Cutting their teeth in some of Čaušević's early print ventures, their work culminated with the Mostar-based literary journal *Biser* (1912-14), whose Latin-script format and Pan-Islamist editorial line rendered Čaušević's Arabic-script publications—and, in effect, their translations from Istanbul and the wider “Islamic World”—accessible not just to progressive Ulema, but to new cohorts of Muslim youth emerging from the Austro-Hungarian school system as well. The onset of the Balkan Wars soon exposed subtle ideological fractures amongst the *Biser* writers, particularly over questions of nationality and women's rights, but the intensified debate also pushed the journal to further organize these lay students in support of Čaušević's anational project of Muslim-centered communal reform. By the eve of the First World War then, Čaušević's Pan-Islamist reform movement, containing both literary and theological wings, seemed poised to significantly expand on its vision of a vernacular cosmopolitan and trans-imperial Muslim modernity between the Habsburg and Ottoman domains. The dissertation then closes with

a brief epilogue, which considers how the subsequent wars and geopolitical chaos transformed this movement and what became of its key figures and ideas on the other side of Versailles.

## Chapter 1: Vernacular Cosmopolitans in the Muslim West:

### Bosnian Pedagogical Vernacularization and the Genealogies of Islamic Reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

#### Balkans

In both its historical position and physical geography, Konjic represents an archetypal Balkan town. Nestled in the Neretva river valley with a monumental Ottoman bridge at its center, the settlement lies roughly halfway between Sarajevo and Mostar, part of the old trade route linking Bosnia-Herzegovina to the great Adriatic port of Dubrovnik and through it to the wider world.<sup>52</sup> Alongside these far-reaching corridors, however, Konjic also has its more immediate environs: mountain plateaus, home to a remote tapestry of pastoral villages. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one of their most illustrious denizens was Mehmed Kadrija “Nâsîh” Pajić (1855-1918), whose peripatetic life would embody this contrast even as it took him to more distant horizons.<sup>53</sup> Tending to his flock in the summers, the young Kadrija (T: Kadri) would descend into Konjic to attend the town’s madrasa in the winters. His instructor there, an unusually energetic man who had studied in Istanbul and returned to publish in the provincial press in Sarajevo, purportedly predicted him a great career even then: when the child fell into a stream on the way to class, the teacher proclaimed that he would similarly immerse himself in the pursuit of knowledge.<sup>54</sup> As it happened, the subsequent years saw Pajić learn basic Turkish and make the journey from Herzegovina to Istanbul himself, eventually picking up Arabic, Persian, and French as well. A key figure in the Islamist wing of the nascent

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<sup>52</sup> For an English-language overview of Konjic’s urban development during the Ottoman period, see: Machiel Kiel, “Konjic (Koniçe, Belgradcık), From Hamlet on the Highway to Muslim Town,” in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347–72.

<sup>53</sup> For the only existing overview of Pajić’s life and work, see: Dilek Korkmaz, “Hoca Kadri Nâsîh’in Hayatı Eserleri ve Görüşleri” (M.A., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006) [The Life, Works, and Views of Hoca Kadri Nâsîh].

<sup>54</sup> Hamdija Mulić, “Vjesnici Naprednijeg Tumačenja Islamske Nauke u Nas,” *Narodna Uzdanica* 11 (1943): 104 [Heralds of a More Progressive Interpretation of Islamic Science among Us].

Young Turk movement, his agitation against Sultan Abdul Hamid II took him from there to Cairo and ultimately to Paris, contributing to and founding a string of multilingual émigré publications along the way. Though he ultimately fell out with the core of the Young Turks over their growing secularist bent, Pajić would maintain an active intellectual life until his death at the close of the Great War. From his usual corner at Café Soufflot in the 5th arrondissement, the former Herzegovinian shepherd boy regularly welcomed likeminded Ottoman exiles and discussed constitutional politics with professors at the nearby Sorbonne.

Pajić stands as a prototypical Muslim reformist of the era, but the Balkan origins of his fin-de-siècle Islamic cosmopolitanism remain virtually unknown; to the extent that the existing literature makes any note of him at all, it overwhelmingly focuses on his activities from once he had already reached the great urban centers of Europe and the Mediterranean.<sup>55</sup> This chapter untangles these provincial roots instead, arguing that a distinct local tradition of Islamic reformism not only produced influential transnational actors such as Pajić, but also laid the foundations of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamist movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, the subject of this dissertation as a whole. I make this case by reviewing efforts to introduce vernacular instruction in the Arabic script into Bosnian Muslim religious education over the course of the long 19<sup>th</sup> century—a central concern of reformists throughout—tracing how an earlier manuscript tradition led to trans-imperial experiments in print by this period's end. In contrast to an enduring stress on vernacularization as a

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<sup>55</sup> In addition to Dilek Korkmaz's MA thesis above, Turkish sociologist Cahit Tanyol has also published a study on one of Kadri's texts in particular, arguing for his influence on Turkish republican thought. See: Cahit Tanyol, *Hoca Kadri Efendi'nin parlamentosu* (Istanbul: Gendaş Kültür, 2003) [Hoca Kadri Efendi's Parliament]; M. Şükrü Hanioglu's two-part study of the Young Turk movement also frequently references Pajić's exilic activities on the basis of extensive archival research. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

fragmentizing force in theories of nationalism and the historiography of southeastern Europe, the Bosnian Muslim case shows how this process in fact developed in close conjunction with a cosmopolitan commitment to supra-ethnic Islamdom, a phenomenon I refer to as vernacular cosmopolitanism.<sup>56</sup> Rooted in older Sufi networks and first emerging by the early 1800s in response to the expansion of the modern state, this grassroots reformist project eventually entered into a symbiotic relationship with both the Ottoman Empire's Tanzimat reforms and, following the 1878 Congress of Berlin, the civilizing mission of the Austro-Hungarian occupying authorities. Along the way, it produced precisely the sort of polyglot intellectuals that would carry Pan-Islamist ideas by the century's end, whether at home in Sarajevo or, like Pajić, across the Eastern Mediterranean.

The argument I present here challenges a number of longstanding tendencies and dividing lines in regional historiography. Above all, it confronts an overarching center-periphery binary in Balkan and Ottoman studies, which has cast a long shadow on our understanding of various "reform" projects in the history of Islam in southeastern Europe. Whether in the case of state reforms such as the Tanzimat or in later movements for cultural and literary reform among educated elites, the emphasis in scholarship on Bosnia in particular has been on the impetus for modernizing change coming from without and encountering local resistance. I stress instead that a distinct network of state-collaborating provincial Ulema underlay all of these seemingly disparate varieties of reform, united in its advocacy of a cosmopolitan Islamic education in the vernacular language. In the

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<sup>56</sup> The term "vernacular cosmopolitanism" by now has a long history in cultural anthropology and post-colonial studies. Scholars in these fields have broadly employed it to describe the mobile activities and supra-local worldviews of various communities that are nonetheless "rooted" in particular locales. Although the 19th century Bosnian Sufis and Pan-Islamist reformers at the heart of this chapter also fit into these wider discussions in the social sciences, my use of the term is more narrowly literal: they were "vernacular" in that they promoted the use of the vernacular language in the service of a larger cosmopolitan agenda. For an overview of this wider scholarly discussions, see: Pnina Werbner, "Understanding Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," *Anthropology News* 47, no. 5 (May 1, 2006): 7–11.

process, this chapter also contributes an understudied but instructive Balkan case study to broader discussions in global Islamic intellectual history.<sup>57</sup> In particular, it shows how a local tradition of vernacular Islamic cosmopolitanism directly led into what scholars such as Seema Alavi have described as the emergence of a “new Muslim cosmopolis” in the mid-to-late-19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> By deliberately pursuing this intellectual current across the historiographical rupture of 1878, I both identify the important new ways in which non-Muslim rule affected Bosnian Islamic thought as well as highlight the continued significance of a “regional tradition of reform” underway from well before overt European influence.<sup>59</sup>

Though necessarily covering a broad span of time, this chapter consists of three sections that correspond to common periodization in global history.<sup>60</sup> (1) Section one identifies the origins of Bosnian Muslim vernacular pedagogical reform in the passage from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and in particular in the figure of the poet scholar Abdulvehab “Ilhamija” (1773/4-1821), who appeared amidst the contemporary expansion of the Naqshbandi Sufi order in this western end of the Balkans-to-Bengal complex.<sup>61</sup> A pioneering advocate for popular Islamic learning in the Bosnian vernacular, Ilhamija’s work emerged as a local response to the expansion of the modern fiscal-

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<sup>57</sup> Conversely, it also offers important historical context to interdisciplinary efforts to consider Islam in contemporary Southeastern Europe within a trans-regional or global context. See for instance: Henig, “Crossing the Bosphorus”; Ina Merdjanova, *Rediscovering the Umma: Muslims in the Balkans between Nationalism and Transnationalism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*.

<sup>59</sup> For more on “regional traditions of reform,” see: Dallal, “The Origins and Early Development of Islamic Reform,” 139; Dallal, *Islam Without Europe*.

<sup>60</sup> C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780 - 1914* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller, *America in the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

<sup>61</sup> Ahmed, *What Is Islam?*



military state during the global “Age of Revolutions.” (2) Section two then follows Ilhamija’s vernacular-promoting successors, who rather than militating against the central state entered into a collaborative relationship with it during the age of Ottoman reforms. Provincial Ulema such as Omer Hazim Humo (c. 1820-1880) thus provided religious legitimacy to the Tanzimat while simultaneously pursuing an autonomous agenda of print-based vernacularization in Bosnian schools. (3) Finally, section three turns to the ensuing period of high imperialism, when the 1878 Congress of Berlin placed Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian occupation. On the one hand, many members of this same Ulema network became key collaborators of the new occupying authorities, pioneering modern Muslim education in the country and mentoring a new generation of reformists who would work in both the vernacular and the great languages of Islamic tradition. At the same time, the trauma of occupation would combine with the rapid expansion of new globalizing technologies—most notably print publishing and steam travel—to paradoxically intensify intellectual ties between occupied Bosnia and the remainder of the Ottoman world, laying the material foundations for the modern Pan-Islamist movement.<sup>62</sup> The Bosnian integration into the global Muslim cosmopolis that followed was therefore simultaneously novel to the “Age of Empire” and inextricably rooted in local dynamics that long preceded it.

### 1.1. Revolutionary Vernaculars

Due to the country’s particular linguistic history, the question of vernacular education would prove an enduring concern of Islamic reformists in Bosnia-Herzegovina until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When Ottoman armies first conquered the region some 450 years earlier, they brought with them the Turkish language, which soon established itself as the primary language of not only state

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<sup>62</sup> Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*.

administration but Islamic education as well.<sup>63</sup> As a significant portion of Bosnia's population remained non-Muslim and an overwhelming majority of Muslims consisted of local converts, however, the province's Slavic vernacular remained the dominant spoken language in both town and countryside. Over the subsequent centuries, the entrenchment of Ottoman urban civilization and Bosnia's corresponding integration into the Empire's wider educational orbit produced a number of prolific local authors who wrote in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic.<sup>64</sup> Almost from the outset, Muslim authors also wrote their native language in the Arabic script—so-called *aljamiado* literature (BCS: *alhamijado književnost*), from the analogous practice in Arabic Spain—but this corpus largely consisted of folk poetry.<sup>65</sup> Evidently lacking the prestige of the established Islamic languages, the vernacular remained virtually absent from Muslim education, which even on the elementary level largely consisted of the rote learning of Turkish and Arabic phrases.<sup>66</sup>

Signs of change would appear by the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. One of the earliest to offer an alternative appears to have been Mehmed “Razi” Velihodžić (1722-1785), a highly regarded astronomer and scholar in Sarajevo, who authored vernacular poems exhorting children to pursue

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<sup>63</sup> Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918 godine* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983) [Muslim Schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the Year 1914].

<sup>64</sup> As but one example, Ahmed Sudi Bosnevi (d. 1593) from the village of Sudići near Foča authored some of the most highly regarded Ottoman commentaries on the classic works of Persian literature. This output by Bosnian Muslim authors in “Eastern” languages would form a major topic of study for Bosnian orientalists and literary scholars in the 20th century. For one of the definitive catalogues, see: Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine Na Orijentalnim Jezicima* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1973) [The Literature of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Oriental Languages].

<sup>65</sup> For one of the definitive works on this literature, see: Muhamed Huković, *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoci* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986) [Alhamijado Literature and its Creators].

<sup>66</sup> For a brief account of the prestige accorded to exceptional knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish in Ottoman Sarajevo, see: Kerima Filan, “Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century (According to Mulla Mustafa's Mecmua),” in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 317–46.

learning as well as possibly several other shorter Islamic instructional works in the local language.<sup>67</sup> According to earlier Bosnian scholars, Velihodžić envisioned introducing the vernacular to Muslim primary schooling more generally, and even advocated for opening a girls' mekteb, indicating a broader set of pedagogical concerns.<sup>68</sup> His younger contemporary and erstwhile student, the Sarajevan chronicler Mullah Mustafa Bašeskija (1731/2-1809), would later write in praise of the supposed lexical richness of the Bosnian language relative to Arabic and Turkish, perhaps suggesting a broader shift in attitudes toward the vernacular among urban men of letters at this time. The most significant figure in this vein, however, would only appear toward the end of Velihodžić's life and well outside of Bosnia's major cities. This was Abdulvehab "Ilhamija," a Sheikh of the Naqshbandi Sufi order from the small town of Žepče, some 70 kilometers northeast of Sarajevo.

Some of the most basic biographical information about Ilhamija emerges from his own poetry. We know, for instance, that he was born in the years 1773-74, for he himself states the year of his birth as 1187 in the Islamic calendar.<sup>69</sup> His poetic proclamation to "have no mother and remember no father" similarly suggests that both of his parents died early in his life. While the existing work by Bosnian scholars usually stops there, the available evidence strongly hints that Ilhamija's father may have been one Abdulvehab Karahodžić (OT: *Karahocazade*), a provincial

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<sup>67</sup> Mehmed Mujezinović, "Biblioteka Mehmed-Razi Velihodžića šejha i muderisa Husrev-begova hanikaha u Sarajevu," *Anali Gazi Husrev-Begove biblioteke* 4, no. 5–6 (December 31, 1978): 66–67 [The Library of Mehmed "Razi" Velihodžić, Sheikh and Professor of the Gazi Husrev-beg Hanikah in Sarajevo].

<sup>68</sup> Muhamed Huković, "Naponi za uvođenje narodnog jezika u početne vjerske škole Muslimana," *Anali Gazi Husrev-Begove biblioteke* 17–18 (1996): 241–42 [Efforts to Introduce the Folk Language into Muslim Elementary Religious Schools].

<sup>69</sup> In the Turkish original: "Veladetim tarihi bin yüz seksen yedi" (The year of my birth is a thousand and one hundred eighty seven). Kasim Dobrača, "Tuhfetul-musallin ve zubdetul-haši'in od Abdul-Vehaba Žepčevije Ilhamije," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 2, no. 2–3 (December 31, 1974): 42 [Tuḥfa al-muṣallin wa zubda al-hāš'in by Abdulvehab Ilhamija from Žepče].

member of the Ulema class active in much the same part of the country.<sup>70</sup> Ilhamija's signature in some of his works confirms that he and his father shared the same first name, and a fragmentary manuscript record indicates that the elder Abdulvehab died at some point between 1773 and 1787, which would further correspond with the previously mentioned elements of Ilhamija's biography.<sup>71</sup> This potential link is especially significant because Abdulvehab Karahodžić's writings show him to have been a poet in the vernacular language and a Sufi Sheikh himself. In addition, Abdulvehab's own father was one Abdullah Karahodža (T: *Kara hoca*), a well-known preacher in the region and the composer of a particularly famous vernacular poem dating to 1740 colloquially titled "Bošnjakuša" (the Bosnian song). Together with the previously mentioned Razi and Bašeskija in Sarajevo, the activities of the Karahodžić family in northern Bosnia further suggest changing attitudes toward the vernacular language among some segments of the country's Ulema, as well as important background for Ilhamija's own later work.

This potential familial link would also contextualize what we know about Ilhamija's formal education. If Abdulvehab Karahodžić was in fact his father, then Ilhamija would have begun his higher studies under his presumed uncle, Ahmed Karahodžić, the son and successor of the original Karahodža at the *Ferhadija* mosque in Žepče.<sup>72</sup> Ilhamija appears in any case to have pursued learning throughout his life, eventually also receiving a diploma from Sheikh Abdullah Čankarija at the

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<sup>70</sup> Muhamed Hadžijamaković, "Medžmua Abdul-Vehhaba Karahodže (Karahodža zade)," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 11–12 (1985): 211–28 [The Mecmua of Abdul-Vehhab Karahodža (Karahodža zade)].

<sup>71</sup> Although Hadžijamaković does not draw this connection himself, he notes that the Mecmua of the elder Abdulvehab was originally in the possession of one Hadžiahmetović in Visoko, a direct descendant of both Karahodža and Ilhamija. The familial link would also contextualize Ilhamija's apparent function as imam of the Ferhadija mosque in Žepče, since the two previous holders had been Ahmed Karahodžić and Karahodža himself. If Ilhamija was part of the same family, then the post would have been intra-familial, as many such positions were at this time. Hadžijamaković, 215, 228.

<sup>72</sup> Dobrača, "Tuhfetul-musallin," 45.

madrasa in Tešanj, another northern Bosnian town, in 1810.<sup>73</sup> As this document suggests, however, Ilhamija had by then already developed a reputation as a popular religious authority in his own right, for his professor described him as having “reached such a degree [of knowledge] that people came to him from all over and received explanations on every which matter.”

The Tešanj diploma further confirms Ilhamija’s links to the Naqshbandi Sufi order more generally, but there are also strong reasons to believe that he was affiliated with its more recent Mujaddidi offshoot. Originating in the Mughal Empire with the work of the millenarian thinker Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624), it arrived in Bosnia with Husein Baba Zukić (d. c. 1800), who after a spiritual odyssey that took him from Istanbul to Samarkand returned in the years 1780-81 to establish a Mujaddidi lodge in his native village of Živčići near Fojnica.<sup>74</sup> Ilhamija’s descendants and surviving manuscripts are especially concentrated in this heartland of the Bosnian branch of the Naqshbandi order around Fojnica and the nearby town of Visoko, providing circumstantial evidence of a historical link to the region.<sup>75</sup> Popular tradition also holds that Ilhamija studied under Abdurrahman Sirri (1775-1846/47), Husein Baba’s most famous student and another prolific

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<sup>73</sup> Muhamed Ždralović, “Abdulvehab ibni Abdulvehab Žepčevi-Bosnevi (Ilhamija),” *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 4, no. 5–6 (December 31, 1978): 127–44.

<sup>74</sup> Hamid Algar, “Some Notes on the Naqshbandī Tariqat in Bosnia,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 13, no. 3/4 (1971): 168–203; Džemal Čehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1986), 51–54 [Dervish Orders in the Yugoslav Lands with a Particular Focus on Bosnia-Herzegovina]; Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2007), 49–63.

<sup>75</sup> Muhamed Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1991), 37 [Ilhamija: Life and Work]; For an overview of Ilhamija’s extant manuscripts and their origins, see: Elvir Duranović, “Alhamijado Ilmihal Abdulvehhaba Ilhamije Žepčaka,” *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 24, no. 38 (December 31, 2017): 267–70 [The Aljamiado Ilmihal of Abdulvehab Ilhamija from Žepče].

author of vernacular poetry.<sup>76</sup> Given their similar age, geography, and poetic sensibilities, it seems highly likely that the two men had some kind of relationship.

Although Ilhamija wrote extensively in Turkish and occasionally even in Arabic, his popularity undoubtedly rested on his extensive poetry in the Bosnian vernacular, which would have reached a far wider audience in an overwhelmingly illiterate and monolingual rural society. By his own admission, he never formally studied poetic meter, instead attributing his talent to divine inspiration and taking up the moniker “Ilhamija” (A: ’ilhāmiyy, lit: Inspired), which he interspersed throughout his multilingual oeuvre.<sup>77</sup> While this poetic flair and a larger mystical sensibility characterized Ilhamija’s entire body of work, he evidently distinguished between the readers and listeners of his Turkish and Bosnian poems. The former thus aimed at a more educated audience, addressing such doctrinal disputes as the permissibility of music and chanting in dervish ceremonies with thorough references to scholarly authorities.<sup>78</sup> By contrast, Ilhamija’s Bosnian poems are replete with calls for listeners to pursue learning in their daily life, whether by attending primary school—an echo of the aforementioned Razi in Sarajevo—or by taking part in Sufi rituals.<sup>79</sup>

While this vernacular output is firmly grounded in the Bosnian terrain, it notably also exhibits a number of more cosmopolitan tendencies. Ilhamija thus describes divine law as “sweeter than halva / purer than the [river] Sava,” but also urges readers in the same poem to “not walk around idle” and instead embark on the path of Saints (A: ’awliyā’), taking the Sava to the Danube,

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<sup>76</sup> Writing in 1974, Kasim Dobrača described Ilhamija’s purported study under Sirri as “a traditional account passed down among our dervish orders.” Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin,” 47.

<sup>77</sup> Dobrača, 48.

<sup>78</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 125–27.

<sup>79</sup> Hadžijamaković, 73–76.

visiting both Istanbul and Vienna, and ultimately seeing “states and lodges / Shahs, Viziers, and Hajjis” from Egypt to the Hejaz and Syria.<sup>80</sup> While his work is not always this geographically explicit, such detail may well stem from his own completion of the pilgrimage to Mecca, as he appears in at least one instance to identify himself as a Hajji.<sup>81</sup> Whatever the case, Ilhamija repeatedly situates Bosnians as part of a far-reaching community of Islamic peoples, emblematic of worldly diversity under divine oversight: “Some are Arab, some are foreign / Some Uzbek, some Persian / Turkish and Bosnian / Townsman and peasant.”<sup>82</sup>

In addition to his poetry, Ilhamija wrote two separate catechisms—examples of the ‘ilm-i ḥāl genre—in Bosnian and Turkish respectively. Although an original copy of the Bosnian catechism has not survived, we know from the Turkish version that Ilhamija completed this other text in either May or June of 1801. In both works, he concludes with reference to a serious illness marked by intense headaches and general frailty, seemingly bidding farewell to the world and asking for divine mercy and the prayers of his readers.<sup>83</sup> Together with the novelty that both texts represent in terms of their genre and ambition, this suggests that he composed them roughly concurrently, finding motivation in a sense of impending death.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, a copy of the Bosnian version appears in Fojnica

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<sup>80</sup> Hadžijamaković, 49–50, 65–66.

<sup>81</sup> Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin,” 42.

<sup>82</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 137.

<sup>83</sup> Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin,” 68; Duranović, “Alhamijado Ilmihal,” 300.

<sup>84</sup> Given that the aforementioned Husein Baba Zukić died around the year 1800, we can speculate that the departure of one of the Naqshbandi Sufi order’s foremost spiritual authorities in Bosnia may have also motivated Ilhamija to leave behind a more thorough instructional text. Algar, “Some Notes on the Naqshbandi Tariqat in Bosnia”; Interestingly, Ahmed Karahodžić, Ilhamija’s mentor at the Žepče madrasa and possible uncle, appears to have also died at the very start of the 19th century. Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin,” 45–46.

as early as 1803-04, indicating that the text was both already extant by then and had quickly achieved some currency among local Ulema, lending further credence to this theory.<sup>85</sup>

This vernacular catechism would have particularly stood out for being perhaps the first of its kind. Although the ‘ilm-i ḥāl genre of vernacular catechisms had already proliferated through much of the Ottoman Empire by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Bosnian madrasas appear to have been content with Turkish-language texts throughout, most notably the testament of Imam Birgivi.<sup>86</sup> While scholars cannot entirely discount the possibility of earlier ‘ilm-i ḥāl texts in the Bosnian-language, Ilhamija himself seems to have registered the novelty of his endeavor. In a poem from this time, after once again making reference to his poor health, he explicitly justifies the elevation of Bosnian to a written language: “Do not laugh, for it is our language / the pen writes every language / God’s mercy is perfectly large enough (BCS: *sasma velik*) / I beg of you to educate yourself.”<sup>87</sup> Ultimately, even if an earlier ‘ilm-i ḥāl in the Bosnian language eventually surfaces, the available evidence suggests that Ilhamija’s text was the most significant such work of this earlier period.

Similar to his poetry, Ilhamija’s two ‘ilm-i ḥāl works address markedly different audiences. His Bosnian language ‘ilm-i ḥāl is thus largely concerned with daily practice and morality, drawing on the Quran and Hadith to provide, as he puts it, “whatever is most necessary to non-Arabs (A:

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<sup>85</sup> Duranović, “Alhamijado Ilmihal,” 270.

<sup>86</sup> The only other vernacular ‘ilm-i ḥāl from this period currently known to Bosnian scholars appears to be an anonymous text dated to 1810, seemingly only appearing after Ilhamija’s versions. Alen Kalajdžija, “Tri rukopisna arebička ilmihala na bosanskom jeziku u XIX st.,” in *Islam i mušulmanie w kulturze, literaturze i językach Słowian Południowych* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016), 255–64 [Three Manuscript Arabic-Script ‘ilm-i ḥāl in the Bosnian Language in the 19th Century].

<sup>87</sup> Ždralović, “Ilhamija,” 132.



‘ajamiyy).”<sup>88</sup> In addition to these canonical sources, however, Ilhamija also dispenses folk advice on such subjects as desirable qualities in a wife or husband.<sup>89</sup> By contrast, Ilhamija’s Turkish-language ‘ilm-i ḥāl speaks directly to other members of the Ulema, expounding on his theory of interpreting the Quran, for instance, and explicitly addressing potential accusations of blasphemy (A: kufr).<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere, he provides an entire catalogue of blasphemous phrases common among the Bosnian peasantry of the time, which he instructs religious teachers to watch for and intercept.<sup>91</sup>

Ultimately, this latter text gives a better sense of Ilhamija’s entire socio-political worldview. He thus explains that it is thanks to Bosnians’ exceptional piety relative to other Muslim peoples that Bosnia has remained safe while surrounded by nonbelievers on three sides, and that it is owing to this same piety that Bosnians have also removed Ottoman officials who had dared to commit injustices (A: zulm).<sup>92</sup> From this perspective, Ilhamija’s unprecedented use of the vernacular appears intended to buttress this piety—the cornerstone of his entire social order—among common people at a time of perceived moral decay, while his Turkish writings made this mission more explicit among the class of religious instructors charged with overseeing it. In contrast to earlier ‘ilm-i ḥāl texts that had emerged closer to the centers of Ottoman power, Ilhamija did not necessarily envision a state role in this project; his work, whether in Bosnian or Turkish, was intended for a particular

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<sup>88</sup> Although the context of a work that draws on Arabic-language sources suggests this more traditional meaning, “acemi” in modern Turkish can also translate as “beginner” or “novice.” In any case, in contrast to its Turkish counterpart, Ilhamija’s Bosnian ‘ilm-i ḥāl speaks to an audience without direct access to established religious texts. Duranović, “Alhamijado Ilmihal,” 299.

<sup>89</sup> Duranović, 294.

<sup>90</sup> Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin,” 61.

<sup>91</sup> As but one example, Ilhamija warns of the apparently common Arabic-Bosnian rhyme “lā ilāha illā allāh / kud djevojke, tud i ja” ([I declare that] There is no God but God / [And] Wherever the girls [go], so too I). Dobrača, 66–67.

<sup>92</sup> Dobrača, 63.

regional community of believers.<sup>93</sup> It remained, however, firmly within an Ottoman framework, with the Sultan as the supreme arbiter of justice, Turkish and Arabic as the unifying languages of higher learning, and provincial Muslims tasked with preventing both the Empire's non-Muslim enemies and its corrupt middle officials from violating this order.<sup>94</sup>

Ilhamija's theology emerged from Bosnia's particular position in imperial politics at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz and the Ottomans' devastating territorial losses in central Europe, the province formed the empire's westernmost frontier. Partly as a consequence, it also developed a unique administrative structure, centered on a system of military "captaincies" (BCS: *kapetanije*) under the rule of local Muslim elites.<sup>95</sup> These Bosnian captains commanded private garrisons, practiced hereditary succession, and thus enjoyed wide-ranging autonomy as a de facto provincial nobility. They also bore much of the burden for the province's defense from Habsburg incursions, notably beating back one such offensive at the Battle of Banja Luka in 1737, while also launching raids of their own into Austrian and Venetian territory. At the same time, frequent cholera outbreaks and fires in the region's urban centers as well as taxing military conflicts elsewhere in the empire increasingly fostered an apocalyptic atmosphere.

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<sup>93</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, "Where 'ilm-i Ḥāl Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization," *Past & Present*, no. 220 (August 2013): 114; Ilhamija's provincial reformism can also be understood in relation to roughly contemporary efforts to reform Islamic education at the Ottoman center. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Boston: Brill, 2001).

<sup>94</sup> Notably, the earliest known reproduction of Ilhamija's Bosnian 'ilm-i ḥāl came in a bundle with copies of a conversational Bosnian-Turkish rhyming dictionary and an Arabic grammar. Whether or not earlier scholars were right to suggest that Ilhamija may have authored these other texts as well, they are in any case indicative of the multilingual pedagogical context in which Ilhamija's works would have been read. Duranović, "Alhamijado Ilmihal," 270.

<sup>95</sup> Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

By the century's end, the Ottoman central state under Selim III responded to these broader military setbacks with a program of fiscal consolidation and military-administrative centralization aimed at meeting the demands of modern warfare. This new course, continuing under Selim's eventual successor Mahmud II, led to cascading conflict between the Ottoman state and provincial actors that had become accustomed to relative autonomy. As Frederick Anscombe has argued, Muslims and Christians in the Balkans alike perceived this process as a failure of the authorities to endorse basic standards of justice, rising up in a series of rebellions that thus broadly fit within the global "Age of Revolution."<sup>96</sup> In Bosnia in particular, the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a quick succession of 16 largely ineffective governors, with local Muslims consistently rebuking efforts by the Sultan's representatives to curb their autonomy.<sup>97</sup> This rejection went beyond just the military and landowning elites—the captains and beys (BCS: *begovi*) respectively—to encompass broader swaths of Muslim society, notably including many Ulema and the influential janissary class in cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar. For his part, Ilhamija castigated these fleeting governors for their lies and sins in one particularly vituperative vernacular composition.<sup>98</sup>

Both this simmering provincial unrest and Ilhamija's poetic critique in particular would come to a head with the appointment of a new governor, Ali Celal Pasha, at the start of 1820. A far more ruthlessly efficient administrator than his immediate predecessors, Celal arrived in Bosnia with an unprecedentedly large armed retinue and quickly implemented a series of local security measures

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<sup>96</sup> Frederick F. Anscombe, "The Balkan Revolutionary Age," *The Journal of Modern History* 84, no. 3 (2012): 572–606.

<sup>97</sup> Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 122.

<sup>98</sup> In rough translation: "Where is your Halil Pasha? / And the guest Ali Pasha? / Even our cattle know / What has happened to your lies? / Be ashamed, it is a disgrace / Be afraid, it is a sin / Think about what you are doing / What has happened to your lies? / This world will soon end / Angels will come for your souls / Lying will not help you then / What was the point of your lies?" Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 77.

aimed at curbing brigandage.<sup>99</sup> According to the available evidence, both Christians and Muslims viewed these initial actions as a positive development for decades thereafter.<sup>100</sup> Celal's firm intent to rein in local power holders, however, would prove far more controversial. Most notably, he rejected Sarajevo's special status in provincial administration and demanded that the captains of the northwestern military frontier (BCS: *Krajina*) stop their unauthorized raids on Habsburg territory. The former measure notably aggravated one Mustafa Enis Ćohadžić (OT: Çukacızade), a Sharia judge in the city and member of a highly regarded Ulema family, whose protests prompted Celal to send him into internal exile.<sup>101</sup> Ilhamija appears to have had a familial relationship with the Ćohadžić clan, but he himself seems to have publicly welcomed Celal during this initial period; in one Turkish language poem in particular, he proclaimed the governor's arrival a Godsend and assigned responsibility for the conflict to the abovementioned Bosnian captains in the Krajina.<sup>102</sup>

Over time, however, the dervish's stance toward Celal's governorship evidently deteriorated. This is perhaps clearest in a poem titled "A Strange Time has arisen" (BCS: *Čudan zeman nastade*), whose abundant manuscript reproductions already in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century identify it as the poet's most famous work.<sup>103</sup> In it, Ilhamija bemoaned the widespread criminality and corruption of his time, casting the blame on incompetent Ottoman administrators and venal Ulema who "broke

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<sup>99</sup> Galib Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1813-1826*, Studije i monografije 2 (Banja Luka: Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci, 1985), 209–27 [Bosnia-Herzegovina 1813-1826]; Safvet Bašagić-Redžepašić, *Kratka uputa u prošlost Bosne i Hercegovine (Od g. 1463.-1850.)* (Sarajevo: Vlastita Naklada, 1900), 130 [A Short Introduction to the Past of Bosnia-Herzegovina (From 1463-1850)].

<sup>100</sup> Salih Sidki Muvekkīt Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne*, trans. Abdulah Polimac et al., vol. 2 (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), 842 [The History of Bosnia].

<sup>101</sup> Hadžihuseinović, 2:837.

<sup>102</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 37, 144–47.

<sup>103</sup> For a transcription of the original song, see: Hadžijamaković, 70–72; For a more contemporary analysis: Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 121–23.

their necks to acquire property” rather than attending to public morality. In thirteen brief lines, Ilhamija acknowledged the legitimacy of the broader imperial system of government (“All viziers judge righteously / And so the pashas are good as well”), but despaired that the system was breaking down over the preponderance of apostates and evildoers in more immediate positions of authority. In another poem, this time in Turkish, he explicitly praised local Sufi saints who had suffered injustices in their championing of the common people in previous centuries, including even in open revolt against the Sultan’s representatives.<sup>104</sup> According to legend, by the end of 1821 these sorts of critical songs enraged Celal to such a degree that he summoned Ilhamija to the provincial capital in Travnik and had him executed in the castle’s dungeons. Combined with Celal’s outright liquidation of prominent captains and the elimination of their hereditary privileges in the remainder of his tenure, this romantic tale of a poet rebel knowingly marching to his death would solidify the governor’s reputation as a cruel tyrant in historical memory.

Despite the popular appeal of this legend, documentary evidence from the Ottoman archives casts Ilhamija’s demise in a notably different light.<sup>105</sup> The crucial context is that the year 1821 posed two major issues for Celal’s governance: first, the ongoing recalcitrance of the Krajina captains amidst increasing diplomatic pressure from Habsburg officials; and second, the simultaneous state crackdown on Ali Pasha of Ionnina, the so-called Muslim Bonaparte in the Epirus, for which Celal had to levy Bosnian reinforcements for the imperial army.<sup>106</sup> These increasing strains on provincial society appear to have provoked into rebellion one Salih-beg, the military administrator of the

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<sup>104</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 148–51.

<sup>105</sup> “Report from Bosnia Governor Celal Paša to Sultan Mahmud II,” December 1, 1821, HAT.746.35232, BOA.

<sup>106</sup> Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1813-1826*, x–275.

district of Srebrenica on Bosnia's eastern border. Formerly an important commander in the Porte's response to the 1804-1809 Serb uprising, Salih evidently felt that the governor had overstepped his authority, calling for a popular uprising and rhetorically allying himself with Ali Pasha further south.<sup>107</sup> Based on Celal's own subsequent report to Istanbul, the "vile and contemptible" Sheikh Ilhamija was a major ideological influence on Salih's revolt.

Given Ilhamija's initial support of Celal vis-à-vis the Krajina captains, the most likely catalyst for his about turn would have been the governor's attempt to extract Bosnian manpower and resources for a conflict outside of Bosnia and against a fellow Balkan Muslim.<sup>108</sup> According to both Celal's report and later folk legends, Ilhamija convinced Salih that he had divine favor in the conflict against the governor and urged commoners in the region to join his rebellion.<sup>109</sup> For his part, Salih himself framed his decision in quasi-mystical terms, claiming that Celal had cast a spell on the province but that he alone could see through him and would hence prove invincible in the field of battle.<sup>110</sup> This corresponds with Ilhamija's own reputation as a miraculous figure among the local peasantry, who apparently believed that he had ascended to the heavens and fathered three warrior sons there with a celestial wife.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne*.

<sup>108</sup> This provincial solidarity fits comfortably within Anscombe's interpretation of Balkan Muslim sympathies for Mehmet Ali in Egypt at around this same time. See: Frederick F. Anscombe, "Islam and the Age of Ottoman Reform," *Past & Present* 208, no. 1 (August 1, 2010): 159–89.

<sup>109</sup> Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne*, 2:847–48.

<sup>110</sup> "Report from Bosnia Governor Celal Paşa to Sultan Mahmud II."

<sup>111</sup> This legend also comes from Celal's official report to Istanbul, but Ilhamija's Turkish-language catechism from two decades earlier appears to confirm that he indeed had three sons. Dobrača, "Tuhfetul-musallin," 69.

The end result was an open revolt in the northeast corner of the country, driven in no small part by Ilhamija's agitating, which initially rallied a multi-confessional coalition of local villagers around Salih's banner. With the support of the captains from neighboring districts and other loyalists, however, Celal quickly crushed Salih's army, sending his and his lieutenants severed heads to the Sublime Porte.<sup>112</sup> By the first week of December in 1821, Celal had also executed Ilhamija and sent out warrants for several members of the Ćohadžić family, his fellow Naqshbandi Sheikhs and apparent co-conspirators. Sultan Mahmud II personally commended Celal's success and singled out the execution of Ilhamija as particularly felicitous, for "such Sufi Sheikhs, not minding their own affairs, are corrupting the faith of so many people."<sup>113</sup> Mahmud's Grand Vizier correspondingly lamented the sad state of Ottoman Muslims, taking Ilhamija's revolt as evidence that "the emerging great catastrophe" (OT: *zuhur eden fesad-ı azim*)—the Greek revolt in the Peloponnese was by then well under way—could not be attributed solely to the Rum millet (i.e. Orthodox Christians).

In the nearly two centuries since, Ilhamija's poetic rebellion has left a fascinating intellectual legacy in its own right. Except perhaps as a vague folk memory in northern Bosnia, his involvement in the uprising seems to have soon vanished from the historical record, possibly due to the far larger military conflicts between the Ottoman state and Bosnian notables in the decades to come.<sup>114</sup> Writing in the 1870s, one of the foremost chroniclers of the time thus alludes to Ilhamija's support of Salih-beg and his death in the Travnik dungeon, but gives no indication that he had tried to stir

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<sup>112</sup> An Austrian report from December 11th speaks to this denouement as well, alleging that Salih was betrayed by one of his own men. Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1813-1826*, 275.

<sup>113</sup> "Report from Bosnia Governor Celal Paşa to Sultan Mahmud II."

<sup>114</sup> Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 118.

revolt himself, portraying him instead as a victim of Celal's tyrannical whims.<sup>115</sup> By the century's end, Ilhamija would reappear as a decontextualized poet during early efforts to catalogue Bosnian Muslim folk traditions, setting off an enduring literary fascination with his fragmentary oeuvre and mysterious death.<sup>116</sup> In 1936, the young literary critic Hasan Kikić (1905-1942) drew on these early cultural excavations to valorize Ilhamija as a proto-Marxist revolutionary, standing up on behalf of the common people against malicious oppressors.<sup>117</sup> Characterizing Ilhamija's executioner Celal Pasha as a "bloodthirsty panther," Kikić's colorful thesis appears to have struck a chord with an emerging generation of Muslim leftist writers and intellectuals in interwar Yugoslavia, the famed novelist Meša Selimović being one such admirer.

Across the rupture of the Second World War, however, this fascination with the dervish rebel reemerged with a markedly transfigured ideological valance. Selimović's 1966 magnum opus, "Death and the Dervish," one of the landmark works of 20<sup>th</sup> century Yugoslav literature, thus centered on a solitary Sufi protagonist—Sheikh Nurudin, equal parts Kafka's Jozef K and Kikić's Ilhamija—struggling against an impervious state that had imprisoned his brother Harun without explanation. Though set in the 18<sup>th</sup> century during Ottoman rule, Selimović's more immediate allusion was to the state-building excesses of the Yugoslav communist authorities themselves: in the chaotic closing months of 1944, during the Partisans' successful resistance to Nazi occupation in the Second World War, his brother Šefkija, a committed leftist, was falsely accused of appropriating household goods from a party storage silo and executed as an example of communist stringency. At

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<sup>115</sup> Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne*, 2:847–48 [The History of Bosnia].

<sup>116</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Hasan Kikić, "Nekoliko svijetlih i nekoliko opskurnih imena u Be-Ha literaturi," *Almanah savremenih problema*, 1936 [Several Shining and Several Obscure Names in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Literature].



about the same time that Selimović's novel catapulted him to literary acclaim in Belgrade, scholars working in the publications of Bosnia-Herzegovina's official Islamic institutions in Sarajevo began drawing on hitherto unknown manuscript sources to reinterpret Ilhamija as a pious anti-authoritarian, sometimes even downplaying his Sufism to match their modernist outlooks.<sup>118</sup> It seems hardly a coincidence that, at a time of steady liberalization and reckoning with the recent Yugoslav past, Ilhamija developed into a symbol of resistance to state corruption and extrajudicial violence among both leftist literati and religious intellectuals.

In the final analysis, these readings built upon a fundamentally incomplete historical record. Far from a passive observer, Ilhamija seems to have actively urged Bosnian commoners to take up arms against the Sultan's representatives. While his contemporaries did see the poet's execution as unjust, they were similarly drawing on a different conception of justice, one that does not neatly transfer to the modern ideological landscape. In particular, Ilhamija's devotion to an idealized Ottoman-Islamic social order would have been anathema to latter-day Balkan leftists and nationalists alike, while his fundamental ties to Sufi Islam sit uneasily with prevailing Islamic modernist historical narratives that have since identified this once-dominant tradition as symptomatic of Muslim decline. Nevertheless, his stirring of ordinary people in defense of local autonomy and against the imposition of a heavy-handed external control places him firmly within the global revolutionary context of his time. While the relationship between forward-thinking Bosnian Ulema and the Ottoman central state would significantly change in the coming decades, Abdulvehab Ilhamija's equally revolutionary embrace of the vernacular would endure far longer.

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<sup>118</sup> Muhamed Hadžijamaković thus pointedly placed Ilhamija alongside “the myriad of world thinkers and creators who perished because of their openly critical speech,” assigning primary blame for the poet's death on “the sorts of sycophants found at the feet of every political authority.” Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*, 6, 20.

## 1.2. Tanzimat from Below

As the details of Ilhamija's rebellion largely receded from popular memory, his written works and populist concerns continued to exert an influence on the expanding Naqshbandi order. Copies of his poems and catechisms thus seemed to particularly proliferate in the region around Fojnica in central Bosnia, though a poetic reference to his death at the hands of Celal Pasha, perhaps drawing on the more distant reaches of these same networks, would surface as far afield as Cairo.<sup>119</sup> In the meantime, Ilhamija's tomb in Travnik developed into an important regional shrine, with another Naqshbandi Sheikh, Arif Sidki Kurt, likely contributing a vernacular poem in the Arabic script to the site in 1860-61.<sup>120</sup> As in the case of other contemporary references, Arif's poem identified Ilhamija as a martyr (T: *şehit*), indicating some lingering sense of his revolutionary end. Whether or not it was in direct response to this revolt or out of a more general reckoning with the Sufi influence on Bosnian peasants, however, the Ottoman state seems to have by then entered into a new entente with the Naqshbandi order. Mahmud II thus granted tax-exempt status to the lodge of Sheikh Abdurrahman Sirri, Ilhamija's poetic contemporary and likely associate, who in turn wrote poems in praise of the Sultan.<sup>121</sup> The same Sheikh frequently enjoyed visits from local officials as well, further testifying to the order's perceived weight in Bosnian affairs.

At around the same time, two other figures with Naqshbandi links would emerge to define the next stage of this evolving relationship between provincial Ulema and the imperial state. The first was Derviš Muhamed "Sidi" Korkut (c. 1792-1877), originally from Herzegovina, who had returned

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<sup>119</sup> Ždralović, "Ilhamija," 129.

<sup>120</sup> Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija: Život i Djelo*.

<sup>121</sup> Čehajić, *Derviški redovi*, 56, 71.

from studies in Istanbul to resettle in Travnik around 1820.<sup>122</sup> Following the 1821 revolt, Korkut took over from one of Ilhamija's exiled Čohadžić affiliates as Mufti of Travnik, a title he held alongside his posts as an instructor in the same city's Elči Ibrahim Pasha madrasa and Sheikh of its Naqshbandi lodge. Over the ensuing decades, he gradually established a reputation as one of the country's most respected theological authorities, exhibiting particular concern for the lives of Balkan pastoralists in this mountainous milieu. Thus in 1856, when wealthier herders tried to monopolize access to lowland pastures on nearby Mt. Vlašić, Korkut issued a fatwa upholding communal access for shepherds with smaller flocks as well.

Having essentially started with the failure of Ilhamija's rebellion, Korkut's tenure as Mufti had by then overlapped with the almost complete erosion of Bosnian Muslim autonomy vis-à-vis the central state. In 1831-32, Husein Gradašević, the captain of Gradačac, who in 1821 had helped Celal disperse Salih's forces near Srebrenica, led an unsuccessful revolt against Ottoman authorities himself, leading to the formal dismantling of captaincies and timars.<sup>123</sup> A similar pattern replicated itself in 1849-50, when Ali Rizvanbegović, who had played a key role in crushing Gradašević's revolt nearly twenty years earlier, rose up as well. This second uprising occurred in the context of the post-1839 liberal "reordering" of Ottoman administration under the Tanzimat, with the Porte's final crushing of the Bosnian elites paving the way for a more thorough implementation of the reforms in the recalcitrant province.

The second of the two aforementioned figures was the Ottoman statesman Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895), one of the major intellectual architects of the Tanzimat and a particularly

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<sup>122</sup> Alija Bejtović, *Derviš M. Korkut kao kulturni i javni radnik* (Sarajevo: Biblioteka pokopnog društva "Bakije," 1974), 13–17 [Derviš M. Korkut as a Cultural and Public Worker].

<sup>123</sup> "Report from Bosnia Governor Celal Paša to Sultan Mahmud II."

significant determiner of its eventual success in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In contrast to many of his bureaucratically trained peers in the upper echelons of Ottoman state service, Cevdet came from an Ulema background. Born in Lofça in present-day Bulgaria to a family of local gentry, he arrived in Istanbul in 1839 on the eve of the Edict of Gülhane and the start of the Tanzimat.<sup>124</sup> There he completed his madrasa studies in a remarkably efficient five years, notably supplementing them with the extracurricular study of such subjects as Persian at one of the city's Naqshbandi lodges and worldly sciences in exchange with a student at the military engineering school. This unique combination contributed to his rapid rise in Ottoman ranks, as the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Pasha first enlisted him as a family tutor and eventually as a formal subordinate.

Cevdet's background also shaped his outlook toward the nascent reform project in at least two significant ways. First, Cevdet was intimately aware of the shortcomings of the madrasa system of education, devoting considerable attention in 1850 to the development of the *Darülmualimin*, a teacher's college that would staff a parallel system of state schools. Second, despite these reservations and in sharp contrast to later generations of iconoclasts, he saw no discrepancy between institutional modernization and Islam, preferring instead a synthetic approach that culminated in such later ventures as the *Mecelle*, the first systemic effort at combining Civil and Islamic law. At the intersection of both of these formative concerns, Cevdet also undertook concrete steps to turn Ottoman Turkish into a scientific language, publishing a grammar and proposing reforms to the Arabic script in 1851.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Richard L. Chambers, "The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4, no. 4 (1973): 440–64.

<sup>125</sup> Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform : A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 16, 28; M. Alper Yalçinkaya, *Learned Patriots: Debating Science, State, and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 63.

For the purposes of this project, however, the crucial episode in Cevdet's career lies in 1863, when he began an extended tour as the Empire's inspector general for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tasked with instituting local conscription into the regular army—an enduring point of contention that, in an earlier form, may have instigated Ilhamija's rebellion—Cevdet's mission highlights both his broader ideological approach and profound influence on Bosnian Muslims specifically. Although his visits also addressed the condition of Bosnia's non-Muslim communities in the spirit of Tanzimat egalitarianism, Cevdet deliberately appealed to Muslims' religious-patriotic sentiments, framing reform in distinctly Islamic terms. This is especially apparent on the level of dress: Cevdet, who enjoyed legitimacy as a classically trained Islamic scholar, wore the turban and robes of Ulema rather than the fez and frock coat of a bureaucrat. He also ensured that his military accompaniment, meant to demonstrate the newly reformed regular army, dressed in ceremonial green uniforms for the end of Ramadan, a move that apparently made a significant impression on Sarajevo's inhabitants.<sup>126</sup> Speaking on one occasion to an assembly of provincial elites, Cevdet further appealed to local patriotic tradition, valorizing Bosnians as heroic servants of the empire who had produced such luminaries as Sokollu Mehmet Paşa.<sup>127</sup> Referencing the country's unforgiving mountain geography, he even described Bosnians as an exceptionally moral and pious people, but in a notable inversion of Ilhamija's conclusions from this same promise, lamented that this moral fortitude had deteriorated to the point that they had taken up arms against the Sultan's representatives, urging his listeners to reject recent rebellions and return instead to their stately tradition.

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<sup>126</sup> Kerima Filan, *Bosna i Hercegovina u spisima Ahmeda Dževdet-paše* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2018), 114, 121 [Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Writings of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha].

<sup>127</sup> Filan, 177–80.

By his own account then, Cevdet's success was based in large part on this ability to articulate centralizing state reforms in a locally grounded Islamic idiom. In this he found critical allies among the leading Bosnian Ulema, and in particular in the abovementioned Mufti Korkut, whom he singled out as enjoying "general trust and universal respect." Cevdet thus lists Korkut as the first regular member of a special council he had convened to address the implementation of military conscription, which also included Mustafa Sidki Karabeg (1832-1878) and Mustafa Hilmi Hadžiomerović (1816-1895), the Muftis of Mostar and Sarajevo respectively.<sup>128</sup> While other members of the Ulema actively resisted the reforms, these three religious authorities—based, not coincidentally, in the province's three primary administrative centers—saw an opportunity for engaging with the state. Collectively, they articulated what Philippe Gelez has termed "a moral pedagogy": insistence that technical and political reform did not necessarily entail moral and religious degradation."<sup>129</sup> More immediately, they provided an explicitly religious rationale for Bosnian service in the regular army, with Korkut reciting prayers to close out both the special council and ensuing public proclamation of the adopted reform.<sup>130</sup> As Cevdet's visit also provided new opportunities for the integration of collaborationist provincial elites into the Empire's growing educational networks, these members of the Ulema would emerge as some of its primary beneficiaries. Indeed, their direct descendants, whether biological or intellectual, would go on to

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<sup>128</sup> Filan, 115.

<sup>129</sup> Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)* [Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934: On the Intellectual Roots of Bosnian Muslim National Thought].

<sup>130</sup> Filan, *Bosna i Hercegovina u spisima Ahmeda Dževdet-paše*, 127–28.

constitute many of the major figures in Bosnian Muslim pedagogical reform initiatives, print entrepreneurship, and religious institutions for nearly seven decades to follow.<sup>131</sup>

In the shorter term, the trio of pro-Cevdet Muftis would exercise particular influence in two interrelated fields during the Tanzimat: the expansion of the state school system and associated experiments in print publishing. In terms of the former, the decade following Cevdet's visit saw the first concerted effort at extending civic public schools into provinces such as Bosnia, culminating after the 1869 Education Law with the gradual founding of around 30 Rüşdiye—4-year intermediary schools with Turkish-language instruction—in cities and towns throughout the country.<sup>132</sup> While 20<sup>th</sup> century historians have often interpreted these schools as the foundation of a secular public education system, much of their early teaching staff actually consisted of Ulema, with men such as Korkut's son Ahmed Munib often switching from teaching roles in preexisting madrasas to newfound Rüşdiye and vice versa.<sup>133</sup> At the same time, aspiring members of the Ulema who had set out for madrasa studies in Istanbul frequently also enrolled in Cevdet's aforementioned teacher's college, returning to Bosnia to implement new pedagogical techniques—often including vernacular instruction—in Muslim primary schools in even the most remote regions of the country. In short, beneath the surface of ostensibly top-down state reforms, provincial Ulema exercised considerable influence on the development of a modern education system in both town and country.

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<sup>131</sup> Before returning to this point in the following section, it is worth briefly noting that the Mufti Korkut's grandson, a graduate of Al-Azhar, produced the still-standard Bosnian translation of the Quran from 1977. Besim Korkut, *Kur'an* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1977) [The Quran].

<sup>132</sup> Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*.

<sup>133</sup> Bejtić, *Derviš M. Korkut*, 20.

This same period also saw the development of Bosnian print publishing, notably including the inaugural newspaper *Bosna*, a bilingual official gazette that first appeared in 1866 with one half in the vernacular in Cyrillic and another in Turkish in the Arabic script.<sup>134</sup> While these early periodical ventures depended largely on a diverse group of local entrepreneurs, select Bosnian Ulema were simultaneously also experimenting with the new medium in a renewed effort to introduce vernacular instruction into Muslim education. In contrast to the provincial gazette, however, these intra-communal efforts built on earlier manuscript models to render the vernacular in Arabic script as well. The first such initiative appears to have come from one Mustafa Rakim, a scholar who, similar to Ilhamija before him, had emerged from the Bosnian countryside.<sup>135</sup> Sometime in the mid-1860s and no later than 1868, he published the first Bosnian language and Arabic script ‘ilm-i ḥāl during studies in Istanbul.<sup>136</sup> This booklet then apparently circulated and achieved considerable popularity in his home region of the Krajina, where it remained widespread through the 1890s, testifying to the reach of the developing pedagogical networks referred to above.<sup>137</sup>

The next such effort, and the first to be published in Bosnia itself, came courtesy of one Omer Hazim Humo, whose life and work encapsulate many of the structural threads encountered thus far. Biographical details are so limited that scholars variously cite Humo’s year of birth as either 1808 or 1820, though seemingly all agree that he died in 1880. In either case, enough information

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<sup>134</sup> Hajdarpasić, *Whose Bosnia?*

<sup>135</sup> Hamdija Mulić, “Povijest naše početne vjerske nastave,” *Biser* 3, no. 11–12 (April 1, 1918): 178–80 [The History of our Elementary Religious Instruction].

<sup>136</sup> Srđan Janković, “Ko je autor prvog našeg štampanog alhamijado teksta?,” *Književni jezik* 17, no. 4 (1988): 193–98 [Who is the Author of our First Printed Aljamiado Text?]; Note that Rakim’s ‘ilm-i ḥāl begins with the same opening line as an 1810 vernacular ‘ilm-i ḥāl falsely attributed to Imam Birgivi, offering a clear indication of his reliance on earlier manuscript models. Kalajdžija, “Tri rukopisna arebička ilmihala.”

<sup>137</sup> M. H. B., “Odjek,” *Bošnjak*, May 18, 1898, 9.20 edition [Echo].



survives to make clear that he was both heir to the rural reformist tradition of Ilhamija and contemporaries such as Rakim as well as intimately tied to the new collaborationist Ulema overseeing the Bosnian Tanzimat. Originally from a highly regarded Ulema family in Mostar, Humo allegedly already worked as a madrasa professor in his hometown before leaving for additional studies in Istanbul. While a descendant of one of his later students claims that he first returned in 1862 to take over as the principal instructor at the newly renovated Junuz-aga Proho madrasa in Konjic, the writings of another student suggest that he was already a professor at the Atmejdan madrasa in Sarajevo by 1860.<sup>138</sup> Preliminary research in the Ottoman archives reveals scattered but ambiguous references, but what appears evident regardless is that Humo primarily operated along the aforementioned Mostar-Konjic-Sarajevo corridor from the 1850s through the 1870s.

Of these three settings, Humo undoubtedly left his greatest mark in Konjic, where he embarked on an exceptionally energetic program of grassroots reform in both the town itself and its immediate environs. As a pedagogue, he insisted on Bosnian language instruction at the above-mentioned madrasa, extending this approach to exclusively use a simplified vernacular in his sermons at the adjacent mosque as well.<sup>139</sup> In addition to these official responsibilities, he also traversed the surrounding countryside to advocate for improvements to peasants' agricultural practices (e.g. beekeeping, horticulture, and livestock farming), preach to shepherds on the adjacent mountains, and allegedly even proselytize against residual paganism in more remote villages.<sup>140</sup> Humo's

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<sup>138</sup> Jusuf Mulić, *Konjic i njegova okolina u vrijeme osmanske vladavine (1463-1878)*, Biblioteka Kulturno naslijeđe 2 (Konjic: Općina Konjic, 2001), 287 [Konjic and its Surroundings in the Time of Ottoman Rule]; Mehmed Faik Alagić, "Povijest Jedne Porodice: Memoari Mehmedi-Faika Alagića Iz Konjica (1894)," ed. Vojislav Bogičević, *Spomenik SANU* 110 (1961): 47–82 [The History of a Certain Family: the Memoir of Mehmed Faik Alagić from Konjic (1894)].

<sup>139</sup> Mulić, "Povijest naše početne vjerske nastave."

<sup>140</sup> Mulić, "Vjesnici," 103.

unorthodox methods and pedagogical concerns hint that he too may have received more than a traditional religious education during his time on the Bosphorus, though a conclusive link with the *Darülmualimin* lies beyond the scope of this project. Together with his vernacular poetry, they also suggest that he—like Ilhamija and his other predecessors—may have also been affiliated with a Sufi order.<sup>141</sup> Notably, Humo appears to have retained a popular reputation as an “Evlija” (A: ’awliyā’) who had done “ihja” (A: iḥyā’) to the people of Konjic for many decades after his death.<sup>142</sup>

Beyond these local activities, Humo’s greatest achievement was to publish his own ‘ilm-i ḥāl, *sahla al-wuṣūl* (lit: Easy Approach), in Sarajevo in 1875. As mentioned, since his contemporary Mustafa Rakim had already published a Bosnian-language and Arabic-script ‘ilm-i ḥāl in Istanbul in the mid-to-late 1860s, Humo’s was not the first such published work, but it was the first to appear in Bosnia itself. It also constituted a far heftier text and crowned a broader linguistic engagement. Humo’s catechism thus first appeared as a manuscript that he employed in his madrasa teaching in the mid-1860s, with orthographic differences between these earlier copies and the published version suggesting a sustained effort to improve his modified Arabic script. Humo himself claims to have also published a Bosnian-language treatise on the proper pronunciation of the Quran, while one earlier historian claims that he had also written a Bosnian-Turkish dictionary, though no copies of either text have survived.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, in contrast to his predecessors, Humo’s catechism laid out an explicitly pedagogical justification for his use of the vernacular, criticizing foreign language

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<sup>141</sup> Huković notably identifies one of Humo’s most famous compositions as exhibiting a “strict dervish worldview.” Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 157.

<sup>142</sup> Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Preporoditelj Hercegovine Omer-ef. Humo i njegove hrvatske pjesme,” *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 18 (1936): 3 [The Reviver of Herzegovina Omer ef. Humo and his Croatian Songs].

<sup>143</sup> Omer Hazim Humo, *Sehletul-vusul*, ed. Munir Drkić and Alen Kalajdzija (Mostar: Muzej Hercegovine, 2010), 6–7 [sahla al-wuṣūl]; Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta: Geneza nacionalnog pitanja bosanskih Muslimana* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974), 26 [From Tradition to Identity: the Genesis of the Bosnian Muslim National Question].

instruction in Bosnian schools and madrasas as necessitating memorization and rote learning instead of a deeper engagement with the subject: “Bosnian children study the catechism in Turkish for five years and do not learn it as they should,” he lamented, “And what they memorize, they forget.”<sup>144</sup>

Although Humo’s individual efforts were exceptional, they developed in close cooperation with the wider circle of reform-inclined Bosnian Ulema that had crystallized around the Tanzimat reforms. His very assignment in Konjic, for instance, may have come at the behest of one of the Mufti Korkut’s former students at the Travnik madrasa, then a government official in the adjacent town of Nevesinje.<sup>145</sup> His ‘ilm-i ḥāl, meanwhile, provides even more direct evidence of these ties, beginning with several glowing Arabic-language endorsements from collaborationist Ulema, including both the Mostar Mufti Karabeg and Muhamed Hazim Korkut, son of the aforementioned Mufti of Travnik.<sup>146</sup> Agreeing with Humo that “texts in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish language are difficult for the instruction of our people,” the younger Korkut complimented the “worthy and sharp-witted Omer effendi from Mostar” for composing a book that would “make [things] easier for children.” The most enthusiastic praise came from one Ahmed Nijazija, an instructor at the Travnik Rüşdiyye, who would later characteristically also serve as a Professor at the city’s Hadži Ali-beg Madrasa. “This book contains everything that Bosnians might need,” he wrote, “All praise to this composition, whose contents are appropriate for our local understandings.”

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<sup>144</sup> Ibrahim Kemura, “Prva štampana knjiga arebicom na našem jeziku (Omer ef. Humo i njegov prosvjetni rad),” *Glasnik IZ* XXXII, no. 5–6 (1969): 208–23 [The First Book Printed in Arabic Script in Our Language (Omer ef. Humo and His Educational Work)].

<sup>145</sup> Hamdija Mulić, “Prosvjećivanje preko žive riječi i knjige,” *Novi Behar* 11, no. 20 (April 1938): 316–17 [Enlightenment through the Living Word and Books].

<sup>146</sup> Kemura, “Prva štampana knjiga.”

As with Ilhamija before him, Humo's insistence on the vernacular complemented a more cosmopolitan outlook toward multilingual Islamic learning. A poem at the start of his 'ilm-i ḥāl may have thus declared that "father's tongue is undoubtedly the easiest" (BCS: *Prez šubhe je babin jezik najlašni*), but it also explicitly framed the vernacular as a stepping stone toward the classical Islamic languages, promising readers that it "contained three-four languages: Turkish, Persian, Arabic" and that they would emerge from the text knowing at least the second of the three.<sup>147</sup> Such claims were of course superlative, but Humo's text made a deliberate effort to provide readers some foundation for polyglot higher studies. For instance, while suffused with loan words from all of the above languages, it frequently placed them alongside vernacular equivalents, adapting a common element of Ottoman syntax for language learning purposes. As but one example, his phrase "Whoever does work (BCS: *amel čini*) and works (BCS: *radi*) according to this 'ilm-i ḥāl" thus familiarizes readers with both the Arabic word for work (A: 'amal) as well as the common Ottoman practice of pairing such Arabic borrowings with an auxiliary verb (e.g. OT: *amel etmek*). Humo also interspersed his vernacular writing with Turkish grammatical constructions that would later wither away, such as "ya da... da" in place of "either... or," another similarity with Ilhamija's poetry and the Arabica tradition.

In contrast to Ilhamija, however, Humo's work places a noticeably greater stress on state loyalty, reflecting the above-mentioned collaborationist turn among Bosnia's reformist Ulema. His 'ilm-i ḥāl thus explicitly extolls readers to stand by their just ruler, Sultan Abdülaziz, to whom he, similar to the Naqshbandi Sheikh Sirri, also dedicated an accompanying poem.<sup>148</sup> More broadly, Humo exhibits a novel anxiety about the precarity of continued Muslim existence in the Balkans,

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<sup>147</sup> Humo, *Sehletul-vusul*.

<sup>148</sup> Humo, 30; Huković, *Alhamijado književnost*, 156.

particularly in light of more recent developments in neighboring Serbia. Here Ilhamija once again offers an instructive comparison: the Sheikh's poetry similarly appears to reference Duke Miloš Obrenović's and the Second Serbian Uprising of 1815-1817, but in a mocking tone that implies confidence in Ottoman military superiority.<sup>149</sup> By contrast, Humo's 'ilm-i ḥāl from half a century later makes repeated references to the appropriation of Muslim lands and destruction of mosques and mektebs, urging readers to obey the Sultan, not run away from combat, and fight back against nonbelievers as necessary.<sup>150</sup> Unlike many of the anticolonial Islamic reformists who would appear in subsequent decades, Humo did not necessarily frame his overarching pedagogical project in strictly defensive terms, but a sense of communal vulnerability is far more acute than with his revolutionary predecessor. Correspondingly, where Ilhamija envisioned Islamic moral renewal as curtailing the reach of the expanding Ottoman state, Humo worked within state institutions to buttress dynastic loyalty and support its defensive capabilities. Bosnian Muslim pedagogical vernacularization thus continued as a locally driven yet essentially cosmopolitan project well into the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but with a markedly different relationship to central authority.

Humo's enduring individual influence emerges most clearly if we consider the achievements of his students, many of whom would exhibit strong linguistic and literary inclinations in their own reformist careers. These achievements are particularly remarkable given Humo's relatively minor institutional status and his students' origins in the town of Konjic and surrounding villages, but surely also indicative of the success of his vernacular cosmopolitan approach to pedagogical reform. For instance, Konjic native Mehmed Faik Alagić (1843-190?), a student from Humo's days as

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<sup>149</sup> Dobrača, "Tuhfetul-musallin," 54.

<sup>150</sup> Humo, *Sehletul-vusul*, 49–50, 57.

madrasa instructor in Sarajevo, would enter Sultan Abdülaziz's imperial guard during Cevdet's stay in the city, eventually writing an extended memoir of his experiences in 1894—the first ever entry in the genre by a Bosnian Muslim author.<sup>151</sup> His son, Šukrija Alagić (1881-1936), would in turn obtain a doctorate in Oriental studies at the University of Vienna in 1908, ultimately producing the inaugural Bosnian translation of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida's landmark Quranic exegeses in 1926.<sup>152</sup> As the following section will detail further, many other Humo students from Konjic and its environs would also play an important role in Muslim language education and pedagogical reform through the Austro-Hungarian and even Yugoslav periods. The most distinguished of Humo's disciples, however, was Mehmed Kadrija "Nâsîh" Pajić from the introduction to this chapter, for it was Humo who, as an instructor at the Konjic madrasa, allegedly presaged his far-reaching intellectual career. This career took Pajić far from both Konjic and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but while there is no indication that he ever published anything in his native language, he never entirely forgot his roots either. When a Bosnian student visited him in Paris in 1914, the elderly Pajić gave him copies of his Turkish-language printed works along with several manuscripts and requested that they be translated for the benefit of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>153</sup>

Despite the historical distance, the anecdote remains illustrative of how Humo's multilingual Islamic cosmopolitanism informed Pajić's career and ultimately came full circle at its very end. Even

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<sup>151</sup> Alagić, "Povijest Jedne."

<sup>152</sup> "Domaće vijesti: Musliman osposobljeni profesor," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 10 (November 5, 1908): 2 [A Muslim Qualified to Be a Professor].

<sup>153</sup> Velijudin Sadović, "Hodža Kadri," *Novi Behar* I, no. 1 (May 1, 1927): 4; The identity of this Bosnian student in Paris remains unclear. The seemingly most likely candidate would be the bibliophile Osman Asaf Sokolović (1882-1972), who we know to have briefly studied in Paris. Alija Bejtić, *Osman Asaf Sokolović i njegov prinos društvu i kulturi Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Biblioteka pokopnog društva "Bakije," 1972) [Osman Asaf Sokolović and his Contributions to the Society and Culture of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. Interestingly, however, the books and manuscripts by Pajić extant in the Gazi Husrev-beg Library today were all gifted by Salim Muftić (1876-1938), son of the Cevdet-allied Sarajevo Mufti Hadžiomerović mentioned above.

among his globetrotting reformist contemporaries, Pajić's linguistic versatility is impressive: in addition to his native Bosnian, he had evidently acquired enough French to follow intellectual life in fin-de-siècle Paris, while in Cairo his knowledge of Arabic and Turkish had been sufficient for him to both publish the influential journals *Kanun-i esasi* and *Havâtür* and serve as a tutor to the children of Egyptian Khedive Abbas II.<sup>154</sup> Though he apparently retained a slight accent in his Turkish throughout, this did not impede him from teaching the language to Mehmet Akif [Ersoy], the Republic of Turkey's future poet laureate and arguably the leading Ottoman and Turkish Islamist thinker of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, who would describe Pajić as his most influential teacher from this time.<sup>155</sup> In fact, in a later translation of an article by Muhammad 'Abduh, Akif even suggested that the late Egyptian scholar had identified one of Pajić's Cairene journals as all but launching Islamic reformism in the Ottoman lands, indirectly testifying to his own immense regard for the man.<sup>156</sup> As both a student and a pedagogue then, Pajić highlights how the vernacular cosmopolitan outlook of Bosnia's reformist Ulema fed into the wider Islamic modernist movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, and in contrast to his initial mentor at the madrasa in Konjic, Pajić was firmly a product of the new, post-1878 circumstances.

### 1.3. 1878: Rupture and Continuity

The year 1878, in which the Congress of Berlin placed Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian occupation and effectively ended over four centuries of Ottoman rule, stands as the central rupture in modern Bosnian Muslim cultural and intellectual history. To be certain, such a

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<sup>154</sup> Korkmaz, "Hoca Kadri Nâsîh," 3.

<sup>155</sup> Korkmaz, 7–11.

<sup>156</sup> Şeyh Muhammed Abduh, "Kazâ ve Kader," trans. Mehmed Âkif, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2, no. 36 (May 13, 1909): 150 [Chance and Fate].

momentous geopolitical shift inevitably impacted the region's Muslim inhabitants on both of these fronts. As but one major example, mass emigration to the remaining Ottoman lands triggered prolonged soul searching over the threat of impending demographic collapse.<sup>157</sup> For those who remained, meanwhile, the uncertainty of living under a rival, nominally Catholic monarchy manifested itself in a general hesitancy to enroll children in the new state schools. Nonetheless, the prevailing narrative of cultural and intellectual rupture also requires important caveats. First, it belies significant elements of continuity, particularly in the enduring influence of the network of reformist Ulema described thus far on attempts to reform Muslim education and promote the vernacular language therein. Second, it fails to appreciate how certain novelties, most notably the continued advancement of such globalizing technologies as steam and print, paradoxically strengthened Bosnian Muslim ties to the Ottoman Empire and related Islamic intellectual centers even as Ottoman political authority receded. Both of these factors—cosmopolitan continuities and new technological opportunities—combined to lay the foundations of an emergent Pan-Islamist movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the close of the nineteenth century. The promotion of the Arabic script in particular correspondingly became one of its central concerns, both drawing directly on earlier efforts and acquiring a novel ideological charge.

### *1.3.1. Transitional Pedagogues*

From the first contested arrival of the imperial and royal army in the spring of 1878, Bosnia-Herzegovina occupied a unique position in Austria-Hungary's complex administrative arrangement. While the state's preexisting territories divided between Hungarian and Cisleithanian "halves" as part of the post-1867 dualist structure, its newest acquisition entered instead as a common

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<sup>157</sup> Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Afterlife of Empire," 94–119.



condominium under the absolutist rule of the Joint Finance Ministry. Outsized influence consequently fell to the ambitious Benjamin Kállay, minister from 1882 until his death in 1903, who oversaw a quasi-colonial “civilizing mission” that aimed to politically integrate the country while checking the spread of Balkan nationalist movements.<sup>158</sup> Indeed, the final two decades of Ottoman rule had seen the increasing agitation of Croat and Serb nationalist activists, who ultimately succeeded in establishing a network of communal schools in Latin and Cyrillic script among the country’s Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants respectively.<sup>159</sup> Kállay’s administration did not close these confessional schools, but it did introduce its own revamped system of state schools as an alternative.<sup>160</sup> As with the provincial government as a whole, these new institutions tolerated both Latin and Cyrillic, but promoted a nominally a-national Bosnian provincial patriotism, much to the dismay of Serb and Croat nationalists alike.<sup>161</sup> In an effort to counterweight the influence of the former group in particular, Kállay’s regime simultaneously made overtures to Bosnian Muslims, courting collaborationist elites and even reviving the withering Ottoman-era Rüşdiyes as Muslim confessional schools. Eager to recruit Muslims in support of their broader agenda while also wary of potential conservative backlash, the Viennese authorities effectively provided cautious support for the reform of Muslim communal education over the subsequent three decades.

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<sup>158</sup> Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*; For a recent overview of the scholarly debate over Bosnia-Herzegovina’s “colonial” status, see: Clemens Ruthner, “Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918: A Colony of a Multinational Empire,” in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe’s Modern Past*, ed. Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 156–69.

<sup>159</sup> For an analysis of the achievements and limitations of this early nationalist activism in mid-19th century Bosnia-Herzegovina, see: Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*, 90–126.

<sup>160</sup> Robin Okey, “Education and Modernization in a Multi-Ethnic Society: Bosnia, 1850-1918,” in *Schooling, Educational Policy and Ethnic Identity* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1991).

<sup>161</sup> Larry Wolff’s 2010 study of Galicia examines a comparable process in another Habsburg borderland. Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Kállay's key partners in this effort emerged from precisely the network of pro-Tanzimat reformist Ulema outlined in the previous section. While many members of the Ulema had instigated armed resistance to Austro-Hungarian forces and subsequently fled to the remaining Ottoman lands, others took a far more acquiescent approach to the occupation. In fact, the aforementioned Mostar Mufti Karabeg, ally of Cevdet Pasha and patron to Humo, was murdered by an angry mob for refusing to sanction the uprising in the Herzegovinian capital.<sup>162</sup> Those who survived sought to carve out space vis-à-vis the new imperial administration just as they had with the Tanzimat state beforehand. Thus in 1882 when Kállay created the position of Reis-ul-Ulema (A: ra'īs al-'ulamā'), a replacement for the provincial Mufti under direct Ottoman jurisdiction, his first appointee was the Sarajevo Mufti Hadžiomerović, the same man who had once threatened a fatwa against anyone who obstructed Cevdet's plan for military conscription and had now just issued one encouraging Muslims to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army as well.

At the same time, the authorities increasingly relied on a younger generation of reformers who had studied at the Istanbul Darülmüallimin, most notably Mehmed Teufik Azabagić (1838-1918), Rüşdiye instructor in Tuzla.<sup>163</sup> In 1887, when Kállay founded the Sharia Judges School (BCS: *Šerijatska sudačka škola*) in Sarajevo, Azabagić became its inaugural director, serving for six years before ascending to the position of Reis-ul-Ulema following Hadžiomerović's death in 1893. His successor at the Judges School would be Hasan Spaho (1848-1915), another Darülmüallimin graduate, Rüşdiye instructor, and advocate for pedagogical reform.<sup>164</sup> In effect, pro-Tanzimat Ulema

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<sup>162</sup> For a detailed contemporary account by one of the Mufti's students, see: Abdullah. Riđanović, *Karabeg*, trans. Omer. Nakićević (Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2001).

<sup>163</sup> Mustafa Spahić and Osman Lavić, *Reis Mehmed Teufik efendija Azabagić* (Sarajevo: Dobra Knjiga, 2013).

<sup>164</sup> M. E. Dizdar, "H. Hasan Ef. Spaho," *Narodna Uzdanica Kalendar Za Godinu 1940, 1939*, 243–46.

played an important role in the fashioning and implementation of Austro-Hungarian attempts to reform Bosnian Muslim education. Conversely, those who had resisted the Tanzimat would go on to resist Kállay as well.<sup>165</sup> From this perspective, the most salient divide in the history of Islamic reformism in the region was not between Muslim and non-Muslim rule, but between collaboration with and resistance to modernizing states.

The enduring influence of Bosnia's pro-Tanzimat Ulema across the rupture of 1878, particularly in linguistic and literary domains, emerges in stark relief if we consider Derviš Muhamed Korkut's two most successful students from this time: Ahmed Sabit "Širazija" Ribić (1845-1907) and Ibrahim-beg Bašagić (1848-1902). The elder of the two, Ribić was born in the small central Bosnian town of Jezero (T: Gölhisar), but moved as a youth to Travnik, roughly 50 kilometers Southeast, to study under Korkut at the Elçi İbrahim Paşa madrasa.<sup>166</sup> Seemingly around the time of Cevdet Pasha's mission in the first half of the 1860s, Ribić left Travnik for Istanbul, where he studied not only at the Kırkçeşme Madrasa in Fatih, but also at the Darümuallimin.<sup>167</sup> Upon his return to Bosnia in 1877, Ribić therefore taught neither at a mekteb nor a madrasa, but at the Rüşdiye in Trebinje, and then in 1880, following the occupation, as teacher of Oriental languages at the newly opened Great Gymnasium in Sarajevo. From these nominally secular state functions, he then moved to Bihać, where he served as both district mufti and madrasa instructor in the years

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<sup>165</sup> This is exemplified by the Džabić family in Mostar. The younger Ali Fehmi Džabić (1853-1918) thus famously emerged as the figurehead of conservative Uelma and, after 1899, the leader of the movement for Muslim religious-educational autonomy. Less well known, however, is that his father Šaćir (1805-1884) had taken a similar stance toward the Tanzimat some three decades earlier. See: Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*, 60.

<sup>166</sup> "Hadži Ahmed ef. Ribić: profesor šerijatske sudačke škole u Sarajevu, umr'o 9. novembra 1907," *Školski vjesnik*, February 1908, 93–94 [Hajji Ahmed ef. Ribić: Professor at the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo, Died on November 9th, 1907].

<sup>167</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Hadži Hasan ef. Mehmedagić – Biščak," *Glasnik IZ XIX*, no. 1–3 (1956): 104–6.

1883-85, eventually returning to Sarajevo to become principal of that city's revamped central Rüşdiye and, from 1890, Professor at the abovementioned Sharia Judges School. As previous examples have demonstrated, such alteration between nominally religious and secular educational posts was typical of this generation of "transitional pedagogues." What sets Ribić apart, however, was the ambitious pedagogical reform agenda he undertook in the early 1890s, when he successfully lobbied for "reformed" Muslim elementary schools (OT: *mekatib-i iptidaiye*) according to new Ottoman models, a Sarajevan Darülmualimin to staff them, and eventually even vernacular instruction and reforms to the teaching of Arabic script.<sup>168</sup> The authorities initially backed Ribić's project and founded both a number of such reformed mektebs and even the Darülmualimin in 1891, but ultimately abandoned these efforts in the face of conservative backlash. As we shall see, however, Ribić's own students from this time would enter the 20<sup>th</sup> century as among the most prominent advocates for vernacular instruction and sweeping reforms to Muslim education.

Korkut's second major student, Ibrahim-beg Bašagić, would prove a similarly influential collaborator with the occupying authorities, albeit in slightly different fields of endeavor.<sup>169</sup> Born in the Herzegovinian town of Nevesinje, Bašagić shared this point of origin with Korkut, which may have influenced his decision to study under the Mufti and alongside Ribić at the Travnik madrasa. Whether or not Bašagić also set off for Istanbul upon receiving his diploma is unclear, but he in any case returned to Nevesinje as district administrator in the early 1860s, representing one of the supportive local officials during Cevdet Pasha's mission in 1863. Bašagić evidently retained his Islamic reformist outlook in this new government function; adjacent to Konjic, he sponsored

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<sup>168</sup> Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 99–100.

<sup>169</sup> For a detailed study of Ibrahim-beg Bašagić's life and career as part of a broader monograph on his son Safvet, see: Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*, 53–150.

Humo's previously discussed proselytizing activities in the region.<sup>170</sup> At the same time, he also established links with the "Young Ottoman" liberal intellectuals in Istanbul, eventually even serving there as a Bosnian deputy to the short-lived Ottoman parliament of 1876-78. Following the occupation, he returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but this time not to his local power base in Nevesinje but to the center of government power and Muslim intellectual life in Sarajevo. There he allied with another Herzegovinian power holder and erstwhile Cevdet supporter, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, who had emerged as perhaps the major pro-Habsburg representative of the Muslim elite. Bašagić's activities in these years notably included significant involvement in the emerging Muslim print scene. One of the last Bosnians to write Turkish-language poetry, he was also a major contributor to the Turkish-language *Vatan* (1884-1897), the first Muslim newspaper after the occupation. He did not, however, contribute to his ally Kapetanović's *Bošnjak*, which in 1891 became the first Bosnian Muslim newspaper in the vernacular language and Latin script.

The career of Bašagić's son and protégé, Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)—the premier Bosnian Muslim literary intellectual of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century—is further instructive of the ultimate fate, both historical and historiographical, of this Tanzimat-rooted Bosnian Muslim reformist current. On the one hand, the younger Bašagić was firmly a product of the transitional pedagogues and the vernacular cosmopolitan approach to Islamic education that they espoused. Learning Turkish from his father, he began his formal schooling under Ribić at the revamped Sarajevo Rüşdiye. When he moved on to the Sarajevo Gymnasium, his favorite teacher there was Ibrahim Repovac, Ribić's successor as instructor of Oriental languages and a former student of Humo from Konjic, who taught Safvet Arabic and Persian. Both Repovac and Safvet would also

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<sup>170</sup> Mulić, "Vjesnici."

publish in the new multi-confessional vernacular journals under the patronage of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, such as *Bosanska vila* and *Nada*, with Safvet further growing into an important early contributor to *Bošnjak*. By the second half of the 1890s, however, Bašagić and his generation of young Muslim intellectuals would be at the center of new tensions dividing this broader Islamic reformist current. For one, Safvet and his Habsburg-educated peers such as Osman Nuri Hadžić would increasingly flirt with the Islamophile current of Croat nationalism espoused by Ante Starčević and his Croatian Party of Rights, in sharp contrast to the Bosnian regional patriotism advocated for by Kállay and pro-regime Muslim periodicals such as the Kapetanović-led *Bošnjak*. Moreover, by the very end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this same generation would increasingly criticize the Bosnian Ulema—from whose pro-Tanzimat reformist wing many of them, including Bašagić, had indirectly emerged—as a major impediment to communal progress.

This new fault line from the 1890s has since cast a long shadow over Bosnian historiography, which has portrayed the likes of Safvet-beg Bašagić as the vanguards of a new Habsburg-educated and Westward-facing generation of Muslim modernists, harbingers of a veritable cultural and literary renaissance.<sup>171</sup> As this chapter has in part sought to show, however, this perspective obscures the profound ways in which the new Bosnian Muslim literati of the fin-de-siècle were themselves descendants of a longer-standing regional tradition of Islamic reform. The chart below graphically portrays how Bašagić fit into this broader historical context. The top level features the collaborationist Muftis who sided with Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and in favor of the Tanzimat, while underneath them we see the generation of “transitional pedagogues,” many of them Darülmualimin graduates, active in both the Ottoman and Habsburg periods. At the center of the chart are the

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<sup>171</sup> Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost* [Bosnian Muslim Literature in the Renaissance Period].

intellectual and familial descendants of the Travnik Mufti Korkut, who through his two key students form above, Ahmed Sabit Ribić and Ibrahim-beg Bašagić, was the spiritual forefather of both Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević and Safvet-beg Bašagić, the leading Bosnian Muslim religious and literary figures of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century respectively. All around them, the chart includes most of the major figures in the history of Bosnian Islamic reformism from the 1860s through the 1930s and beyond: four of the first six holders of the office of Reis-ul-Ulema from 1882 to 1942; authors of the first three Bosnian translations of the Quran from 1937 (x2) and 1977; and even all three Bosnian representatives in the Yugoslav delegation to Shakib Arslan's 1935 Congress of European Muslims in Geneva. As Bašagić's growing reservations toward the Ulema suggest, this network would not maintain a neat intellectual coherence over the entire span of its existence. Nonetheless, a focus on its mid-19<sup>th</sup> century origins in a circle of state-collaborationist and vernacular cosmopolitan Ulema leaves it broadly identifiable and a significant caveat to any attempt to neatly divide Bosnian Muslim intellectual history along the axis of 1878.

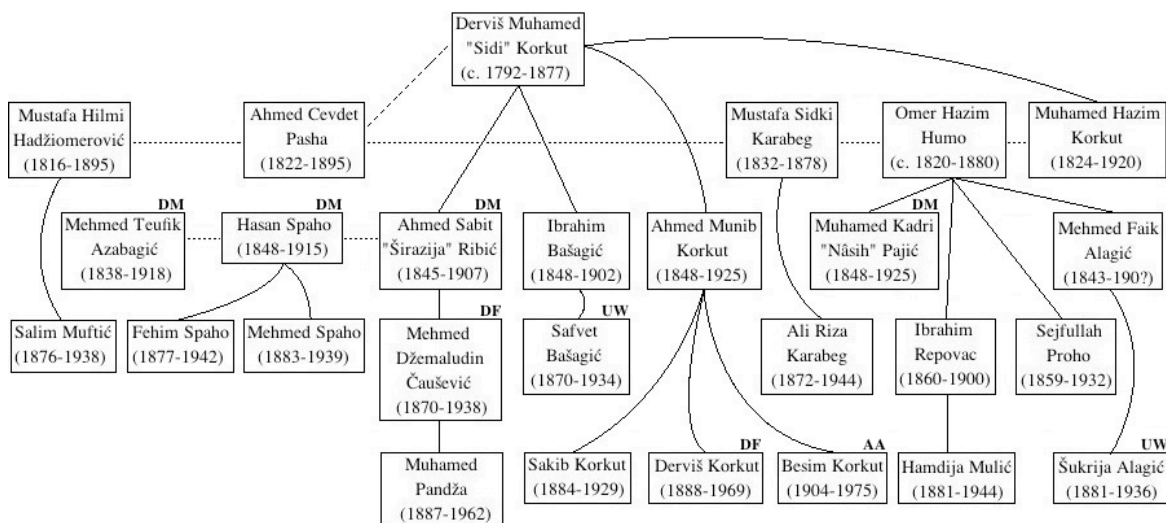


Figure 1: Intellectual Network of Bosnian reformist Ulema, 1863-1934. Straight lines indicate scholarly mentorship or patronage, dotted lines professional collaboration, and curved lines familial descent. Acronyms stand for alma maters as follows: AA = Al-Azhar, DF = Istanbul University (Darülfünun), DM = Istanbul Teacher's College (Darülmualimin), UW = University of Vienna.

### 1.3.2. *Between Bosnia and Bosphorus*

Though these domestic developments in the context of Austro-Hungarian rule had a significant impact on Bosnian Islamic reformism, links with “the East”—as Bosnian Muslim authors increasingly referred to Istanbul, Cairo, and the more distant wellsprings of Islamic tradition—also exerted an important influence. In part, this entailed the continuation of preexisting educational and intellectual networks, with aspiring Ulema regularly going back and forth between Habsburg and Ottoman domains to pursue their studies in the latter Empire’s theological schools. If anything, these networks may have even intensified in the aftermath of the occupation, as anti-Habsburg members of the Bosnian Ulema fled the country and reestablished themselves across the Eastern Mediterranean, including not just in Istanbul, but in Rumi’s Konya and as far afield as Palestine and the Hejaz as well.<sup>172</sup> Nor was this phenomenon limited to members of the Ulema; wealthy landowners, urban notables, merchants, former Ottoman parliamentarians, and other elites concentrated themselves in Istanbul in particular, rapidly swelling the ethno-familial patronage networks available to Bosnian theological students following in their footsteps.

Where the above-mentioned “transitional pedagogues” had returned to Bosnia prior to the occupation and taken part in the Tanzimat educational project, however, their successors returned only later and began their own pedagogical entrepreneurship under Austro-Hungarian administration. Moreover, though they often worked in conjunction with the established reformers in Sarajevo, these more recent returnees did not necessarily concentrate in centers of state power, but

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<sup>172</sup> Fejzullah Hadžibajrić cites the example of Mujaga Merhemić making contact with one Cigić during his visit to Konya and immersion in the Mevlevi order there: Fejzullah Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, ed. Ašk Gaši (Stockholm: MOS - BeMUF, 2002), 261–62 [Travelogues and Obituaries]; A handful of Bosnians also made it to Medina during this period, many of them teaching at this city’s madrasas and two even establishing religious endowments: Fejzullah Hadžibajrić, “Sjećanje na putovanja na hadž 1969. godine,” *Glasnik IZXXXII*, no. 11–12 (1969): 497–508 [Memories from Completing the Hajj in 1969].



often, like Ilhamija and Humo before them, proved most active in more remote settings. This was the case with Sejfullah Proho (1859-1932), another Konjic native who studied under Humo as well as several of the other reformist Ulema mentioned earlier. Leaving for Istanbul in 1882, he returned from his successful studies in 1894 to take over as mekteb instructor in his hometown, where he implemented vernacular instruction and even incorporated spiritual songs as part of the curriculum.<sup>173</sup> The same was true for Šerif Bajrić from the small village of Stijena in the Krajina, who returned from studies and teaching at the Istanbul Darülmualimin to take over at one of Ribić's reformed mektebs in his home region, expanding on the curriculum to such a degree that locals began referring to it as a madrasa.<sup>174</sup> As Ribić and other Sarajevo-based reformists close to the occupying authorities thus began to think increasingly systematically about Bosnian Muslim communal education, Istanbul-trained teachers such as Bajrić and Proho dispersed across the country to enact this vision on a local level.

The post-1878 influence of Istanbul on Bosnian Muslim reformists not only built on these older patterns, but also accelerated on the back of new globalizing technologies, most notably steam travel and print publishing. Thus while Bajrić had allegedly set out for his madrasa studies in 1870 on foot, by the time of his return from Istanbul in 1888, the Ottoman capital enjoyed a direct rail link to Belgrade and through it to Sarajevo. During his tenure at the Darülmualimin, Bajrić also notably published a textbook in mathematics, while his contemporary Proho had similarly received

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<sup>173</sup> Mulić, "Povijest naše početne vjerske nastave."

<sup>174</sup> Abdurahman Alešević, "Sjećanje na rah. Šerif ef. Bajrića," *Glasnik IZ XX*, no. 10–12 (1957): 486–87 [Memories of the Late Šerif ef. Bajrić].

approval for the publication of two student treatises from the office of the *Şeyhülislam* in 1893.<sup>175</sup> Publishing had by then evidently become an important stepping-stone for scholarly career advancement in a city where the print industry was booming as a whole. Initially the domain of government presses, by the fin-de-siècle this market was largely in the hands of private counterparts, including several Bosnian émigrés.<sup>176</sup> At the same time, the expansion of communication and transport lines that defined the “telegraph age” was enabling the unprecedented circulation of these printed texts, together with people and goods more generally. In 1893, just under a year prior to Proho’s return, the Austro-Hungarian post first began shipping packages between Sarajevo and Istanbul and Salonica.<sup>177</sup> Entrepreneurial booksellers quickly took advantage of these advances to begin offering mail order book sales and subscription services. Not surprisingly, Istanbul-trained Bosnian theological students soon began to appear in Sarajevo’s nascent Muslim press as well, with Mehmed Teufik Okić notably sending in contributions to the Turkish-language *Vatan* and *Rehber* at this time.<sup>178</sup> Following their return to Bosnia, both Bajrić and Proho would also subscribe to the vernacular *Bošnjak* newspaper.<sup>179</sup> In effect, by the early 1890s, print and communications were intensifying older intellectual networks between Sarajevo and Istanbul across new political divides.

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<sup>175</sup> “Approval of the request to publish two treatises by the Bosnian Seyfullah Efendi,” November 2, 1893, MF.MKT.18514, BOA.

<sup>176</sup> Three documented examples include Ali Ćepić in the 1860s, Muharem Smajiš from the 1890s onward, and Selim Šahinpašić in the late 19th century. See: Smail Balić, *Kultura Bošnjaka: muslimanska komponenta*. (Wien: Holzhausen, 1973) [Bosniak Culture: the Muslim Component].

<sup>177</sup> “Poštanske pošiljke za istok,” *Bošnjak*, March 30, 1893, 3.13 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Postal Packages for the East].

<sup>178</sup> Kemal Bašić, *Muhamed Tajib Okić — Život i Djelo* (Sarajevo: Bosanski narodni pogled, 2015), 22 [Mehmed Tajib Okić — Life and Work].

<sup>179</sup> “G. Šerif ef. Bajrić, Bužim,” *Bošnjak*, August 23, 1900, 10.34 edition, sec. Dopisnica uredništva [Mr. Šerif ef. Bajrić in Bužim].

This intensified Sarajevo-Istanbul axis shaped Bosnian Muslim scholars' views on language and script in two primary ways. First, the print scene that emerged in the Ottoman capital during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was markedly cosmopolitan, encouraging many of its denizens to pursue linguistic hybridity and innovation. As late as 1914, most printing presses in the Ottoman capital were owned by non-Muslims, while the ranks of Muslim printers included many with non-Turkic origins.<sup>180</sup> In this polyglot and multi-confessional context, ambitious print entrepreneurs necessarily grappled with questions of script, style, and standardization, ultimately developing enduring solutions for many of the Empire's diverse ethno-linguistic communities, from Armenians to Sephardic Jews. For Ottoman Muslims, these discussions entailed particular dilemmas—most notably the relative weight of Turkic elements in the Ottoman literary language and the fate of Arabic script—but they still unfolded under the influence of this broader cosmopolitan milieu. This included not just commercial ties with Armenian printers and Balkan merchants, but a certain degree of intellectual cross-pollination as well. Şemseddin Sami Frashëri (1850-1904) thus notably devised an entirely new alphabet for his native Albanian in 1879, combining Greek and Latin characters in what Francine Trix argues was a deliberate effort to create a distinctive visual identity in line with the linguistic variance and hybridity of the Ottoman metropolis.<sup>181</sup>

Such linguistic creativity, however, unfolded alongside the Empire's precarious post-1878 political circumstances, which meant that Muslim proposals emerged as part and parcel of a general reckoning with the fate of the Ottoman state, its relations with current and former frontiers, and,

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<sup>180</sup> Johann Strauss, “‘Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute’: Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society,” in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 370.

<sup>181</sup> Frances Trix, “The Stamboul Alphabet of Shemseddin Sami Bey: Precursor to Turkish Script Reform,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 2 (1999): 255–72.

correspondingly, educational reform. Tellingly, the first reference to Turkish as the “official language” of the Empire only appears in the constitution of 1876, emerging from the chaos of the 1875 Herzegovina revolt and subsequent Russo-Ottoman war.<sup>182</sup> Frashëri's post-1878 alphabet and wider linguistic pursuits, including his pioneering efforts in the reform and standardization of Ottoman Turkish, appear in this light as part of an overarching top-down political project aimed at consolidating state authority, albeit along ethno-regional lines.<sup>183</sup> Faced with the same concerns, other print entrepreneurs, such as Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913), who had to flee his post as a state journalist in Bosnia following the Austro-Hungarian occupation, insisted on the preservation of Arabic script as a unifying thread for Ottoman Muslims.<sup>184</sup> These debates also extended beyond Ottoman borders, most notably involving Turkic-speaking Muslims in the Russian Empire, whose reformist ventures both cultivated ties with Istanbul and addressed local conditions. Thus in 1883, only a few years after Frashëri's proposed Albanian alphabet, the Crimean Tatar activist Ismail Gasprinski founded his journal *Tercüman* (“Translator”), in which he advocated for his “new method” (OT: *usûl-i ğadîd*) of teaching the Arabic script to Turkish speakers on a phonetic basis. At around this same time, Albanian émigrés in Bucharest began publishing their vernacular not in Frashëri's hybrid alphabet, but in a modified Arabic script.<sup>185</sup> Seen from this angle, the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the emergence of overlapping Ottoman and Muslim public spheres, whose print and linguistic activities centered on Istanbul but encompassed a much wider intellectual orbit.

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<sup>182</sup> Johann Strauss, “Language and Power in the Late Ottoman Empire,” in *Imperial Lineages and Legacies in the Eastern Mediterranean: Recording the Imprint of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Rule*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 18 (London: Routledge, 2017), 127.

<sup>183</sup> Isa Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800-1912* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>184</sup> Strauss, “Printing and Publishing.”

<sup>185</sup> Strauss, “Language and Power,” 132.

The first notable Bosnian contributor to this trans-imperial linguistic entrepreneurship was Ibrahim Edhem Berbić, whose career links the local reformist efforts of the Tanzimat with the broader post-1878 circumstances. Born in 1851, Berbić came of age in the northern Bosnian city of Tuzla, where his family had most likely arrived as refugees from the western Serbian town of Užice in the early 1860s.<sup>186</sup> A product of the expanding Tanzimat education system, Berbić completed his studies at the Tuzla Rüşdiye in December of 1867, going on to briefly serve in the local government bureaucracy.<sup>187</sup> He then continued his studies at the Imperial Military Academy in Istanbul, graduating in July of 1872 and returning to work as district veterinarian in Tuzla, leaving only after the occupation to carry out the same role in a number of the Porte's remaining provinces across Anatolia and the Balkans.

Alongside these official duties, however, Berbić also took a keen interest in language, authoring a manuscript titled “A Bosnian Alphabet for the Writing of Bosnian and Other Languages” (OT: *Boşnakça ve Dağha Sā'ir Lisānlere Yazabilir Elifbā-yi Bosnevî*). Besides proposing a simplified standard for writing Bosnian in the Arabic script, Berbić's text also proposed reforms to Ottoman Turkish that would make it easier for foreigners to learn, called for the translation of Islamic texts from Arabic into the languages of other Muslim peoples, and even included his own vernacular ‘ilm-i ḥāl.<sup>188</sup> Given that this manuscript most likely originated during Berbić's tenure in

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<sup>186</sup> Adnan Kadrić, *Kontrastivna metoda u opisu bosanskog i turskog jezika u 19. stoljeću: Bilingvalna gramatika bosanski turski učitelj Ibrahima Edhema Berbića* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 2018), 18 [The Contrastive Method in the Description of the Bosnian and Turkish Languages in the Nineteenth Century: the Bilingual Grammar “The Bosniak Turkish Teacher” by Ibrahim Edhem Berbić]; Šaban Hodžić, “Doseljavanje muslimanskih porodica u Tuzlu,” *Glasnik IZ* 39, no. 2 (1976): 174–76 [The Settlement of Muslim Families in Tuzla].

<sup>187</sup> This was the same year that the transitional pedagogue Azabagić, himself from Tuzla, took over as principal instructor there, leaving open the possibility that he had at least briefly taught Berbić. Spahić and Lavić, *Reis Mehmed Teufik efendija Azabagić*.

<sup>188</sup> Kadrić, *Bosanski turski učitelj*, 24–25.

Tuzla from 1872-1878, two influences loom large. The first is his training at the military academy in Istanbul, which placed a strong emphasis on foreign language learning and modern pedagogical methods. The second is Humo's vernacular 'ilm-i hâl from 1875, whose own manuscript version dated back to the mid-1860s. Beyond the shared effort at standardization, vernacular cosmopolitan outlook toward Islamic learning, and overlap in genres, Berbić added another similarity to his Herzegovinian predecessor when ultimately publishing the treatise in Istanbul in 1886: he included an extended song to promote public hygiene.<sup>189</sup>

Berbić's work therefore likely built on older local models, but his involvement with the rapidly growing Ottoman print scene and intensified post-1878 political circumstances translated to markedly broader ambitions. Thus in 1893 he published his second book in Istanbul, a bilingual grammar and textbook titled "The Bosnian-Turkish Teacher" (BCS: *Bosanski turski učitelj*, T: *Boşnakça Türkçe Muallimi*). Basing the work on his previously published writing standard and relying on local printers, the project may have proved too ambitious: alongside 267 pages of content, it also featured a 40-page addendum listing some 3,740 printing errors.<sup>190</sup> Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, it appealed to a number of growing audiences, including Bosnian madrasa students forgetting their own language and newly arrived migrants struggling to learn Turkish. In a review from shortly after its publication, *Carigradski glasnik*, a Serbian-language newspaper in Istanbul, identified yet another potential audience in a region simultaneously experiencing intensified interconnectedness and nationalist fragmentation: Ottoman merchants wishing to develop commercial ties with the newly independent Serbian state.

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<sup>189</sup> Kadrić, 26–35.

<sup>190</sup> Srđan Janković, "Ortografsko usavršavanje naše arabice u štampanim tekstovima," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, no. 38 (1988): 9–40 [The Orthographic Perfection of our Modified Arabic Script in Printed Texts].

What audience did Berbić himself have in mind? To some extent, the attention of an ostensibly non-Muslim outlet such as *Carigradski glasnik* would not have come as a surprise. After all, Berbić describes his work as a “grammar of the language of the South Slavs, that is to say the Bosnians, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, and Dalmatians,” deliberately including some representative dialectical and lexical particularities of these non-Bosnian regions.<sup>191</sup> In addition to his reliance on certain earlier South Slav grammars as models, this ecumenical approach also speaks to a certain print pragmatism, marketing his project as providing Turkish readers with access to more than just Bosnia itself. Nonetheless, Berbić’s work in the Bosnian vernacular and Arabic script in particular appears to have been fundamentally concerned—as in the case of *Ilhamija* and *Humo* before him—with Bosnian Muslim relations with the Ottoman state. The introduction to his grammar thus foregrounds the “utmost necessity of writing and printing dictionaries and grammars in the native language and according to the newest method so that every nation (BCS: *svaka nacija*) may easily acquire the official language of its government.”<sup>192</sup>

Together with his reliance on mid-century South Slavic sources, this phrasing suggests that Berbić may have first commenced work on the grammar alongside his earlier “Bosnian Alphabet” manuscript in the 1870s. In the meantime, a project that failed to materialize sheds light on how his thinking may have developed. In October 1891, two years prior to the publication of the “Bosnian-Turkish Teacher,” Berbić petitioned the Ottoman Interior Ministry for the right to launch “*Lisan*” (lit: “Language”), a multilingual newspaper in Arabic, Turkish and Bosnian with the explicit purpose of reinforcing Bosnian Muslims ties to the caliphate, which he worried were deteriorating due to

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<sup>191</sup> Kadrić, *Bosanski turski učitelj*, 45–47.

<sup>192</sup> Kadrić, 59.

“the lack of religious works in their mother tongue and the subversive appeal of non-Muslim publishers.”<sup>193</sup> Though the authorities ultimately rejected his petition regardless, Berbić’s revised framing partly represents an attempt to speak the Pan-Islamist language of the Hamidian state. It also, however, highlights how the relative rise of non-Muslim publishing in the Balkans had turned the project of Bosnian-Arabic pedagogical vernacularization—concerned since Ilhamija with the moral upkeep of the Muslim community—into a fundamentally defensive maneuver. It also notably coincided with the July 1891 launch of the Latin-script *Bošnjak* newspaper in Sarajevo, as well as Ribić’s ongoing efforts to reform Bosnian mektebs. Although there is no smoking gun, the timing is consistent with a transnational dialogue over script and community among Bosnian Muslim intellectuals between Sarajevo and Istanbul.<sup>194</sup>

In subsequent years, Berbić’s grammar would make its way back to Bosnia, where it became subtly intertwined with the vernacularizing reform efforts of the transnational pedagogues. The primary agents of this exchange were the young theological students returning from Istanbul, many of whom evidently used the book to implement vernacular instruction in town and village schools across the country. Their work eventually caught the attention of *Bošnjak*, which by the century’s end had adopted a more polemical stance toward the sort of conservative Ulema who had torpedoed Ribić’s mekteb reform proposals. An August 1899 letter from the village of Kobaš in the Posavina is

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<sup>193</sup> “Request by the former provincial veterinarian of Aydın, İbrahim Ethem the Bosnian, for permission to publish a newspaper named ‘Lisan’ in Arabic, Turkish, and Bosnian in Istanbul,” October 27, 1891, DH.MKT.1882.107, BOA.

<sup>194</sup> More explicitly, we know that the publication of *Bošnjak* registered from the very beginning among Bosnian Muslim readers in Istanbul as well, so Berbić’s petition for an Arabic-script communal newspaper just three months later may have in large part been a response to the appearance of such a Latin-script vernacular rival. No less intriguing, Okey’s reading of Austro-Hungarian archival sources suggests that Ribić’s call for vernacular instruction in his reformed mektebs appeared in early 1893, by which time Berbić’s dual-language grammar and textbook could have been out as well. Unfortunately, the relevant materials suffered extensive damage during social unrest in Sarajevo in the spring of 2014. See the reference to ABiH, ZMF, BH 511/1893 in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 100.



characteristic: the author, a local denizen, praises its exemplary mekteb instructor, who had come back some 3-4 years earlier and taught students to translate materials into Bosnian using Berbić's standard.<sup>195</sup> While Berbić's work never became a standard text, its presence in libraries throughout present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina with extensive marginalia indicates that it nevertheless made an impact among reform-minded Bosnian Ulema, even if they worked largely in isolation. Some went even further, such as one Ibrahim Seljubac, also from the Tuzla region, who wrote his own standard for the modified Arabic script.<sup>196</sup> Published in Istanbul in 1900, Seljubac's "New Bosnian Alphabet" (BCS: *Nova bosanska elifnica*) may have originated as a manuscript from as early as the mid-1800s, perhaps even predating Berbić's publication from 1886. Whatever the case, the published version engaged with both Berbić and Ribić; meant for use in the latter's reformed mektebs, he echoed the former in his calls for translating works from other languages into Bosnian, cautioning that Muslims were falling behind their non-Muslim neighbors. The very end of the 1800s thus saw growing attempts to standardize the use of modified Arabic script for the Bosnian language between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, drawing on an earlier reformist tradition but with a sense of urgency and opportunity that were both particular to the dawn of a new century.

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To briefly recapitulate, this chapter has focused on the origins and development of a local tradition of "vernacular cosmopolitan" Islamic reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Western Balkans. First arising in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, its most significant early champion was Abdulvehab "Ilhamija," a Sheikh of the expanding Naqshbandi Sufi order, who envisioned vernacular religious instruction as a

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<sup>195</sup> N. N., "U Kobašu, dana 10. augusta 1899.," *Bošnjak*, August 24, 1899, 9.34 edition, sec. Naši dopisi.

<sup>196</sup> Janković, "Ortografsko usavršavanje naše arabice," 29.

means of buttressing popular piety and maintaining a social order based on local Muslim autonomy on the Ottoman frontier. Following Ilhamija's death in the aftermath of a failed uprising in 1821, members of the Naqshbandi order entered into a more collaborative relationship with the central state, culminating in the Travnik Mufti Derviš Muhamed "Sidi" Korkut allying with Tanzimat statesman Ahmed Cevdet Pasha in support of military conscription in 1863. Korkut's sons, students, and other pro-Tanzimat Bosnian Ulema would then pursue vernacularization further, including such early experiments in print as Omer Humo's 1875 *Sahla al-wuṣūl*, but now within the context of state-backed efforts to create a modern education system. While the existing literature has depicted the subsequent Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878 as a major historiographical divide, this Bosnian reformist current remained discernible through the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. "Transitional pedagogues," such as Korkut's student Ahmed Sabit Ribić, thus continued to lobby for vernacularizing pedagogical reform under Viennese administration, while scholars working between Bosnia and Istanbul simultaneously built on Humo's effort to standardize the printing of the Bosnian language in modified Arabic script. This latest generation of reformists retained the longstanding Islamic cosmopolitan outlook of their predecessors, seeing vernacular instruction as intimately tied to supra-ethnic imperial allegiances and multilingual higher learning, but now with a new anxiety that the rapid expansion of non-Muslim printing—and correspondingly the Latin script—threatened to undermine this entire order.

This survey suggests that prevailing narratives of the history of Islamic reform in the region require a number of important caveats. While the closely intertwined Islamic modernist and Pan-Islamist movements of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century were in fact novel phenomena that drew heavily on external influences, the focus on vernacularization shows that they were also directly

rooted in far older regional developments. Moreover, these developments were not simply a response to high imperialist European encroachment, but stemmed from a historically contingent engagement with global processes of state formation and societal disintegration, starting with the Age of Revolution. State reforms, whether in the form of the Ottoman Tanzimat or Austro-Hungarian occupation and civilizing mission, were in fact intimately linked to the rise and articulation of Islamic reformist intellectual projects, but rather than simply being top-down or outside-in, these were processes in which provincial Ulema, many of them intimately tied to pre-existing Sufi networks, played an important role. In short, this chapter proposes re-conceptualizing the history of modern Islamic reformism in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the global context of the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, outside of longstanding Euro- and state-centric paradigms.

The ensuing chapters trace the rise of the modern Pan-Islamist movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina starting at the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While a distinctly novel phenomenon of its time, it also emerged intimately tied to the older regional tradition of reform outlined in this chapter. This tension is exemplified by the figure of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938), himself a student of the transitional pedagogues and the key individual and subject of chapter two. Beyond perfecting the modified Arabic script so central to earlier Bosnian reformist ventures, Čaušević's key innovation was to bring to the country a truly *global* conception of an "Islamic World." More than just the abstract Islamdom and polyglot cosmopolitanism of his predecessors, Čaušević—whose own scholarly journeys took him to Istanbul, Cairo, and perhaps even Zanzibar—laid the foundations of a Pan-Islamist print scene that connected Sarajevo to such far flung locales as China, Japan, and even the United States. This "discovery" of the Islamic World would in turn have

important consequences for a Muslim community and broader Bosnian society in the midst of rapid social change and widening generational cleavages.

## Chapter 2: Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević:

### Bosnian Pan-Islamism and the Discovery of the Islamic World, 1901-1908

At the turn of 1901, in the midst of Ramadan, an unusual figure arrived in Sarajevo.<sup>197</sup> He was Bosnian, but his Bosnian was rusty, even when accounting for the Krajina dialect, as he had spent the better part of two decades studying in Istanbul, leaving the country when he was just 16. This in itself was not unusual: students from the Ottoman capital's great theological schools, Bosnian and non-Bosnian alike, would regularly venture out into the provinces during their three-month annual recess, preaching through the vast network of mosques and madrasas scattered across Anatolia and the Balkans. Many of them would reach Sarajevo, Travnik and the other ancient cities and towns of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Ottomans' longstanding Western frontier, then over two decades into Austro-Hungarian occupation. But this man was different. Speaking from the preacher's chair at the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque, he railed against his peers' perceived passivity and exhorted them to pursue education and material uplift; to found credit unions, orphanages, and critically, a printing press. From his cramped student room at the neighboring *Hanikah* Madrasa, the young scholar soon began lecturing to private audiences as well. He spoke not only of Istanbul and the great mosques and palaces that pierced its skyline, but of the people and lands of Yemen and the Hejaz, of his recent acquaintance, the Cairene reformist Muhammad 'Abduh, and of the myriad towns and caravanserais that dotted the vast landscape of the Ottoman Sultan's well-protected domains. Confident, educated, and resolute in his own reformist mission, he situated Bosnia and its Muslim inhabitants on a series of far wider scales: as an important node in a still-vibrant Ottoman

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<sup>197</sup> The narrative portion of this introductory section draws largely on the detailed obituaries by two of Čaušević's closest collaborators, Muhamed Pandža and Fehim Spaho. I draw on both of these individually and in greater detail later on in this chapter: Muhamed Pandža, "Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević," *Novi Behar* 11, no. 20 (April 1938): 297–306 [The Late Džemaludin Čaušević.]; Fehim Spaho, "Uspomene na merhum Džemaluddina," *Novi Behar* 11, no. 20 (April 1938): 293–96 [Memories of the Late Džemaludin].

web, uninitiated members of a global Islamic community, and active participants in a world rapidly changing along railways, shipping routes, and telegraph lines.

The man's name was Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938), and after returning permanently in 1903 he would go on to establish himself as Bosnia's most significant Islamic scholar in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In ten productive years, he launched an energetic reform program that won him admirers among commoners and intellectuals alike, culminating with his 1913 election as the *Reisu-l-ulema*, the head of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Islamic religious hierarchy. Čaušević's public life would see him embrace several roles: a print entrepreneur, starting a series of journals and standardizing a modified Arabic script for the Bosnian language; an activist, institutional reformer, and organizer across multiple states and political regimes; and an inveterate religious modernist, consistently concerned with the challenges and opportunities of a novel age. By the time of his death, he was also a polarizing figure, drawing harsh rebukes from Muslim revivalists and Yugoslav authorities alike. Few, however, could deny his significance, and as the masses of Sarajevo took to the streets to pay their respects at his funeral, his passing simultaneously provoked the attention of colleagues and commentators from Ankara to Cairo.

Čaušević is emblematic of this era's international Pan-Islamist movement, which has drawn increased academic interest over the past two decades, but whose ramifications in the Balkans in particular remain little understood. Within Bosnia itself, an older generation of socialist-era literary scholars registered Čaušević's Pan-Islamist print ventures, but essentially rejected them as reactionary pandering to Muslim conservatives.<sup>198</sup> More recent work in both Bosnian and Western European

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<sup>198</sup> Muhsin Rizvić's assessment of Čaušević's tenure as editor of *Behar* is illustrative. See: Rizvić, *Behar*, 285–302 [Behar: a Literary-Historical Monograph].

languages has tended toward more sympathetic assessments, but its focus on the post-1914 period, when Čaušević held his greatest institutional influence, has not fully reckoned with these ideological roots.<sup>199</sup> Beyond periodization, the question of Pan-Islamism in particular has posed an intellectual challenge due to the political stigmatization of the term as well as the inevitable difficulty of rendering transnational phenomena within prevailing nation-centered historiographical frameworks.<sup>200</sup> In effect, a thriving and seminal current of Muslim thought and activism in early 20<sup>th</sup> century southeastern Europe has suffered from relative historiographical neglect.



Figure 2: Portrait of Čaušević, c. 1914.

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<sup>199</sup> The most comprehensive work to date is by Islamic scholar Enes Karić and the academic Mujo Demirović, whose edited volume provides an admirable survey of Čaušević's reformist thought, but makes little distinction between the different phases of his career. Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević* [Reis Džemaludin Čaušević: Enlightener and Reformer].

<sup>200</sup> Amir Karić's study from 2006, the sole existing monograph on Pan-Islamism in Bosnia, provides a solid survey of the subject, but characteristically adopts a defensive stance in response to Yugoslav-era polemics; a 2015 translation of the same text accordingly bears the title "The Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism." Karić, *Panislamizam* [Pan-Islamism in Bosnia]; For a recent article that deliberately situates contemporary Bosnian Islamic reformism within a comparative and global context, see: Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Alternative Muslim Modernities: Bosnian Intellectuals in the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59, no. 4 (October 2017): 912–43.

At the same time, the nature of this local Pan-Islamist movement—circumscribed but robust, so closely tied to the career of a single individual, and with its principal sources readily accessible to researchers—leaves it well positioned to address certain broader concerns in Islamic intellectual history. In particular, recent years have seen historians increasingly consider how the intertwined expansion of communications technologies and European colonialism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century combined to produce an unprecedentedly global Muslim public sphere, laying the material foundations for the circulation of Islamic modernist thought and even the very idea of a larger “Islamic World.”<sup>201</sup> A close study of Čaušević’s early career and his role in launching the Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement promises to not only account for how Bosnian Muslims became part of this global intellectual exchange, but also to help illustrate how this exchange functioned more generally: its inheritance and departures from earlier reformist movements in the region, the relative weight of larger Islamic intellectual centers and networks, and ultimately the local meaning and appeal of a fundamentally transnational ideology.

This chapter provides such a study of Čaušević’s intellectual background and foundational reformist activities to the year 1908. Section 1 traces his origins in Bosnia and studies in the Ottoman lands, identifying two key influences: first, Bosnia’s transitional pedagogues and their Tanzimat-rooted reformism from chapter one; and second, a polycentric and trans-imperial network of Islamic modernist thinkers that had by then developed between the Ottoman, Russian, and British Empires. Neither unprecedented nor reactionary, Čaušević thus emerged as a modernist figure at the nexus of local and global developments. Section 2 then considers his return to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which effectively extended the above trans-imperial network to the Habsburg domains

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<sup>201</sup> Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*; Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*; Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World*.



as well. I argue that Čaušević enjoyed early success because his appeal to global Islamic unity also entailed a vital domestic component: it offered an ecumenical compromise for a Muslim community experiencing accelerating socio-political cleavages under quasi-colonial oversight, and in particular between an intelligentsia of collaborationist “progressives” and their socially conservative autonomist rivals. In closing, section 3 turns to Čaušević’s increasingly independent work to simultaneously integrate Bosnia further into the aforementioned Islamic modernist networks. These efforts centered on his project to standardize the writing of Bosnian in the Arabic script and popularize it through a series of multilingual and Ulema-led print publications, further tying him to the vernacular cosmopolitan tradition of his 19<sup>th</sup> century predecessors. Culminating with the founding of his journal *Tarik* in the summer of 1908, this period therefore saw Čaušević refine his reformist project before both a local and international audience on the eve of the major political upheavals to follow.

### 2.1. Background and Intellectual Roots through 1903

Part of the reason for the limited attention to Čaušević’s early career in the existing literature stems from challenges in the source base. Largely unfolding outside the immediate reach of state institutions, whether in Austria-Hungary or the Ottoman Empire, his early biography offers few obvious archival starting points. Moreover, because he left behind no memoirs and made few direct references to his studies in his later life, historians are left to rely on second-hand accounts from his contemporaries and the scattered allusions in his public writings. Despite these obstacles, however, enough material exists to form a composite picture. Two broad sets of influences emerge as significant: first, Ottoman Balkan reformists, including both the transitional pedagogues in Bosnia itself as well as their likeminded Ulema contemporaries in Istanbul; and second, Islamic modernist

networks crystallizing at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which cut across several different empires but concentrated for the moment in British-occupied Cairo.

### 2.1.1. *Bosnia and Istanbul*

Čaušević was born on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1870 in Arapuša, a small hamlet in the Krajina (literally “Frontier”) region in the far northwest corner of both present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina and the post-classical Ottoman Empire.<sup>202</sup> In its modern history, it has been one of the most homogenously Muslim but isolated parts of the country, leading historian Ivo Banac to memorably describe it as a “solid Muslim lagoon” in a “Serb Orthodox island.”<sup>203</sup> Čaušević would have been about five years old when Arapaga’s tower—the village’s central landmark and bequeathal of its semi-mythical 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman military founder—burned down in 1876, and seven when the Austro-Hungarian army marched through the Krajina in the spring of 1878.<sup>204</sup> The tower’s destruction was but one small episode in the wider period of violence that, starting with an 1875 peasant rebellion in nearby Herzegovina, had ultimately triggered a Russo-Turkish war, the Congress of Berlin, and Bosnia’s subsequent Austro-Hungarian occupation. Nonetheless, its nearly perfect overlap with the three-odd centuries of Ottoman rule in the region renders it a potent symbol for the end of an era. In a later, fictional series of morality tales, Čaušević’s semi-autobiographical narrator makes repeated allusions to the collective shock in response to this change of rule, when Muslims

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<sup>202</sup> Pandža, “Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević.”

<sup>203</sup> Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 53–55.

<sup>204</sup> Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Kule i odžaci u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, 1954) [Towers and Manors in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

had “all half decided to leave the country.”<sup>205</sup> No doubt this functioned primarily as a rhetorical motif, but we can assume it is also at least partly grounded in the personal experience of his youth.

Čaušević’s immediate background was as minor Ulema, provincial members of the Ottoman Muslim scholarly class. His father Ali was a popular *Hodža* (T: *Hoca*), or local religious instructor, preaching and serving in various mosques and schools in Arapuša’s immediate vicinity.<sup>206</sup> As was typical of children in Ulema families, the young Džemaludin’s earliest education was under his father’s instruction, which in the broader social context of mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Bosnia may have placed him at a distinct advantage; the province’s *Sibyan* Mektebs, or Islamic primary schools, were of widely varying quality, often associated with destitute conditions and corporal punishments, and in the blunt appraisal of a 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian historian, “among the most backward schools in the world.”<sup>207</sup> These early roots are also notable because, as per chapter one, Mustafa Rakim, one of the pioneers of printing Bosnian in the Arabic script, was also from the Krajina, and his vernacular ‘ilm-i ḥāl from the second half of the 1860s apparently attained common currency among Ulema in the region; it is entirely possible that Čaušević’s father may have been one such local instructor.<sup>208</sup> In any case, by the time he reached adolescence, perhaps as early as eleven, Čaušević proceeded from his home village to the Madrasa in Bihać, the largest town in the Krajina and the seat of an eponymous *sandžak* (T: *Sancak*, or sub-provincial district). Existing biographies, obituaries, and other references in the secondary literature dutifully mention that he studied there for several years under the

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<sup>205</sup> “Dedini menakibi [5/7],” *Tarik* 1, no. 7 (November 24, 1908): 122–25 [Grandpa’s Virtues].

<sup>206</sup> Pandža, “Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević.”

<sup>207</sup> Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, 288 [Muslim Schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina Through the Year 1918].

<sup>208</sup> One Krajina teacher thus reported in 1898 that Rakim’s ‘ilm-i ḥāl “is to this day found in practically every third household [in the northwestern reaches of our homeland], with male and female children previously learning from it in primary mektebs.” M. H. B., “Odjek” [Echo].

*Müderriş* (madrassa professor) Ahmed Sabit Ribić (1845-1907), before ultimately leaving for further study in Istanbul in 1887.

Although most accounts gloss over Ribić's role as Čaušević's early mentor, the previous chapter, which identified him as one of Bosnia-Herzegovina's "transitional pedagogues," suggests that this fact warrants far greater attention. To briefly recapitulate, Ribić himself studied under Derviš Muhamed "Sidi" Korkut, the longstanding Mufti of Travnik and a key member of Bosnia's reform-inclined and pro-Tanzimat Ulema. Following studies in both the Islamic sciences and modern pedagogy in Istanbul, he returned to Bosnia to eventually become the key Muslim collaborator of the Austro-Hungarian authorities in efforts to reform Muslim education. Given the intimate relationship between student and mentor in the madrasa system, as well as the exceptionally reformist outlook of both men in their respective eras, Ribić's influence on Čaušević must have been far from incidental. When he left his post in Bihać to return to Sarajevo as instructor at the city's reformed *Rüşdiyye* in 1885, he took with him another madrasa student from the Krajina countryside: Hasan Mehmedagić (1868-1953), some two years Čaušević's elder, from the nearby village of Golubovići.<sup>209</sup> Mehmedagić finished his elementary studies at the *Rüşdiyye* before proceeding in 1887, with Ribić's recommendation, to the *Kırkçeşme* Madrasa in Istanbul under its then *Müderriş* Salih Hilmi Siljadžić, a Bosnian from Zenica. Though the historical record appears silent on this matter, it is possible that Čaušević, who left Bosnia that same year but directly from Bihać, followed the exact same path. Another circumstantial hint of Ribić's potential influence lies in their shared Sufi affiliation; nicknamed "Širazija" for his frequent quoting of the great 13<sup>th</sup> century Persian poet

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<sup>209</sup> Kreševljaković, "Hadži Hasan ef. Mehmedagić – Biščak" [Hajji Hasan ef. Mehmedagić from Bihać].

Saadi Shirazi, Ribić was a member of the Mevlevi order, which Čaušević himself joined by the time he reached the Ottoman capital.<sup>210</sup>

Čaušević's early studies in Istanbul broadly fall within the norm of contemporary madrasa education. He started learning under the relatively obscure Salih Efendi from Tokat, but once this initial mentor died he continued with Hasan Hüsnü Efendi (c. 1816-1901), from whom he would eventually earn his diploma in early 1901.<sup>211</sup> In terms of Čaušević's very first years in the city, a few additional inferences can be made. Not surprisingly, we know that he associated with a number of other Bosnian madrasa students in the city.<sup>212</sup> He also entered the Mevlevi Sufi order and learned Persian from Muhammed Esad Dede (1843-1911), a Sheikh from Salonica who also taught the language at a variety of *rüşdiye* in the city.<sup>213</sup> Once again, tracing intellectual lineages can be insightful: Esad Dede himself had studied under one Mustafa Şevket (1837-1875), an influential scholar and Arabic instructor whose education had combined the emerging Tanzimat schools and state service with madrasa studies in the 1850s.<sup>214</sup> Şevket consequently taught a number of the reformist Ulema encountered thus far, including not just Esad Dede, but also the transitional pedagogue Hasan Spaho from the previous chapter, as well as one Mustafa Hakkı, mentor to

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<sup>210</sup> Čaušević's Sheikh in Istanbul was Muhammed Esad Dede, whose years of birth (1843) and arrival in Istanbul (c. 1863) both roughly match those of Ribić. See: Nesrin Öktay, "Muhammed Esad Dede ve Mesnevî Şerhi" (M.A., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008), 22–24 [Muhammed Esad Dede and his Commentary on the Masnavi].

<sup>211</sup> Pandža, "Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević."

<sup>212</sup> Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, 203 [Travelogues and Obituaries]; Fikret Karčić, "Gazi-beg Čengić medresa u Višegradu (istraživačka bilješka)," *Novi Muallim*, no. 59 (2014): 85–87 [The Gazi-beg Čengić Madrasa in Višegrad (Research Note)].

<sup>213</sup> Pandža, "Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević"; Munir Ekremov Šahinagić suggests that Čaušević actually joined the Mevlevi order under a Sheikh "Šuaib Effendi" in Edirne in 1900, but this seems unlikely. M. Š Ekremov, "Izgubili smo jednog velikog čovjeka: Merhum Mevlana Hadži Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević," *Muslimanska svijest* 3, no. 44 (1938): 3 [We've Lost a Great Man: the Late Mevlana Hajji Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević].

<sup>214</sup> Öktay, "Muhammed Esad Dede."

Čaušević's close collaborator Sejfullah Proho, and even Čaušević's own later mentor, Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı (see below).<sup>215</sup> In that sense, Čaušević was tied to reform-inclined and Tanzimat-rooted Ulema in both Bosnia and Istanbul, likely supplementing his theological curriculum with “worldly subjects” in the fashion of Proho and others.<sup>216</sup> Further evidence that these reformist leanings developed early comes from an episode in 1890 – only three years after his arrival – when the 19-year-old Čaušević visited Edirne and drew the attention of the district governor and local notables with a particularly fiery sermon at the city's Selimiye mosque.<sup>217</sup>

Čaušević's studies in Istanbul may have also built on relationships with several particularly influential mentors, whose links to him we can establish with varying degrees of certainty. Foremost among them is Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, the great Ottoman statesman who, as per the previous chapter, played an important role in implementing the Tanzimat reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina and empowering the circle of local reformist Ulema from which Ribić and Čaušević ultimately sprang. The key source for this claim is Muhamed Pandža, Čaušević's son-in-law, whose extended obituary following the scholar's death claims that the elder statesman practically took Čaušević under his wing during his studies on the Bosphorus. Absent other sources, however, it is hard to say much definitively. On the one hand, Pandža's account is not entirely reliable when it comes to certain historical specifics, and he would have had a vested interest in casting Čaušević in as favorable a light as possible. At the same time, however, his biography is broadly consistent with what we can verify

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<sup>215</sup> Sejfullah Proho, “Autobiografija,” trans. Muharem Omerdić, *Islamska misao* 8, no. 86 (1986): 18–19 [Autobiography]; Spaho, “Uspomene”; Salih Sabri Yavuz, “Manastırlı İsmâil Hakkı,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>216</sup> In his 1942 article in the Croatian Encyclopedia, Muhamed Hadžijahić references Čaušević studying in both “middle” and “high” schools in Istanbul. See: Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija* (Zagreb: Nakl. Konzorcija Hrvatske Enciklopedije, 1942).

<sup>217</sup> Pandža, “Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević.”

elsewhere, and the fairly detailed claim of a link between Cevdet and Čaušević seems too weighty to dismiss as an outright fabrication. Admittedly, Cevdet's death in 1895 would in any case relegate his direct influence on Čaušević to just the initial phase of the latter's studies in Istanbul. Nonetheless, many of the core tenets of Cevdet's thought—e.g. the Islamic foundations of Ottoman state loyalty, Islam's compatibility with modern science, the inadequacies of the established Ulema, and linguistic reform as a conduit for scientific education—find expression in Čaušević's later work as well.<sup>218</sup> In a revealing Ramadan sermon from December 1903, Čaušević, by then resettled in Bosnia with an Ottoman law degree, specifically cited the associational provisions of Cevdet's *Mecelle* as highlighting medieval Islamic precedents to modern European practices and, consequently, the very potential for communal reform and revitalization.<sup>219</sup>

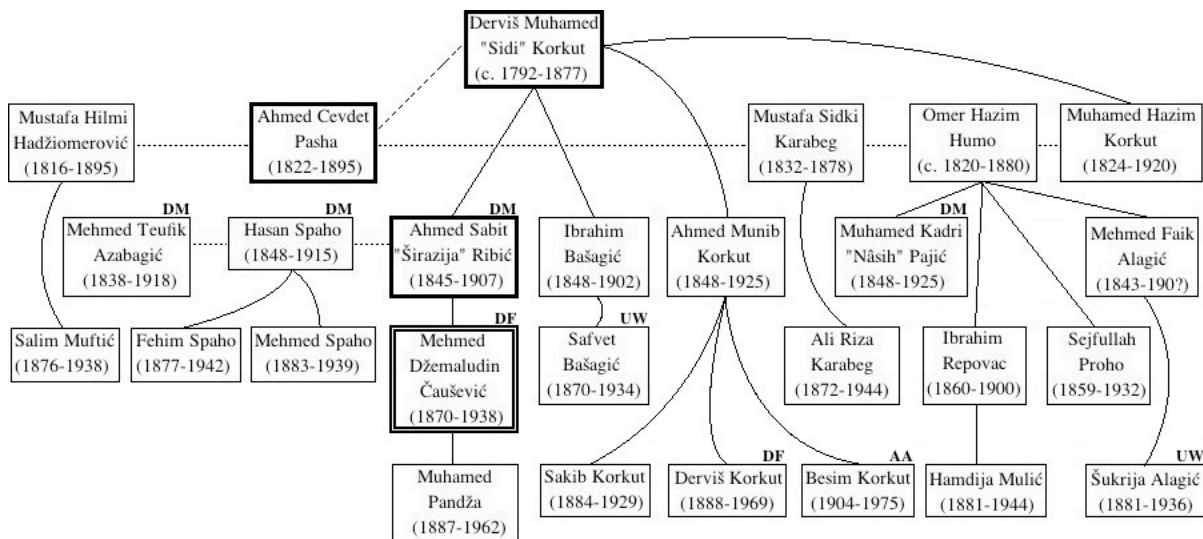


Figure 3: Intellectual network chart of Bosnia's 19th century reformist Ulema from chapter one, modified to highlight Čaušević's place therein as well as potential link to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha.

<sup>218</sup> For a systemic exposition of the role of the state in Cevdet's thought, see: Christoph Neumann, "Whom Did Ahmed Cevdet Represent?," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 117–34.

<sup>219</sup> "Nešto o našem vazu (Nastavak.)," *Bošnjak*, January 14, 1904, 14.2 edition [A Word on our Sermons (Continuation)].

Another possible mentor from Čaušević's early years in Istanbul would have been Ibrahim Edhem Berbić, also from the previous chapter. A veterinarian-by-training, Berbić had authored and published a number of works in which he standardized the writing of Bosnian in Arabic script and advocated for its use as a language of religious and worldly instruction. Initially meant to further integrate Bosnians into the Tanzimat era's centralizing Ottoman state, after the occupation in 1878 Berbić framed it instead as a means of securing endangered Bosnian links to the Hamidian caliphate. This amalgam of linguistic reform and popular Pan-Islamism certainly fits with Čaušević's later activities, and there is circumstantial evidence that he would have been familiar with and inspired by Berbić's work during his stay in Istanbul. After all, we know that Berbić's writings circulated among Bosnian Ulema both in Istanbul and, following the trans-imperial passages of these theological students, into remote regions of Bosnia as well.

Evidence of a direct relationship, however, ultimately rests on an assertion by Muhamed Hadžijahić, one of the major Bosnian Muslim historians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his foundational 1974 text, *Od tradicije do identiteta* ("From Tradition to Identity"), Hadžijahić explicitly claims that Čaušević had befriended Berbić during his studies.<sup>220</sup> Though he does not provide a reference—a frustratingly common practice in the Bosnian historiographical canon—this could well be due to its roots in his own personal networks and experience. Born in Sarajevo in 1918, Hadžijahić was already 20-years-old and an active scholar when Čaušević died; a few short years later, he even took it upon himself to write an entry on the man for the Croatian Encyclopedia.<sup>221</sup> Perhaps more significantly, he was also the son of an established Ulema family, with his father Džemaludin

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<sup>220</sup> Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta* [From Tradition to Identity: the Genesis of the Bosnian Muslim National Question].

<sup>221</sup> Hadžijahić, "Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević."



Hadžijahić (1891-1955) an Istanbul-trained scholar deeply enmeshed in Čaušević's reformist circles.<sup>222</sup> All told then, Hadžijahić's claim that Čaušević knew Berbić personally seems eminently plausible. In either case, however, there is little doubt that Čaušević must have drawn on the broader atmosphere of linguistic, print, and scriptural innovation that characterized late Ottoman Istanbul, such as the work of Sami Frashëri, whom Hadžijahić also identifies as an influence.

In contrast to Berbić and Cevdet, Čaušević's ties to another late Ottoman Islamic scholar, İsmail Hakkı Manastırlı (1846-1912), appear far more clearly. Born and raised in Manastır (M: *Bitola*) in the present-day Republic of Macedonia, where his father İbrahim was a regional administrator, Hakkı was the son of an established local family with roots in Konya.<sup>223</sup> After moving to Istanbul and completing his madrasa studies, he quickly established a reputation as a prolific orator and religious authority, regularly preaching across the city's most famous mosques, from the Ayasofya to the Süleymaniye. Although belonging to a younger generation than Cevdet, Hakkı's emerged from precisely the educational-professional nexus of Ulema tradition, reformed schools, and language instruction that the elder statesman had helped bring about in the 1840s and 50s. Hakkı thus studied Arabic under the previously referenced Mustafa Şevket, an early product of this Tanzimat-Madrasa system, and this linguistic engagement in many ways shaped his further career as well; alongside his madrasa duties, he began a long career of teaching in the state schools system as Arabic instructor at a Military Rüşdiye, and even made his publishing debut in 1878 with *Hâce-i Lisân-ı Osmânî* ("Guide to the Ottoman Language"). Hakkı's consistent engagement with

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<sup>222</sup> Džemaludin Hadžijahić's mentors as a young mekteb and madrasa student in Sarajevo were Hasan Mehmedagić, Čaušević's previously-mentioned peer at the Bihać Madrasa and another Ribić protégé, as well as Džafer Kulenović, another Ulema with Krajina origins who would be closely involved in Čaušević's later print ventures in Sarajevo. Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Hadži hafiz Džemaludin Hadžijahić," *Glasnik IZ XVIII*, no. 8–10 (1955): 334–39 [Hajji Hafiz Džemaludin Hadžijahić].

<sup>223</sup> For a concise biography, see: Yavuz, "Manastırlı İsmâil Hakkı."

pedagogical reformists and Islamic modernist currents during the Hamidian period would culminate in his emergence after the Young Turk Revolution as one of the members of the Ottoman Ulema most closely associated with the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).<sup>224</sup>

Čaušević first met Hakkı at the Fatih mosque, where he was elated by the scholar's lecture on the Quran's Surah *Luqman*, and subsequently followed his appearances throughout the city.<sup>225</sup> The Bosnian student, who would eventually develop a reputation as an exceptionally skilled orator himself, seemed particularly enamored by Hakkı's rhetorical abilities, later emphasizing that Hakkı "knew both how to think and how to express what he thought." After 1908, he was quick to translate and publish a number of Hakkı's revolutionary sermons in Sarajevo periodicals, and eventually as a separate book, testifying to his immense regard for the man.<sup>226</sup> As Čaušević put it in his obituary in 1912, Hakkı was "not a smalltime intellectual, but a man whose knowledge, like light, shined upon the entire Islamic world," a process in which he, as translator and (re-) publisher, saw himself as an active participant.<sup>227</sup> He also noted that he had read his works extensively during his student days, but was especially enamored by his "scholarly writings from abroad"—an ambiguous reference given that Hakkı's documented publications had all come out in Istanbul.<sup>228</sup> One possibility, given Hakkı's involvement with the Young Turk movement, is that Čaušević was referring to articles written under a pseudonym in the anti-Hamidian exile press.

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<sup>224</sup> Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 37–38, 86.

<sup>225</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, "Mevt-ul-alimi mevt-ul-alemi," *Misbah* 1, no. 5 (December 25, 1912) [The Death of a Scholar is the Death of the World].

<sup>226</sup> İsmail Hakkı Manastırlı, *Vazovi i nasihati*, trans. Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, n.d.) [Sermons and Advice].

<sup>227</sup> Čaušević, "Mevt-ul-alimi mevt-ul-alemi."

<sup>228</sup> Yavuz, "Manastırlı İsmâil Hakkı."

Whatever the case, Čaušević's relationship with Hakkı helps contextualize his own purported oppositionist proclivities. Although Abdul Hamid II cultivated a public image as a paternalistic champion of Islamic tradition, his relations with the Ulema were far more ambivalent in practice, with the sultan especially wary of madrasa students in the capital as a potentially subversive power bloc.<sup>229</sup> The key episode took place in 1892-93, when a convergence of educational, military, and political factors convinced Hamid to undertake drastic reform measures, attempting to clandestinely expel provincial students from the capital and introduce changes to the madrasas' curricula and functioning.<sup>230</sup> Sloppy execution, however, rendered the move a public relations disaster: police and gendarme freely relied on physical coercion to drive the thousands of targeted students to the harbor, much to the shock of both the unsuspecting students and the city's residents.<sup>231</sup> The news even reached the Bosnian press, and ultimately convinced the Sultan to retreat into a fateful policy of benign neglect.<sup>232</sup>

Čaušević would have most likely been present in Istanbul for these dramatic events, which sowed lingering tension between the Hamidian authorities and segments of the Ulema. A number of them, such as the Herzegovinian Pajić, would ultimately leave and articulate Islamic arguments against the Sultan's despotic rule from abroad. Others, such as Hakkı, would stay in the imperial center and harbor similar anti-Hamidian and constitutionalist sentiments underground, resurfacing

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<sup>229</sup> İsmail Kara, "Turban and Fez: Ulema as Opposition," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 370.

<sup>230</sup> Amit Bein, "Politics, Military Conscription, and Religious Education in the Late Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 2 (2006): 283–301.

<sup>231</sup> Bein, 291–92.

<sup>232</sup> "Turska," *Bošnjak*, September 29, 1892, 2.39 edition, sec. Politički pregled [Turkey].

following the dramatic events of 1908.<sup>233</sup> In either case, a key point here is that “Young Turk” was effectively an umbrella term during this period, flexible enough to accommodate not just militant secularists, but various strands of Ulema opposition as well.<sup>234</sup> Repeated claims by his friends and contemporaries that Čaušević was a Young Turk agitator during his student days should be understood in this context, as well as in terms of the relative prestige such an affiliation may have held among Yugoslav Muslim reformists during Kemalism’s interwar heyday. Judging from his own later writings, Čaušević’s political thought from this time likely combined a genuine belief in the institution of the Hamidian Caliphate with an embrace of the Young Turks’ overarching insistence on mass-based communal reform and activism.

As a mentor, Hakkı had a more concrete influence on Čaušević’s educational career as well. When the latter enrolled in the Sharia Judges’ School (OT: *Mekteb-i Nüvvab*) in 1898, the former advised him to transfer instead to the Imperial Law School (OT: *Mekteb-i Hukuk*).<sup>235</sup> Čaušević did so the following year, thus studying directly under Hakkı, who taught Islamic jurisprudence there. When *Darülfünun*, the Ottoman Empire’s first university, was formally established in 1900, the Law School was incorporated as one of its three constituent faculties.<sup>236</sup> Hakkı gave the university’s ceremonial inaugural lecture on the Surah *Al-Fatiha* at its opening, highlighting once again the close link between segments of the Ottoman Ulema and the major educational reform initiatives of the

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<sup>233</sup> Kara, “Turban and Fez.”

<sup>234</sup> Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*.

<sup>235</sup> Pandža, “Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević.”

<sup>236</sup> Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Darülfünun: Osmanlı’da kültürel modernleşmenin odağı* (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2010) [The Darülfünun: the Focus of Cultural Modernization in the Ottoman Empire].

era.<sup>237</sup> Čaušević's legal studies not only cemented his links to this longstanding current of Ulema reformism, but also tied him to the nascent Young Turk generation; one of his closest friends from this time was Mehmed Adil Arda (1869-1935), the future CUP Minister of the Interior.<sup>238</sup>

### 2.1.2. Cairo

The years 1899-1903 would prove pivotal in Čaušević's life and career, but once again, the historical record is fragmented and the chronology patchy. Čaušević himself never wrote about it directly at any length during his later years, so historians have to largely rely on the references of his contemporaries. Nonetheless, a general outline remains, partly also inferable from his later activities and writings. In these years, Čaušević completed his law degree, traveled widely throughout the Ottoman Empire, and continued to network with oppositionist circles. These travels partly took place in the Balkans, where he visited his native Bosnia for the first time in nearly 15 years, ultimately returning permanently after finishing his studies in the fall of 1903. What is especially interesting in terms of both Čaušević's Ottoman career and subsequent historiography, however, is his engagement with the Empire's Arab provinces. As a journalist for *Tercüman-i Hakikat*, one of Istanbul's most prominent newspapers, Čaušević traveled extensively in the Eastern Mediterranean and Arab Peninsula, most likely thanks to the support of his mentor Hakki and with the goal of reporting on the Hejaz railway. The specifics of Čaušević's subsequent itinerary require additional research, but several points emerge. He appears, for instance, to have visited a number of earlier

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<sup>237</sup> Contrary to historiographical cliché, the Ulema were intimately involved in just about every stage of the creation and development of the first Ottoman university, and madrasa-trained students were a large segment of the student body throughout. İhsanoğlu, 351–61.

<sup>238</sup> Spaho, "Uspomene."

pilgrimage centers along the rail project's intended route, such as Damascus and Jerusalem, continuing through the Hejaz and completing the Hajj before ultimately reporting on Yemen. According to one source, he may have even gone as far afield as Zanzibar, plugging into the Indian Ocean routes that represented the other major arena of the Muslim age of "Steam and Print."<sup>239</sup> As a newspaper reporter on the nascent Hejaz railway, Čaušević fits neatly into this historiographical framework, and his pilgrimage at this time similarly echoes global trends, in an era when the increased ease of travel saw growing numbers of Muslims completing the Hajj from as far afield as Russia and Southeast Asia.<sup>240</sup>

The crucial leg, however, seems to have been Čaušević's sojourn in Egypt, where he stayed for several months in Cairo. The Egyptian metropolis must have appealed to him on at least two basic levels: first, as a center of religious scholarship, and particularly as home to the renowned *Al-Azhar* Madrasa, which had already drawn a handful of other Bosnians; and second, as a major print publishing hub, and in particular for Ottoman dissident exiles, such as the Herzegovinian Pajić.<sup>241</sup> Although Čaušević met a number of other key players in Egypt's contemporary intellectual and political life during this time, none had a greater impact on him than 'Abduh, the province's Grand Mufti and reformist administrator at *Al-Azhar*.<sup>242</sup> 'Abduh advocated for the rationalistic reinterpretation of Islamic tradition to address modern challenges, appropriately sweeping reforms to

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<sup>239</sup> For the claim regarding Zanzibar, see: Ekremov, "Merhum Mevlana Hadži Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević"; For the historical framework of the "Age of Steam and Print," see: Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*.

<sup>240</sup> Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Echoes to Al-Manār among the Muslims of the Russian Empire: A Preliminary Research Note on Riza Al-Din b. Fakhr Al-Din and the Šūrā (1908-1918)," in *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>241</sup> Jusuf Ramić, *Bošnjaci na univerzitetu El-Azher* (Sarajevo: Muftijstvo Sarajevsko, 2002) [Bosniaks at Al-Azhar University].

<sup>242</sup> Indira Falk Gesink, *Islamic Reform and Conservatism: Al-Azhar and the Evolution of Modern Sunni Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1–8, 165–96.

madrassa education, and global Muslim unity, all embodied in his close collaborator Rashid Rida's 1899 journal *Al-Manār* ("The Lighthouse"). Down to its very name, *Al-Manār* conceived of itself as a beacon of reformist ideas for Muslims across the world, and its far-reaching influence has consequently made it an attractive subject for scholars of global history.<sup>243</sup> For Čaušević too, the historiographical consensus holds that he was 'Abduh's Bosnian disciple, thoroughly embracing the core tenets of his thought and faithfully propagating them in his own native land, broadly analogous to other such torchbearers from Siberia to Sumatra.

This prevailing stance is basically correct, but it requires important context and caveats. The fundamental issue is a historiographically over-determined downplaying of the Ottoman context and influence on Čaušević's life, thought, and work. Part of the blame here falls on the Manarists above-mentioned proselytizing self-image, but an even bigger culprit is the "decline paradigm" in Ottoman historiography at large, long embraced by Balkan nationalists, Kemalist historians and Western Ottomanists alike.<sup>244</sup> In this reading, the Ottoman Ulema in particular were a major reactionary force during the Empire's age of reforms, and their madrasas a degenerate system.<sup>245</sup> Admittedly, a similarly negative portrayal of Bosnian madrasas served a more immediate discursive purpose for Čaušević and his reformist contemporaries as well, but after 1923 it came to be conflated with the Ottoman past as a whole. Thus a 1937 Bosnian book on the compatibility of Islam with European culture blames the enduring lack of progress in its day on "Sultanic Turkey" for relying on dogmatic

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<sup>243</sup> Kosugi Yasushi, "Al-Manar Revisited: The 'Lighthouse' of the Islamic Revival," in *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>244</sup> For a holistic overview, see: Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline."

<sup>245</sup> Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic*.

and mystical interpretations of the Qur'an.<sup>246</sup> The implicit contrast in such critiques was with the “modern” and “rational” ideas of 'Abduh, carried by a new generation of *Al-Azhar* graduates who gradually came to predominate in Bosnian Islamic thought and institutions after Mustafa Kemal Pasha closed down Istanbul's madrasas in 1923. One of the foremost examples of this later current is Husein Đozo (1912-1982), a prominent Al-Azhar-trained religious scholar and functionary who would lambast Ottoman madrasas as dens of backwardness throughout his scholarly life.<sup>247</sup>

A closely related conceptual issue, which Adeb Khalid has raised in regards to the historiography of *Al-Manār* and Pan-Islamism as a whole, is that an overly individualist stress on 'Abduh risks obscuring the underlying structural dimension of the phenomenon: the emergence of a transnational public sphere that provided a material basis to the emerging idea of a “Muslim World.”<sup>248</sup> Čaušević's case obviously highlights this process, but it is also indicative of an overlapping Ottoman dimension to the phenomenon. As a print entrepreneur following his return to Bosnia, Čaušević indeed regularly translated and referred to materials from Cairo, but this probably speaks less to the influence of *Al-Manār* in and of itself than to the city's vibrant press scene as a whole.<sup>249</sup> Many of the Cairene papers he and his collaborators cited during this period were in Turkish or otherwise had an Ottomanist bent (e.g. *Al-Meğelle 'Osmāniye*), while they also regularly drew on

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<sup>246</sup> Adem Bise, *Da li može musliman živjeti evropskim kulturnim životom i ostati dobar musliman?* (1937) [Can a Muslim Live a European Cultural Life and Remain a Good Muslim?], as cited in: Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević*, 65–81.

<sup>247</sup> “Pitanja čitalaca i naši odgovori,” *Glasnik IZ XXXVII*, no. 1–2 (1974): 37–48 [Readers' Questions and our Answers]; Husein Đozo, “Snaga ličnosti (Sjećanja na merhum hadži hafiz Bedri ef. Hamida),” *Glasnik VIŠ XLIII*, no. 5 (1980): 273–82 [Strength of Character (Memories of the Late Hajji Hafiz Bedri ef. Hamid)].

<sup>248</sup> Khalid, “Pan-Islamism in Practice.”

<sup>249</sup> For an overview of this Turco-Egyptian entanglement, see: Johan Strauss, *The Egyptian Connection in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Literary and Intellectual History* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 2000).



other publications in the wider Ottoman intellectual orbit alluded to earlier: Ahmet Ağaoğlu's *İrşad* in Baku, Ismail Gasprinski's *Tercüman*, and a number of others from Istanbul itself.<sup>250</sup> Moreover, given Cairo's status as a comparatively liberal publishing center, many of these same trans-imperial Ottoman and Russo-Turkic intellectuals passed through or situated themselves there as well. Once the Young Turk Revolution similarly opened the floodgates of the print scene in the Ottoman capital, many of the Manarist materials in Čaušević's Sarajevan periodicals were actually secondary translations from newer Turkish-language journals.

To be certain, Čaušević's writings would echo a number of 'Abduh's central themes, but scholars must be cautious in assigning these to 'Abduh exclusively, since prominent Istanbul Ulema of the time were making similar arguments largely independently. Hakkı, for instance, was but one Ottoman scholar whose writing had placed a new emphasis on the active individual, implicitly accepted European stereotypes of oriental laziness, and grappled with novel conceptions of historical time.<sup>251</sup> These scholars were major influences on Čaušević as well: though contemporaries and historians have stressed that he frequently called 'Abduh "[his] honorable teacher" (OT: *üstad-ı muhterem*), in the pre-1914 period he in fact applied the same label to Hakkı and other Ottoman Ulema.<sup>252</sup> Similarly, the core reformist idea that Islam (or the Ottoman Empire more specifically) had fallen behind Europe relatively but not absolutely, traces as far back as Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and the Young Ottoman thinkers from the Tanzimat era, which also had an immense influence on

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<sup>250</sup> As but one example, see: "Al-Meğelle 'Osmāniye," *Behar* 7, no. 6 (July 15, 1906).

<sup>251</sup> Kara, "Turban and Fez."

<sup>252</sup> "Vaz: prijevod iz «Sirat-ı Müstakim» broj 22-23," *Tarık* 1, no. 10 (February 21, 1909): 161–67 [Sermon: Translation from "Sirat-ı Müstakim" No. 22-23].

Čaušević and Bosnian Muslim modernists more broadly, particularly those inclined to literary pursuits.<sup>253</sup>

Despite these caveats, Čaušević was still the major Bosnian intermediary for 'Abduh and *Al-Manār*'s ideas prior to the First World War. Their relative obscurity therefore falls into even sharper relief if we zoom out to consider his contemporaries. As late as May 1914, Muhamed Tufo, a particularly Arab-oriented Bosnian student in Istanbul, felt compelled to add a note to his translation of a piece from *Al-Manār* where he not only explained who Rashid Rida and his journal even were, but complained about his compatriots ignorance.<sup>254</sup> “Whoever understands Arabic and isn't subscribed to this paper is in error,” Tufo wrote. “This is one of the best publications that the Islamic World has given us thus far. I am amazed that the Gazi Husrev-beg library has yet to acquire this periodical, which deserves to be bound in sleeves of gold.” In the foreword to his 1926 inaugural translation of 'Abduh and Rida's landmark Qur'anic exegeses, Šukrija Alagić (1881-1936), another figure in the Tanzimat-rooted reformist network from the chart above, states that the idea first came to him some 10-15 years prior, so no earlier than 1911, roughly the same time as Tufo's complaint above.<sup>255</sup> This is not to say that *Al-Manār* was entirely unknown—as we shall see, Čaušević promoted it even earlier—but that its impact should be kept in perspective. In the first issue of *Biser* (“Pearl”), the journal where Tufo later published his above-cited review, a contributor from the eastern Bosnian town of Foča briefly recommended on one of the back pages that readers acquire a

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<sup>253</sup> Gen, “The Influence of Al-Manār on Islamism in Turkey”; Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)* [Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934): On the Intellectual Roots of National Thought Among the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>254</sup> Muhamed Tufo, “Savjeti afganskog emira Abdurahmana, koje je ostavio kao sveti amanet svome sinu i prijestolnašljedniku Habibullahu,” *Biser* 2, no. 22-23-24 (June 15, 1914): 376-78 [The Advice of the Afghan Emir Abdurahman, Which He Left in Trust to His Son and Successor Habibullah].

<sup>255</sup> Šukrija Alagić and Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, *Tefsiru Kur-anil-kerimi* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1926) [Exegesis of the Noble Quran], as cited in: Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević*, 61-64.

recent booklet by *Al-Manār* editor Rashid Rida.<sup>256</sup> In one of that issue's first articles, however, the same author translated a Turkish-language biographical text on Cevdet Pasha, emphasizing his ties to Bosnia and work as reformer.<sup>257</sup>

Ultimately, it would not be a stretch to suggest that, for Bosnian Muslims prior to the 1920s, Cairo was as much a major node in the previously referenced trans-imperial Islamic reformist web as a center in and of itself. It is telling, for instance, that of the mere handful of Bosnians who studied at *Al-Azhar* during this period, all of them came by way of Istanbul, either during their madrasa recesses or by drawing on their connections there.<sup>258</sup> In that sense, Bosnia presents a very different case from the Russian Empire, where sharp generational cleavages had already emerged by the 1880s and 1890s, when many young Tatar students left for studies in Egypt and met with 'Abduh.<sup>259</sup> Čaušević himself was no doubt especially impressed by 'Abduh and would be crucial in bringing his ideas to the western Balkans, but both for him individually and for Bosnian Muslims more generally, it is no coincidence that Cairo's relative weight as an intellectual metropole vis-à-vis Istanbul reached its height in two separate periods when the Ottoman capital's public sphere was politically curtailed: prior to 1908 under Hamidian censorship and after 1923 amidst Kemalist secularization.

## 2.2. Return, Reception, and Collaboration with Progressives, 1903-1907

With Čaušević's return to Sarajevo and launch of an ambitious agenda of local reform, the available sources proliferate. The key development during these initial years of acclamation was the

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<sup>256</sup> S. Firuz, "Uspomena Pejgamberova preseljenja iz Meke u Medinu," *Biser* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1912): 14 [Remembrance of the Prophet's Migration from Mecca to Medina].

<sup>257</sup> S.-Firuz Muftić, "Dževdet paša (biografija)," *Biser* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1912): 5–6 [Cevdet Pasha (Biography)].

<sup>258</sup> Ramić, *Bošnjaci na univerzitetu El-Azher*.

<sup>259</sup> Dudoignon, "Echoes to *Al-Manār*."

scholar's alliance with a circle of pro-Habsburg Muslim "progressive" intellectuals who had emerged from the Dual Monarchy's gymnasia and universities. Seemingly disparate, both Čaušević and the key progressives traced their roots to Bosnia's Tanzimat-era reformist Ulema and shared a modernist belief in the imperative of communal reform. Where the progressives provided Čaušević with early institutional backing and patronage, the theologian played a key role in introducing them to the notion of a wider "Islamic World" as a source of education and inspiration for said reform. Despite this fundamentally global perspective, however, the primary appeal of the resulting "Pan-Islamist Progressive" alliance and ideological synthesis was domestic: it promised to preserve local Muslim unity amidst growing generational, intellectual, and political cleavages in Bosnian society, and in particular between an emerging secular-nationalist intelligentsia and Ottoman-loyalist religious conservatives. This Čaušević-led agenda found particular expression in early joint print ventures, culminating with his editorship of the seventh volume of the progressives' flagship literary journal *Behar* in 1906-1907.

### *2.2.1. Initial Visits and Contacts, 1901-1903*

Čaušević first returned to Bosnia for Ramadan 1319—either in late December 1901 or early January 1902—some 31 years of age and over fourteen years since he had originally left. He arrived in Sarajevo a stranger, depending on the good will of owner Alija Poturović to stay at the Morić caravanserai in the city's main bazaar. As his sermons in the neighboring Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque gained a following, however, he soon moved to the adjacent Hanikah Madrasa. Čaušević's sermons soon made an impact outside of narrow Ulema circles as well; in a gushing January 19<sup>th</sup> letter to *Bošnjak*, the city's premier Muslim newspaper, a reader wrote to celebrate the arrival of a preacher "completely up to his exalted task," uniquely suited to bringing the insights of an Islamic theological

education to bear on the demands of the modern age.<sup>260</sup> The brainchild of a group of Habsburg-loyalist Muslim administrators and intellectuals, *Bošnjak* functioned as the premier forum for Bosnian Muslim educational reform in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it championed the efforts of men such as Čaušević's erstwhile mentor Ribić. Some three short years earlier in 1898, the paper had serialized an extended critique of Bosnian madrasas titled "*Ko je kriv?*" ("Who's to blame?"), signaling an emerging rift between Western-educated reformers and conservative Ulema.<sup>261</sup> In this context, the arrival of a madrasa-trained religious scholar who was also a fierce advocate of institutional reform appeared as a revelation.

It was also during this visit that Hamdija Muteveliđ, the head of the Gazi Husrev-beg Waqf, made a point of introducing Čaušević to the core of young literati who had by then emerged around the paper: Safvet Bašagić, Osman Nuri Hadžić (1869-1937), Edhem Mulabdić (1862-1954), and Fehim Spaho (1877-1942).<sup>262</sup> Self-styled "progressive" (B: *Napredni*) intellectuals, they represented the first generation of Bosnian Muslims educated in the new Austro-Hungarian schools, both in Bosnia and the traditional Habsburg domains. Foremost amongst them, Bašagić had already developed a reputation as a talented poet, and having graduated from the Sarajevo Gymnasium and spent time in Zagreb, had just recently continued his studies at the University of Vienna.<sup>263</sup> Mulabdić, meanwhile, was the author of the first Bosnian Muslim novel, *Zeleno busenje* ("Green Sods") in 1898, while Hadžić, another Gymnasium graduate, had emerged as a capable polemicist

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<sup>260</sup> "Sarajevo, 9. januara 1902," *Bošnjak*, January 9, 1902, 12.2 edition.

<sup>261</sup> "Ko je kriv?!... (Nastavak.)," *Bošnjak*, April 27, 1898, 9.17 edition.

<sup>262</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, "Merhum dr. Safvetbeg Bašagić," *Novi Behar* VII, no. 19–21 (May 1, 1934): 270–71 [The Late Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić]; Edhem Mulabdić, "Merhum reis-ul-ulema H. M. Dž. Čaušević kao vaiz," *Novi Behar* 11, no. 20 (April 1938): 306–8 [The Late Reis-ul-Ulema H. M. Dž. Čaušević as a Preacher].

<sup>263</sup> Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*.

and dependable collaborator of the Austro-Hungarian authorities.<sup>264</sup> Less than two years earlier, in May of 1900, the trio had come together to start their own literary revue, *Behar* (“Blossom”), copies of which they eagerly gave to Čaušević during their Ramadan meeting.<sup>265</sup> By Čaušević’s own admission, this exchange marked the start of his engagement with the emerging Bosnian Muslim print culture and Western-style literature, which he would follow closely in the years to come.<sup>266</sup>

Despite the close collaborative relationship that ensued, the major studies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian Muslim “cultural renaissance” treat Čaušević as a secondary figure, privileging Bašagić and the Habsburg-educated literati instead.<sup>267</sup> This prevailing narrative, however, faces two major issues. First, as the previous chapter partly outlined, it obscures the extent to which both Čaušević and the literati shared roots in the Tanzimat. Mehmed Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839-1902), the founder and first chief editor of *Bošnjak*, for instance, was a local administrator in Herzegovina and Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s chief guide to the region during the latter’s tour there in 1863.<sup>268</sup> His close collaborator in starting the paper, Ibrahim Bašagić, was not only Safvet’s father, but also a student of Derviš Muhamed “Sidi” Korkut at the Travnik madrasa in the 1850s, where he had studied together with Čaušević’s mentor Ribić (See figure 3 in section 2.1.1 above). When Ribić returned from Bihać to Sarajevo to become the administrator of the city’s reformed Rüşdiye in 1885, a young Safvet was one of the inaugural students, though the youth appears to have been closer to its language teacher Ibrahim Repovac, another member of the same Tanzimat network, who instilled in

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<sup>264</sup> Kemura, *Uloga “Gajreta”* [The Role of “Gajret” in the Social Life of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1903-1941)].

<sup>265</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*.

<sup>266</sup> Čaušević, “Merhum dr. Safvetbeg Bašagić.”

<sup>267</sup> Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost* [Bosnian Muslim Literature in its Renaissance Period].

<sup>268</sup> Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*.

him a life-long love of Persian and Arabic.<sup>269</sup> Fehim Spaho, meanwhile, was the son of another *Darülmüallimin* graduate and “transitional pedagogue,” Hasan Spaho, who had studied alongside Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı in Istanbul. Admittedly, the overlap was not absolute: Hadžić and Mulabdić, two foundational figures for both *Behar* and modern Bosnian Muslim literature as a whole, were more narrowly products of the emerging Austro-Hungarian school system. Nonetheless, on the basis of these earlier links between Bašagić’s circle and Čaušević, it is possible to see the former’s Habsburg-loyalist Muslim progressivism and the latter’s Ottoman-centered Islamic modernism as two branches of the same tree.

The second issue with the relative neglect of Čaušević in Bosnian Muslim literary history is that it misses the extent to which he himself became a major influence on his Western-educated colleagues upon his return to the country, introducing a Pan-Islamist current that deeply resonated with them amidst growing cleavages in contemporary Bosnian Muslim society. In its brief one-and-a-half year run prior to Čaušević’s arrival, *Behar* had already made some contacts with the Cairene press and reformist circles, but these markedly accelerated alongside its founders’ relationship to the Ottoman-educated newcomer. The journal had thus made two mentions to Muhammad ‘Abduh during this initial pre-1902 period, including a purported conversation between him and the Ottoman *Şeyhülislam* Mehmed Cemaleddin on the state of contemporary Ulema, but unconventionally referred to him as “Mehmed Abdullah.”<sup>270</sup> *Behar* also recommended a number of

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<sup>269</sup> Bašagić would have learned Turkish from his father who “spoke it like a native,” testifying once again to the significance of familial background in polyglot intellectual circles. See: Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti: prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1912) [Bosnians and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature: a Contribution to the Cultural History of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>270</sup> “Mehmed Abdullah” is possibly a reflection of their source material, a Turkish-language newspaper, but in any case seems to indicate limited familiarity. “Listak: Književnost: Islah-ul-mehakimi-šer-ijje,” *Behar* 1, no. 4 (July 1, 1900): 82 [Literature: the Reform of Islamic Courts]; “Današnja ulema,” *Behar* 2, no. 9 (September 1, 1901): 134 [Today’s Ulema].

Cairene periodicals during this time, but these were largely literary publications, while occasional political papers included a number that were published in Turkish, such as *Sancaĥ* (“Banner”). Things noticeably intensified after Ćaušević’s second visit to Bosnia for Ramadan 1320 (December 1902), following which he had once again left for Ottoman lands. Already in March of 1903, *Behar* reached out directly to Mohammed Hasib, editor of the journal *Mecelle*, providing copies of their own journal and asking for his in exchange, as well as for regular updates from the Arabic press.<sup>271</sup> Hasib responded enthusiastically, sending along several representative articles that he personally recommended for publication, including one by Fatma Aliye, Cevdet’s daughter, as well as a book by Muhammad Farid Wajdi, another 'Abduh protégé, which *Behar* promised to serialize.

In *Behar*’s subsequent 4<sup>th</sup> year (1903-04), the journal adopted a noticeably more Pan-Islamist tone. Mulabdić’s editorial announcement in the first issue even heralded this more activist orientation with a curious allusion to Cairene authority: “As the Arab in Egypt says, the pen is mightier than the sword.”<sup>272</sup> Bašagić then opened proceedings with his “*Sto i jedan hadisi serif*” (“One Hundred and One Noble Hadith”), essentially a progressive-minded exegesis of the prophet Muhammad’s reported deeds, aiming to give *Bošnjak* and *Behar*’s long-standing calls for communal reform an explicitly theological footing.<sup>273</sup> Bašagić was most likely inspired here by “*Bin bir hadis-i šerif šerhi*” (“Commentary on One Thousand and One Noble Hadith”), a posthumously published

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<sup>271</sup> Hasib, “Listak: Kulturne bilješke: O napredovanju misirskih muslimana,” *Behar* 3, no. 22 (March 15, 1902): 351–52 [Cultural Notes: on the Progress of Egyptian Muslims]; Most of these Cairene references throughout were from someone signed “h,” which was apparently the pseudonym for Fehim Spaho. Rizvić, the definitive authority on *Behar*, says the 1905 obituary for Sami Frashëri by the same author was Spaho, and it would make sense given that Spaho had an enduring interest in Arabic literature, later translating the 1001 nights under his full name. Recall also that his father Hasan had studied Arabic in Istanbul and would eventually even publish a study in Cairo, reinforcing once again the close relationship between language and familial relationships. Rizvić, *Behar*.

<sup>272</sup> Uredništvo “Behara,” “Na pragu četvrte godine,” *Behar* 4, no. 1 (May 1, 1903): 16 [At the Threshold of Year Four].

<sup>273</sup> Mirza Safvet, “Sto i jedan hadisi šerif,” *Behar* 4, no. 1 (May 1, 1903): 1–3 [One Hundred and One Noble Hadith].



1901 book by Cairo-based Ottoman political activist and scholar Mehmed Arif, which Spaho had recommended in *Behar* in November 1902, and which had already gained favor in wider Pan-Islamist circles.<sup>274</sup> More broadly, however, his effort stands as a prime example of 'Abduh's call for *ijtihad*, or the reason-based interpretation of Islamic tradition to address contemporary challenges, even by those like Bašagić without formal Ulema training.<sup>275</sup> In the ensuing issues, pride of place is also given to two lengthy letters from Cairo. In the first, an anonymous reader writing under the pseudonym “*Garib*” (Arabic for “Stranger” or “Foreigner”) describes a meeting of Tatar students at *Al-Azhar*, gathered to commemorate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ismail Gasprinski's *Tercüman* newspaper.<sup>276</sup> In the second, Ismail Fuad Lemanov, a key figure at this first meeting, writes in directly to convey a message from Rashid Rida, the editor of *Al-Manar*.<sup>277</sup>

It is hard to precisely gauge Čaušević's involvement in this significant shift in *Behar*'s tone and editorial contacts over the course of 1903, but even more difficult to believe that he had little to do with it. Given his direct relationship to 'Abduh and stay at *Al-Azhar*, travels in the Ottoman Empire during this exact time, and enduring engagement with the very same intellectual circles discussed in the letters, it seems likely that Čaušević was in fact the key mediator between *Behar* and Cairo's reformist press. Was he perhaps even hiding behind the pseudonym “*Garib*”?<sup>278</sup> Whatever

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<sup>274</sup> h, “Listak: Kulturne bilješke: Bin bir hadisi šerif šerhi,” *Behar* 3, no. 14 (November 15, 1902): 222 [Cultural Notes: Commentary on One Thousand and One Noble Hadith]; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *The Turks in Egypt and Their Cultural Legacy: An Analytical Study of the Turkish Printed Patrimony in Egypt from the Time of Muhammad 'ali with Annotated Bibliographies* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 189.

<sup>275</sup> Gesink, *Islamic Reform and Conservatism* Bašagić was heavily criticized on these grounds by Šaćir Pandža, another Istanbul madrasa graduate, illustrating once again the ideological diversity involved.

<sup>276</sup> Garib, “Pismo uredništvu,” *Behar* 4, no. 4 (June 15, 1903): 52–55 [Letter to the Editors].

<sup>277</sup> Smail Fuad, “Pismo uredništvu,” *Behar* 4, no. 6 (July 15, 1903): 84–85 [Letter to the Editors].

<sup>278</sup> It would be somewhat unusual, in the context of the wider Bosnian Muslim print landscape, for a foreign author to bother with a pseudonym, and hard to imagine who else besides Čaušević could have been *Behar*'s man in Cairo. The

the case, the letters themselves highlight that *Behar's* ventures to and contact with Cairo-based reformists were all closely interconnected: Lemanov wrote how he had found out about *Behar* directly from Rashid Rida, and had also discussed the Bosnian journal with the above-mentioned Mohammed Hasib. Like Čaušević, Lemanov also saw the exchange as tying together a Pan-Islamist web. “It is wonderful to see here in Cairo how this Muslim center develops its ideas,” he wrote.<sup>279</sup> “How it disseminates its free and good thoughts across Muslim frontiers, drawing them nearer to it.” In effect, the two letters served as advertisements for *Tercüman* and *Al-Manar* respectively, the two major sources of intellectual inspiration for Čaušević-led Bosnian reformists over the next several years; *Behar* itself would translate from both.<sup>280</sup>

### 2.2.2. Pan-Islamist Progressivism

It was also at this time, following his second Ramadan visit, that Čaušević decided to return to Bosnia permanently. Pandža and other contemporaries identify two driving factors behind the move; first, the urging of his newfound friends in Sarajevo, and second, the death of his father Ali, who passed away near Arapuša on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1902.<sup>281</sup> Having spent the spring and summer in the Ottoman lands, Čaušević returned from Istanbul in the fall of 1903.<sup>282</sup> Once in Sarajevo, Spaho helped him secure a position as an Arabic instructor at the Sarajevo Gymnasium starting in October,

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editor Mulabdić and poetic contributor Musa Ćazim Ćatić both occasionally used “Garib” and its variants as a pseudonym, but it seems highly unlikely that either of them had either gone to Cairo or fabricated the letter. A more plausible connection would be that Mulabdić assigned his occasional pseudonym to a letter from Čaušević.

<sup>279</sup> Smail Fuad, “Pismo uredništvu.”

<sup>280</sup> This trinity would be completed following the Young Turk Revolution with the Istanbul-based *Sebilürreşad / Sırat-ı Müstakim* — see chapter 3.

<sup>281</sup> “Irtihali dari beka,” *Bošnjak*, January 1, 1903, 13.1 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti.

<sup>282</sup> “Request by Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević for the Reimbursement of Travel Expenses,” October 5, 1903, ZV.148.55-162-2, ABiH.

a responsibility he would share with Bašagić.<sup>283</sup> Alongside this teaching position, Čaušević continued his religious functions as well, preaching during the ensuing Ramadan and once again drawing extensive and highly favorable coverage in *Bošnjak*.<sup>284</sup> He specifically used the opportunity to call for Muslim communal institutions—an orphanage, commercial ventures, crafts apprenticeships, and a printing press—having already started running the Waqf dormitory for the Gymnasium’s Muslim students, as he had already suggested during his first visit in late 1901.<sup>285</sup>

Čaušević’s return coincided with a period of increasing political tensions between Bosnian Muslim elites and the Austro-Hungarian authorities, as well as amongst Muslim elites themselves. The crucial context was the rapidly growing Muslim autonomy movement of Ali Fehmi Džabić (1853-1918), the Mufti of Mostar.<sup>286</sup> An established religious authority, Džabić rose to wider prominence following an 1899 cause célèbre in which a local Muslim girl, Fata Omanović, was allegedly kidnapped and forcibly converted to Catholicism. Though the circumstances of the incident soon proved more complex than they had initially appeared, under Džabić’s initiative it nonetheless instigated a broad-based organized movement demanding concessions from the occupying authorities.<sup>287</sup> While the agrarian concerns of Bosnia’s Muslim landowners were an

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<sup>283</sup> Čaušević, “Merhum dr. Safvetbeg Bašagić.”

<sup>284</sup> Fuad, “Štovani gospodine uredniče!,” *Bošnjak*, December 17, 1903, 13.51 edition.

<sup>285</sup> “Appointment of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević to Post of Arabic Instructor at the Sarajevo Gymnasium and Oath of Loyalty,” October 6, 1903, ZV.148.55-156-10, ABiH.

<sup>286</sup> Note that Džabić’s father Šaćir was one of the most prominent anti-Tanzimat members of the Bosnian Ulema during Cevdet Pasha’s 1863 tour. Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*, 60–61; The younger Džabić, meanwhile, bears much of the responsibility for the failure of Ribić’s mekteb reform initiative in the early 1890s. See: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 99.

<sup>287</sup> While Okey gives a brief overview, the definitive works are a monograph by Nusret Šehić and a slightly earlier collection of published archival documents by Ferdo Hauptmann, largely in German: Nusret Šehić, *Autonomni pokret muslimana za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980) [The Muslim Autonomy Movement During the Austro-Hungarian Administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina]; Ferdo Hauptmann, ed., *Borba*

important undercurrent throughout, its initial demands centered on local control over Islamic institutions under state jurisdiction, most notably the Waqf administration.<sup>288</sup> Džabić's movement soon won widespread popular support, as well as the backing of most Ulema and landowners. When Džabić left for Istanbul to consult with the Ottoman government following a failed series of negotiations in Sarajevo, the occupying authorities revoked his travel documents, effectively leaving him exiled on the Bosphorus.<sup>289</sup> Despite this setback, the movement continued to simmer in his absence, with its remaining leaders even daring to dream of an outright return to Ottoman administration on the model of recently autonomous Crete.<sup>290</sup> The ensuing period correspondingly saw increasing calls for a tactical alliance, or "*Sloga*" (Unity), between the Muslim autonomists and Bosnian Serb elites, who had begun their own movement for cultural and religious autonomy a few years earlier and likewise saw the Cretan model as a favorable alternative to rule from Vienna.

Standing opposite the Džabić-led autonomy movement was a small but influential minority of Habsburg-loyalist Muslim elites, including the youthful literati in *Behar* and their longstanding patron, Adem-aga Mešić (1868-1945). Born and based in the northern Bosnian town of Tešanj, Mešić was perhaps the foremost example of a successful transition to the new economic circumstances on the part of the Muslim urban commercial classes.<sup>291</sup> Gaining wealth as a landowner

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*muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersku i vakufsko-mearifsku autonomiju* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Socijalisticke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967) [The Struggle of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina for Religious and Endowment-Educational Autonomy].

<sup>288</sup> For an overview of this agrarian undercurrent and how factional and regional rivalries between landowning elites developed into organized opposition against the occupying authorities, see: Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*.

<sup>289</sup> Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*.

<sup>290</sup> Šehić, *Autonomni pokret*.

<sup>291</sup> Nada Kisić Kolanović, "Ademaga Mešić i hrvatska nacionalna ideja 1895. – 1918. godine," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* XL, no. 3 (2008) [Ademaga Mešić and the Croatian National Idea, 1895-1918].

and enterprising merchant in his hometown, he patronized young Muslim students pursuing a Western education and financed a number of likeminded cultural initiatives both locally and in Sarajevo, including founding *Behar*.<sup>292</sup> Mešić shared the economic concerns of other Muslim landowners who flocked to the autonomist banner, and even broadly agreed with its call for religious-educational autonomy, but differed from Džabić's supporters on several important counts.<sup>293</sup> Above all, though he retained strong personal sympathies for the Ottoman Empire, he firmly rejected the feasibility of returning to its fold. Mešić instead consistently stressed the need for Bosnian Muslims to make peace with the post-1878 circumstances by actively collaborating with Austro-Hungarian authorities and pursuing education in the state school system. He was especially opposed to the autonomists call for an alliance with Bosnian Serbs, which he saw as a ruse to eventually incorporate Bosnia-Herzegovina into a Serbian nation state that was fundamentally opposed to Muslim interests, having already systematically disenfranchised and expelled its non-Christian inhabitants over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>294</sup> As the autonomy movement coalesced in the period 1906-1907 into a "Muslim National Organization" (*Muslimanska narodna organizacija*, or MNO), Mešić founded a rival "Muslim Progressive Party" (*Muslimanska napredna stranka*, or MNS) to advocate for his own agenda.

Under these circumstances, Čaušević and Mešić's "progressive" wing entered into a mutually beneficial relationship of intellectual collaboration and institutional support. For progressives, Čaušević provided an alternative, reconciliatory vision of the Ulema as a potentially modernizing

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<sup>292</sup> *Kalendar "Gajret," 1325. godina po hidžretu* (Sarajevo: Naklada "Gajreta," 1907), 140 [Gajret Calendar for the Year 1325 A.H.].

<sup>293</sup> Kolanović, "Ademaga Mešić i hrvatska nacionalna ideja 1895. – 1918. godine."

<sup>294</sup> This apparently exclusivist consolidation of the Serbian nation state was in fact a formative political concern for Bosnian Muslim intellectuals even at the time. See chapter 5 of: Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*

force, as well as the promise of religious legitimacy for their reformist agenda. At times this arrangement entailed Čaušević writing sharp-tongued critiques of conservative scholars himself. More broadly, however, it saw him effectively encourage his lay peers to articulate their own calls for reform in an Islamic idiom, as seen in Bašagić's commentary on hadith. This development emerges even more clearly in the case of another core *Behar* contributor, Hadžić, who in 1897 had anonymously co-published a scathing critique of Bosnian madrasas aptly titled "*Bez svrhe*" ("Pointless").<sup>295</sup> By 1906, under Čaušević's supervision, he had adopted a markedly different tone with a serialized series of "Sermons from a certain imam." Writing behind the pseudonym "Durendiš" (Turkish for "far-sighted"), Hadžić' narrator described how an imam in his native village had asked him "to order several books in Islamic theology and Arabic philosophy from Cairo and Istanbul," which he gladly obliged.<sup>296</sup> Before proceeding to run several of the reformist sermons that followed the books' arrival, Hadžić pointedly carried his supposed imam's initial impressions of the new materials as well: "If only our people knew the sacred faith of Islam as well as they should and acted according to its precepts, how progressive we would be!" Behind a thin literary façade, the secular-educated Hadžić was essentially penning his own sermons.

For Čaušević, association with the progressive wing made fundamental sense due to their shared emphasis on Muslim communal uplift and educational reform, as well as for the institutional opportunities it presented. His vision for Bosnian Muslim society, however, was subtly distinct from that of his new allies, and by no means subordinate. Above all, Čaušević saw his mission as ecumenical, drawing on 'Abduh and Hakkı alike to stress the need for Muslim unity on both the

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<sup>295</sup> Osman-Aziz, *Bez svrhe: slika iz života* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1897) [Pointless: A Scene from Life].

<sup>296</sup> Durendiš, "Vazovi jednoga imama," *Behar* 7, no. 16 (December 15, 1906): 182 [Sermons From a Certain Imam].

local and global levels. In the Bosnian context, this entailed overcoming the generational divide between an emerging Western-educated intelligentsia and conservative older Ulema, both of whom he held partly responsible for the prevailing state of affairs.<sup>297</sup> It also meant essentially sidestepping the increasingly vexing issue of Bosnian Muslim national identity. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bašagić, Mešić, and most of the rest of the progressive wing around the MNS had opted for Croat nationalism with varying degrees of enthusiasm—an orientation that Čaušević, as their close collaborator, nominally shared. In practice, however, Čaušević’s public writings articulated a far more ambivalent stance, identifying Croat and Serb nationalism as essentially Catholic and Orthodox Christian phenomena, whose competition over and claims to Muslim sympathies had simply left Muslims divided.<sup>298</sup> His early proposal for a Muslim orphanage similarly warned that Muslim orphans were “being subjected to various currents,” and called on coreligionists to “build firm bulwarks to protect our Islamic community.”<sup>299</sup> In this, Čaušević was touching on comparable debates in other Austro-Hungarian territories, such as Bohemia, where children—particularly orphans—had emerged as key subjects of nationalist contestation, similarly raising the stakes for communal welfare initiatives and pedagogical reform.<sup>300</sup>

Čaušević also occasionally departed from the progressives’ pro-Habsburg line in the context of Muslim autonomy negotiations, at times siding with MNO hardliners against the occupying

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<sup>297</sup> “Nešto o našem vazu (Nastavak.),” *Bošnjak*, January 7, 1904, 14.1 edition [A Word on our Sermons (Continuation)].

<sup>298</sup> “Dedini menakibi [4/7],” *Tarik* 1, no. 6 (October 26, 1908): 102–6 [Grandpa’s Virtues]; “ista ‘īdū bi-l-lāhi,” *Tarik* 1, no. 12 (April 21, 1909): 193–97 [Seek Refuge in God].

<sup>299</sup> “Nešto o našem vazu (Svršetak.),” *Bošnjak*, January 21, 1904, 14.3 edition [A Word on our Sermons (Conclusion)].

<sup>300</sup> Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

authorities.<sup>301</sup> In particular, together with most of the other Istanbul-trained Ulema who participated in their capacity as religious officials, Čaušević insisted on Bosnian candidates for *Reisu-l-Ulema* requiring direct approval from the Ottoman *Şeyhülislam* by way of a *Mensūra*, or certificate.<sup>302</sup> Austro-Hungarian authorities, who saw this as effectively giving the Ottoman state a direct say in their internal affairs, labeled this stance incomprehensible conservatism. Their characterization assumed, however, that ties to the Ottoman state could only stem from some primordial attachment—a reflexive oriental atavism. Čaušević’s position is better understood as an innovative (if idealistic) gambit to carve out an autonomous Muslim space in a dynamic international arena. In his earlier Ottoman career, he had allegedly already advocated among oppositionists for restructuring the Empire as a sort of Pan-Islamist federation, with separate Arab and Turk federal units tied together by their allegiance to the Sultan Caliph.<sup>303</sup> Though Bosnia-Herzegovina would have remained outside of Ottoman rule under the *Mensūra* proposal, the arrangement would have similarly achieved both greater local autonomy and a strengthened link to Istanbul as the seat of the Caliphate. In that sense, though he did not necessarily refer to it as such himself, Čaušević’s proposal fits under the flexible “Ottomanism” that scholars such as Isa Blumi have put forward as a productive analytical framework.<sup>304</sup> Where Čaušević once again sided with the progressives over the

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<sup>301</sup> See chapter 8 section 2 in: Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*.

<sup>302</sup> Amzi-Erdoğdular, “Afterlife of Empire,” 134, 180–81.

<sup>303</sup> Pandža, “Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević.”

<sup>304</sup> Isa Blumi, “Reorientating European Imperialism: How Ottomanism Went Global,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 56, no. 3–4 (November 28, 2016): 290–316.



Serb-allied autonomists, however, is that his Ottomanism built on a pronounced skepticism toward the Serbian nation state.<sup>305</sup>

### 2.2.3. Behar Year 7

Despite these particularities, Čaušević would be a central figure in most of the progressives' major cultural initiatives during his first three years in Sarajevo. Though he had not yet returned permanently in February of 1902 when Bašagić and his collaborators founded *Gajret* ("Zeal"), a charitable society for sponsoring Bosnian Muslim students in Austro-Hungarian schools, he was present at the second general assembly in June of 1904, where he was elected to the executive committee.<sup>306</sup> Čaušević and several others temporarily withdrew from the position shortly afterward, presumably because they were to focus their energies on a different project: the establishment of an Islamic Shareholders' Printing Press (*Islamska dionička štamparija*, hereafter IDŠ).<sup>307</sup> Mešić's progressive intellectuals had already broached the idea in 1900, but it is quite possible that Čaušević had become the key ideological instigator; the effort not only abruptly resurfaced and sharply accelerated in 1904 after he had come back, but its public backers repeatedly stressed the need for a local press that could publish materials in the Arabic script, obviating the need for publishing via

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<sup>305</sup> This is seen, for instance, in Čaušević's continually disparaging references to Serbia vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire in his later print ventures, e.g. "Pogled po svijetu," *Tarik* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1908): 14 [A Glance at the World]; Bosnian historians frequently portray this era's Istanbul-based émigrés and Ottoman-oriented intellectuals as resolutely pro-Serb, as in: Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, 164; In fact, many such figures were as hostile as Čaušević; the printer Muharem Smajiš and the brother of the Bosnian-origin Şeyhülislam Mehmed Refik Hadžiabdić, for instance, actively lobbied with the Sultan and (later) Young Turks against Serb nationalist ventures. Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*, 288.

<sup>306</sup> "Glavna skupština 'Gajretova,'" *Bošnjak*, June 30, 1904, 14.26 edition [General Assembly of "Gajret"].

<sup>307</sup> "Konstituiranje odbora muslimanskog društva 'Gajret,'" *Bošnjak*, July 14, 1904, 14.28 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [The Constitution of the Committee of the Muslim Society "Gajret"].

Istanbul or Cairo.<sup>308</sup> Čaušević was, at the very least, intimately involved throughout, seemingly the only member of the Ulema present at the well-attended main assembly in Sarajevo in April of 1905, where shareholders elected him and Mešić to a 5-6 person committee charged with launching a communal newspaper.<sup>309</sup> On July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1905, the printing press ceremonially opened to great fanfare at *Ferhadija 23* in central Sarajevo, but its flagship publication was yet to materialize. The circles behind IDŠ spent the next six months deliberating the newspaper and eventually arrived at a basic outline: it was to be named *Zeman* (A: *Zaman*, “Time”) and bilingual in Bosnian and Turkish. By January of 1906, however, disagreements over the editorship had apparently placed the entire project in doubt.<sup>310</sup>

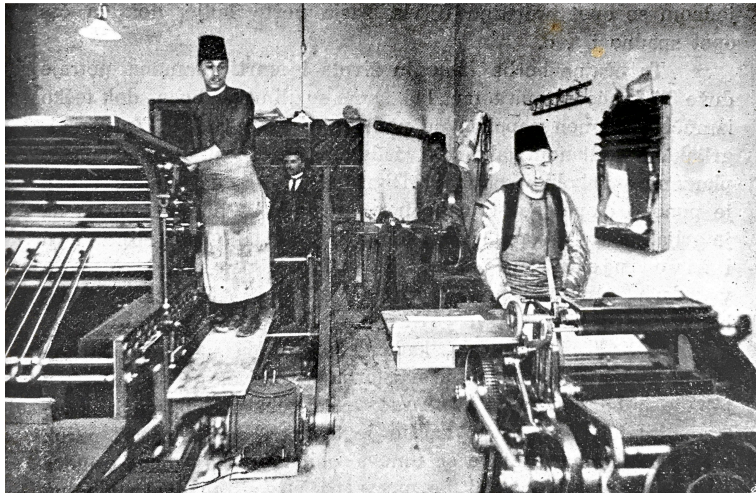


Figure 4: The Islamic Shareholders’ Printing Press in Sarajevo c. 1907.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>308</sup> “Request by Adem-aga Mešić to found the Islamic Shareholders’ Printing Press,” May 1904, ZV.177.203-2, ABiH; Zdravka Radulović, “Islamska dionička štamparija u Sarajevu (1905-1948),” *Bibliotekarstvo* 29 (1983): 83–90 [The Islamic Shareholders’ Printing Press in Sarajevo (1904-1948)].

<sup>309</sup> “Listak: Kulturne bilješke: Skupština ‘Islamske dioničke štamparije,’” *Behar* 5, no. 21 (March 15, 1905): 334 [Cultural Notes: the Assembly of “the Islamic Shareholders” Printing Press].”

<sup>310</sup> “Molba Mehmeda Kadrispahića za izdavanje lista ‘Zeman,’” January 10, 1906, ZV.54.19-470, ABiH [Request by Mehmed Kadrispahić to Publish the Newspaper “Zeman”].

<sup>311</sup> *Kalendar “Gajret,” 1325. godina po hidžretu* [The “Gajret” Calendar for the Year 1325 A.H.].

Around the same time though, factional splits within *Behar* opened the door for Čaušević to enact a similar journalistic vision from within the already extant literary journal. In early March 1906, a handful of its most active younger contributors published an anonymous open letter demanding the removal of the editor Mulabdić.<sup>312</sup> The rebels' stated reasons varied, and personal ambitions and disagreements were almost certainly a factor; the ringleader, 18-year-old Šemsudin Sarajlić (1887-1960), would emerge as a prolific self-promoter in the years to come, while another 28-year-old co-conspirator was simultaneously a troubled student at the Sharia Judges' School where Mulabdić was part of the teaching staff. Ideologically, however, their complaints were plainly in line with Čaušević's Pan-Islamist concerns outlined above, amplified perhaps by their own recent studies in Istanbul. The contributors thus lamented Muslims' division along generational and national lines—a problem they saw Mulabdić as perpetuating—and called for an editor who “understands Islam and its precepts well enough that he would himself be able to write for *Behar* in that vein as necessary.”<sup>313</sup> In retrospect, it seems clear that the dissenters already had someone in mind for the job, as did *Behar*'s owner Mešić, who would later explain that he had envisioned Čaušević as the journal's editor for some time.<sup>314</sup>

Whether Mešić had somehow helped instigate the split himself or simply seized the opportunity that the likeminded youthful dissidents had provided is ultimately moot; though Bašagić notably sided with Mulabdić and subsequently withdrew from *Behar* in protest, Mešić

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<sup>312</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*, 148–49.

<sup>313</sup> Rizvić, 150.

<sup>314</sup> Ademaga Mešić, “Pokušaj rekonstrukcije ‘Memoara’ Ademage Mešića - Knjiga 1,” ed. Marko Matolić, n.d., 118, [https://www.academia.edu/9674612/Poku%C5%A1aj\\_rekonstrukcije\\_Memoara\\_Ademage\\_Me%C5%A1i%C4%87a\\_-\\_Knjiga\\_1](https://www.academia.edu/9674612/Poku%C5%A1aj_rekonstrukcije_Memoara_Ademage_Me%C5%A1i%C4%87a_-_Knjiga_1) [An Attempt at Reconstructing the “Memoir” of Ademaga Mešić, Book 1].

formally removed the reigning editor and installed Čaušević in his place on March 23<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>315</sup> For his part, Čaušević may or may not have been involved in the editorial machinations directly, but his vision had clearly shaped both of the parties behind the ouster. In effect, the resulting 7<sup>th</sup> year of *Behar* looked remarkably like the abandoned *Zeman* project that Čaušević and Mešić's IDŠ had initially pursued: a bilingual Bosnian-Turkish journal with an unprecedentedly political tone and an overarching Pan-Islamist editorial line. Of 16 total pages, 12 would be in the local language and Latin script, while 4 would be largely in Turkish and in Arabic script.<sup>316</sup> While the former would essentially be a collective enterprise headed by the young writers behind the open letter, the latter would be almost wholly under Čaušević's purview. The shift even entailed a symbolic change in physical location, as *Behar* moved its offices from the secessionist façade of *Ferhadija 23*, on the city's Habsburg-inspired main pedestrian street, to *Gornji Tabaci 25*, in the Ottoman-era main bazaar and across the river *Miljacka* from the Tsar's mosque.

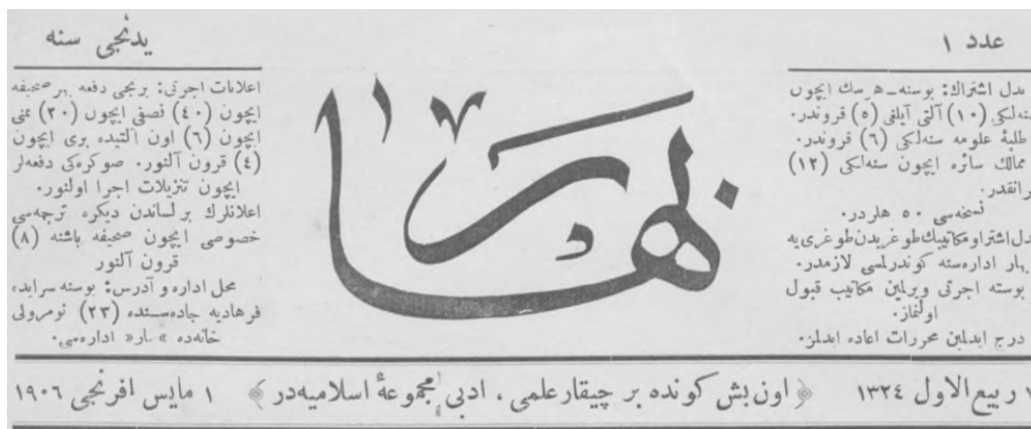


Figure 5: Header for the inaugural Turkish section of *Behar*, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1906.

<sup>315</sup> Ademaga Mešić, "Prijava Ademage Mešića o imenovanju Mehmeda Džemaludina Čauševića za urednika lista 'Behar,'" March 23, 1906, ZV.54.19-474-3, ABiH [Request by Ademaga Mešić to Name Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević the Editor of the Journal "Behar"].

<sup>316</sup> Mešić pointedly referred to it as "Croatian" in his proposal to the government, itself something of a novelty. See: Rizvić, *Behar*, 285–302.

The opening article from the inaugural May 1<sup>st</sup> issue essentially served as a mission statement for the new direction. Echoing the language and themes of both the dissidents' open letter and Mešić's announcement to the authorities, it framed changes in content as actually representing a renewed emphasis on and actualization of *Behar's* original commitment to "Islam and education," the two pillars of "the Islamic people [*millet-i islamiye*] and its progress in these lands."<sup>317</sup> The text went on to stress the importance of the Arabic script and Turkish language, but also, notably, the input of "a younger generation, which has pursued its studies in the east, which understands Islam and eastern literature fundamentally and from the source." Relative to the period prior to Čaušević's return, this shift in tone toward theological studies is remarkable. Despite its consistent emphasis on learning and education, *Bošnjak's* first mention of a Bosnian theology student in Istanbul in late 1892 was to announce that one Fejzulah Kurtović had fallen to his death from a madrasa window, scattering his money and personal belongings across the street below.<sup>318</sup> Now, under Čaušević's influence, the same circles began to actively encourage aspiring Ulema. Though theology students were conspicuously absent in the original *Gajret* statute from 1902, by 1904, with Čaušević in the executive committee, the society lobbied to change its bylines to allow scholarship for students in Istanbul and Cairo as well.<sup>319</sup>

Čaušević's editorship promoted the Pan-Islamist line more explicitly as well. Starting in the very first issue and featuring in another 20 thereafter, the journal serialized Fehim Spaho's study of

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<sup>317</sup> "Čitateljima na početku sedme godine," *Behar* 7, no. 1 (May 1, 1906): 1–2 [To the Readers at the Start of Year Seven].

<sup>318</sup> "Unesrećio se," *Bošnjak*, October 27, 1892, 2.43 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [He Experienced a Misfortune].

<sup>319</sup> "Osnovna pravila društva «Gajreta»," *Behar* 5, no. 3 (June 1, 1904): 46–48 [Founding Rules of the Society "Gajret"]; Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*, 406.

the “Pan-Islamist Idea,” the first and most comprehensive such endeavor in the Bosnian language.<sup>320</sup> Spaho’s text praised Abdul Hamid II as the Sultan Caliph, but insisted that Pan-Islamism was not a political movement but rather a striving for global spiritual unity, devoting considerable space to familiarizing readers with Muslim communities from more distant parts of the world. In doing so, Spaho also contributed to a fundamental redefinition of the very idea of an “Islamic World” (BCS: *Islamski svijet*) in the Bosnian Muslim press. The earliest appearance of the phrase in *Bošnjak* came in October 1891, when the newspaper directly quoted a laudatory review from an Ottoman journal in Edirne.<sup>321</sup> Subsequent mentions exclusively denoted “world” in the sense of “people” or “public”—analogous to the French “*le monde*”—as in 1900, when *Bošnjak* urged for subscriptions to the newly founded *Behar* as a means for “the Islamic world in Bosnia-Herzegovina to familiarize itself with the tenets of Islam as soundly as possible.”<sup>322</sup> It was only following Čaušević’s return to Bosnia in 1904 that the newspaper reframed the term as denoting a global Muslim community in an article on the Hejaz railway.<sup>323</sup> By the start of 1907, alongside Čaušević’s editorship of *Behar* and its ongoing serialization of Spaho’s article on Pan-Islamism, *Bošnjak* introduced a recurring section on the “Islamic World,” informing readers of developments in the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim regions.<sup>324</sup> Such sections would subsequently proliferate in periodicals from across the Bosnian Muslim political spectrum.

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<sup>320</sup> Fehim Spaho, “Panislamska ideja,” *Behar* 7, no. 1 (May 1, 1906): 3–5 [The Pan-Islamist Idea]; Karić, *Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, 83–87.

<sup>321</sup> “Edrenska ‘Džerida’ o ‘Bošnjaku,’” *Bošnjak*, October 29, 1891, 1.18 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [“Ceride” from Edirne on “Bošnjak”].

<sup>322</sup> “Poziv na pretplatu,” *Bošnjak*, April 5, 1900, 10.14 edition, sec. Književnost [Call for Subscriptions].

<sup>323</sup> “Hidžadska željeznica ‘Hamidijja,’” *Bošnjak*, September 29, 1904, 14.39 edition [The Hejaz Railway, the Hamidiye].

<sup>324</sup> “Sultanovo zdravlje,” *Bošnjak*, January 17, 1907, 17.3 edition, sec. Islamski svijet [The Sultan’s Health].

*Behar's* renewed insistence on Islamic unity also had an unmistakable domestic focus. Namely, in an era where Bosnian Muslims' ambiguous national identity became a topic of intense polemical energy between competing Serb and Croat camps, Čaušević's Pan-Islamism offered an appealing alternative to those variously skeptical of the former, latter, or both. Thus in 1905, when Čaušević, Mešić, and the rest of the progressives gathered around the IDŠ first floated the idea of a Muslim communal newspaper, a number of students from the Sharia Judges School wrote a petition demanding that the publication refer to the vernacular language as Bosnian rather than "Croat-Serb."<sup>325</sup> "We have nothing against Catholics calling [the language] 'Croatian' and the Orthodox Christians 'Serbian,'" the authors claimed, "But we also demand that no one prevents us Muslims from calling it 'Bosnian.'" The petition's very first signatory was Sakib Korkut, grandson of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Travnik Mufti, who would emerge as among Čaušević's leading young allies in the years to follow. While not necessarily as unequivocal as Korkut, under Čaušević's editorship, *Behar's* young literary contributors expressed a similarly dismissive attitude toward the national question. When a Serb newspaper scolded the journal for not belonging to either Croat or Serb literature, one of them, most likely Sarajlić, responded by rejecting the entire premise. "First of all, who says that *Behar's* literary works have to contain themselves to [being] either Croat or Serb? In *Behar* we also have Ottoman writers, pure Istanbulites... so where is one to tally their output?"<sup>326</sup> In truth, Sarajlić and the rest of the progressives evidently held greater sympathy for the Croat cause, but a shared skepticism of Serb nationalism and belief in the primary importance of Muslim communal

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<sup>325</sup> "Petition by Students of the Sharia Judges School," 1905, Arhiva Reisa Čauševića, Gazi Husrev-beg Library.

<sup>326</sup> "Po zaključku lista: Paraphraseurima 'Srpske riječi,'" *Behar* 7, no. 15 (December 1, 1906): 180 [At the Close of the Paper: a Paraphrasing of "Srpska riječ"].

organizing allowed them to join together with reformist members of the Ulema under Čaušević's Pan-Islamist banner.

The decision to publish a quarter of the journal in Turkish also requires further comment. Four years earlier, *Rehber*, the last Turkish-language newspaper in Sarajevo, had ceased publication for the simple fact that there were not enough potential readers, much less contributors; by 1910, only 2,289 would register as fluent in the language on that year's census. In fact, Kapetanović Ljubušak had explicitly started *Bošnjak* in 1891 to address the need for a Muslim publication in the local language.<sup>327</sup> When Mešić and Bašagić petitioned the authorities to launch *Behar* nearly a decade later, they included a ceremonial Turkish header, but were quick to clarify that this was merely intended to placate conservatives.<sup>328</sup> Literary historians such as Muhsin Rizvić, author of the definitive monograph on *Behar* from 1971, have consequently seen the journal's seemingly abrupt linguistic reorientation in 1906 as a similarly tactical ploy to win over conservative members of the ongoing autonomy movement.<sup>329</sup> This analysis, however, disregards the strength of Čaušević's convictions, as well as their roots in a much wider intellectual context. Čaušević indeed hoped that his approach could transcend communal divisions—between progressives and autonomists, sympathizers of Croat and Serb nationalisms, young iconoclasts and elderly conservatives—but his insistence on the Turkish language was in fact fundamentally an attempt to plug Bosnia into the emerging transnational Pan-Islamist public sphere from which he had himself emerged.

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<sup>327</sup> Risto Besarović, *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*. (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1968), 445 [Culture and Art in Bosnia-Herzegovina Under Austro-Hungarian Administration].

<sup>328</sup> Besarović, 151 [Culture and Art in Bosnia-Herzegovina Under Austro-Hungarian Administration].

<sup>329</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*.



*Behar's* Turkish section thus explicitly addressed foreign readers, identifying articles from the Bosnian half and recommending them to “those who are familiar with that language.”<sup>330</sup> Spaho’s study on Pan-Islamism even concluded with a long list of appropriately Pan-Islamist publications from around the world, notably listing *Behar* alongside the likes of *Al-Manar* and *Tercüman*.<sup>331</sup> *Behar* also made a point of citing complementary references to it in these same newspapers, such as *İkdam* and *Sabah* in Istanbul, as well as including likeminded letters from individual readers in Ottoman cities.<sup>332</sup> As Mešić later put it in his memoirs, the goal was “to connect with Muslims in other states, and in particular Turkey.”<sup>333</sup> Even for a cosmopolitan such as Čaušević, however, this international dimension was not a goal in and of itself. *Behar's* Turkish section functioned instead as a platform for his local reform agenda, devoting much of its space to articles promoting religious instruction in the vernacular language and Arabic script, as well as books and periodicals from Cairo and Istanbul. This dual approach only appears contradictory if we assume, as contemporary ethno-linguistic nationalists in fact did, that bilingualism posed a threat to modernization, or that Turkish in particular was fundamentally reactionary, a nostalgic clinging to a dying and despotic state. From Čaušević’s perspective, however, neither of these assumptions applied; the Islamic world, made tangible by its polycentric reformist press, was instead a potential source of communal progress, and Ottoman Turkish its regional lingua franca.

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<sup>330</sup> The earliest of these in fact recommended Spaho’s article on Pan-Islamism. In the original: “Bu nüshamızın Boşnakça kısmında münderiç (Panislamska ideja) «İttihat İslam fikri» serlevha altındaki makaleyi o lisana aşına olanların okumalarını ve bundan böyle takip eylemlerini tavsiye ederiz.” “İhtâr,” *Behar* 7, no. 1 (May 1, 1906): 4 [Notice].

<sup>331</sup> Fehim Spaho, “Panislamska ideja,” *Behar* 7, no. 16 (December 15, 1906): 181–82.

<sup>332</sup> “Listak: ‘Sabah’ o Beharu,” *Behar* 7, no. 2 (May 15, 1906): 22 [“Sabah” on Behar]; “Listak: ‘Terdzuman’ o ‘Beharu,’” *Behar* 7, no. 3 (June 1, 1906): 33 [“Tercüman” on “Behar”]; Ali Alevi, “İzmir’den Mektup,” *Behar* 7, no. 9 (September 1, 1906): 34–35 [A Letter from Izmir].

<sup>333</sup> Mešić, “Rekonstrukcija Memoara,” 119.

By the summer of 1907, *Behar*'s experiment with the new format came to an end. In the final, 24<sup>th</sup> issue of the year, Čaušević announced his resignation as editor with one last, valedictory article. "I have been held 'responsible' from many sides," he wrote, "So I feel compelled to at least unburden myself of this particular 'responsibility.'"<sup>334</sup> Rizvić reads Čaušević's tone here as defensive and his withdrawal as indicative of the project's failure.<sup>335</sup> To be certain, the sharp shift in emphasis from literary contributions to socio-political polemics, the internecine editorial power plays that had brought it about, and ultimately Čaušević's unapologetic Pan-Islamism had all drawn their discontents. In the final tally, however, Čaušević's continued success and popularity after *Behar* indicates that his decision to leave was not simply the result of an outright ideological rejection.

Several more pragmatic factors may have been decisive instead. As Mešić himself explained in his memoirs, Čaušević had become increasingly preoccupied with his educational reform efforts from within Bosnia's Islamic institutions, and could therefore no longer shoulder the editorial responsibilities on his own.<sup>336</sup> At the same time, the political landscape on which the journal rested was decisively shifting: Mešić's progressive wing began to rapidly lose ground vis-à-vis the autonomists, whose MNO had won broad popularity among the Muslim masses and entered renewed negotiations with the occupying authorities.<sup>337</sup> The MNO also took over *Gajret* in the same year, effectively carrying out a purge of the society's progressive founders; Čaušević himself resigned

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<sup>334</sup> H. M. Džemaluddin Čaušević, "Na koncu sedmu godine," *Behar* 7, no. 24 (April 15, 1907): 288 [At the Close of the Seventh Year].

<sup>335</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*, 301.

<sup>336</sup> Mešić, "Rekonstrukcija Memoara," 119.s

<sup>337</sup> Šehić, *Autonomni pokret*.

from its executive board in protest.<sup>338</sup> In these circumstances, bereft of Čaušević and under direct attack in an increasingly polarized political climate, *Behar* carried on; first under the shadow editorship of Čaušević's sympathizer and prolific translator Musa Ćazim Ćatić (1878-1915), and then eventually under Ljudevit Dvorniković, with an outright Croat nationalist program that would last until its dissolution in 1910.

### 2.3. Script, Print, and Ulema Organizing through 1908

Čaušević's Pan-Islamism found fuller expression in his subsequent independent print ventures, which built both on his experience with *Behar* and growing institutional influence as a religious functionary. The most ambitious of these projects was his codification of Bosnian-Arabic script, which the existing literature has broadly portrayed as an anachronistic last gasp of an older, impersonal Bosnian Muslim cultural tradition. By contrast, this section argues that Čaušević's "Arabic" was a modernizing project with a particular lineage and political agenda, tying Bosnia-Herzegovina and its Muslim population to the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim lands. This agenda culminated in 1908 with the publication of the entirely Arabic-script journal *Tarik*, which laid the foundation for Čaušević's reformist successes in the years to follow.

#### 2.3.1. Script

While his editorship of *Behar* represented the apex of his collaboration with the Muslim progressives, Čaušević's innovative engagement with language and print marked virtually his entire Bosnian career. Already in his early sermons at the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque, commentators singled out his use of a simplified vernacular language, shorn of arcane Arabic terms, for particular praise.

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<sup>338</sup> Kemura, *Uloga "Gajreta,"* 43.

Conversely, this engagement is also evident in his initial tenure as Arabic instructor at the Sarajevo Gymnasium, where he had to put together the instructional materials himself, relying in part on textbooks from Egypt.<sup>339</sup> After spending almost his entire adult life in the Ottoman Empire, he simultaneously had to reacquaint himself with his native language as well, essentially learning educated Bosnian and Latin script on the job.<sup>340</sup> These linguistic adaptations may have been pragmatic, but they also built naturally on his intellectual roots and Ottoman experiences. It is hardly a coincidence, for instance, that Čaušević's position at the Gymnasium—subsumed until 1888 under the heading “Oriental languages”—had previously belonged almost exclusively to members of the Tanzimat-based network outlined in chapter one: his mentor Ribić from 1880 to 1883, Hasan Spaho from 1883 to 1888, Ibrahim Repovac from 1889 until his death in 1900, and then Safvet Bašagić from 1900 to 1906. This congruence reiterates that language was a central pedagogical and scholarly concern for reformist Ulema in both Bosnia and Istanbul, as well as a major institutional bridge between madrasas and state schools. Čaušević's studies may have taken him eastward, but he remained a student of likeminded mentors throughout, rendering his activities at the Gymnasium a logical transition.

Čaušević's organizational energies carried over into his increasing engagement with Bosnia-Herzegovina's formal Islamic institutions. In March of 1905 he left his post at the Gymnasium for a

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<sup>339</sup> Spaho mentions that he was particularly impressed with Čaušević's instructional booklet for Arabic rhetoric, titled *ilm-ul-belaga*. See: Spaho, “Uspomene.”

<sup>340</sup> Čaušević seems to have continued to prefer Ottoman Turkish for some time. See for example his reports to Bosnia's Islamic institutions in the summer of 1907: Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, “Izvještaj o stanju muslimanskog školstva u banjalučkom okrugu, inspekcija medresa i mekteba,” June 1907, ZV.101.112-113, ABiH [Report on the State of Muslim Schooling in the District of Banja Luka, Inspection of Madrasas and Mektebs].

place on the *Ulema medžlis*, the four-person advisory council for the *Reisu-l-ulema*.<sup>341</sup> Up until that point, the council had met in a cramped addendum to the Tsar's Mosque with a divan for seating both the *Reis* and the councilors; Čaušević initiated its move to a new building with separate offices for each member.<sup>342</sup> His ambitions, however, extended far beyond streamlining the institutional center in Sarajevo, as he advocated from very early on for the comprehensive expansion and reform of Islamic education in the country as a whole. In a characteristic sermon at the opening of a village mosque outside Sarajevo in May 1905, he expressed hope that a mekteb would soon follow, as these were in fact a bigger priority.<sup>343</sup> Beginning that same year, Čaušević also began a series of longer inspection tours of Islamic schools in the countryside, including his home region of the Krajina.<sup>344</sup> He would return once again in 1907, spending nearly a month in the neighboring district of Banja Luka and producing an extensive report for authorities.<sup>345</sup> That same year, Čaušević wrote an extended letter to the Reis-ul-Ulema Azabagić, outlining a detailed proposal for Muslim educational reform.<sup>346</sup> The son of a village preacher himself, Čaušević showed particular concern with the poor material conditions of teachers at rural mektebs. He soon began calls for a “Mu'alim Association”

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<sup>341</sup> “Listak: Kulturne bilješke: Medžlisi ulema,” *Behar* 5, no. 21 (March 15, 1905): 334 [The Ulema Medžlis]; “Razriješeni,” *Bošnjak*, March 16, 1905, 15.11 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Released].

<sup>342</sup> Spaho, “Uspomene.”

<sup>343</sup> “Listak: Kulturne bilješke: Nova džamija u Hrasnici,” *Behar* 6, no. 4 (June 1, 1905): 62 [A New Mosque in Hrasnica].

<sup>344</sup> Ivan Aziz Milićević, “Velikom prijatelju u spomen,” *Novi Behar* 11, no. 20 (April 1938): 312–14 [In Memory of a Great Friend].

<sup>345</sup> Čaušević, “Izvještaj.”

<sup>346</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, “Letter to Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Teufik Azabagić,” 1907, Arhiva Reisa Čauševića, Dark Green Folder, #275, Gazi Husrev-beg Library.

that would lobby for their collective interests, rearticulating these demands in his subsequent print ventures in Sarajevo.<sup>347</sup>

Language pedagogy, print entrepreneurship, and institutional reformism combined in Čaušević's defining project from this era: the standardization of *Arebica* script. As demonstrated in the previous chapter and here in section one, Čaušević in many ways emerged from a longstanding reformist tradition that pushed for vernacular religious instruction in *Arebica*. But while its advocates had come by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to envision this project more systemically and in explicit opposition to Latin script, none of them had produced an accepted standard or wider literature. This would all change in 1905, when Čaušević ordered special characters from his contact Hagop Zerounian, an Armenian printer in Plovdiv (T: *Filibe*), for the newly opened IDŠ in Sarajevo.<sup>348</sup> Čaušević's immediate inspiration may have well come from the above-mentioned initial tours of the Krajina, where he had noticed children in certain mektebs writing Bosnian in the Arabic script, quite possibly on the basis of Ibrahim Edhem Berbić's standard.<sup>349</sup>

In contrast to Berbić and his other predecessors, however, Čaušević opted to represent each Bosnian vowel with a separate Arabic letter. He accomplished this in part by modifying the Arabic long vowel "waw," leaving two visually similar but easily distinguishable variants for "o" and "u,"

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<sup>347</sup> "Naši mektebi: İttihâd-ı Muallimin – udruženje muallima," *Tarik* 1, no. 5 (September 26, 1908): 70–72.

<sup>348</sup> This earliest mention cites his name as "Agob Zurunijan," while subsequent variations include "Agof." These are obviously Bosnian corruptions. The first name is likely Hagop, the Armenian equivalent of Jacob, while the surname is presumably the similarly common Zerounian]. *Kalendar "Gajret," 1325. godina po hidžretu*, 153.

<sup>349</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, "Poštenim čitateljima i prijateljima," *Tarik* 2, no. 12 (April 11, 1910): 202–7 [To Our Respected Readers and Friends]; Recall that a reader from the Krajina village of Kobaš had written in to Bošnjak some 6 years earlier to laud the local mekteb instructor for implementing Berbić's *Arebica* standard. N. N., "U Kobašu, dana 10. augusta 1899." [In Kobaš, on the Day of August 10th, 1899].

similar to Sami Frashëri's proposal for Ottoman Turkish from 1901.<sup>350</sup> The result was an Arabic-based alphabet much better suited to Bosnian than its contemporary equivalent for Ottoman Turkish, where the same, unmodified "waw" could variously stand for four different vowels (o, ö, u, and ü) thus completely changing the meaning of a sentence. Čaušević's *Arabica* was no doubt also under the influence of its similarly phonemic neighbors, Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj's 1830 Latin alphabet and his Serbian predecessor Vuk Karadžić's 1829 Cyrillic; it mapped out nearly completely to these more established standards, with the minor exception of the letter "Đ," which Čaušević subsumed together with "Dž" under the Arabic "ğim."<sup>351</sup> In effect, his *Arabica* offers another example of a narrowly communalist project that had emerged from a pluralistic context, an ostensible paradox that was in fact consistent with the broader climate of linguistic hybridity and innovation characterizing the late imperial epoch.

With the institutional and material building blocks in place, Čaušević set out on a vigorous campaign to promote the publishing and use of his newly standardized script. Among the first such text to emerge was a women's catechism by the Humo-educated Sejfullah Proho, with similar religious instructional entries to follow. Čaušević's immense personal investment in the project is evident from the fact that he not only financed these initial publications himself, but also actually physically helped the IDŠ printers with their work.<sup>352</sup> He also regularly advertised the new books in his capacity as editor of *Behar*, while at the same time running frequent articles advocating for the

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<sup>350</sup> Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform*, 27.

<sup>351</sup> In his posthumous memoirs of early-to-mid 20th century Bosnian Muslim cultural and intellectual life, Alija Nametak claims that Čaušević was explicitly inspired by Vuk's example. Note too that contemporary Latin-script publications, such as *Behar*, also frequently replaced "Đ" with "Gj." Alija Nametak, *Sarajevski nekrologij* (Sarajevo: Civitas, 2004).

<sup>352</sup> Mulić, "Prosvjećivanje preko žive riječi i knjige" [Enlightenment Through Living Word and Book].

broader embrace of the new script.<sup>353</sup> The journal's Turkish-language section even functioned as a sort of public forum on the issue, with Čaušević happy to air contrasting views, but leaving little doubt as to his editorial line. Two letters from the 15<sup>th</sup> issue of that year, published December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1906, are illustrative.<sup>354</sup> In the first, Hasan "Hayati" Rizvanbegović, a poet and local administrator from a well-known Herzegovinian literary family, wrote in against *Arabica*, prompting Čaušević to pen both a brief Turkish-language riposte in the same issue and a separate Bosnian-language rebuttal in an addendum. In the second letter, two local notables from Janja, a small town in the far northeast corner of the country, expressed their joy at the publication of a journal in "Turkish letters," and announced that they had managed to gather 25 new subscriptions for *Behar* from their fellow townsmen.<sup>355</sup> In at least one instance, Čaušević would also respond to a conservative critique of one of his collaborators' new *Arabica* publications—in this case Ibrahim Salih Puška's "*Tecvid-i Edaiyye Bosnevi*" on Qur'anic recitation—under a pseudonym, claiming to be a madrasa student from northern Bosnia.<sup>356</sup>

Alongside these appeals to the Muslim reading public, Čaušević also lobbied with the provincial authorities to purchase the new textbooks in bulk for use in state-administered schools. While he and his fellow progressive intellectuals held that the existing education system was sorely inadequate in light of their more expansive vision of communal reform, it nonetheless provided an important market, requiring materials for religious instruction in both the cross-confessional

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<sup>353</sup> "Yeni eserler," *Behar* 7, no. 13 (November 1, 1906).

<sup>354</sup> "Mekatiþ vardi," *Behar* 7, no. 15 (December 1, 1906): 59–60 [Letters Have Arrived].

<sup>355</sup> The phrasing here reflects a long history of "Turkish" being essentially synonymous with "Muslim" in the Balkans.

<sup>356</sup> Softa iz Posavine, "Odbrana tedþvida od Ibrahima Puške" in Bošnjak, Bajramski prilog za 1325/1907. godinu (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1907) [A Defense of the Tecvid by Ibrahim Puška, published in Bošnjak's Special Edition for Eid 1325/1907], as cited in: Karić and Demirović, *Reis Dþemaludin Čaušević*, 194.



elementary schools and in the remaining reformed mektebs and rüşdiye. Given that they regularly received requests for such materials from undersupplied provincial teachers, the occupying authorities were happy to oblige.<sup>357</sup> Thus when Čaušević wrote on June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1907 to recommend a book by his friend Murad Hulusi Hajrović (1873-1918), the government bureaucrat on the receiving end had few qualms in recommending the order of 1,000 copies.<sup>358</sup> Similar exchanges took place for a number of the other early *Arabica* texts coming out of IDŠ under Čaušević's oversight, including by such authors as Džafer Kulenović.<sup>359</sup> This was, as a matter of fact, not the authorities' first encounter with *Arabica* print: already in 1900, the then-Minister Kállay had approved a proposal to re-publish the pioneering 1868 catechesis from Istanbul, but recalcitrant Ulema rejected the move.<sup>360</sup> With Čaušević, however, they now had a more agreeable native collaborator, advocating for comparable reforms from the bottom-up.

### 2.3.2. *The Arabica Network*

Čaušević's efforts ultimately depended on an emerging network of his own collaborators, who not only authored these early textbooks but also provided the bulk of *Arabica* (and, for that matter, Turkish) materials for his associated periodical publications. These included not just occasional Bosnian-language entries in the "Turkish" section of *Behar* year 7, but also two end-of-

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<sup>357</sup> "Osnovne škole, trebovanja školskih knjiga za islamsku vjeronauku," 1907, ZV.132.142-241, ABiH [Elementary Schools, Need for Schoolbooks for Islamic Religious Education].

<sup>358</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, "Traženje dozvola za štampanje i ocjene knjiga: Džemaludin Čaušević, 'Glavna načela islama' (knjiga u prilogu, arapsko pismo)," June 29, 1907, ZV.132.142-242, ABiH [Requests for Permission to Publish and Reviews of Books: Džemaludin Čaušević, "The Main Principles of Islam" (Book Attached, Arabic Script)].

<sup>359</sup> Džafer Kulenović, "Kulenović Džafer ef. traži da Vlada otkupi knjigu (u njegovom izdanju) 'Suruti Islam' (u prilogu knjiga—arapsko pismo)," November 17, 1907, ZV.132.142-214, ABiH [Kulenović Džafer ef. Asks That the Government Purchase His (Self-Issued) Book "Suruti Islam" (Book Attached, Arabic Script)].

<sup>360</sup> Huković, *Alhamijado književnost* [Aljamiado Literature and Its Creators].

the-year calendars for the Muslim years 1325 and 1326, corresponding to 1907 and 1908 respectively: *Gajret*, on behalf of the eponymous cultural society, and *Mekteb*, a novel initiative emerging from Čaušević’s editorship of *Behar*. Similar to Čaušević overall vision, this “*Arabica* network” divides into two groups: progressive literati gathered around *Behar* and reformist Ulema. Key figures in the first camp included the poets Ćatić and Sarajlić, two of the initiators of Mulabdić’s ouster from *Behar*, but also, curiously, Bašagić, who had famously quit in protest; he not only features under his full name in *Gajret* year 1, but seemingly also under two of his common pseudonyms, “Nazim” and “Sadik,” in *Mekteb* year 2, with the latter contributing the modified but familiar title of “*Četredeset hadis šerifa*” (“Forty Noble Hadith”).

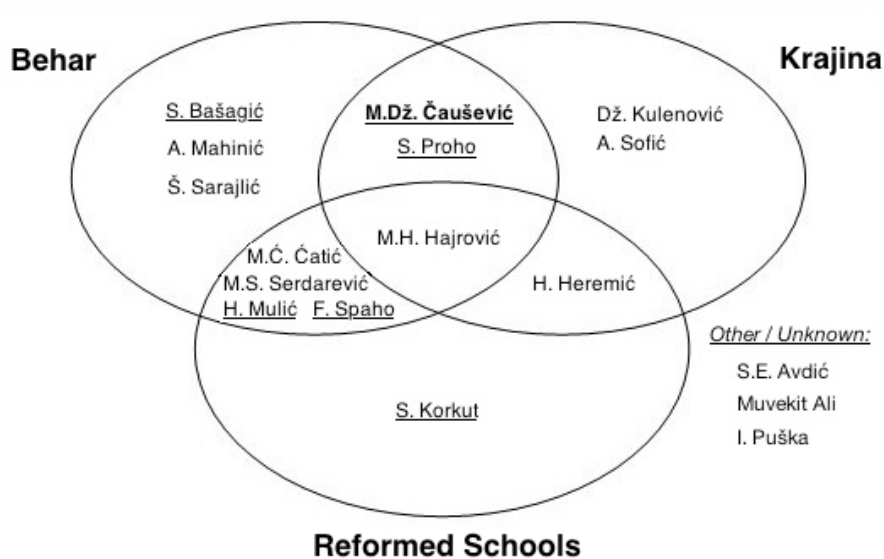


Figure 6: Čaušević’s network of collaborators in pre-1914 *Arabica* print ventures. The underlined names also appear in the wider reformist network in figure 3.

In terms of Čaušević’s allies in the Ulema, two partially overlapping tendencies are readily apparent. The first are familial and professional ties to Čaušević’s home region of the Krajina. Thus the above-mentioned Džafer Kulenović is descended from one of the most prominent notable families in the region, while Murat Hajrović was, like Čaušević, from the vicinity of Krupa, and

likely even studied with him at the Bihać madrasa under Ribić.<sup>361</sup> Though Proho was a native of Konjic in Herzegovina, he was by then also an established madrasa professor in the Krajina town of Cazin. It therefore makes perfect sense that the second year of the *Gajret* calendar, published amidst escalating conflict between the MNO and progressives, purportedly only sold “in Konjic and a few towns in the Krajina.”<sup>362</sup> The second tendency among Čaušević’s Ulema followers was study in the reformed schools established by the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Sarajevo in the late 1880s and early 1890s: the Sharia Judges’ School (1887) and the associated Teacher’s College (1892). As mentioned, there is significant overlap here: Spaho and Hajrović, for example, were both graduates of these reformed institutions and members of Čaušević’s *Behar* and (in the case of the latter) Krajina networks as well. Others, however, were more narrowly the products of these more recent Sarajevo institutions, such as Sakib Korkut (1884-1929), grandson of the previously mentioned Travnik Mufti and editor of Čaušević’s later Arabic periodical *Misbah*. These overlapping affiliations in Čaušević’s *Arabic* network appear more clearly in the diagram above, which is in turn worth comparing to the wider reformist network outlined earlier (See figure 3 in section 2.2.1): the presence of the Korkut and Spaho families, as well as the pedagogical influence of Humo in Herzegovina and Ribić in Krajina, provide significant overlap.

Of all the early *Arabic* publications, none provide a better overview of both this network in practice and Čaušević’s overarching vision for Bosnian Muslim education than the calendar *Mekteb*.

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<sup>361</sup> Hajrović was born in 1873 in the town of Krupa. From 1892 to 1894, he was part of the first generation of students to finish the newly reopened Darülmualimin in Sarajevo. He then returned to the Krajina to teach at the Madrasa and reformed Mekteb in Bihać, later also becoming one of Čaušević’s principal collaborators in his Arabic printing ventures. Though Hajrović’s 1880s appear empty in the existing literature, given his background and career it seems highly likely that he too studied under Ribić in the Bihać Madrasa in the middle of that decade. See: Kemal Bašić, “Murat Hajrović Hulusi-život i djelo,” *Godišnjak Medžlisa Islamske Zajednice Tuzla*, 2011, 237–60 [Murat Hajrović Hulusi-Life and Work].

<sup>362</sup> Kemura, *Uloga “Gajreta,”* 131.

As Čaušević himself put it in the introduction to year one, this was “not merely a calendar,” but something altogether more ambitious: a “modest contribution to his Islamic millet” and “fellow teachers” that essentially distilled the highlights of the new instructional literature in *Arabica* into a pocket-sized compendium, outlining a basic curriculum for the sort of reformed “mekteb” that he hoped to see.<sup>363</sup> Thus, after the obligatory calendar and two correspondingly pious poems by Ćatić and Sarajlić, *Mekteb* provided four miniature textbooks in one: a “catechism” (BCS: *Ilmihal*) by Ahmed Mahinić, notably including separate halves on faith (“*vjeronanje*”) and affairs (“*poslovanje*”); a guide for children learning Čaušević’s standardized *Arabica* by Hajrović, with a foreword providing a pedagogical justification for its use; a brief section on worldly subjects by Proho, including basic arithmetic; and finally, an elementary Turkish textbook by Muvekit Ali Effendi for students in the first year of a rüşdiye. In the subsequent penultimate section, a sort of Pan-Islamist almanac titled “*Svašta po malo*” (“A Bit of Everything”), Čaušević situates this Bosnian-centered reform program within a wider Islamic world. He first provides a numerical overview of the impressive communal institutions and demographics of Istanbul (e.g. the total number of madrasas, newspapers, public baths, etc.), followed by their comparatively meager equivalents in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Then, zooming back out, he closes with a region-by-region tally of the total number of Muslims in the world, listing Bosnia under the rubric “European Turkey,” together with the Porte’s other Balkan provinces.<sup>364</sup> *Mekteb* as a whole then concludes with a brief article on the significance of calendars and timekeeping in Islam from the ever-reliable Fehim Spaho.

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<sup>363</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, ed., *Mekteb Salnama za 1325* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1907) [Mekteb Calendar for 1325].

<sup>364</sup> On the significance of the “Europe in Turkey” label, see: Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 86–93.

In the bilingual introduction to the calendar for 1908, Čaušević first acknowledged in Turkish that he had wanted to do even more, but that this was all that he could manage and that it still amounted to a valuable contribution. Then, in a brief Bosnian aside, he exhorted his countrymen to join him in his literary project: “And if we want it to be better, it will be better.”<sup>365</sup> Čaušević’s script would indeed gain new proponents in the years to come, but it also aroused strong opposition. It particularly earned the ire of Muslim conservatives, who derisively labeled the script “*matufovača*,” with one Sarajevan even explicitly prohibiting books in *Arabica* from his Waqf library.<sup>366</sup> Contemporary reformists and later historians alike have attributed this opposition to a reflexive traditionalism in response to non-Muslim rule, but this risks obfuscating the transformative aspects of Čaušević’s project.<sup>367</sup> More than just a symbolic change, the combination of print publishing, vernacular education, and standardized curricula challenged the Ulema’s fundamental role as the “dominant transmitters of the learned culture” in Muslim society, as in Bosnia so too along the Nile and the Volga.<sup>368</sup> As one member of the *Ulema medžlis* apparently asked Spaho at the time, “What will we do once we have translated everything into our language and anyone who can read is able to access it?”<sup>369</sup> For his part, Čaušević characteristically responded to these critiques in *Mekteb* year two, reproducing an Arabic-language poem that called on readers to turn the other

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<sup>365</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, ed., *Mekteb Salnama za 1326* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1908) [Mekteb Calendar for 1326].

<sup>366</sup> Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević*.

<sup>367</sup> Kemura, “Prva štampana knjiga” [The First Book Printed in the Arabic Script in Our Language (Omer ef. Humo and His Educational Work)].

<sup>368</sup> For the parallel dynamics in these other locales, see: Dudoignon, “Echoes to Al-Manār”; Gesink, *Islamic Reform and Conservatism*.

<sup>369</sup> Spaho, “Uspomene.”

cheek and let “harmless dogs bark until judgment day.”<sup>370</sup> The targets of Čaušević’s scorn would presumably not have known that, under the linguistic veneer of Islamic authority, the poem in fact originated from a collection by Louis Cheikho, a Jesuit priest from Beirut.<sup>371</sup>

Čaušević’s justifications for *Arebica* also reveal much about how he understood the role of language in the modern world. Given the religious focus of most of the early publications, it is not surprising that he usually gave manifestly spiritual reasons. Arabic, as Čaušević frequently pointed out, was the script of the Qur’an, and thus brought Bosnian youth closer to the Islamic tradition and a moral education.<sup>372</sup> He also, however, expressed hope that *Arebica* would gain wider use in Bosnian Muslim everyday life, including commerce and private correspondence. “Signs and advertisements in schools, offices, hang-outs, and coffee houses,” he wrote in *Mekteb* year 2, “and then even *Bošnjak*, alongside Latin and Cyrillic, should put on the fine eastern outfit that is the Arabic script.”<sup>373</sup> According to Čaušević, it was ultimately an act of patriotism (T: *hamiyet*) to “give [*Arebica*] preference at every opportunity.” This was because Bosnian Muslims’ very survival as a people depended on reinforcing their ties to the east, and beyond mere symbolic value, Arabic script would make it easier for them to acquire the eastern languages and pursue their studies there as well.<sup>374</sup> This balancing of vernacularization and Pan-Islamist cosmopolitanism, already evident from *Behar* year 7, appears again in Čaušević’s translation of Imam Birgivi’s *Vasiyetname*, a famous

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<sup>370</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, “Yadigar-ı Kıymetdar,” in *Mekteb Salnama za 1326* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1908) [A Valuable Reminder].

<sup>371</sup> Louis Cheikho, *Majānī ’al-’adab fi ḥadā’iq ’al-’Arab*. (Beirut: Maṭba’at ’al-’Ābā’ ’al-Yasū’iyīn, 1882) [Literary Fruits in the Gardens of the Arabs].

<sup>372</sup> Sejfullah Proho, *Bidajetu’l-inas* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1909).

<sup>373</sup> Čaušević, *Mekteb Salnama za 1326*.

<sup>374</sup> Proho, *Bidajetu’l-inas*.

Turkish-language catechism from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>375</sup> Echoing his classical predecessor's rationale of writing in the vernacular for the "public good," Čaušević's translation nonetheless included footnotes introducing the reader to key Turkish words and basic grammar. In a later article, Čaušević, writing behind his semi-autobiographical persona of *Dedo* ("Grandpa"), would once again call for the creation of a *Muslimanski dnevnik* ("Muslim Daily"), which would run primarily in Bosnian and in *Arebica* script, but also contain German language articles relevant to the Austro-Hungarian authorities and Turkish ones for the Sultan-Caliph and *Şeyhülislam*.<sup>376</sup> Fundamentally then, though he championed vernacular education with comparable methods and zeal, Čaušević was not an ethno-linguistic nationalist, but a pragmatist firmly at home in a polyglot world.

### 2.3.3. *Tarik's Path Forward*

This linguistic approach came to fruition in *Tarik* ("Path"), a monthly journal written entirely in *Arebica*, whose first issue came off the IDŠ press in June of 1908, exactly 13 months after the end of *Behar* year 7. As mentioned, Čaušević had withdrawn from the journal in part to focus on reform from within Bosnia's official Islamic institutions; his extended tour of mektebs in the Krajina, for instance, came barely a month after *Behar's* final issue. In the subsequent year, however, his growing agitation for the use of *Arebica* script only earned increased ire from the progressives political opponents. Thus in March 1908, *Musavat*, the Mostar-based periodical of the autonomist MNO political party, lashed out against Čaušević, accusing him of being a Habsburg stooge and coercing other senior religious officials to support his *Arebica* project by threatening them with "the

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<sup>375</sup> Muhammad Birgivi, *Birgivi*, trans. Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1909).

<sup>376</sup> "Dedini menakibi [4/7]."

government.” This prompted Čaušević to enlist public denials in the March 19 issue of *Bošnjak* by the Reis-ul-Ulema Azabagić as well as fellow *Ulema medžlis* members Ahmed Munib Korkut and Šaćir Pandža.<sup>377</sup> Vowing not to be deterred, Čaušević then went on to ask the local merchant Fehim Kučukalić for a loan to start a new, independent journal—the eventual *Tarik*.<sup>378</sup> He did this with the explicit goal of “convincing everyone that our language can be written in the Arabic script,” which he described as a unifying thread for Muslims from China to Morocco.



Figure 7: Front page of *Tarik*'s first issue, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1908.

Although the vast majority of content was now in Bosnian, Čaušević evidently maintained his emphasis on print as a means of tying Bosnia to this wider Islamic World; the lead article of the first issue was in Turkish, while its counterpart in the second issue was in Arabic.<sup>379</sup> The journal would also revert to Turkish when receiving letters from readers in the Ottoman Empire, as well as

<sup>377</sup> M. Dž. Čaušević, “İzah / Razjašnjenje,” *Bošnjak*, March 19, 1908, 18.11 edition [Clarification].

<sup>378</sup> Čaušević, “Poštenim čitateljima i prijateljima.”

<sup>379</sup> “Kim ki bismillah ile bir kara eyler ibtidâ, hayr ile itmâm eder ol kârı elbette Hûdâ,” *Tarik* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1908): 1.



when it sought to convey local developments that it deemed worthy of wider attention. The inaugural Turkish article thus outlined the Bosnian linguistic landscape and basic rationale behind the paper, pointing out that many Bosnians knew the Arabic script, but few knew Arabic, Persian, or Turkish. At the same time, readership of journals published in Latin and Cyrillic script was steadily rising. This had left “for some time now a severe need for a paper such as this,” which would be in the Bosnian language with Arab letters and bring readers closer to the other Islamic peoples (OT: *akvam-ı islamiye*). By contrast, the Bosnian article that followed, while reiterating many of the same themes, also turned to specifics, promising readers an ambitious agenda that would include educational and religious commentary, literature and entertainment, and news and translation from the wider Muslim world.<sup>380</sup>

Relative to Čaušević’s previous work in *Behar* and the associated calendars, *Tarik* contains elements of both rupture and continuity. The new journal would function without major contributions from the *Behar*-affiliated members of his *Arabica* network, who had in the meantime continued their involvement with the Latin-script literary journal in its years 8 and 9. Whether this division was ideologically deliberate or stemmed largely from necessity, it left *Tarik* a more narrowly Ulema project, with a distinctly more religious tone and relatively neglected entertainment section. Čaušević and his staff partly compensated by drawing heavily on the Egyptian press for reports of Pan-Islamist networking and achievements, while stocking the international news section with frequent commentary on Ottoman politics and foreign policy.

Despite these wider concerns, however, *Tarik* primarily served, like the Turkish section of *Behar* before it, as a vehicle for Čaušević’s local reform agenda, which explicitly tied together

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<sup>380</sup> “Draga braćo,” *Tarik* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1908): 2–7 [Dear Brothers].

communal print and institutional reform. In a revealing historical retrospective from the third issue, Čaušević bemoaned that non-Muslim Bosnians had already embraced vernacular print in the 1860s with the Ottoman-backed bilingual provincial paper of the time.<sup>381</sup> This allowed them to forge ahead in a Darwinian race toward science and education, with even their elderly and lower classes now far more capable of responding to the challenges of the day. By contrast, Muslims had misguidedly settled for largely inaccessible newspapers in Turkish, leading to sharp generational and class divides. This problem was further compounded by pedagogical inefficiency in mektebs, where children studied “for 3–4 years,” but in that time “[could not] master the Turkish language enough to understand even the simplest of textbooks without outside help.”<sup>382</sup>

The solution to all of these problems was vernacular education and printing in Arabic script, which *Tarik* consistently lobbied for. A regular series of articles on “Our Mektebs” discussed the state of Islamic primary schools from the very first issue, and the journal similarly reported on Čaušević’s likeminded official business as a religious functionary and efforts at organizing the country’s teachers and imams.<sup>383</sup> It also criticized *Muslimanska svijest* (“Muslim Consciousness”), the newspaper of Mešić’s newly formalized Muslim progressive party, for not following up on its promise to feature articles in *Arebica*.<sup>384</sup> With several of *Tarik*’s contributors emerging from the Sarajevo Teacher’s College, this activism could also invoke contemporary pedagogical ideas from both Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This was the case, for instance, with Hamdija Mulić, who

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<sup>381</sup> “O potrebi ‘Tarika,’” *Tarik* 1, no. 3 (July 30, 1908): 33–36 [On the Need for “Tarik”].

<sup>382</sup> “Draga braćo.”

<sup>383</sup> “Otvorenje džamije u Bos. Krupi,” *Tarik* 1, no. 4 (August 29, 1908): 59–63 [The Opening of a Mosque in Bosanska Krupa].

<sup>384</sup> “Muslimanska svijest,” *Tarik* 1, no. 5 (September 26, 1908): 94–95.

called for a greater concern with child development (BCS: *odgoj*), and suggested the translation of relevant Turkish literature into the Bosnian language in *Arabica* script.<sup>385</sup> Mulić, who would go on to establish himself as the foremost Bosnian Muslim pedagogical writer of the interwar period, was another native of Konjic and intellectual descendant of Omer Humo.<sup>386</sup>

In *Tarik* as in Čaušević's Pan-Islamist vision as a whole, domestic and foreign concerns were inextricably intertwined. This is particularly evident in the journal's initial focus on developments and sources in Cairo. In addition to the serialization of Egyptian intellectual Qasim Amin's work on "the Muslim Woman," *Tarik* gave pride of place to Ismail-beg Gasprinski's ongoing "Islamic Conference" in the same city.<sup>387</sup> Though making no direct reference to Bosnia itself, Čaušević's reporting on Gasprinski and the conference's conclusions emphasized precisely those that aligned with his own local agenda. The articles thus criticized local Egyptian Ulema and called for an intelligentsia that was educated in both worldly and spiritual affairs; while not referencing Abduh in particular, the series included an entire article on the permissibility and imperative of *Ijtihad*, before closing with essentially a manifesto for founding a new international Ulema organization.<sup>388</sup> This last component tied in perfectly with Čaušević's own effort to found a comparable association of Bosnian Ulema that would pursue its class interests and carry out just such a larger program of communal reform. When Čaušević eventually succeeded in founding the "Mu'allim and Imam

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<sup>385</sup> Hamdija Mulić, "O potrebi uzgoja," *Tarik* 2, no. 1 (May 21, 1909): 4–6 [On the Need for Upbringing].

<sup>386</sup> As a pupil at the Sarajevo Gymnasium in the 1890s, Mulić studied under Humo's student Repovac, the previously mentioned predecessor to Čaušević as Arabic instructor at the same institution. See: Ifet Mustafić, *Hamdija Mulić: pedagog, prosvjetitelj, reformator, književnik* (Sarajevo: Tugra, 2008) [Hamdija Mulić: Pedagogue, Educator, Reformer, Writer].

<sup>387</sup> "Pogled po svijetu," June 1, 1908 [A Glance at the World].

<sup>388</sup> "al-mu'tamar al-'islāmiyy [3/4]," *Tarik* 1, no. 4 (August 29, 1908): 64 [The Islamic Conference]; "al-mu'tamar al-'islāmiyy [4/4]," *Tarik* 1, no. 5 (September 26, 1908): 95–96.

Society of Bosnia-Herzegovina” mid-way through Tarik’s second year, the journal ran a prominent ceremonial announcement of this development in Turkish.<sup>389</sup> This stress on Ulema organizing would persist through Tarik’s entire print run and prove critical to the rapid rise of Čaušević’s reformist project by the eve of the Great War.

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This chapter reconstructed the trans-imperial career of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, the key figure in the development of the Pan-Islamist reform movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, through the year 1908. Born in the remote region of the Krajina, Čaušević emerged under the influence of local Ottoman-educated reformist Ulema before going on to study with their colleagues and like-minded contemporaries in Istanbul. Over the course of nearly 15 years in the Ottoman lands, Čaušević further immersed himself in the trans-imperial Islamic reformist networks developing at the time, as well as the rapidly expanding print technology that served as their primary medium. Following his gradual return to Sarajevo between 1901 and 1903, these allowed him to advocate for a Pan-Islamist agenda that stressed communal reform and Muslim unity on both a local and global level. In terms of the former, Čaušević’s message particularly resonated amidst growing polarization between a new generation of anticlerical and collaborationist Muslim “progressives” educated in Austro-Hungarian schools and an autonomist movement with more socially conservative leanings. As the latter grew in strength, Čaušević moved on from an initial alliance with the progressive intellectuals to work from within Bosnia’s formal Islamic institutions and, ultimately, to his own independent publishing ventures. These centered on promoting the use of a modified Arabic script

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<sup>389</sup> “Saray’da Bosna ve Hersek muallimin ve imam İslamiye cemiyeti Tarik idare-i behiyyesine!,” *Tarik* 2, no. 7 (November 14, 1909): 112 [The Imam and Muallim Society of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo to the Respected Editors of Tarik].

for writing the Bosnian language, as epitomized by his journal *Tarik*, which he saw a vehicle for both local reform and tying Bosnia's Muslims to a wider Islamic World.

A close examination of Čaušević's activities and impact on Bosnian Muslim public life during this period reveals more nuanced lineages of Islamic reform than the existing literature often allows. To begin with, Čaušević's roots and studies tie him to a circle of pro-reform Balkan Ulema who had emerged from the Tanzimat and at the intersection of traditional Islamic sciences and modern pedagogical ideas. While Cairo and Abduh had a tremendous influence on Čaušević, focusing too narrowly on this most famous current of Islamic modernist thought risks obscuring both this regional inheritance in the Ottoman Balkans as well as how the Egyptian metropolis served as a conduit for influences from other world regions, notably including Ottoman exiles and Muslim reformists from the Russian Empire. With his return to Sarajevo, Čaušević effectively plugged Habsburg-occupied Bosnia into this trans-imperial Islamic modernist network, whose educational and publishing activities he framed within the novel concept of an "Islamic World." Despite this newly global perspective, however, Čaušević's appeal was rooted in local circumstances. Above all, his Pan-Islamism not only entailed affective solidarity with the Ottoman Caliphate and more distant Muslim peoples, but also a stress on the unity of Muslims in Bosnia in particular, as modernity threatened them with new dividing lines. Put differently, early 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian Pan-Islamism had mutually reinforcing global and local dimensions.

By the fall of 1908, having already worked with both progressive intellectuals as well as high-ranking members of the Ulema, Čaušević had successfully laid the foundations for an independent reformist project. As epitomized by *Tarik*, this entailed an active Arabic-script press, a growing network of contributors, and an effort to organize the country's lower Ulema. All three pillars would

play an important role in the aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution and subsequent Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina that October, which drastically changed the field of political possibilities. As the following chapter will demonstrate, young Ulema gathered around Čaušević's project took advantage of the new revolutionary circumstances to propel the scholar to a position of unprecedented institutional power on the eve of the First World War.

### Chapter 3: Bosnia's Constitutional Revolution:

#### Pan-Islamist Students between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1908-1914

In February of 1911, Derviš Munib Korkut, a 22-year-old Bosnian student of theology at Istanbul University (OT: *Darülfünun*), wrote for a Sarajevo periodical about his arrival to the Ottoman capital some two years earlier.<sup>390</sup> As his train rode past outlying settlements, Korkut vividly recalled his first encounter with the city he had previously known only from photographs and lullabies, so large that it “cannot be seen in its entirety with the naked eye, where a person can easily get lost.” It was a place of contrasts, both dizzying and enthralling in its contemporary development and cosmopolitan social fabric: fishing villages gave way to factories, Greco-Turkish street vendors vied for customers across the language divide, and European and Levantine ladies strolled *Hamidiye* avenue in hats with an almost “botanical” array of colors and designs. Korkut made special note of the Hagia Sophia, “whose reddish-orange façade in no way suits its grandeur, as if it were painted on the order of [Benjamin von] Kállay”—a jab at Habsburg-occupied Bosnia’s former chief administrator, his quasi-colonial civilizing ambitions, and his favored Pseudo-Moorish style of orientalist architecture. Such political considerations subtly permeated Korkut’s piece; disembarking at *Sirkeci* station, he noted passing through customs relatively painlessly, as here they did not search him for suspicious publications. These more liberal circumstances underpinned and enabled his account for *Gajret*, the journal where his older brother Sakib had already been penning pseudonym-clad tracts promoting the cause of Muslim unity, both at home and abroad. Together, the Korkut brothers were emblematic of a new generation of Bosnian Muslim theological students, drawing

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<sup>390</sup> Mehmed Décor, “Carigradski utisci,” *Gajret* 4, no. 4 (February 15, 1911): 51–53 [Impressions of Istanbul].

inspiration from the global constitutional moment, immersed in the Young Turk Revolution, and linking together Istanbul and Sarajevo with their work in print.

This chapter argues that, by the eve of the First World War, these students had overseen a constitutional micro-revolution in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well, empowering Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević and the budding Pan-Islamist reform movement he had established over the previous decade. The trigger point for these Bosnian developments was the preceding revolution in Istanbul, which has drawn increasingly sophisticated analyses in Ottoman studies, but whose enduring and multifaceted impact on foreign Muslim publics, particularly in southeastern Europe, remains little understood.<sup>391</sup> Besides overturning the Ottoman political order, however, the revolution also radically liberalized the Empire's public sphere, allowing for the novel circulation of texts, people, and ideas between Sarajevo and Istanbul. Through a close reading of the multilingual and multi-scriptural periodical press and associated archival materials in both cities, I show how Čaušević and his younger supporters built vital links with likeminded publications in Istanbul, foremost among them the seminal *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (after 1912 *Sebilürreşad*). In the context of the new constitutional regimes and nascent mass politics both there and in Sarajevo, this unleashed a process of uneven reciprocal promotion for their respective reformist projects, culminating in Čaušević's dramatic rise to the position of *Reis-ul-Ulema* (A: ra'īs al-'ulamā'), Bosnia's highest Islamic religious authority, in March of 1914. In effect, from their position at the margins of two empires, Čaušević and his allies took part in the global wave of constitutional revolutions, drawing on these broader

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<sup>391</sup> François Georgeon, ed., *“L'ivresse de la liberté”: la révolution de 1908 dans l'Empire ottoman*, Collection Turcica, Vol. XVII (Leuven: Peeters, 2012) [The Intoxication of Liberty: the 1908 Revolution in the Ottoman Empire]; Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014); Nader Sohrabi, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).



international convulsions to win local autonomy vis-à-vis the Habsburg imperial state and pursue an ambitious, bottom-up agenda of communal modernization. Taken more broadly, Bosnia's constitutional moment ultimately highlights the need to move the historiography of Southeast Europe beyond conventional political periodization and narrowly domestic framings, as it brings into relief the participation of local Muslims in much more expansive intellectual and political settings

The chapter consists of five sections and roughly two halves, with the first covering the structural background and consequences of the 1908 Revolution in the Bosnian Muslim public sphere and the second its implications for Čaušević's Pan-Islamist movement in particular. The first half begins with (1) an introductory section on the pre-revolutionary structural underpinnings of later developments: the expansion of education and consequent rise of mobile students operating between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. (2) Section two then turns to the revolution itself, which came as a collective shock to the Bosnian Muslim public but soon engendered two major productive consequences: [a] it introduced a new constitutionalist political vocabulary to Bosnian Muslim political debates; and [b] it saw unprecedented entanglement between the Bosnian Muslim and Ottoman public spheres on the back of the previously-mentioned students. (3) Section three inaugurates the chapter's second half by showing how this entanglement empowered Čaušević's reformist press in particular, which would stake its own claims to popular prestige through links with Islamic modernist circles in Istanbul. (4) Section four then provides a thematic overview of how the ensuing process of reciprocal promotion functioned, reinforcing Pan-Islamist claims in both Sarajevo and Istanbul across four interrelated fields: language and script, students and youth, community and nationhood, and wars and public sacrifice. (5) The fifth and final section examines how this

exchange bore tangible political fruit, tracing how the young theological students at its center ultimately pushed Čaušević to a position of institutional power as *Reis-ul-Ulema* on the eve of the First World War.

### 3.1. Educational Entanglement on the Eve of Revolution

The key structural factor behind the dramatic socio-political realignments of 1908-1914 was the preceding period's expansion of educational institutions and opportunities in both the Habsburg and Ottoman domains. For Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular, the turn of the century saw the steady growth of primary education and rising literacy more generally.<sup>392</sup> While Bosnian Muslims consistently lagged behind the country's other ethno-confessional groups on both counts, this process nevertheless gave rise to a Muslim reading public and self-identified intelligentsia.<sup>393</sup> Many of the latter group graduated from the multi-confessional state Gymnasia, but aspiring Ulema simultaneously gravitated toward two Muslim-specific institutions in Sarajevo: the Sharia Judges School (BCS: *Šerijatska sudačka škola*), founded in 1889, and the Muslim Teacher's College (OT: *Darülmualimin*), founded in 1891 on the model of its eponymous Ottoman-era predecessor. As per chapter one, Kállay's administration envisioned these schools as forming Habsburg-loyalist cadres of state functionaries, but they also depended heavily on the initiative of local Muslim reformers—"transitional pedagogues" such as Čaušević's mentor Ahmed Sabit Ribić—who had their own agendas. By the early 20th century, Muslim students could also benefit from stipends for university study in such cities as Vienna and Zagreb, both from communal associations and the government itself. As per the preceding chapter, Čaušević played an important role in further extending these

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<sup>392</sup> Okey, "Education and Modernization in a Multi-Ethnic Society."

<sup>393</sup> Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo* [Muslim Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the Year 1918].

stipends to theological students hoping to study in Istanbul instead; Derviş Korkut from this chapter's introduction was one such beneficiary.<sup>394</sup>

The other half of the equation involved Istanbul itself. While Austro-Hungarian administrators invested in Bosnia's Islamic education partly to stem the flow of Muslim students to the Ottoman Empire, they could only partially succeed on this count due to a factor far beyond their control: the parallel expansion and institutionalization of education in the Sultan's domains.<sup>395</sup> In the first place, this included specialized Gymnasia—most famously the *Galatasaray* lycée—that appealed to Bosnian Muslims still skeptical of public education in a Catholic monarchy. Some of these schools, such as the privately founded *Darüşşafaka* (lit: “Abode of Compassion”), specifically recruited students from various marginal groups, including the poor, orphans, and Muslims in extra-Ottoman territories such as Bosnia.<sup>396</sup> More significant, however, was the Ottoman Empire's first university, Istanbul's *Darülfünun* (lit: Abode of Sciences, hereafter DÜF), which after several failed 19<sup>th</sup> century precedents opened its doors for good in late summer of 1900.<sup>397</sup> The newly constituted university incorporated pre-existing schools of law and medicine, but also formed a new Islamic

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<sup>394</sup> “Muslimanskim đacima na visokim školama,” *Musavat*, September 24, 1910, 5.80 edition [For Muslim Students at Higher Schools].

<sup>395</sup> For the two standard works on late Ottoman education reforms: Somel, *Modernization*; Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 1 edition (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>396</sup> State-sponsored recruitment of Bosnian students to these elite Gymnasia can be seen as part of what Selim Deringil influentially identified as Sultan Abdul Hamid II's unprecedented legitimization drive: Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 1998); For one archival example, see: “Report on the admission of eleven Bosnian Muslim students to Darüşşafaka,” December 5, 1903, A.}MTZ.BN.1.22, BOA; Note, however, that the same pattern continued into the Second Constitutional Period: “Report on the annual tuition-free admission of Bosnian students to Darüşşafaka and Mektebi Sultani,” March 21, 1909, MF.MKT.1108.52, BOA.

<sup>397</sup> Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, “The Genesis of Darülfünun: An Overview of Attempts to Establish the First Ottoman University,” in *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire: Western Influence, Local Institutions, and the Transfer of Knowledge* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2004); For the same author's definitive study of this institution: İhsanoğlu, *Darülfünun* [Darülfünun: the Focus of Cultural Modernization in the Ottoman Empire].

theology branch without parallel in either Bosnia-Herzegovina or Austria-Hungary as a whole. By 1908, DÜF's theology branch was effectively the most prestigious institution of higher Islamic learning for Bosnian students, who Čaušević had encouraged to pursue studies in "the East" since first returning to Sarajevo some eight years earlier.

Two additional structural factors merit further consideration. The first is the parallel growth of a sizeable Bosnian diaspora community in Istanbul, in which newly arrived theological students readily enmeshed themselves. Concentrated in the district of *Fatih*, which was home to both DÜF and the major madrasas, its ranks swelled over the course of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, encompassing both elite émigrés and migrants of more humble origins. An anecdote by Ibrahim Mehinagić, a student at DÜF's theology branch in the early 1910s, is illustrative of how these different groups intersected: together with his peers, he would regularly gather at a Bosnian barbershop near campus, where he could discuss current events and theological disputes in his native language, not only with fellow students and other regular patrons, but also with Ali Fehmi Džabić, the former Mufti of Mostar and exiled leader of the movement for religious-educational autonomy.<sup>398</sup> Alongside pre-existing kinship and professional ties, such spaces allowed newly arrived students to integrate into the public life of both the local Bosnian community and the Ottoman capital as a whole. Many wealthier émigrés also served as patrons for select students in Istanbul, or otherwise funded scholarships and school reform initiatives in Bosnia itself, contributing to both ends of the educational entanglement described thus far.

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<sup>398</sup> Ibrahim Mehinagić, "U spomen velikom merhumu Ali Fehmi-efendiji Džabiću," *Glasnik VIS* XIX, no. 1–3 (1956): 22–30 [In Memory of the Late Great...].

The second process worth commenting on is the steady expansion of the periodical press. Previous chapters have touched upon how the development of communications technologies and postal links allowed for unprecedented exchange between Bosnia and such Islamic publishing centers as Cairo and Istanbul. In Sarajevo, the early conduits of this exchange were two more-or-less state-sanctioned publications: *Behar* and *Bošnjak*. These represented the work of a small circle of collaborationist Muslim elites, toeing the regime line politically while eagerly drawing on Ottoman sources for novel literary content. In the first ten-odd years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, socio-political polarization of Bosnian society also saw the rise of a more polemical party press: from just the two above-mentioned Bosnian-language Muslim periodicals in 1900, by 1914 another 16 would have risen and fallen, most of them promoting distinct ideological agendas.<sup>399</sup> Although participants in this nascent public sphere routinely complained about the poor state of their press, especially relative to their non-Muslim neighbors or purportedly more enlightened Muslims in other countries, its relative growth is still substantial. In addition to material and technological progress, it drew directly on the growing number of both readers and potential contributors emerging from the public school system. Because Hamidian Istanbul's far larger press scene was also more politically circumscribed, however, Sarajevo's Muslim press would only really reflect the intensifying links between the two cities after the former's sudden liberalization in fall 1908.

The biography of Mehmed Nurudin Karamehmedović exemplifies how many of these structural threads intertwined. Born in the early-to-mid 1870s in the eastern Herzegovinian town of Trebinje, Mehmed's family of local Muslim elites was exceptionally eager to send its sons to school: his older brother Ćamil (1867-1917) enrolled in the newly opened Sarajevo Gymnasium

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<sup>399</sup> There were also the Turkish-language *Vatan* (1884) and *Rehber* (1898). Đorđe Pejanović, *Štampa Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1949), 22 [The Press in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

immediately after the occupation, becoming its first Muslim graduate in 1889, before then also going on five years later to be the first Bosnian to complete a law degree at the University of Vienna.<sup>400</sup> Mehmed's own trajectory is more difficult to discern, but he appears in 1894 as a schoolteacher contributing Herzegovinian folk tales to *Bošnjak*.<sup>401</sup> In late 1895, the provincial authorities awarded him a stipend to continue his studies at the Vienna Teacher's College, which he successfully completed by 1899, returning to work at a public elementary school in the small town of Varcar Vakuf.<sup>402</sup> Within a few years, however, Mehmed apparently turned against the Austro-Hungarian authorities, absconding to Istanbul to join the exiled autonomy leader Džabić.<sup>403</sup> There he found work in the local bureaucracy, serving as an inspector of foreign books and texts for the Ottoman customs office in *Galata*.<sup>404</sup> In late summer of 1908, Mehmed requested to publish a bilingual Turkish-Slavic newspaper, *Bosna*, for the émigré community in Istanbul, a request that the authorities, citing his educational and professional background, promptly approved.<sup>405</sup> Mehmed's

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<sup>400</sup> Ćamil's early studies may have closely involved the aforementioned transitional pedagogue Ahmed Sabit Ribić. As a child during the final years of Ottoman Rule, he had studied at the Trebinje Rüşdiye, where Ribić was the principal instructor at the time. Ćamil's obituary also notes that he then took a special interest in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish while at the Sarajevo Gymnasium, where Ribić taught Oriental languages from 1880-1883. "Rahmetli Ćamil Karamehmedović," *Gajret Kalendar za godinu 1938, 1937, 227-29* ["The Late..." in the Gajret Calendar for the Year 1938].

<sup>401</sup> Mehmed Karamehmedović, "Jeda Boga i pravog Turčina, da ti haka dogje!," *Bošnjak*, July 5, 1894, 4.27 edition; Mehmed Karamehmedović, "Bitka na Dugoj [1/2]," *Bošnjak*, July 12, 1894, 4.28 edition, sec. Podlistak [The Battle on the Duga]; Mehmed Karamehmedović, "Bitka na Dugoj [2/2]," *Bošnjak*, July 19, 1894, 4.29 edition, sec. Podlistak.

<sup>402</sup> "Štipendije za Beč," *Bošnjak*, November 14, 1895, 5.46 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Stipends for Vienna]; "Promjene u učiteljstvu," *Bošnjak*, August 10, 1899, 9.33 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Changes in Teaching Staff].

<sup>403</sup> "Rahmetli Ćamil Karamehmedović," 228 [The Late...].

<sup>404</sup> "Report on the decrease in the salary of Galata customs official Mehmed Nureddin Efendi the Bosnian due to money owed to his ex-wife," June 11, 1907, MF.MKT.998.86, BOA.

<sup>405</sup> "Request by Mehmed Nureddin Efendi Karamehmedzade the Bosnian to publish a newspaper named Bosna," September 16, 1908, ZB.326.70, BOA; "Approval of the request to publish a newspaper by Mehmed Nureddin Efendi Karamehmedzade the Bosnian," September 19, 1908, ZB.326.70, BOA.

brief career in publishing—the paper appears to have ultimately yielded but a single issue in October of that year—corresponded with a tumultuous few months in regional affairs.

### 3.2. The 1908 Revolution and its Consequences

On July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1908, Ottoman army officers in Macedonia rose up in revolt, demanding that Sultan Abdul Hamid II reinstate the constitution he had himself suspended over thirty years earlier. As the troops marched on Istanbul, their numbers swelled, and on July 24<sup>th</sup> the Sultan capitulated to their demands—the Second Constitutional Period had begun. Revolutionary euphoria, evident in pervasive popular demonstrations and a resurgent political press, quickly gave way to stinging disappointment: on October 5<sup>th</sup>, Bulgaria declared its full independence, and two days later, on October 7<sup>th</sup>, Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, under *de jure* Ottoman sovereignty but *de facto* Habsburg administration since 1878. In the latter case, Viennese authorities promised Bosnians their own constitution and provincial assembly, as well as a distinct “religious and educational autonomy statute” for the country’s Muslim inhabitants, promises they eventually kept. This whirlwind of political developments has since come to represent a central rupture in regional historiography: the swan song of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Ottoman history, the last fleeting appearance of the Ottomans in Bosnian affairs, and more generally a dusty footnote in the steady geopolitical march toward the precipice of the Great War.

Focusing on Bosnia’s burgeoning Muslim periodical press, this section considers the revolution of 1908 as a generative moment that actually enabled new, intensified ties with the Ottoman Empire and wider world. Two subsections correspond to two particular consequences: (1) the major Bosnian Muslim political parties’ adoption of Ottoman political discourse to variously challenge Austro-Hungarian authority or stake claims to Ottoman-Islamic prestige vis-à-vis their

intra-communal rivals; and (2) the emergence of Bosnian students in Istanbul as the key intermediaries in the underlying material entanglement of the Bosnian and Ottoman public spheres.

### 3.2.1. *Constitutionalist Convergence*

Across the Bosnian Muslim ideological spectrum, the immediate reaction to the Young Turk Revolution amounted to public elation and private shock. In political terms, this spectrum by then consisted of two major camps (see figure 8 below): the dominant, anti-regime “autonomists” around the MNO party (BCS: *Muslimanska narodna organizacija*, roughly: Muslim National Organization) and its paper *Musavat* (A: *musāwāh*, lit: Equality) and the rival minority of pro-regime “progressives” around the MNS (BCS: *Muslimanska napredna stranka*, lit: Muslim Progressive Party) and its journal *Muslimanska svijest* (lit: Muslim Consciousness). As per the previous chapter, Čaušević’s modernist Ulema, gathered around his journal *Tarik* (A: *ṭarīq*, lit: the Way), effectively sided with the beleaguered MNS, but retained their ideological particularities and remained nominally apolitical. Although there had been some significant pre-1908 contacts between Bosnian Muslims and the Young Turks, i.e. the Committee of Union Progress (OT: *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, hereafter CUP), these appear to have mainly involved a minority of Ottoman-based émigrés and expatriate university students rather than any particular faction within Bosnia itself.<sup>406</sup> In fact, the bulk of Bosnian Muslim elites who had rallied around the MNO more naturally gravitated toward Abdul Hamid for two reasons: (1) the Sultan-Caliph’s evident popularity among the Muslim public, as evidenced by consistently fawning references in the periodical press; (2) their

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<sup>406</sup> See for example: Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*, 188 [The Struggle of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina for Religious and Waqf-Educational Autonomy]; Hanioglu gives a more positive assessment of Bosnian-CUP contacts prior to 1908, but the bulk of the more active interlocutors he mentions fall into one of these two camps. I share Robert Donia’s more skeptical take on alleged links between Bosnian Muslim autonomist political elites and the CUP, which the Austro-Hungarian authorities had a clear interest in exaggerating. Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 161–63.



own links to high-ranking émigrés in Istanbul, who had ensconced themselves within the Sultan’s system of patrimonial patronage. Characteristically then, *Musavat*’s first article following the revolution bore the title “Long Live our Sultan!” and framed the upheaval as Abdul Hamid’s benevolent restoration of the 1876 constitution.<sup>407</sup> The reality, however, was that the MNO found itself ill-prepared for the new political circumstances, as illustrated by the failure of its leader Ali-beg Firdus to secure CUP support during a much-publicized trip to Istanbul in November of 1908.<sup>408</sup> In a later obituary in the Ottoman press, even one of Firdus’ émigré allies bemoaned that, “his words having then fallen on deaf ears, Ali-beg was unable to accomplish anything in the seat of the Caliphate.”<sup>409</sup>

	<u>MNO</u>	<u>MNS</u>	<u>Čaušević</u>
<u>Party</u>	Muslimanska narodna organizacija	Muslimanska napredna stranka	N/A
<u>Designation</u>	Autonomists	Progressives	N/A
<u>Periodical</u>	<i>Musavat</i>	<i>Muslimanska svijest</i>	<i>Tarik</i>
<u>Social Base</u>	Regional elites, wider electorate.	Sarajevo elites, lay intelligentsia.	Ulema, and in particular its progressive wing.
<u>Nationalism</u>	Pro-Serb, Anti-Croat.	Pro-Croat, Anti-Serb.	None. Indifferent to hostile.
<u>Habsburgs</u>	Oppositionist. For autonomy.	Collaborationist. For Trialism.	Collaborationist.
<u>Ottomans</u>	Highly favorable. For restored sovereignty.	Sympathetic but reserved.	Highly favorable. For strengthened spiritual ties.

Figure 8: Major Bosnian Muslim political and ideological factions in 1908 on the eve of the Revolution.

<sup>407</sup> “Padišahum čok jaša!,” *Musavat*, July 28, 1908, 3.32 edition [Long Live our Sultan!].

<sup>408</sup> Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*, 635–38.

<sup>409</sup> Original: “O zaman bu gibilerin sözleri mesmû’ olmadığından Ali Bey makâm-ı Hilâfet’te hiçbir şey yapmaya muvaffak olamamış.” Bosnalı Besimzade Mustafa, “Firdevs Ali Bey,” *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4, no. 99 (July 28, 1910): 364.

Soon, however, shock gave way to renewed factional quarrels, with the rival parties adapting to the revolutionary circumstances to stake their own political claims and continue jostling over Ottoman-Islamic prestige in the Bosnian Muslim public sphere. *Musavat* thus eagerly cited publications in the newly liberalized Ottoman press to critique their MNS rivals' recent delegation to the Hungarian parliament in Budapest.<sup>410</sup> The MNS, meanwhile, ran an article in *Muslimanska svijest* mocking Firdus for returning from Istanbul empty-handed, claiming that the Ottoman government rejected him as having worked against its interests in pushing for a tactical alliance with Serbs.<sup>411</sup> In contrast to the MNO and *Musavat*, *Muslimanska svijest* had been far more forthright that a revolution had even occurred; its coverage of the reopening of the Ottoman parliament correspondingly commemorated the event in starkly liberal terms, claiming that it marked the "fall of the heavy absolutism which had weighed down on that mighty people for so many years, preventing all progress, preventing freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, preventing any cultural initiative."<sup>412</sup> Despite their differences, however, both parties came to see the ongoing revolutionary dynamism as holding out potential for constructive changes in Bosnian Muslim society. *Muslimanska svijest* thus favorably reported on a soiree at the residence of Interior Minister İbrahim Hakkı Pasha, which the spouses of Ottoman statesman, it pointedly noted, would attend

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<sup>410</sup> "Carigradske novine o nama," *Musavat*, November 24, 1908, 3.49 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Istanbul Newspapers About Us].

<sup>411</sup> "Firdus došao iz Carigrada," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 15 (December 10, 1908): 15 [Firdus has Come Back from Istanbul].

<sup>412</sup> "Otvorenje turskog parlamenta," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 17 (December 23, 1908): 1 [The Opening of the Turkish Parliament].

unveiled.<sup>413</sup> By the revolution's first anniversary, *Musavat* too published a laudatory article positing "today's Turkey" as a model for Bosnian Muslim advancement.<sup>414</sup>

Because of its consistent anti-regime stance, however, *Musavat* also took the revolution as an opportunity to launch critiques of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia, and in particular to pressure for constitutional government in Sarajevo. Already in August of 1908, it echoed the calls of Ottoman statesman Ahmet Tevfik Pasha to extend the restored constitution to all Ottoman provinces, including their own ambiguous patria.<sup>415</sup> Just one week later, the drumbeat continued, with *Musavat* once again carrying Tevfik's claim that "with the renewed institution of constitutionalism in Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been left the only lands in Europe without constitutionalism and parliamentarianism," further noting that European commentators were increasingly aware of this discrepancy.<sup>416</sup> In the run-up to the annexation in early October, the MNO's outlet also alerted readers to other articles in this vein in the European press, noting that they would gladly reproduce them in full, "but are afraid of our liberal [BCS: *slobodoumnog*] press law and the even more liberal interpretation of its provisions by the state attorney"<sup>417</sup> Ultimately, this symbolic jiu-jitsu appears to have tested the patience of Viennese authorities a bit too much, as *Musavat* went abruptly out of print for two months following the annexation. In the meantime, *Muslimanska svijest* downplayed the novelty of the situation, emphasizing that Austria-Hungary had promised a constitution and

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<sup>413</sup> "Ženski pokret u Carigradu," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 2 (1908): 8 [The Women's Movement in Istanbul].

<sup>414</sup> "Današnja Turska," *Musavat*, September 30, 1909, 4.36 edition [Today's Turkey].

<sup>415</sup> "Turski državnik o ustavu u Bosni," *Musavat*, August 28, 1908, 3.37 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Turkish Statesman on a Constitution in Bosnia].

<sup>416</sup> "O aneksiji Bosne i Hercegovine," *Musavat*, September 4, 1908, 3.39 edition [On the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>417</sup> "Bosanski ustav: Za našu ustavnost," *Musavat*, August 7, 1908, 3.34 edition [A Bosnian Constitution: for Our Own Constitutionalism]].

accorded Muslims full legal rights, while also explicitly blaming the temporarily silenced MNO for provoking the authorities into such drastic action.<sup>418</sup> As this line of critique suggests, the MNS had also adopted constitutionalist discourse in its appeals to the public, but used it to temper criticism of the authorities and bludgeon their Serb-affiliated rivals in the MNO. An early issue of *Muslimanska svijest* thus ran news of Romanov Russia's abolition of constitutional rule in Finland, disparagingly noting that "this is the country onto which our 'Slavophiles' cast their eyes."<sup>419</sup>

As Ottoman developments turned constitutionalism into a marker of modernity and civilization, this introduced another enduring feature into Bosnian Muslim political discourse: the idea of Europe and belonging therein. Despite its omnipresence in much later intellectual debates, the idea of "Europe" only seems to emerge as a major frame of reference for the Muslim press in the context of this post-1908 critique of Austro-Hungarian rule. An incident from April 1909 is indicative: following an alleged attempt to kidnap and convert a young Muslim girl in Sarajevo to Catholicism, Bosnian students in Istanbul organized an open lecture to publicize the case with the city's inhabitants.<sup>420</sup> According to the report in *Musavat*, Ottoman listeners were particularly aghast that such misdeeds could take place "in a civilized European state." This account in fact stood firmly in line with a longstanding practice in the Ottoman press to use the example of Bosnia to critique Europeans' own claims to civilizational superiority, but Bosnians now vigorously adopted the same

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<sup>418</sup> "Ko je prouzrokovao aneksiju?," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 7 (October 14, 1908): 2 [Who Provoked the Annexation?].

<sup>419</sup> "Ukidaju ustav u Rusiji," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 2 (1908): 3 [They're Abolishing the Constitution in Russia].

<sup>420</sup> Salim, "Pismo iz Carigrada," *Musavat*, May 4, 1909, 4.15 edition [A Letter from Istanbul].

technique to lobby for their domestic political goals.<sup>421</sup> Whereas Muslim periodicals had previously largely referred to “Europe” as a nefarious “other,” *Musavat* was now eager to situate Bosnia-Herzegovina within its geographic bounds: “In all of expansive Europe with its 10 million square kilometers and several hundred million inhabitants,” it lamented, “there is only one small corner under non-constitutional rule.”<sup>422</sup> In this context, Siberia and Africa in particular emerged as extra-European geographic reference points for political backwardness *par excellence*, and comparing Bosnia to them a favorite rhetorical ploy in Muslim political debates.<sup>423</sup> In the memorable words of a letter writer complaining about the excesses of an overzealous tax collector in the northeast of the country: “God, where are we? Are we in Tunguska or in constitutional Bosnia? Take a look at everything happening here in Bijeljina and you will say that you are surely in some African colony, where whites have come to oppress and destroy blacks.”<sup>424</sup>

With the annexation resolving any lingering questions of state sovereignty, Austria-Hungary eventually granted Bosnian Muslims a religious-educational statute in March 1909, approving a more general provincial statute with an accompanying parliament (BCS: *sabor*) for members of all three of Bosnia’s ethno-confessional groups in February 1910. As Robert Donia argued in his richly-researched 1981 monograph on Muslim elite politics during the Austro-Hungarian period, the entry of the MNO into the formal machinery of provincial government made the latter more broadly

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<sup>421</sup> Malte Fuhrmann, “Vagrants, Prostitutes, and Bosnians: Making and Unmaking European Supremacy in Ottoman Southeast Europe,” in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

<sup>422</sup> “Naše ustavno uređenje,” *Musavat*, May 4, 1909, 4.15 edition [Our Constitutional Arrangement].

<sup>423</sup> “Primanje našeg lista,” *Musavat*, December 1, 1909, 4.53 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [The Delivery of our Newspaper]; “Bos. Brod, 24. Aprila 1910,” *Musavat*, April 27, 1910, 5.25 edition, sec. Naši dopisi [Letter from Bos. Brod, April 24, 1910].

<sup>424</sup> “Pismo iz Bjeline,” *Musavat*, January 4, 1911, 6.1 edition [A Letter from Bijeljina].

representative of Bosnian Muslim elites, which in turn made these elites among the political factions most loyal to the Viennese authorities.<sup>425</sup> The MNO and MNS even ultimately merged together into the UMO (BCS: *Ujedinjena muslimanska organizacija*, lit: United Muslim Organization), launching a new party paper, *Zeman* (A: *zamān*, lit: Time), which represented the views of the large majority of Muslim landowning elites and established lay intelligentsia.<sup>426</sup> Vituperative critiques of Austro-Hungarian rule consequently simmered down, but as with the idea of “Europe” above, constitutionalist discourse and a corresponding stress on popular political participation and rights would prove an enduring feature. As *Musavat* wrote in the aftermath of the adoption of religious-educational autonomy, “It is a necessity for every Muslim to order and own this statute, because it regulates every individual’s obligations and rights, which every conscious Muslim must know.”<sup>427</sup>

At the same time that the introduction of parliamentary politics placated Bosnian Muslim elites, Bosnian students based in Istanbul remained involved in the more tumultuous Ottoman revolutionary ecosystem, often coming to more radical conclusions in regard to the situation back home. This appears to have been the case with Derviš Korkut, the young Istanbul-bound student from the outset of this chapter. In May 1910, he commented on the new Bosnian constitution in that city’s *Kürsi-i Milel* newspaper, itself emblematic of the age. This was the brainchild of Tadeusz Gasztowt (1881-1936), alias Seyfeddin Bey, a Parisian-born son of 1830 Polish émigrés and a later

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<sup>425</sup> Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 194.

<sup>426</sup> For a discussion of the particular parliamentary dynamics that brought this about: Šaćir Filandra, *Bošnjačka politika u XX. stoljeću* (Sarajevo: Sejtarija, 1998), 38 [Bosniak Politics in the 20th Century]; Note that “Zeman” had been the proposed title for the Čaušević-backed Muslim daily newspaper that ultimately failed to materialize in 1906. “Molba Mehmeda Kadrispahića za izdavanje lista ‘Zeman’” [Request by Mehmed Kadrispahić for Publishing the Newspaper “Zeman”].

<sup>427</sup> “Vjersko-mearifski štatut,” *Musavat*, April 5, 1909, 4.12 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: the Religious-Educational Statute].

convert to the Young Turk cause, who used the publication to advocate for the liberation of both the Polish nation and various colonized Muslim peoples across the world.<sup>428</sup> As with his biography, Gasztowt's editorial line blurred later intellectual boundaries between "Eastern Europe" and the "Middle East." Taking special aim at Austro-Hungarian imperial interests in the region, his paper called on Balkan peoples to form a pro-Ottoman confederation to escape Viennese subjugation, and included a separate section on "Slavic Muslims" such as Bosnians, whom one contributor described as living under Habsburg slavery. Appearing in this more revolutionary context, Korkut's own article on Bosnia correspondingly fused the constitutionalist discourse of the Young Turk era, the tenor of Polish romantic nationalism, and the Pan-Islamist concerns of the Hamidian period. "In this manner, with the appearance of a constitution, the government has legalized and disguised an absolutist regime," Korkut wrote. "But the Bosnian people does not let itself get discouraged in the least, for it is aware of its rights, and the granting of this constitution, even if it is illusory itself, is nevertheless a victory for public opinion—the people will persevere."<sup>429</sup>

### 3.2.2. *Students as Agents of Exchange*

As Korkut's transnational writings indicate, the 1908 Revolution provoked not just a conceptual convergence between the Ottoman and Bosnian Muslim press, but their material entanglement as well. The relaxation of Hamidian censorship in Istanbul saw hundreds of newspapers sprout and spread, underground networks suddenly surface, and various amateur journalists and exiled intellectuals prolifically transverse both. *Musavat* picked up on this newfound

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<sup>428</sup> The paper's subheading, "Sizin ve bizim hürriyetimiz için," was a direct translation of the classical motto of Polish nationalist solidarity, "Za naszą i waszą wolność" (lit: For our freedom and yours). Paulina Dominik, "A Young Turk from Lehistan: Tadeusz Gasztowt Aka Seyfeddin Bey (1881 – 1936) and His Activities During the Second Constitutional Period," *Occasional Papers in Ottoman Biographies*, no. 2 (2014).

<sup>429</sup> Pobro Bey, "Bosna-Hersek / Bosnie-Herzégovine," *Kürsi-i Milel/La Tribune des Peuples*, no. 2 (May 13, 1910).

dynamism quickly, positioning itself as the most reliable source for Bosnian affairs and promising to “provide Istanbul newspapers many trustworthy items about our struggles going forward.”<sup>430</sup> In addition to the interest of such major publications as *İkdam* and *Tanin*, some of the strongest initial links were with the emerging Bosnian émigré press. In the same issue as above, *Musavat* advertised a new bilingual Bosnian-Turkish paper by “our brothers” in Istanbul, suggesting that it should also publish materials in French so as to reach a European diplomatic audience.<sup>431</sup> This was most likely the same newspaper that a Herzegovinian émigré named Ahmed Şerif had requested to publish under the name “Bosnia-Herzegovina” (T: *Bosna Hersek*) just a few weeks earlier.<sup>432</sup> Whatever the case, *Musavat* soon established a steady collaborative relationship with the newspaper Şerif eventually published, *Şark* (lit: the East): the former consistently cited the latter, sent it materials, and solicited subscribers for it from its own Bosnian readership.<sup>433</sup> This was not a party-specific phenomenon: *Muslimanska svijest* also took part in this exchange, approvingly citing an article in Mehmed Karamehmedović’s previously referenced *Bosna*, which warned against Bosnian Muslim emigration to the Ottoman lands.<sup>434</sup> Eventually, however, this Bosnian émigré press evidently petered out, albeit less due to any political defeatism than out of more immediate material constraints. *Bosna*’s sole apparent issue thus began with a reference to it having had to overcome “all sorts of shortcomings in

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<sup>430</sup> “Carigradski listovi o nama,” *Musavat*, August 14, 1908, 3.35 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Istanbul Papers About Us].

<sup>431</sup> “List naših iseljenika u Carigradu,” *Musavat*, August 14, 1908, 3.35 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: The Paper of our Emigrants in Istanbul].

<sup>432</sup> “Request by Ahmed Şerif to publish a newspaper named ‘Bosnia-Herzegovina,’” September 2, 1908, DH.MKT.1274.39, BOA.

<sup>433</sup> “Şark,” *Musavat*, August 28, 1908, 3.37 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Şark]; “Şark,” *Musavat*, September 25, 1908, 3.43 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti; “Şark” ponovo počeo izlaziti,” *Musavat*, November 24, 1908, 3.49 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Şark Has Started Coming Out Again].

<sup>434</sup> “Turski listovi proti iseljivanju bosanskih muslimana,” *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 11 (November 11, 1908): 2 [Turkish Papers Against the Emigration of Bosnian Muslims].



content,” tellingly devoting considerable space to an article on Albanian affairs.<sup>435</sup> *Şark*, meanwhile, survived only as *Şark ve Kürdistan*, serving as an early proving ground for such Kurdish thinkers as Said Nursi.

As the émigrés fell of, Bosnian students in Istanbul proved to be a more enduring human thread between Sarajevo and the Ottoman public sphere. In part this grew out of clandestine contacts from the pre-revolutionary period: *Zvijezda*, the Bosnian Muslim student club in Vienna, had formed an important node in the CUP’s earlier networking efforts, and in the revolution’s immediate aftermath they helped form *Nada istoka* (lit: The Hope of the East), a parallel organization for their peers in Istanbul.<sup>436</sup> While MNO elites such as Firdus had been more invested in Abdul Hamid’s patrimonial *ancien régime*, the more radical students in Istanbul and Vienna still gravitated toward the party due to its explicitly confrontational stance toward Austro-Hungarian rule, forming an important “Young Turk” undercurrent within its ranks. Istanbul students thus featured regularly in the pages of *Musavat* from September 1908 onward, starting with a telegram congratulating the MNO for launching its campaign for a Bosnian constitution.<sup>437</sup> By December of that year, this collaboration took a more explicit turn, with Istanbul-based students issuing a lengthy proclamation in which they wholly endorsed the party’s platform, encouraging readers to support its executive committee, subscribe to *Musavat*, and “throw out of [their] reading rooms such anti-Islamic organs as *Behar*, *Bošnjak*, and *Muslimanska ne-svijest* (lit: Muslim Unconsciousness).”<sup>438</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> “İfade-i Mahsusa,” *Bosna*, October 31, 1908, 1.1 edition [Special Statement].

<sup>436</sup> Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*; “Pismo iz Carigrada,” *Musavat*, March 4, 1909, 4.8 edition [Letter from Istanbul].

<sup>437</sup> “Telegrami,” *Musavat*, September 25, 1908, 3.43 edition [Telegrams].

<sup>438</sup> “Poruka bos.-herc. Muslimanskih đaka na višim i srednjim školama u Carigradu,” *Musavat*, December 2, 1908, 3.50 edition [A Message from Bosnian-Herzegovinian Students at Higher and Middle Schools in Istanbul].

*Musavat* prominently ran this proclamation on its front page as a clear sign of its Ottoman bonafides, and given the stakes of such an endorsement, a polemic over the students' very legitimacy soon ensued. "Today there are very few of our sons at university studies in Turkey," the subsequent issue of *Muslimanska svijest* retorted, "and madrasa students we do not even count among such youth."<sup>439</sup> Despite such rebuttals, *Musavat* continued to provide the students with ample space for their statements and correspondence, which further suffused the Bosnian Muslim public sphere with the new constitutionalist political idiom.<sup>440</sup>

Istanbul-based students were not only key in introducing this idiom to Bosnian politics; they were also at the forefront of new forms of political organization enabled by the revolutionary circumstances and their position between two empires. This is perhaps best evidenced by a series of reports from Istanbul by a student named Salim, who wrote to *Musavat* through the close of 1908 and spring of 1909. In his first letter, Salim praised Istanbulites' popular militancy in the aftermath of the revolution and the success of the ongoing public boycott of Austro-Hungarian goods, but also harshly critiqued the local Bosnian community, whose members were, with few exceptions, content to "waste their days away and lazy about with cards, dominoes, backgammon, chess, and other such games which are not the least bit patriotic in character."<sup>441</sup> Whereas such behavior was excusable under the absolutist old regime, under the new circumstances it was "not just unpatriotic but downright hostile to their native people and fatherland," and all the more so since the community

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<sup>439</sup> "Poruka naše omladine na srednjim i višim zavodima u Turskoj," *Muslimanska svijest* 1, no. 15 (December 10, 1908): 1 [The Message From Our Youth in Middle and Higher Institutions in Turkey].

<sup>440</sup> To cite a relatively innocuous example, a student at the Istanbul Darüŝafaka wrote to his fellow pupils who had been expelled for minor infractions under "absolutism" that under "constitutionalism" they were now welcome to return to their studies. "Učenicima carigradske Daru-l ŝefekke," *Musavat*, October 2, 1908, 3.44 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [To Students of the Istanbul Darüŝafaka].

<sup>441</sup> Salim, "Pismo iz Carigrada," *Musavat*, November 6, 1908, 3.47 edition [Letter from Istanbul].

had all the preconditions to serve as a “model for all the other tribes of Istanbul.” In his follow-up reports, however, Salim soon redacted this initial condemnation, listing the many achievements of Bosnians in Istanbul in fighting against the annexation and in effect providing just such a model of patriotic activism for readers back home: mass street protests, open letters and petitions to the representatives of the great powers, pressure on parliamentary deputies, and propaganda protests on every street corner.<sup>442</sup> This student activism continued in other forms even long after official Istanbul had conceded diplomatic defeat; in December 1909, *Gajret* reported that “our well-known agile youth,” Besim-beg Teskeradžić, had succeeded in soliciting donations from a variety of Ottoman statesmen to the same organization’s scholarship fund.<sup>443</sup> In the meantime, members of the Bosnian students club in Istanbul had similarly lobbied with other high-ranking government officials, including the *Şeyhülislam*, making them promise that they would urge Muslims not to emigrate from Bosnia and support their civic and religious rights under Austro-Hungarian rule.<sup>444</sup>

The campaign against Muslim emigration is in fact one of the best examples of how this student-led entanglement functioned, and arguably its dominant discursive strand in the immediate post-revolutionary period. The catalyst here was a new wave of migrants fleeing for the remaining Ottoman lands in the aftermath of the annexation, renewing longstanding Muslim fears of impending demographic collapse. *Musavat* initially republished warnings against migration from the Istanbul press, whether by Ottoman officials or elite émigrés, but over time it increasingly gave voice

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<sup>442</sup> Salim, “Pismo iz Carigrada,” *Musavat*, November 14, 1908, 3.48 edition [Letter from Istanbul]; Salim, “Pismo iz Carigrada,” *Musavat*, January 31, 1909, 4.4 edition [Letter from Istanbul].

<sup>443</sup> “Liga hiljade u Carigradu,” *Musavat*, December 11, 1909, 4.56 edition, sec. Gajretove vijesti [The League of a Thousand in Istanbul].

<sup>444</sup> “Pismo iz Carigrada,” March 4, 1909; Salim, “Pismo iz Carigrada,” May 4, 1909.

to more dramatic deterrents by Ottoman-based Bosnian students.<sup>445</sup> Similar to Salim above, they wrote in regularly from Istanbul, Salonica, and beyond, providing poignant first-hand accounts meant to dissuade readers from leaving their homes. In one letter from Salonica, for instance, an author described a Bosnian orphan scavenging for cigarette butts to exchange for food; others told of migrants falling victim to callous bureaucrats, malaria-infested swamps, and nationalist paramilitaries in the hills of Rumelia.<sup>446</sup> Students also undertook collective action, frequently appealing to potential migrants' religious and patriotic sensibilities, as in the case of an open letter against migration by students at Istanbul's madrasas and theological schools.<sup>447</sup> *Musavat* eagerly advertised these efforts, similarly ascribing to the previously referenced student meeting with the *Şeyhülislam* a "great, decisive, even historic importance."<sup>448</sup> On the Ottoman side, CUP officials expressed varying opinions: Nazım bey, for instance, famously advocated resettling Bosnian migrants in strategic parts of Macedonia to buttress Ottoman sovereignty.<sup>449</sup> The MNO and its student allies in Istanbul, however, lobbied for factions opposed to this demographic engineering, arguing that maintaining Muslim numbers in extra-Ottoman territories was the real patriotic and strategic choice.<sup>450</sup>

It is debatable just how effective this anti-emigration agitating ultimately proved to be. By spring 1910, *Musavat* itself appeared to concede defeat, lamenting that the bulk of those emigrating

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<sup>445</sup> For an example of this initial tactic, see this translation from İkdam: "Ne selite, braćo!," *Musavat*, January 31, 1909, 4.4 edition [Don't Emigrate, Brothers!].

<sup>446</sup> Derviš Dreca, "Pismo iz Soluna," *Musavat*, July 13, 1909, 4.24 edition [Letter from Salonica].

<sup>447</sup> "Proglas bos. herc. talebe na carigradskim medresama teološkim mektebima," *Musavat*, February 9, 1910, 5.11 edition [Declaration by Bosnian-Herzegovinian Students at Istanbul's Madrasas and Theological Schools].

<sup>448</sup> "Razjašnjenje," *Musavat*, May 4, 1909, 4.15 edition [Clarification].

<sup>449</sup> Fuhrmann, "Vagrants, Prostitutes, and Bosnians," 41.

<sup>450</sup> "Pitanje muhadžira u Turskoj," *Musavat*, August 17, 1910, 5.70 edition [The Migrant Question in Turkey].

were illiterate, and that there were in any case plenty of opportunists spurring them on, hoping to make money off of depreciated land sales.<sup>451</sup> The CUP government's relative crackdown on political organizing after the failed counter-coup in April 1909 may have also imposed more practical constraints on the grassroots counter-efforts of the MNO-affiliated Bosnian students.<sup>452</sup> Nonetheless, the episode had established important patterns of exchange. The significance of transnational students in shaping Bosnian political discourse, the struggle to claim communal prestige via connections to revolutionary Istanbul, and even efforts to bolster particular factions within Ottoman politics in the pursuit of more narrowly Bosnian interests—all of these features would persist in the years to come, albeit increasingly under the aegis of Džemaludin Čaušević and his Pan-Islamist press.

### 3.3. The Way and the Righteous Path

As with Sarajevo's political publications, the revolution caught Čaušević off guard. In an issue of *Tarik* from the end of July 1908, he even claimed that reports of the initial insurrection in Macedonia were “making a bear out of a fly.”<sup>453</sup> While the city's newspapers came to provide near-daily updates on revolutionary events, however, nearly two months would pass before Čaušević's journal processed what had occurred and gave a more thorough response.<sup>454</sup> The obvious problem was that Čaušević, despite his modernist outlook and alleged Young Turk sympathies, was invested in Abdul Hamid as Sultan-Caliph, the spiritual head of the “Islamic World” that his journalistic work had sought to conjure. Čaušević's response was therefore to formulate a Pan-Islamist reading of

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<sup>451</sup> “Seoba,” *Musavat*, March 26, 1910, 5.24 edition [Emigration].

<sup>452</sup> Salim, “Pismo iz Carigrada,” May 4, 1909 [Letter from Istanbul].

<sup>453</sup> “Pogled po svijetu,” *Tarik* 1, no. 3 (July 30, 1908): 46–47 [A Glance at the World].

<sup>454</sup> “Pogled po svijetu: Turska — ustavna država,” *Tarik* 1, no. 5 (September 26, 1908): 70–72 [A Glance at the World: Turkey — a Constitutional State].

the revolution, portraying the Young Turks as pious patriots. Fed up with decades of European Christian domination, they “put their faith in almighty God” and made public their demand for constitutional rule. These “progressive” youths, as Čaušević dubbed them, echoing the favorite appellation of the Bosnian Muslim intelligentsia, wanted to ensure that the people of Turkey could “fashion their own laws and justice,” thus obviating any need for European tutelage. In response, Abdul Hamid cast away the malicious advisors who had led him astray and ceded to the revolutionaries’ demands. Whereas the Sultan had been forced to annul the first constitution he had promulgated because the Turkish people had not yet been ready, today his subjects had matured, and in his old age, Čaušević speculated, the benevolent ruler could use the rest anyway.

In this way, much like his political peers, Čaušević came to internalize the revolutionary and constitutionalist political discourse emanating from Istanbul and adapt it to champion his own local agenda. His portrayal of the CUP as God-fearing progressives not only promoted the new Ottoman authorities before an influential segment of the Bosnian Muslim reading public—namely, the Ulema—it also promoted his own reform program by highlighting their underlying commonalities: science and worldly education (BCS: *svjetska naobrazba*), print entrepreneurship, institutional reform, and an overarching stress on communal unity in the face of European encroachment. Registering that Muslim politicians had responded to the revolution by calling for a Bosnian constitution, Čaušević also urged political periodicals to “expound in detail to the people what a constitution even is.”<sup>455</sup> In *Tarik*, he actually took it upon himself to introduce and elaborate on

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<sup>455</sup> “I Bosna hoće ustav,” *Tarik* 1, no. 5 (September 26, 1908): 94 [Bosnia Wants a Constitution Too].

much of the associated vocabulary, defining absolutism, for instance, with reference to the equivalent Ottoman term *Hükümet-i mutlaka*.<sup>456</sup>

Despite this engagement with elements of liberal thought, however, Čaušević's conception of constitutionalism remained fundamentally communal: it stressed Muslim ethno-religious autonomy, progress, and unity in a non-Muslim context, whether in terms of Bosnian domestic affairs or the Ottoman state's international standing. In his comment on the eventual Bosnian autonomy statute, Čaušević thus commended Muslim delegates for their insistence on curbing the principle of simple majority rule in districts where one ethno-confessional community—quite often Serbs in rural regions—made up the absolute majority of the population.<sup>457</sup> On a global level, this Pan-Islamist approach saw *Tarik* not only give pride of place to positive coverage of the 1908 revolution in newspapers from Tunis to India, but also to report at length on resulting constitutional movements in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Iran.<sup>458</sup> Čaušević's portrayal of the new Ottoman constitution as the outgrowth of a global Muslim reform movement gained further credence as revolutionary Istanbul drew many key activists away from earlier exile centers. Whereas *Tarik* had previously given extensive coverage to the Tatar intellectual İsmail Gaspiralı's attempt to organize an "Islamic Congress" in Cairo, for example, its final report from November 1908 announced that the nascent organization would strive to relocate to the Ottoman capital.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> "Pogled po svijetu: Turska — ustavna država," 86 [Turkey—a Constitutional State].

<sup>457</sup> "Pogled po svijetu: Naš ustav," *Tarik* 1, no. 10 (February 21, 1909): 176 [A Glance at the World: Our Constitution].

<sup>458</sup> "Pogled po svijetu," *Tarik* 2, no. 1 (May 21, 1909): 12–16 [A Glance at the World].

<sup>459</sup> "Pogled po svijetu: al-mu'tamar al-'islāmiyy," *Tarik* 1, no. 7 (November 24, 1908): 126–27 [A Glance at the World: the Islamic Congress].

Čaušević's key Ottoman ally in his post-revolutionary reformist endeavors would be the influential Istanbul journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (lit: the Righteous Path). The project of a circle of reformist Ulema with close ties to the CUP and an abiding commitment to constitutional rule, it quickly emerged as “the leading reform-minded publication of the day.”<sup>460</sup> Although truly global in its Pan-Islamist outlook, with dedicated contributors from the United States to Japan, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* had intimate ties to Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular. This is most evident in the background of its chief editor and principal contributor Mehmet Akif [Ersoy], the future poet laureate of the Turkish Republic, two of whose most important mentors hailed from the lost Balkan province. The first was the poet Arif Hikmet (1839-1903), from the Rizvanbegovići family of Herzegovinian elites, which by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had set roots in late Ottoman cultural and political life while also closely maintaining patriotic ties to their provincial homeland.<sup>461</sup> In an issue of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* from February 1909, Akif published a 213-line paean to his deceased mentor, providing a poetic account of how he had first encouraged him to “write a word or two [himself].”<sup>462</sup> The second was Mehmed Kadrija “Nâsîh” Pajić (OT: *Hoca Kadri*), the Humo student and itinerant Pan-Islamist from chapter one, who Akif studied under at the central Rüşdiye in Fatih and later described as his most important teacher from this time.<sup>463</sup> In one of his later translations of Muhammad 'Abduh's work in *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, Akif suggested that the late Egyptian scholar had identified one of Pajić's erstwhile journals in Cairo as all but launching Islamic reformism in the

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<sup>460</sup> Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic*, 37.

<sup>461</sup> Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, 159–60, 165 [From Tradition to Identity: the Genesis of the Bosnian Muslim National Question]; Čedomil Mitrinović, “Mehmed Ali-paša Rizvanbegović-Stočević,” *Gajret* 14, no. 20 (November 1, 1933).

<sup>462</sup> Mehmet Âkif, “Hersekli Arif Hikmet (Manzum),” *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2, no. 27 (February 25, 1909): 6–8 [The Herzegovinian Arif Hikmet (In Verse)].

<sup>463</sup> Korkmaz, “Hoca Kadri Nâsîh,” 7–11 [...'s Life, Works, and Views].



Ottoman lands, indirectly testifying to his own immense regard for the man.<sup>464</sup> Together, the two Herzegovinians were evidently pivotal in shaping Akif's poetic sensibilities, modernist theology, and abiding concern with the wider Islamic world, all of which became crucial components of *Sırat-ı Müstakim*'s editorial line.<sup>465</sup>

More broadly, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* had strong ties to DÜF, and consequently to its growing cohort of Bosnian faculty and students. Besides Akif, who taught at the literature branch from 1908 to 1913, a number of other key contributors to the journal held positions there as well, including İsmail Hakkı İzmirli and İsmail Hakkı Manastırlı, Čaušević's former mentor at the law school. In November 1908, the university also brought in the exiled autonomist Ali Fehmi Džabić, who Akif praised as an exceptional Arabist in a gushing endorsement for *Sırat-ı Müstakim*: "In truth, if the Ministry of Education had taken every pain to bring in someone from Cairo," he concluded, "it is far from certain that he would have been able to take [Džabić's] place."<sup>466</sup> The former Mostar Mufti's mastery of the Arabic language did not always serve his purposes in these new surroundings; Derviš Korkut would later recall Ottoman Greek students at the university mocking Džabić for his

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<sup>464</sup> Şeyh Muhammed Abduh, "Kazâ ve Kader" [Chance and Fate].

<sup>465</sup> Akif almost certainly maintained ties with some of his Bosnia-based contemporaries as well. In his study of the influential 20th century Bosnian-Turkish theologian Muhamed Tajib Okić (1902-1977), Kemal Bašić claims that Okić's father, Mehmed Teufik Okić (1866-1932), had studied together with Akif in Istanbul. Bašić, *Muhamed Tajib Okić — Život i Djelo*, 20 [Life and Work]; Turkish academic Necmettin Turinay also suggests that Akif may have directly corresponded with Safvet-beg Bašagić. It would seem at least as likely that Akif was in contact with Čaušević as well, but no concrete archival evidence seems to remain. *Mehmet Âkif Ersoy i Bosna Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Turski kulturni centar, 2015) [... and Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>466</sup> Mehmed Âkif, "Dârü'l-Fünûn Talebesine Mühim Bir Tebşir," *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 1, no. 13 (November 19, 1908): 188 [An Important Piece of Good News for Students at the Darülfünun]; Rashid Rida, editor of al-Manâr, purportedly claimed following his visit to Istanbul in 1908 that he had never met a non-Arab with a more profound knowledge of the Arabic language and literature than Džabić, and faculty at Al-Azhar continued to hold him and his study of Hadith in high regard through the 1920s and 30s. This apparent proficiency is all the more remarkable given that Džabić had never studied outside of Bosnia-Herzegovina; he appears to have acquired Arabic entirely from Mostar, where he was the scion of a family of provincial Ulema. See: Ibrahim Mehinagić, "Osvrt na život i pisana djela Ali-Fehmi-efendije Džabića," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 2, no. 2–3 (December 31, 1974): 81–96 [A Review of the Life and Written Work of...].

accented Turkish, but also İsmail Hakkı İzmirli leaping to his defense, further testifying to the close ties between Džabić and the reformist Ulema around *Sırat-ı Müstakim*.<sup>467</sup> Although Korkut never wrote in the journal himself, he was part of a rising number of Bosnian students at DÜF's theology branch, many of who would utilize their ties to professors such as Džabić and İzmirli to do just that. Beyond the campus and nearby madrasas, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* also drew contributors and readers from the Bosnian émigré community, such as Muhamed Semiz (OT: Semizzade Mehmed), a Sarajevan in İnegöl whom Akif lauded for his “praiseworthy patriotism.”<sup>468</sup>

Soon enough, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* reached an enthusiastic audience in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well, and above all through Čaušević's *Tarik*. The Sarajevan journal first presented its Istanbul counterpart to readers in November 1908, describing it as “the first journal in Turkey in which the Istanbul Ulema have published a program on the model of the Egyptian Ulema, and what *al-Manār* is in Cairo, so today is *Sırat-ı Müstakim* in Istanbul.”<sup>469</sup> Adding that “our own Ulema should absolutely be reading it,” *Tarik* opened its issue that month with a lengthy translation of an article by Halim Sabit [Şibay] from some two weeks earlier.<sup>470</sup> In fairness, *Tarik* also advertised other Ottoman theological papers, such as the comparatively conservative *Beyan-ül Hak* in the very next issue.<sup>471</sup> Nonetheless, there is no question that one Istanbul publication towered above the rest in providing original content: Čaušević's journal translated extensively from *Sırat-ı Müstakim* throughout the rest of its two-year print run, focusing in particular on sermons from pro-CUP

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<sup>467</sup> Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, 168 [Travelogues and Obituaries].

<sup>468</sup> “Konurat Suyu Daneleri,” *Sebilürreşad* 9, no. 209 (September 5, 1912): 18.

<sup>469</sup> “Pogled po svijetu: Sırat-ı Müstakim,” *Tarik* 1, no. 7 (November 24, 1908): 125–26 [A Glance at the World: ...].

<sup>470</sup> “Hutbe: Običaj hazret resul ekremov pri učenju hutbe – prijevod iz «Sırat-ı Müstakim-a» broj 12,” *Tarik* 1, no. 7 (November 24, 1908): 113–17.

<sup>471</sup> “Pogled po svijetu: Beyan-ül Hak,” *Tarik* 1, no. 8 (December 20, 1908): 142–43 [A Glance Around the World: ...].

Ulema such as İsmail Hakkı Manastırlı and Musa Kazım Efendi.<sup>472</sup> Because of Istanbul's position at the center of much wider Islamic networks, this link also allowed *Tarik* to carry unprecedentedly detailed information about Muslims from such distant locales as China, making tangible the very idea of an "Islamic World" that Čaušević's project had done so much to promote.<sup>473</sup>

These ties to *Sirat-ı Müstakim* coincided with Čaušević's increasing efforts to formally organize Bosnian Ulema, first culminating in the Muslim Muallim and Imam Society for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BCS: *Muslimansko muallimsko i imamsko društvo za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*) in late 1909. Čaušević had evidently started laying the groundwork for this move well before the revolution in Istanbul; already in spring of 1908, *Musavat* ran two articles on "the Muallim Question" by one such provincial schoolteacher, indicating its inherent appeal among lower Ulema well beyond Sarajevo.<sup>474</sup> By that summer, the newly founded *Tarik* had also started running its series of reports on İsmail Gaspıralı's attempt to organize Ulema at his Islamic Congress in Cairo, essentially presenting a larger-scale model for its own local initiative.<sup>475</sup> The plan's ultimate fruition, however, fit neatly into the emerging circuits of exchange between Islamic reformists in Istanbul and Sarajevo.

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<sup>472</sup> "Vaz: prijevod iz «Sirat-ı Müstakim» broj 22-23"; "Predavanje: üstâd-ı muhterem Musa Kâzım Efendija o savremenom uređenju knjiga ilm-i kelâm, o ujedinjenju islamskih mezheba i uređenju predavanja u medresama – prevod iz 'Sirat-ı Müstakim-a,'" *Tarik* 2, no. 6 (October 16, 1909): 81–84.

<sup>473</sup> "Pogled po svijetu: Činski muslimani," *Tarik* 2, no. 7 (November 14, 1909): 104–8 [A Glance at the World: Chinese Muslims].

<sup>474</sup> "Muallimsko pitanje," *Musavat*, May 1, 1908, 3.19 edition [The Muallim Question].

<sup>475</sup> The final installment made this most explicit, specifically stressing the need to care for and organize lower strata of Ulema, arguably the key plank of the eventual Muallim & Imam Society. "al-mu'tamar al-'islâmiyy [4/4]" [The Islamic Congress].

Čaušević thus pointedly ran a special announcement of the society's founding in Turkish, making the news accessible to a wider Ottoman audience.<sup>476</sup>



Figure 9: Founders of the Muallim and Imam Society for Bosnia-Herzegovina c. 1909. From left to right: M. Ali Dukatar, Muhamed Seid Serdarević, Ahmed Mahinić, and Hasan Nametak.<sup>477</sup>

As *Tarik* ceased publication in April 1910, the new society decided at its first regular annual assembly in August of 1910 to launch its own Arabic-script journal, *Muallim* (A: *mu'allim*, lit: the Schoolteacher), essentially serving as a direct replacement.<sup>478</sup> Falling under the editorship of

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<sup>476</sup> "Saraj'da Bosna ve Hersek muallimin ve imam İslamiye cemiyeti Tarik idare-i behiyyesine!" [The Bosnia-Herzegovina Muallim & Imam Society in Sarajevo to the Wonderful Editors of *Tarik*].

<sup>477</sup> "Osnivači muallimskog društva," *Biser* 2, no. 22-23-24 (June 15, 1914): 341 [Founders of the Muallim Society].

<sup>478</sup> Avdija Hasanović, "Muallim - Alhamijado časopis muslimansko-muallimsko-imamskog društva," *Novi Muallim*, no. 44 (2010): 20-29 [Muallim - The Aljamiado Journal of the Muslim Muallim-Imam Society].

Čaušević's young collaborator, Mehmed Seid Serdarević (1882-1918), *Muallim* had a pedagogical focus in line with its societal goals and membership, but also an explicitly Pan-Islamist editorial line; its opening, Turkish-language article promised to report on Muslims from throughout the world, but in particular in the Ottoman Empire, seat of the Caliphate.<sup>479</sup> Unsurprisingly, it soon developed close ties with *Sırat-ı Müstakim*; when the Istanbul journal formally changed its name to *Sebilürreşad* following an editorial split in March 1912, they contacted *Muallim* directly, asking them to fully carry the corresponding announcement in their own paper.<sup>480</sup>

The transition from *Tarik* to *Muallim* ensured a continuity of Bosnian-language periodical publishing in the Arabic script, but it also entailed Čaušević essentially passing the torch to a younger generation of followers. These young Ulema included previous contributors to his *Arabica* projects, such as the above-mentioned Serdarević, but also a number of more recent disciples, many of them with strong personal and intellectual ties to Istanbul, its Islamic modernist press, and the associated structural processes described thus far. Two of them, Salih Safvet Bašić (1873-1948) and Sakib Korkut (1884-1929), would prove particularly influential.

The elder of the two, Bašić was born in the western Bosnian town of Duvno, leaving after completing elementary schooling to join relatives in Istanbul.<sup>481</sup> There he graduated from one of the *Fatih* madrasas in 1904, going on to teach at a local high school. Following the revolution, Bašić became one of the most active members of the city's Bosnian émigré community, featuring in the

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<sup>479</sup> "Arz-ı Maksad," *Muallim* 1, no. 1–2 (evval-Zilkade 1328): 1–4 [Explanation of Goals].

<sup>480</sup> "«Sırat-ı Müstakim—Sebilürreşad»,» *Muallim* 2, no. 9–10 (June 1912): 159–62.

<sup>481</sup> Genç Osman Geçer, *Bosna-Hersek'te bir Osmanlı aydını: Salih Safvet Başıç / Salih Safvet Bašić: Jedan Osmanski intelektualac u Bosni Hercegovini* (Tuzla: Arhiv Tuzlanskog Kantona, 2009) [Salih Safvet Bašić: an Ottoman Intellectual in Bosnia-Herzegovina].

initial organizing efforts and street protests, but simultaneously also getting involved in wider Pan-Islamist circles, networking with likeminded intellectuals at the Crimean reading hall in *Fatih*.<sup>482</sup> Upon his return to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1910, he quickly came to associate with Čaušević's reformist Ulema and contribute to their *Arabica* press, bringing to it his immense regard for the work of Mehmet Akif and *Sırat-ı Müstakim* in particular.



Figure 10: Portraits of three of Čaušević's young collaborators gathered around his *Arabica* periodicals. From left to right and oldest to youngest: Salih Safvet Bašić (contributor to *Misbah*), Sakib Korkut (editor of *Misbah*), and Mehmed Seid Serdarević (editor of *Muallim*). Note that the image of Bašić is from 1945.

Sakib Korkut, meanwhile, was the grandson of Derviš Muhamed “Sidi” Korkut, the Travnik Mufti and “transitional pedagogue” from chapter one, as well as the older brother of the previously mentioned Derviš Korkut.<sup>483</sup> Sakib completed his elementary education and madrasa studies in his native Travnik before following his father Munib to Sarajevo, where he graduated from the Sharia Judges School in 1905. Writing under the pseudonym “Ibn Munibi,” Sakib was the first to introduce a recurring “Islamic World” section to *Gajret*, the journal of the eponymous student-

<sup>482</sup> “Ko je m. Šemsudin beg?,” *Misbah* 2, no. 4 (November 20, 1913): 1 [Who is M. Şemsettin Bey?].

<sup>483</sup> Bejtović, *Derviš M. Korkut* [Derviš M. Korkut as a Cultural and Public Worker].

benefactor society, drawing primarily on *Sirat-ı Müstakim* for materials.<sup>484</sup> By January of 1911, he had established direct contact with the associated reformist circles in Istanbul, even soliciting a direct contribution from the globetrotting Tatar intellectual Abdürreşid İbrahim on the subject of madrasa reform.<sup>485</sup> A peerless polemicist among his Muslim contemporaries, Sakib took particular interest in Ottoman constitutional thought, translating reformist texts from Istanbul to assert its compatibility with Islam and explicitly link it with the Bosnian Muslim autonomy movement.<sup>486</sup>

In late summer and fall 1912, Bašić and Korkut would emerge as Čaušević's key allies in forming another organization, the Association of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Ulema (BCS: *Udruženje bosansko-hercegovačke uleme*), and soon thereafter the major contributors to its new journal, *Misbah* (A: *mişbāh*, lit: the Lamp). The makeup of the new journal's contributors was similar to *Tarik* and *Muallim* before it: young, Čaušević-sympathizing Ulema, the bulk of who had studied in Istanbul or, at the very least, the reformed Muslim secondary schools in Sarajevo. In addition to Serdarević, who continued to write primarily in *Muallim*, this notably also included Salim Muftić, who, like Korkut, was another direct descendent of Bosnia's Tanzimat-era reformist Ulema from chapter one. The Association, its journal, and the young Ulema gathered around it would all play a pivotal role in Čaušević's subsequent rise to the top of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Islamic institutions.

For the purposes of this section, however, the crucial point is how this new initiative further intertwined Čaušević's movement with allies in Istanbul. *Sebilürreşad* thus reported on *Misbah* from

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<sup>484</sup> Ibni Munib, "Islamski svijet," *Gajret* 3, no. 7–8 (July 5, 1910): 124–27 [The Islamic World].

<sup>485</sup> Ibni Munib, "Reforma medresa: za «Gajret» napisao: Abdur-Rešid İbrahim," *Gajret* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 1911): 2–3 [Madrasa Reform: Written for "Gajret" by: Abdürreşid İbrahim].

<sup>486</sup> Mahmud Esad, "Islam i konstitucija: Uspomeni merhum Alibega Firdusa," trans. Ibni Munib, *Gajret* 4, no. 7 (April 1, 1911): 99–102 [Islam and the Constitution: In Memory of the Late Ali-beg Firdus].

its very founding, quickly reproducing its lead article on the Ulema Association and its purpose and bylines.<sup>487</sup> *Misbah* then returned the favor in its subsequent issue, praising *Sebilürreşad* as “one of— if not the—best Islamic journals in the world.”<sup>488</sup> In the tumultuous years to come, *Sebilürreşad* increasingly cited *Misbah* in particular as its primary source for developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a notable part of its global network of editorial contacts, referring to the Sarajevan journal as its “venerable companion.”<sup>489</sup>

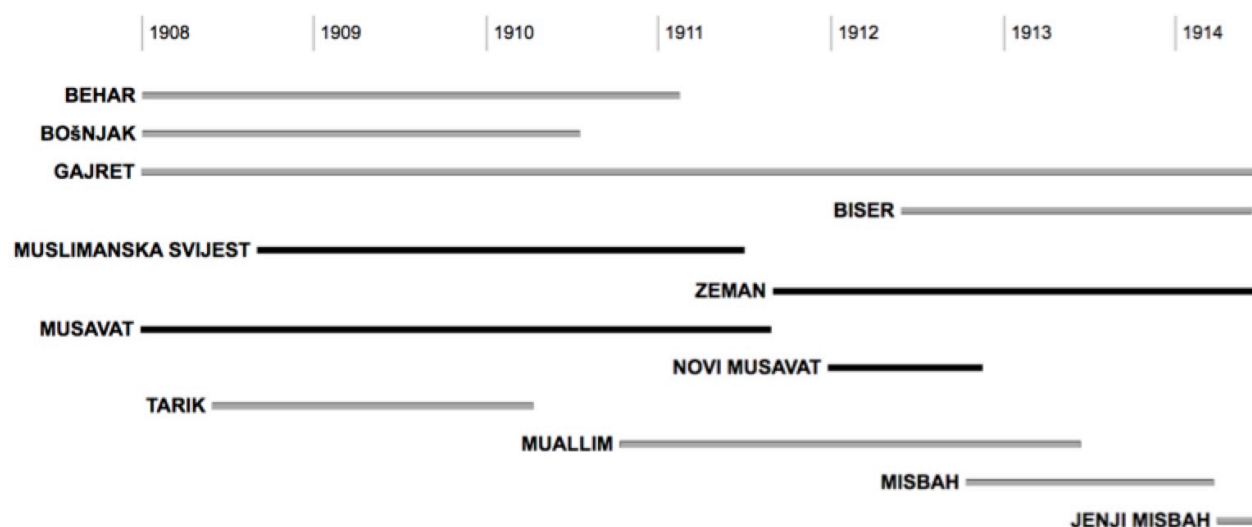


Figure 11: Timeline of the major Bosnian-language Muslim periodicals active from January 1st, 1908 to July 1st, 1914. The top gray cluster features cultural and literary publications, the middle black cluster political party newspapers, and the bottom gray cluster Arabic-script (*Arabic*) Ulema journals.

In the years following the Young Turk Revolution, Čaušević therefore significantly expanded the institutional foundations of his program of Pan-Islamist reform in Sarajevo, establishing formal

<sup>487</sup> “Matbuat: Bosna’da Misbah Ceride-i İslamiyyesi,” *Sebilürreşad* 9, no. 220 (November 28, 1912): 219 [The Press: the Islamic Journal Misbah in Bosnia].

<sup>488</sup> “Kitap, Resail, ve Ceraid: Sebilürreşad,” *Misbah* 1, no. 3–4 (December 1912): 28–29 [Books, Texts, and Journals: Sebilürreşad].

<sup>489</sup> “Matbûât: Müslümanlar Ne Vakit Uyanacak?,” *Sebilürreşad* 11, no. 261 (September 11, 1913): 14–15 [The Press: When will Muslims Wake Up?].



organizations of both lower and high Ulema as well as two associated periodicals. The foot soldiers in these efforts were exactly the sort of young, Istanbul-trained modernist theological students he had already envisioned prior to 1908, but who had adapted to the new revolutionary circumstances to link Čaušević's projects with Istanbul's burgeoning Islamic modernist press, and in particular *Sırat-ı Müstakim / Sebilürreşad*. The resulting exchange of authors, ideas, and texts worked to advance the ideological agendas of both sides. In Sarajevo, they promoted Čaušević and his work to both a local and foreign Muslim reading public, lending him critical prestige in local reformist struggles at the dawn of mass politics. In Istanbul, the seat of a trans-continental empire and global caliphate, the Bosnian influence on Ottoman affairs was admittedly more marginal. Nonetheless, Bosnians regularly featured in *Sırat-ı Müstakim*'s conception of a community of Ottoman Muslim peoples, and contributions from Čaušević's publications and sympathizers both helped make tangible the very notion of an "Islamic World" and allowed Mehmet Akif and his allies to reinforce Pan-Islamist arguments in the Ottoman public arena.<sup>490</sup> The following section examines this uneven but influential reciprocal promotion between Bosnian and Ottoman Muslim activists across four thematic fields: (1) language and script; (2) students and youth; (3) community and nationhood; and (4) wars and public sacrifice.

### 3.4. Reciprocal Promotion

#### 3.4.1. Language and Script

From *Tarik* to *Muallim* and eventually *Misbah*, by 1912 Čaušević had established a small but vibrant group of Sarajevo-based publications that promoted *Arabica*—the standardized printing

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<sup>490</sup> To cite but one example, a two-part report on Muslims in America noted that the United States was home to "approximately 10 thousand Ottoman Muslims, including Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, and Bosnians." "Amerika'da Müslümanlar - 1," *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4, no. 82 (March 30, 1910): 64 [Muslims in America].

of the Bosnian language in modified Arabic script—with both a local and global rationale. Domestically, Čaušević identified *Arabica* as the cornerstone of a broader communal reform project, allowing for the introduction of vernacular instruction into Islamic religious education without sacrificing Muslim distinctiveness and traditional ties to Ottoman Turkey. To that end, his periodicals not only fundamentally served as a model of the *Arabica* project's very viability, but also as a public forum on how to encourage its use and improve its effectiveness.<sup>491</sup> They also regularly pressured other, non-Ulema publications and endeavors, such as the MNS party's *Muslimanska svijest*, to incorporate *Arabica* texts as well.<sup>492</sup> Such pressure came to a head in 1911, when during debates over road signage in the new Bosnian parliament, Čaušević-sympathizing MPs moved for *Arabica* to be included as a de facto third official script, alongside Latin and Cyrillic, representing Bosnian Muslims.<sup>493</sup> *Muallim* organized a public campaign in favor of this proposal, pressuring all other Muslim communal publications to come out in favor and soliciting communal petitions from throughout the country.<sup>494</sup> This initiative ultimately failed, victim to the vicissitudes of parliamentary politics, but it nevertheless illustrates how the *Arabica* press helped engender new forms of popular participation in the context of Bosnia's nascent constitutional order and mass media. The effort was simultaneously modern, using new media to mobilize a vast countryside

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<sup>491</sup> One letter writer to *Muallim* from the town of Brčko, a hotbed of support for Arabic and Čaušević more broadly, thus wrote in with a detailed proposal to add additional modified letters, but also to argue against other readers' calls for introducing capitalization. "O arapskom pismu kod nas i u «Muallimu»," *Muallim* 1, no. 10 (July 1911): 1 [On the Arabic Script Among Us and in "Muallim"]; According to Hasanović, the author was quite possibly Ibrahim Hakki Čokić, son of an old Ulema family in the town. Hasanović, "Muallim."

<sup>492</sup> "Muslimanska svijest."

<sup>493</sup> Dževad Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi u Bosanskohercegovačkom saboru i jezičko pitanje (1910-1914)* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999) [National-Political Relations in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Parliament and the Language Question (1910-1914)].

<sup>494</sup> "Za arapsko pismo," *Muallim* 2, no. 3 (December 1911): 33–37 [For the Arabic Script].

interest group and exert political pressure on the central government, but also based on pre-existing popular attachment to the Arabic script and Muslim communal loyalties.<sup>495</sup>

The *Arabica* press also had a broader, global dimension, intricately linking it with the wider Ottoman and Pan-Islamist public spheres and contributing to their own debates over language, script, and Muslim paths to modernity. As with Čaušević's previous print ventures, the new *Arabica* periodicals regularly carried important news and announcements in Turkish so as to allow for the easy dissemination and translation of Bosnian developments—examples of Islamic organizing and progress—in publications such as *Sirat-ı Müstakim*. At the same time, they also frequently reported on and championed contemporary Ottoman Albanian efforts to adopt a modified Arabic script for their own language, arguing that this “would give all Muslims a common symbol” and congratulating them for setting upon the “righteous path” (A: *aş-Şirāṭ al-mustaqīm*)—an allusion to both verse 5 of the surah Al-Fatiha as well as to the eponymous journal in Istanbul.<sup>496</sup>

In fact, Bosnia's *Arabica* press not only demonstrated the viability of reformed Arabic script for a narrow Bosnian Muslim audience, but a trans-Ottoman one as well. Thus in December 1908, *Sirat-ı Müstakim*'s first mention of Bosnian reformists actually arrived in a letter by one A. Sevindik

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<sup>495</sup> Later Bosniak historians' condemnations of these efforts to “retain” Arabic script as reactionary and shortsighted miss these modernizing tendencies, as well as the very different field of political possibilities in the pre-Wilsonian era, when the triumph of the ethno-linguistic nation-state was far from pre-determined and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Ottoman Empire shared a direct land border. Filandra, *Bošnjačka politika u XX. stoljeću*, 34 [Bosniak Politics in the 20th Century]; Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, 130 [From Tradition to Identity: the Genesis of the Bosnian Muslim National Question].

<sup>496</sup> “Pogled po svijetu: Muslimani za arapsko pismo,” *Tarik* 1, no. 7 (November 24, 1908): 128 [A Glance at the World: Muslims for the Arabic Script]; “Pogled po svijetu: Društvo za podučavanje arnautskog jezika sa osmanlijskim pismom,” *Tarik* 1, no. 9 (January 23, 1909): 157–60 [A Glance at the World: the Society for the Promotion of the Albanian Language in the Ottoman Script]; “Arapsko pismo i Arnauti,” *Tarik* 2, no. 11 (March 13, 1910): 161 [The Arabic Script and the Albanians]; “Arapsko pismo i Arnauti,” *Tarik* 2, no. 12 (April 11, 1910): 196–98.

from Ufa in Russia's Volga-Ural region.<sup>497</sup> Claiming that “the language question is now our most important and complex matter,” the writer advocated for a simplified Turkic language that would serve both as a conduit for scientific education and a unifying pan-Turanian thread. But, he warned, “as we make a perfect language in the name of Turkdom, let us also unite to make a perfect alphabet.” Identifying the most promising route as perfecting the adopted Arabic alphabet with some minor changes, Sevindik motioned toward “our Bosnian-Herzegovinian brothers” as the premier example of how feasible this would be.

Back in Bosnia, the failure of the 1910-11 parliamentary initiative meant that, on a national administrative level, the Pan-Islamists' dreams of Arabic as an official script were effectively stillborn. Nonetheless, possibilities remained within the sphere of Muslim communal affairs, which soon became the focus of the debate. This is readily apparent in the First Islamic Educational Inquiry, held in December 1910 as part of the wider effort to reform Muslim schools following the granting of religious-educational autonomy.<sup>498</sup> The inquiry began with two distinct sessions on the language and script of instruction respectively, with the former ultimately raising the question of the very function of representatives in communal affairs. Thus where one delegate insisted on retaining Turkish-language instruction because it was what the people wanted, another countered that they were chosen to lead the people and not the other way around. Bašić, the main representative of Čaušević progressive current, expressed love for the Turkish language, but called for vernacular instruction for pragmatic reasons—the position that ultimately won out. Similar Čaušević-inspired

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<sup>497</sup> A Sevindik – Rusya, Ufa, “İslam ve Türk Alemi: Rusya Müslümanlarında Dil ve Edebiyat,” *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 1, no. 19 (December 31, 1908): 300–303 [The Islamic and Turkic World: Language and Education among Muslims in Russia].

<sup>498</sup> Hamdija Karamehmedović, ed., *Zapisnici sjednica islamske prosvjetne anketa, držanih koncem decembra 1910 i u januaru 1911* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1911) [The Records of the Sessions of the Islamic Educational Inquiry, Held at the Close of December 1910 and in January 1911].

pragmatism prevailed in the subsequent debate over script: while one Latin advocate asserted that Turks themselves were considering leaving Arabic behind, the existence and success of the *Arabica* press served as a major point in its favor. In the end, the combination of vernacular instruction in the Arabic script carried the day, setting the standard for Bosnian Muslim religious education for the ensuing three decades.

While this is a succinct overview of a nuanced and oft-contentious debate, several important conclusions follow. First, despite the different views and backgrounds of the inquiry delegates, Istanbul stood as a common reference point and model of modernization for all. Second, the inquiry not only served to resolve the concrete challenges of educational reform, but also as another opportunity for Muslim intellectuals to broach much broader questions of political modernity, and in particular the underlying logic of communal representation in a constitutional system. Finally, Čaušević and his allies' *Arabica* project, which they explicitly envisioned as appealing to the broadest swath of Bosnian Muslim society, indeed emerged as a formidable compromise—at least for the moment—between rival camps of religious conservatives and lay intelligentsia. Even *Musavat*, loath to mention Čaušević directly, provided space at this time for his associates, such as Serdarević and other members of the Muallim & Imam Society, to make nearly identical arguments about the need to implement vernacular instruction and translate religious textbooks.<sup>499</sup> In addition to demonstrating the increasing popularity of Čaušević's ideas in the early 1910s, these calls highlight how his organizing efforts won him followers among lower Ulema in particular. A similar process was by then also unfolding with young Bosnian theological students between Sarajevo and Istanbul.

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<sup>499</sup> "Reorganizacija naših medrese i mekteba," *Musavat*, December 5, 1910, 5.98 edition [The Reorganization of Our Madrasas and Mektebs]; "Reorganizacija naših medrese i mekteba," *Musavat*, November 30, 1910, 5.97 edition.

### 3.4.2. Students and Youth

As mentioned in section 3.2.2, Bosnian students in Istanbul quickly emerged in the aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution as the key intermediaries linking the Bosnian Muslim and Ottoman public spheres. But while these initially included students from throughout the Ottoman education system working under the aegis of the autonomist MNO political party, gradually the initiative passed to students of theology, in particular at Istanbul's DÜF, who held a strong affinity for Čaušević's Ulema-centered Pan-Islamist line.<sup>500</sup> Perhaps the first glimpse of this new Bosnian-Ottoman student came in the August 1909 issue of *Tarik*, when an anonymous letter writer reported in Turkish on an early August lecture by İsmail Gaspıralı and Ahmet Midhat at the *Fevziye* public reading room in *Fatih*.<sup>501</sup> Despite the difficult conditions of the time, the author proclaimed that the lecture made him more optimistic, and expressed hope that, after both "more accurately acquiring eastern knowledge at its source" and supplementing it with "Western knowledge from French books," he intended "to return to Bosnia and serve my coreligionists," admitting that "a couple of years will be necessary to prepare myself for the fulfillment of this mission." This hope aligned almost perfectly with the sort of educational reforms that Čaušević had been advocating for years, and he responded with gratitude, noting that Bosnian Muslims suffered above all from indolence, but that, "God willing, in the near future select youth such as yourself, with perseverance and patriotism, will rid us of this laziness." Following the coming Balkan Wars, Čaušević's allies would

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<sup>500</sup> As per a later letter from one of the MNO-affiliated students in Istanbul, this transition may have partly stemmed from the CUP's crackdown on formal political organizing in the aftermath of the "March 31st" (i.e. April 13th, 1909) counter-coup. An attempt to reform the city's Bosnian Muslim student club in 1911 did not make nearly the same impact. See: "Pismo iz Carigrada," *Musavat*, March 11, 1911, 6.11 edition [Letter from Istanbul].

<sup>501</sup> "Pismo iz Carigrada," *Tarik* 2, no. 4 (August 19, 1909): 57–60 [Letter from Istanbul].

imbue this same sentiment with ever more militant overtones: by the close of 1913, Bašić called for comprehensive mekteb reform to raise an “army of the future” for national survival.<sup>502</sup>

One such select youth within this heralded vanguard was Hidajet Kulenović (T: *Hidayet*). Born in 1889 in Travnik to Ahmed-beg Kulenović, Hidajet was descended from one of the most prominent Muslim landowning families of the time, though detailed biographical information about him is scarce.<sup>503</sup> After completing both elementary public and religious education in his hometown, he evidently continued onto studies at a “gymnasium” in Istanbul.<sup>504</sup> Several documents from September 1904 in the Ottoman archives reveal that Ahmed-beg successfully petitioned the Sublime Porte to allow two of his sons, Hidajet and his brother Mustaj-beg, to begin studies at the *Mekteb-i Sultani*, predecessor to today’s *Galatasaray*.<sup>505</sup> An obituary for Hidajet, however, would claim instead that he had studied at the *Darüşşafaka*, a comparable institution that specifically recruited orphans.<sup>506</sup> Given that a survey of Muslim households in the town of Tešanj from 1910 lists a 21-year-old “Hidajet-beg Kulenović” from Travnik as the stepson of one Mahmut-beg Smailbegović, it is possible that Hidajet’s father passed away during his studies and that these circumstances

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<sup>502</sup> Salih Safvet Bašić, “Darü’l-Muallimîni Ziyaret Münâsebetiyle Evkaf Müfettişi Sakıp Efendi’ye,” *Misbah* 2, no. 6 (December 4, 1913): 1–2 [To the Waqf Inspector Sakib Efendi on the Occasion of Visiting the Teacher’s College].

<sup>503</sup> Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine* (Sarajevo: Ibn Sina, 2005) [Bey Landholdings in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918]; Enver Ljubović, “Begovska porodica Kulenović iz Bihaćke krajine,” News portal, CazinNET, January 21, 2014, <http://www.cazin.net/vijesti/clanak/prof-enver-ljubovic-begovska-porodica-kulenovic-iz-bihacke-krajine> [The Bey Family Kulenović from the Bihać Krajina].

<sup>504</sup> “Naše rahmetlije: Hidajet beg Kulenović,” *Novi Behar* X, no. 12–14 (January 15, 1937): 177 [Our Deceased: ...].

<sup>505</sup> Hatice Oruç, “Hidâyet Kulinoviç’in Sırât-ı Müstakîm Gazetesi / Sebîlü’r-Reşâd Mecmûası’nda Bosna’ya Dair Yazıları” (II. Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Sempozyumu, Sarajevo: TÜKAS, 2015), 164–88 [Hidajet Kulenović’s Writings on Bosnia in the Periodical Sırât-ı Müstakîm / Journal Sebîlürreşad].

<sup>506</sup> “Merhum Hidajetbeg Kulenović,” *Hikmet* 7, no. 12 (December 14, 1936): 378 [The Late...].

ultimately placed him in the latter institution.<sup>507</sup> Whatever the case, upon finishing with the gymnasium, Hidajet continued onto the DÜF theology branch. Although he had initially participated in the pro-MNO Bosnian students club and its associated protest activities in fall 1908, his university studies saw him become closely involved with the Islamic modernist press in both Sarajevo and Istanbul, ultimately emerging as *Sırat-ı Müstakim*'s most prolific contributor on Bosnian Muslim affairs.<sup>508</sup>

Hidajet's inaugural contribution to *Sırat-ı Müstakim* best exemplifies both many of the broader dynamics in this chapter and the question of youth in particular. In this lengthy article from May 1911, he first praised the publication for "introducing the Islamic peoples to one another," but then quickly bemoaned that "only us poor Bosniaks have been left bereft of this blessing of acknowledgment."<sup>509</sup> To rectify this shortcoming, he began with an overview of Bosnian Muslim life under Austro-Hungarian occupation, emphasizing that at first only a select segment of Muslim elites had sent their children to modern schools, but that these pioneering efforts were now bearing fruit. As evidence of this new generation of Bosnian youth, he introduced "the most attention-grabbing and praiseworthy among them," Hazim Muftić, a recent graduate of Sarajevo's Sharia Judges School. In the remainder of the text, Hidajet then translated Muftić's recent short story from *Gajret*, "Feral Sheep" (BCS: *Podivljale ovce*, or in Hidajet's Turkish translation: *Mütevahhiş koyunlar*), reading which he claimed would be "sufficient to obtain a concise sense of Bosniaks' current conditions."

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<sup>507</sup> Husein Galijašević, "Imamat džemata Tešanj: Domovnica" (January 2017) [The Imam's Office for the Congregation of Tešanj: Household Records Book].

<sup>508</sup> "Pismo iz Carigrada," March 4, 1909 [Letter from Istanbul].

<sup>509</sup> Bosnalı Hidayet, "Bosna Müslümanları," *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 6, no. 141 (May 18, 1911): 174–75 [Bosnian Muslims].



Muftić's original story, however, took a noticeably more cynical stance toward many of these new Muslim graduates.<sup>510</sup> In fact, it centered on a stereotypical member of the emerging Bosnian Muslim intelligentsia, whose successful education in Western schools, meant to bring benefit to the Muslim community, instead turned him into an alien figure and elitist pariah. In line with Čaušević's writings from this time, Muftić coupled this negative portrayal of the new intelligentsia with an admonishment of conservative Ulema, for if they had provided a modern Islamic education as an alternative, "then our sheep would be tame instead of feral." He then closed with an appeal for readers to support Čaušević's Muallim and Imam Society as an antidote, which Hidajet dutifully retained in his Turkish translation. Although Muftić no doubt conceived of his piece as a parable for widening generational cleavages in Bosnian Muslim society in particular—between traditional scholarly authorities and secular-educated young intellectuals with Serb or Croat national sympathies—it would have been readily recognizable to *Sırat-ı Müstakim*'s broader readership as well, for similar intra-Muslim generational dynamics were unfolding everywhere from Istanbul to Kazan. For its part, *Gajret* enthusiastically greeted news of Hidajet's translation of Muftić's story in "the most respected Turkish literary and cultural journal," evidently interpreting it as a noteworthy triumph for its own activities and the Bosnian reform movement as a whole.<sup>511</sup>

Hidajet would contribute several more studies aimed at familiarizing *Sırat-ı Müstakim* / *Sebilürreşad* readers with Islamic reformist efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In June 1912 he wrote a two-part series on the Muslim autonomy statute, followed by another extended piece on the

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<sup>510</sup> Hazim Muftić, "Podivljale ovce," *Gajret* 4, no. 7 (April 1, 1911): 102–3 [Feral Sheep].

<sup>511</sup> "Društvene vijesti: Prevedena na turski," *Gajret* 4, no. 11 (June 1, 1911): 167 [Societal News: Translated into Turkish].

associated administration of Islamic religious endowments that fall.<sup>512</sup> In both cases, like the Korkut brothers and other young Bosnian Ulema before him, Hidajet framed these developments in constitutional terms, emphasizing the extent to and mechanisms by which the new arrangements he described placed control over communal institutions in the hands of the broader Muslim community. He also explicitly praised Čaušević's ongoing efforts to form a new organization that would adequately represent Ulema interests and motioned toward future contributions on such topics as the "national movement." When this follow-up finally came in August 1913, however, it would feature not in *Sebilürreşad*, but in *Misbah*, the journal of the then existent Ulema Association in Sarajevo.<sup>513</sup> There, Hidajet, whom *Misbah* had already praised as "our industrious youth" for his earlier work in Istanbul, contributed to an increasingly polemical debate over Bosnian Muslims and the "National Question" on the heels of the 1912-13 Balkan Wars.<sup>514</sup>

### 3.4.3. Community and Nationhood

By the turn of the 1910s, after decades of targeted nationalist activism, a small segment of Bosnian Muslim elites—in particular among the above-mentioned intelligentsia—had taken up the banner of Croat and, to a lesser extent, Serb nationalism.<sup>515</sup> Still, these had an inherently limited appeal with the broader Muslim public for at least two major reasons. First, the modern national

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<sup>512</sup> Hidayet Kolinoviç, "Hayat-ı Akvam-ı İslamiyye: Bosna Müslümanları 1: Ahval-i Ulema," *Sebilürreşad* 8, no. 197 (June 13, 1912): 288–90 [The Life of Islamic Peoples: Bosnian Muslims: the Conditions of the Ulema]; Hidayet Kolinoviç, "Hayat-ı Akvam-ı İslamiyye: Bosna Müslümanları 2: Ahval-i Ulema," *Sebilürreşad* 8, no. 198 (June 20, 1912): 307–8; Hidayet Kolinoviç, "Bosna Müslümanları: Bosna'da Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Meselesi [1]," *Sebilürreşad* 9, no. 212 (September 26, 1912): 77–78 [Bosnian Muslims: the Islamic Endowments Question in Bosnia]; Hidayet Kolinoviç, "Bosna Müslümanları: Bosna'da Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Meselesi [2]," *Sebilürreşad* 9, no. 214 (October 10, 1912): 177–78.

<sup>513</sup> Hidayet, "Naši dopisi: Açık Mektup," *Misbah* 1, no. 18–19 (August 20, 1913): 148 [Our Correspondence: an Open Letter].

<sup>514</sup> "Kitap, Resail, ve Ceraid: Sebilürreşad" [Books, Texts, and Journals: Sebilürreşad].

<sup>515</sup> For the most theoretically-informed study of the phenomenon of nationalism in contemporary Bosnia, see: Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*

idea itself was essentially foreign to Bosnia, where collective loyalties had historically run along myriad other crisscrossing lines, including not just confessional boundaries, but also familial, local, and patrimonial ones as well.<sup>516</sup> Second, the Croat and Serb national projects in particular had emerged from the 19<sup>th</sup> century as intimately tied to Catholicism and Serb Orthodoxy respectively.<sup>517</sup> By 1910, Muslim polemicists could thus point to a litany of tangible excesses by both Croat and Serb nationalist hardliners, such as the anti-Muslim measures that accompanied the 19<sup>th</sup> century expansion of the Serb nation state and the proselytizing sentiments of contemporary Croat Catholic clergy. Given this broader social context, appeals to confessional solidarity, including in explicit rejection of nationalist narratives, evidently held broader resonance with the Muslim reading public. Even Muslim political leaders with pronounced Croat nationalist views, such as Adem-aga Mešić, therefore felt compelled to temper them in their public engagement; when *Behar*, Mešić's flagship literary journal, switched from a narrowly Muslim ethos to an outwardly Croat editorial line and mixed Catholic-Muslim slate of contributors, it promptly went under.<sup>518</sup>

In contrast, and similar to the case of script above, Sarajevo's *Arabica* press articulated an alternative stance toward the "National Question" that was both modernist and more palatable to the wider Muslim public. On a domestic level, Čaušević's conception of Pan-Islamism stressed Islamic unity precisely in the face of Serb and Croat national competition over Muslim loyalties.<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> For this reason, much to the chagrin of later Croat and Serb nationalist historians, educating 19<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox Christians of their "proper" national affiliation was an often fraught undertaking as well. Hajdarpašić, 90–126.

<sup>517</sup> The memoirs of Adem-aga Mešić are indicative: when his mother learned that her son considered himself a Croat, she wept at what she perceived to be his conversion to Christianity. Kolanović, "Ademaga Mešić i hrvatska nacionalna ideja 1895. – 1918. godine," 1131 [Adem-aga Mešić and the Croatian National Idea, 1895-1918].

<sup>518</sup> Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost* [Bosnian Muslim Literature in its Renaissance Period (1887-1918)].

<sup>519</sup> "ista 'īdū bi-l-lāhi" [Seek Refuge in God].

In his view, this rivalry threatened to divide Muslims and pit them against one another, preventing them from addressing the more pressing problems affecting their community in particular. *Tarik* thus explicitly criticized the *Muslimanska svijest* newspaper of Adem-aga Mešić's MNS party for its overly "national" tone: "It bears the name 'Muslim Consciousness,'" Čaušević wrote, "but its program so often refers to 'national' [BCS: *narodni*] work and 'national' affairs that one has to take a second look at its header to be sure it stills reads 'Muslim' and not 'National Consciousness.'"<sup>520</sup> To be certain, this rejection of "national" activism neither entailed a blindness toward ethno-linguistic differences nor amounted to what historians of Habsburg Central Europe have recently theorized as "national difference."<sup>521</sup> In terms of the former, Čaušević and his followers had no qualms about the "Islamic World" being made up of different "peoples," such as Arabs, Turks, and ultimately themselves, usually as "Bosnians" or some variant thereof. As for the latter, while they fell just short of articulating it in explicitly national terms, they still "imagined" an ethno-religious community at the center of their broader, mass-based socio-political activism. Put differently, Čaušević's Bosnian Pan-Islamism was a distinctly modern movement that, taking its cue from both its local Serb and Croat nationalist counterparts and Muslim reformists the world over, sought to employ mass media and institutions to prepare its imagined community for the challenges of a new age.

When the Ottoman Empire abruptly entered a crippling military conflict with an alliance of neighboring, mostly Slavic states in the 1912-13 Balkan Wars, the rhetoric of the Bosnian Pan-Islamists vis-à-vis Serb and Croat nationalists and their Muslim sympathizers correspondingly intensified. This is most evident in a blistering polemic that Sakib Korkut unleashed upon

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<sup>520</sup> "Muslimanska svijest."

<sup>521</sup> Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (April 1, 2010): 93–119.

Slavophile Bosnian Muslim students in Zagreb and Vienna from the pages of *Misbah*.<sup>522</sup> While the unfolding military disaster had provoked outpourings of consternation across Sarajevo's Muslim press, the expatriate students issued two separate resolutions downplaying such concerns. Of the two, the Zagreb cohort in particular admonished their coreligionists for supporting the doomed Ottoman cause, urging them to instead conduct a "spiritual revolution" and embrace the triumph of their Slavic brethren as their own "national" victory. Korkut's response labeled this tantamount to a "revolution in logic," requiring Muslims to "turn against their very selves." "Our people do not care for 'Serbdom' or 'Croatdom,'" he wrote, forcefully arguing against such "degenerate perspectives" and in favor of combining "national indifference" toward both with "the awakening of an Islamic consciousness and recognition of belonging to a great, tightly bound Islamic community."

Hidayet Kulenović's contribution from one of *Misbah*'s subsequent issues picked up where Korkut left off, rebuking the Viennese students to reaffirm Bosnian Muslim distinctiveness: "The affiliation of Bosnian Muslims, and more generally of our coreligionists who speak our language, with the Serb and Croat peoples cannot be denied," he conceded, "But four centuries of Islamic life and education have completely distanced us from them in regard to spiritual states. Neither can they understand us nor can we understand them, and a gap opens between us over which no bridge can be established."<sup>523</sup> The solution, Kulenović continued, was for Bosnian Muslims "to endeavor to preserve their own particularities," adding that "The nation (T: *Millet*) will count those intelligent youth who wish to support this idea as its own children, and those who do not as its opponents." These polemics not only established more clear-cut dividing lines in Muslim intellectual life, they

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<sup>522</sup> Sakib Korkut, "Dvije preuzete rezolucije," *Misbah* 1, no. 10–11 (April 24, 1913): 75–77 [Two Accepted Resolutions].

<sup>523</sup> Hidayet, "Açık Mektup" [Our Correspondence: an Open Letter].

also had more tangible consequences: in June, Muslim students at the University of Vienna founded a third Bosnian Muslim student club as an alternative to its two Serb and Croat-oriented predecessors.<sup>524</sup> Predictably, this Pan-Islamist faction gravitated toward *Misbah* and other Čaušević-affiliated media, supplying them with regular updates and materials from the Habsburg capital.<sup>525</sup>

This newfound anti-nationalist fervor in the *Arabica* press found a ready home in the pages of *Sebilürreşad*, which under wartime pressures had itself emerged as a major forum for Islamic scholars to debate questions of nationality and community in the Ottoman context. Already in October 1911, the journal characteristically cited Bosnian volunteers rushing to join the war effort in Libya as proof of the worth and contribution of the wider Islamic World.<sup>526</sup> As part of this wave of militantly Pan-Islamist commentary, *Sebilürreşad* also carried Hidajet's polemic against the Viennese students in *Misbah*, praising the journal as "the translator of the thoughts of Bosnian Muslims" and approving the article's stance "against those working to mesh Bosnian Muslims with the Christian Serb and Croat peoples."<sup>527</sup> In effect, as the wars of 1911-1913 raised the stakes in long-simmering debates over the state ideology most likely to ensure Ottoman survival, Bosnian contributors and publications provided evidence of Pan-Islamism's continued viability. Occasionally, they even directly acknowledged this debate and came out strongly against proposed alternatives, as was the case with one Ibrahim Alagić from Bosanski Novi, then a student at the Teacher's College in Izmir.

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<sup>524</sup> "Kulturne bilješke: Klub muslimana akademičara u Beču," *Biser* 2, no. 1 (July 1, 1913): 15–16 [Cultural Notes: Club of Muslim Academics in Vienna].

<sup>525</sup> "Bilješke: Klub muslimana akademičara iz B. i H.," *Misbah* 1, no. 16–17 (July 20, 1913): 136 [Notes: Club of Muslim Academics from Bosnia-Herzegovina].

<sup>526</sup> "Müslüman Memleketlerine Avrupa'nın Hücumuna Karşı Alem-i İslam'da Galeyan," *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 7, no. 162 (October 12, 1911): 95–96 [A Simmer in the Islamic World for the Muslim Homelands and Against Europe's Aggression].

<sup>527</sup> "Matbûât: Bosna Müslümanlarında Mevcûdiyet-i Milliyye," *Sebilürreşad* 10, no. 255 (July 31, 1913): 347 [The Press: the National Existence of Bosnian Muslims].

Writing to *Sebilürreşad* in April 1912, Alagić relayed a conversation with an Albanian colleague, who had expressed disenchantment with the Ottoman state over what he perceived as a growing stress on Turkish ethnic belonging.<sup>528</sup> “Since that time, a painful thought, a dreary weight crushes my mind and leaves me constantly preoccupied” he conceded, before launching an impassioned plea for Ottoman readers to reject the siren’s call of Turkish nationalism and preserve the Empire’s Pan-Islamist character: “What will this all come to, I wonder? How can the followers of Pan-Turanism not see these dangers? How much did our noble prophet... labor to put aside national and tribal factions and unite all Muslims under a single banner? Now after centuries, do we want to demolish the lofty foundation that has been set and recede into the times of ignorance?”

Despite this creeping anxiety over the future of the Ottoman state, Alagić and other Bosnian-Ottoman students seemed to have few doubts about the future of the Pan-Islamist idea itself. In February 1913, the same author resurfaced in *Misbah*, pleading for his compatriots to ready themselves for the challenges of the modern age.<sup>529</sup> Identifying the press as the most critical tool for improving the lot of Muslims from Bosnia to China, Alagić explained that he was “extremely pleased and joyous” at the efforts of both *Misbah* in Sarajevo and *Sebilürreşad* in the capital of the Caliphate. He had far harsher words, however, for conservative Ulema, whom he rhetorically admonished for not following suit: “Do they not know that our century is an age of finance, commerce, agriculture, and crafts—more accurately, the age of the struggle for existence? Of course they do! But if that’s the case, then what are we to make of them wasting one another’s time over

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<sup>528</sup> Boşnak İbrahim Alagić, “Dersaadet’te Sebilürreşad Ceride-i İslamiyyesine,” *Sebilürreşad* 8, no. 189 (April 18, 1912): 124 [To the Islamic Journal Sebilürreşad in Istanbul].

<sup>529</sup> İbrahim Alagić, “Biraz da halımızı dönüselim,” *Misbah* 1, no. 6–7 (February 1913): 44–45 [Let Us Change Our Condition a Bit As Well].

coffee?” Notwithstanding this harsh critique, Alagić maintained his belief in the promise of progress, citing the Bulgarians, “who thirty years earlier had consisted of nothing more than porters and shepherds,” but had now “brought themselves to a great state indeed.” More tellingly, both Alagić and Hidajet cited the contemporary Zionist movement as a model to aspire to, favorably contrasting the international accomplishments of roughly 10 million Jews—“possessing any number of national and religious institutions and civic associations and everywhere heralding their existence with honor and excellence”—with the purported lethargy of the world’s 350 million Muslims.<sup>530</sup> While canonical works of Ottoman and Turkish historiography have long identified extra-Ottoman Muslims as playing an important role in the ascendancy of Turkish nationalism, the examples of Hidajet and Alagić, with their distinctly global and modernizing outlooks, motion toward another, often overlooked dimension.<sup>531</sup> Writing as non-Turkic representatives of the vast northern archipelago of former Ottoman territories and affiliated regions, they allied with Islamic modernists in the imperial capital to launch impassioned defenses of the Pan-Islamist idea, not simply as a reactionary riposte, but out of a firm belief in its modernity and future.

#### *3.4.4. Wars and Public Sacrifice*

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<sup>530</sup> For his part, Hidajet invoked Zionism to justify the founding of Čaušević’s Ulema Association as an alternative to Croat and Serb nationalism: “Perhaps some youth will see as detrimental our founding of a religious committee. But such harms are nothing more than a chimera that their own sense of empathy has given them. All over the world, we see Jews who have founded social committees in the name of Jewishdom or Zionism—that is to say, the new Hebrewdom—and they live their lives in an enviable state. If a community of six million, nationalized since 20 centuries ago, can establish a lasting civilization with religious sentiment, why then should 3 hundred million of us not stay abiding as well?” Hidajet, “Açık Mektup” [Open Letter].

<sup>531</sup> For the classic example: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1961), 348; For a more recent revisionist perspective: Ramazan Hakkı Öztan, “Point of No Return? Prospects of Empire after the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan Wars (1912–13),” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50, no. 1 (February 2018): 65–84.



Beyond bolstering the Pan-Islamist line in Bosnian intellectual polemics over the “National Question,” the Ottoman wars of 1911-1913 also provided an important new opportunity for linking such elite projects with popular participation in the public sphere: charity drives in support of the Ottoman war effort. Admittedly, a variation of this had already appeared in 1905, when Čaušević-sympathizing progressive publications such as *Behar* and *Bošnjak* led an active campaign to solicit donations for Sultan Abdul Hamid’s Hejaz railway.<sup>532</sup> Six years later, the pattern was broadly similar, but the phenomenon now unfolded in the context of existential wars for the Ottoman state and the constitutional moment in both Sarajevo and Istanbul. *Zeman*, the Latin-script newspaper of the UMO political party, thus began aggressively collecting donations for the Red Crescent in October 1910.<sup>533</sup> By regularly publishing the names of all contributors on its back pages, it both further promoted the collection effort itself and signaled a new stage in the steady expansion of the Bosnian Muslim public sphere to encompass a larger swath of society. As with the political sympathies of Bosnian students in Istanbul a few years earlier, primacy in the pro-Ottoman charity drive became another topic of contention between rival Muslim political parties, with *Zeman* heaping scorn on then-rival *Muslimanska Sloga*’s attempt to take credit.<sup>534</sup>

If any Bosnian Muslim faction won out in this struggle for pro-Ottoman prestige, however, it was once again Čaušević’s Pan-Islamist movement and the *Arabica* press. Similar to its Latin-script counterparts, *Misbah* enthusiastically called on its Ulema readership to collect donations to the Red Crescent, but also used the opportunity to further stake its claim to communal leadership and moral

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<sup>532</sup> Hamza Karčić, “Supporting the Caliph’s Project: Bosnian Muslims and the Hejaz Railway,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 34, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 282–92.

<sup>533</sup> “‘Ujedinjena Muslimanska Organizacija’ za turske ranjenike,” *Zeman*, October 7, 1911, 1.15 edition [The United Muslim Organization for the Turkish Wounded].

<sup>534</sup> “Hilali Ahmer,” *Zeman*, November 11, 1911, 1.31 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: the Red Crescent].

authority. Bašić's Turkish-language article from March 1913 thus characteristically began by identifying the important role of the "fourth estate" (OT: *kuvve-i rābia*) in shaping public opinion, critiquing the party press for instead trying to settle personal scores and sow discord in what should have been a moment of Muslim unity.<sup>535</sup> By contrast, Bašić implied, *Misbah* was a purely Islamic journal, best positioned to adjudicate and champion Muslim communal interests. This logic seemingly guided *Sebilürreşad*'s selection from the Bosnian press as well: while it approvingly cited *Zeman*'s vociferous critique of the Balkan allies, it was upon *Misbah* that it relied for updates on aid collection that validated its own claims of global Islamic solidarity. It notably carried Čaušević's own inaugural call for donations from the latter journal's first issue, borrowing from the body of the text to bestow it with a new title: "the Islamic world has been brought to the foot of its grave."<sup>536</sup> If Bosnian Muslims could not fight directly on Turkey's behalf, Čaušević wrote, then their Ulema could at least convey to them the significance of instead waging a "material struggle" (A: *jihād bi-l-māl*). Ultimately, it would be in *Misbah* that the Red Crescent directly thanked Bosnian Muslims for their contributions.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> Salih Safvet Bašić, "Hilâl-i Ahmer ve Muhacirîn İnesi Münâsebetiyle," *Misbah* 1, no. 8–9 (March 1913): 60–61 [The Red Crescent and Aid for Refugees].

<sup>536</sup> This more poetic framing may well have been the work of Akif himself. Džemaludin, "Hilâl-i Ahmer İnesi," *Misbah* 1, no. 3–4 (December 1912): 27–28 [Aid for the Red Crescent]; "Alem-i İslam Mezar Başına Getirildi," *Sebilürreşad* 9, no. 225 (January 2, 1913): 306 [The Islamic World Has Been Brought to the Foot of Its Grave].

<sup>537</sup> "Društveni glasnik i bilješke: Teşekkür," *Misbah* 1, no. 1.14-15 (June 22, 1913): 120 [Societal Herald and Notes: Thanking].

Po K 4.—: Kućuk Šaćir darovac, Borić Ibrahim ef., Polutan Adem, Hašim Vućuk, Mujčić Ibrahim, Salko Maša, Ajanović Mustaja, Mumin Zuka, Mujanović Osmon, Omerčević Ibrahim, Polutan Salkan, Dmin Šarac, Mahmut Šarac, Omer Suša, Mustafa Durić, Salih Huseinbašić, Džinko Huseinbašić, Džinko Huseinbašić, Ibro Varka, Osman Elifić, Džafić Mula Abdija, Osman Beba Darovao, Vreso Ibrahim, Džafić Mehmed, Traljo Arif, Hajrullahović Habiba, H. Nezir Salihagić, Mustafa Salihagić, Ibrahim Salihagić, Fehim Dervišević Salihagić, Vašim Simitović, Dženil ef. Numanagić, Čimković Šefkija, Salih Polutem Buljina, Buljina Munibeg, Hrvo Mustafa, Šahmić Mehemed, Čihadžić Našid, Davud Šumez, Berberović Muharem, Čohadžić Ašim.

Figure 12: Excerpt from a list of contributors to the Red Crescent in the district of Fojnica, published in *Zeman* 2.24 on February 29th, 1912. My great-grandfather, Munib-beg Buljina, features in the third row from the bottom with a contribution of 4 Krone (approximately \$20.00 in 2018). A small-town merchant, his presence illustrates the widening reach of the contemporary charity drives in Bosnian Muslim society.

The charity-centered exchange between *Misbah* and *Sebilürreşad* had one more seminal feature: the promotion of Čaušević himself, which would shortly carry over to Bosnian domestic affairs. Beyond the republishing of Čaušević's own Pan-Islamist rallying cry of an article, this is best evidenced in the contributions of another Bosnian-Ottoman theological student, Mustafa Fatin Kulenović. Descended from the same elite family as Hidajet but not directly related, Mustafa was born in Sarajevo in 1887.<sup>538</sup> His father Džafer was an early Čaušević sympathizer, and the younger Kulenović himself appears as another prototypical example of the new Pan-Islamist student that Čaušević's organizing had inspired; after finishing communal elementary schooling and enrolling in a madrasa in Sarajevo, he left for the *Darüşşafaka* gymnasium in Istanbul, before ultimately

<sup>538</sup> Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, 198–202 [Travelogues and Obituaries].

completing his studies at DÜF's theology branch between 1907 and 1911.<sup>539</sup> During his time at the university, Mustafa established particularly close ties with his professors İsmail Hakkı İzmirli and Mehmed Esad, both of whom were regular contributors to *Sırat-ı Müstakim / Sebilürreşad* as well. It was most likely owing to these connections that he was later able to have his lengthy letter on Bosnian Muslim aid collection for the Red Crescent published in *Sebilürreşad* in March 1913.

Writing from Sarajevo but identifying himself as a DÜF graduate, Mustafa's detailed and emotive report carefully reinforced the connection between Islamic modernist circles in Sarajevo and Istanbul. Praising the foundation of national defense councils in Istanbul, he claimed that these and other acts of popular militancy—in particular “the abundant sacrifices made in giving aid”—had demonstrated Ottomans' and Muslims' very will to live, spurring the Islamic people of Sarajevo into action as well.<sup>540</sup> Here Mustafa singled out “the great teacher Hajji Džemaludin Effendi [Čaušević], who is a source of pride in Bosnia and among the students of our precious teacher [İsmail Hakkı] Manastırlı,” the recently deceased scholar who had been a major figure at both DÜF and *Sırat-ı Müstakim* itself. Kulenović then reproduced the “burning language” of Čaušević's sermon at Sarajevo's imperial mosque, an instance of direct engagement with the Sarajevo Muslim masses, where the orator allegedly moved the crowd to tears with his claims that Islamdom, having suffered grave calamities for its disunity, had in the process also been born anew. By Mustafa's account, the listeners then took to the streets of the bazaar and, representing a cross-section of Sarajevo's Muslim

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<sup>539</sup> “Kulenović Džafer eff. traži da Vlada otkupi knjigu (u njegovom izdanju) ‘Suruti Islam,’” November 17, 1907, ZV.132.142-214, ABiH [Džafer Kulenović Requests That the Government Buy Out His Self-published Book “Suruti Islam”].

<sup>540</sup> Mustafa (Kâri'lerden, Saraybosna), “Mekâtib: Sebilürreşâd Ceride-i İslâmiyyesi'ne,” *Sebilürreşad* 10, no. 236 (March 20, 1913): 33–34 [Letters: To the Islamic Journal Sebilürreşad].

inhabitants, enthusiastically collected donations for the Red Crescent: young, old, and even “ladies belonging to the greatest families.”

“They say that one disaster is better than a thousand counsels,” Mustafa wrote, directly quoting from Čaušević’s own article in *Misbah* and *Sebilürreşad* some three months earlier. “And what is the effect of a thousand disasters? That is in fact the state that we (the Islamic World) are in.” In one of his earlier contributions to the same journal, *Hidajet* had similarly cited the success of Bosnian aid collection for the Red Crescent as a harbinger of turning domestic fortunes. “From this angle, one cannot complain about the patriotism of Bosnian Muslims, for a nation (T: *millet*) numbering 600,000 people that gathers 250,000 Krone for the Red Crescent during the Ottoman-Italian War could never be unpatriotic. If they ensure that their own national organizations (T: *milli teşkilat*) are of the same degree of seriousness as the Red Crescent, then they will obviously show the same zeal and patriotism.”<sup>541</sup> For *Hidajet*, Mustafa, and the rest of the young theologians propagating Čaušević’s brand of Pan-Islamism between Istanbul and Sarajevo, the opportunity for such an intervention in their own communal affairs had in fact just arisen.

### 3.5. Pan-Islamist Constitutionalism

By 1913, nearly four years after the granting of both religious-educational autonomy and a national parliament, Bosnian Muslim communal politics had entered into a distinctly new stage. As briefly alluded to earlier, since late 1911, Muslim political elites and the secular intelligentsia had largely united behind the UMO party and its newspaper *Zeman*. Under these new circumstances, the primary conflict no longer raged between rival factions of Muslim landowners and educated elites over their acquiescence or opposition to Austro-Hungarian rule. Rather, it emerged between

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<sup>541</sup> Hidayet Kolinoviç, “Bosna’da Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Meselesi [2],” 118.

these now broadly pro-Habsburg lay elites, empowered by the introduction of parliamentary politics, and the Bosnian Ulema, who were theoretically set to be stewards of the parallel communal autonomy. With the stakes no less than the Muslim community's "progress" and very survival in this part of the world, the dispute soon centered on the figure of the *Reis-ul-Ulema*, head of Bosnia's Islamic religious hierarchy. Thanks to the support of the transnational students at the heart of this chapter, it would culminate with Čaušević's election to the post and his Pan-Islamist movement in a position of unprecedented institutional power.

Initially an Austro-Hungarian administrative innovation meant to sever ties between the Bosnian Muslim religious leadership and the Ottoman government, the 1909 religious autonomy statute had transformed the office of the *Reis-ul-Ulema* into a more representative communal institution and a battleground for dueling conceptions of the Ulema's role in Muslim communal life.<sup>542</sup> Under this new constitutional framework, Muslims could directly elect representatives to local-level councils, which then internally elected the members of higher-level councils, with the same process replicating itself for an additional two tiers before culminating in a provincial assembly of theological representatives. At this highest level, a special electoral curia (BCS: *izborna kurija*) would convene to select their preferred candidates for *Reis-ul-Ulema*—pending the Habsburg Emperor's approval.

This relatively more populist arrangement also reignited longstanding debates over Bosnian ties to the Ottoman Empire as the seat of the Caliphate. Much to the annoyance of Habsburg authorities, whose overarching concern during earlier negotiations had been that any domestic equilibrium not threaten the Dual Monarchy's international sovereignty, Bosnian Ulema

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<sup>542</sup> Amzi-Erdoğdular, "Afterlife of Empire."

immediately sought to push the boundaries of their autonomy and make these links more explicit. In the inaugural 1909 election for Reis-ul-Ulema, delegates thus symbolically nominated a slew of prominent Ottoman-based Bosnian exiles, such as the autonomist ex-Mufti Džabić, high-ranking CUP stalwart Ali Ruždi Kapić, and even the peripatetic Pan-Islamist Kadri Hoca Pajić, though these distant nominees did not necessarily want the job themselves.<sup>543</sup> After the authorities held firm, the position ultimately went to Sulejman Šarac, an Istanbul-trained but Sarajevo-based senior scholar who emerged as largely palatable to all sides. Čaušević notably finished in 8<sup>th</sup> place among the initial round of nominees, with only 4 votes compared to Šarac's 28; despite his energetic earlier work from within Islamic institutions, the figure is indicative of his still limited stature among the wider Bosnian Ulema as late as the dawn of 1910.<sup>544</sup>

While all parties nominally shared the goals of communal uplift and advancement, Šarac and the Ulema soon came to butt heads not only with the Austro-Hungarian authorities, but with Bosnian Muslim political elites in the new parliament as well. The crucial context was the unfolding of the two Muslim Educational Inquiries, held over the winters of 1910-11 and 1911-12 respectively, which were to determine the nature and scope of Muslim educational reform in the post-autonomy landscape. As Šarac resisted the efforts of the Muslim parliamentarians to establish their authority over these reforms, *Zeman* increasingly labeled him an obdurate conservative.<sup>545</sup> The conflict came to a head in particular during the second inquiry on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1911, when two

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<sup>543</sup> "Relacija o sjednici izborne kurije od 12. Januara 1910," 1910, ZMF.1910.66, ABiH [Communique on the Session of the Electoral Curia on January 12, 1910].

<sup>544</sup> "Relacija o sjednici izborne kurije od 13. Januara 1910," 1910, ZMF.1910.67, ABiH [Communique on the Session of the Electoral Curia on January 13, 1910].

<sup>545</sup> Adnan Jahić, "O imenovanju Džemaludina Čauševića za reisul-ulemu 1913. godine.," *Prilozi*, no. 41 (2012): 59–78 [On the Appointment of Džemaludin Čaušević as Reis-ul-Ulema in the Year 1913].

MPs stormed out after the Ulema delegates took a Muslim women's high school off the table. In a bitter article just two days later, *Zeman* threatened the Ulema with the "31<sup>st</sup> of March," a reference to the unsuccessful Ottoman counter-coup of April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1909, in which the CUP brutally cracked down on protestors demanding the return of Sharia.<sup>546</sup> The two members kicked out of the inquiry reiterated this specific allusion in the very next issue, an escalation of tensions that Hidajet, representing the Ulema's Čaušević-led progressive wing, labeled an unnecessary provocation in *Sebilürreşad*.<sup>547</sup> In fairness to the MPs, it is true enough that the Bosnian Ulema included a significant number of hardliners steadfastly opposed to virtually any change. Čaušević himself, however, who was on the record with far more liberal views on women's education and even emancipation more generally, both took part in the inquiry and came out in support of Šarac in the resulting conflict with the intelligentsia and political elites.<sup>548</sup> What was really at stake for the Ulema then was less ideological difference over the contents of reform than the question of their very autonomy in religious-communal affairs vis-à-vis liberal statesmen.

The intensified conflict between the Ulema and the parliamentarians reproduced itself in the context of Čaušević's individual career, signaling the end of his "Pan-Islamist Progressive" alliance from the pre-1908 era. Left without his post in the Reis-ul-Ulema's four-person advisory council during the shakeup following the 1909 religious autonomy statute, Čaušević moved to the government-run Sharia Judges School, a recluse for more collaborationist Ulema. In the wake of the contentious educational inquiries in the summer of 1912, however, Muslim MPs successfully

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<sup>546</sup> "13. aprila 1909. — 28. decembra 1911," *Zeman*, December 30, 1911, 1.49 edition [April 13, 1909 — December 28, 1911].

<sup>547</sup> "Martun otuz biringji," *Zeman*, January 2, 1912, 1.50 edition [The Thirty First of March]; Hidayet Kolinović, "Bosna Müslümanları 1: Ahval-i Ulema" [Bosnian Muslims: the Conditions of the Ulema].

<sup>548</sup> Jahić, "O imenovanju Džemaludina Čauševića," 64 [On the Appointment of Džemaludin Čaušević].



lobbied the government to install Osman Nuri Hadžić as the institution's new director (BCS: *upravitelj*). Hadžić had previously been an honorary instructor of Islamic history and civic law there, as well as Čaušević's longtime personal friend and key progressive ally from their days at *Behar*.<sup>549</sup> In the new political context, however, Čaušević saw this as an insult. It was not simply, as contemporaries later claimed, that Hadžić was not formally a member of the Ulema.<sup>550</sup> After all, this technicality did not prevent him from writing Ijtihad-inspired sermons under a pseudonym during Čaušević's brief reign as *Behar* chief editor in 1906-07.<sup>551</sup> The issue instead was that Hadžić's appointment represented a new front in the battle between Bosnian Muslim political and theological elites, as he envisioned turning the Sharia Judges School, an ostensibly Ulema institution, into a sort of Gymnasium in line with the former faction's wishes.<sup>552</sup> Čaušević consequently resigned in protest and left the school by June 1912, opening himself up to vituperative attacks from *Zeman*.<sup>553</sup> As late as that prior December, the same publication had praised his efforts to promote Arabic script and organize progressive Ulema; now it began referring to him with the derogatory nickname "Matuf"

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<sup>549</sup> Hadžić officially served as honorary instructor from September 18, 1905 to May 5, 1912, and as director from August 3, 1912 to April 30, 1914. *Spomenica Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu Izdana Prilikom Pedesetgodišnjice Ovoga Zavoda (1887-1937)* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1937), 66, 68 [Memento of the Sharia Judges School in Sarajevo, Issued on the Occasion of This Institution's 50-year Anniversary (1887-1937)].

<sup>550</sup> Pandža, "Merhum Džemaluddin Čaušević" [The Late Džemaludin Čaušević].

<sup>551</sup> Durendiš, "Vazovi jednoga imama" [The Sermons of a Certain Imam].

<sup>552</sup> Outraged Ulema explicitly made this case in the newspaper *Novi Musavat*, arguing that Hadžić intended to turn the school into a production line for loyalist state cadres. As this was the paper of a small splinter group of the original MNO, it just led UMO and *Zeman* to accuse Čaušević and the Ulema of conspiring with their rivals for political gain. "Šerijatska Škola: II," *Novi Musavat*, October 1, 1912, 1.61 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [The Sharia School, Part II].

<sup>553</sup> "Matuf i Miralem rade," *Zeman*, July 4, 1912, 2.59 edition [Matuf and Miralem Conspiring].

and openly ridiculing his entire project with the *Arabica* press as hopelessly arcane.<sup>554</sup> Disillusioned, Čaušević allegedly began selling off his belongings and preparing to move back to Istanbul.<sup>555</sup>

Alongside Čaušević's apparent personal disillusionment, however, the young Ulema who had gathered around the *Arabica* press and its associated professional associations—men such as Salih Safvet Bašić, Sakib Korkut and Salim Muftić—came to increasingly lobby on his behalf. Already in May 1912, they came to parallel *Zeman's* critiques of the incumbent Reis on their own terms, calling for more drastic reforms to Muslim education, labeling Šarac too sclerotic for the task at hand, and ultimately demanding that he resign.<sup>556</sup> With both the Ulema and parliamentarians now united in this demand, the authorities eventually stepped in to ask Šarac to leave his post, which he formally did on October 3<sup>rd</sup> of that year.<sup>557</sup> In the meantime, the younger Ulema who had led the charge against Šarac also banded together in Čaušević's newly founded Ulema Association and its paper *Misbah*; the former's constituent assembly on September 28<sup>th</sup> may well have been the final impetus for Šarac's official resignation the following week. The generational cleavage that this process entailed is readily apparent: to earn his spot on the Ulema Association's executive committee, Korkut had to beat out Šakir Pandža, one of the key conservatives from the earlier Educational Inquiries. Taking offense at a senior member's suggestion that members of the committee should be

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<sup>554</sup> "Za arapsko pismo" [For the Arabic Script]; "Šarac-Matuf," *Zeman*, October 1, 1912, 2.86 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Šarac Matuf].

<sup>555</sup> Špaho, "Uspomene" [Memories of the Late Džemaludin].

<sup>556</sup> "Sjednice hodžinske kurije," *Zeman*, May 28, 1912, 2.47 edition [The Sessions of the Hojja Curia].

<sup>557</sup> Jahić, "O imenovanju Džemaludina Čauševića," 65 [On the Appointment of Džemaludin Čaušević].

older, the 28-year-old Korkut quickly retorted that he would “not allow anyone to judge me on that basis”—a response duly recorded in the inaugural issue of *Misbah*.<sup>558</sup>

Having effectively established themselves as the leading figures in the major representative body of Bosnian Ulema, these “Young Turks” aggressively championed Čaušević’s personal advancement and broader Pan-Islamist agenda. As in the case of the broader reciprocal promotion and entanglement with the Ottoman Islamic modernist press described in the previous section, this effort combined print media with deft political maneuvering in the new constitutional circumstances. Already in its first issue from October 1912, *Misbah* devoted extensive space to challenging Hadžić’s tenure as director of the Sharia Judges School, labeling it a “bloody insult” and demanding that the authorities annul his appointment.<sup>559</sup> Then, on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1913, in the first electoral session of the Curia following Šarac’s resignation, they convincingly nominated Čaušević for the vacant position of Reis-ul-Ulema.<sup>560</sup> Within a week, Salim Muftić and Sakib Korkut together delivered an open letter to the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Sarajevo, calling on the government to promptly accept Čaušević as by far the most qualified candidate.<sup>561</sup> Notably, this framing implied that the electoral Curia, as a communal representative body, had the power to *elect* the new Reis-ul-Ulema, as opposed to simply nominate candidates for Emperor Franz Joseph II’s royal approval. Powerless to stop these intra-Ulema developments, *Zeman* could only concede that the autonomy statute had envisioned the electoral curia as “a sort of assembly of the faithful” (OT: *içtima-i*

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<sup>558</sup> “Zapisnik,” *Misbah* 1, no. 1–2 (October 1912): 7–10 [Records].

<sup>559</sup> “Jedna krvava uvreda,” *Misbah* 1, no. 1–2 (October 1912): 4–7 [A Bloody Insult].

<sup>560</sup> Čaušević received 22 votes, while the second-placed Jusuf Zija Midžić received 14 and the third-placed Hasan Hadžiefendić 12. Jahić, “O imenovanju Džemaludina Čauševića,” 65 [On the Appointment of Džemaludin Čaušević].

<sup>561</sup> “Naše predstavke glede izbora reis-ul-uleme,” *Misbah* 1, no. 22–23–24 (October 17, 1913): 185 [Our Remonstrations in Regard to the Election of the Reis-ul-Ulema].

*ümmet*), arguing that it should therefore fall outside the scope of various pressure groups.<sup>562</sup> Predictably, *Misbah* showed little concern for these protests; as the authorities stalled on their vote for months, the Ulema journal continuously pressured them to abide by what it described as the popular will.<sup>563</sup>

The primary reason for this delay was that the parliamentarians had in fact colluded with the authorities to derail Čaušević's candidacy and install an alternative *Reis-ul-Ulema* to their liking. They found their man in one Džafer Ilahmi-beg Kulenović, yet another heir of the Kulenović family based in Istanbul, with by then nearly two decades of legal experience in Ottoman administration.<sup>564</sup> Safvet-beg Bašagić, then head of the Bosnian parliament and icon of its Muslim intellectual wing, reached out to Kulenović directly, urging him to accept the nomination. Kulenović ultimately did, albeit with no small amount of surprise over his sudden deployment into the maelstrom of Bosnian communal politics: his response inquired about what responsibilities the new function even entailed, and whether he might simultaneously retain his titles in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>565</sup> Given Kulenović's own ambivalence on the matter, we can read his nomination as an attempt by the political elite to co-opt Čaušević and his supporters' claims to Istanbul-linked Ottoman-Islamic prestige, which *Misbah* was by then busy substantiating through its exchange with the likes of *Sebilürreşad*. The nomination also corresponded with the authorities' own vision for Bosnian Muslim communal

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<sup>562</sup> "Skupština uleme," *Zeman*, October 1, 1912, 2.86 edition [Assembly of the Ulema].

<sup>563</sup> "Bilješke: Požureno imenovanje reis-ul-uleme," *Misbah* 1, no. 16–17 (July 20, 1913): 135–36 [Notes: the Appointment of the Reis-ul-Ulema Expedited].

<sup>564</sup> An 1897 obituary for his father Bećir-beg lists the young Džafer-beg as a public attorney in Amasya. "Preselili na ahiret," *Bošnjak*, July 15, 1897, 7.28 edition, sec. Domaće vijesti [Domestic News: Passed Away]. Note that, while there's been occasional confusion on this front in the existing secondary literature, Džafer Ilhami-beg was not a direct relative of either Hidajet or Mustafa Kulenović.

<sup>565</sup> Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934)*, 504–5 [Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870-1934): Toward the Intellectual Roots of National Thought Among the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

affairs: a confidential report from Johann von Pallavicini, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Istanbul, confirmed that Kulenović not only “enjoyed the reputation of an incorruptible and hard-working functionary,” but had “met derogatory criticism of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia openly and energetically.”<sup>566</sup>

Eager to secure the support of the Muslim MPs for broader political battles ahead, the authorities also actively pressured Čaušević to give up on his own candidacy and allow them to annul the selection of the electoral Curia. Offering him a lucrative new post in state administration instead, they appeared to successfully win Čaušević’s withdrawal from the race during an initial round of negotiations on July 15<sup>th</sup>.<sup>567</sup> But already three days later, “no doubt under the influence of his supporters,” Čaušević rejected this tentative agreement, claiming that he refused to betray the people’s trust and threatening to mobilize his followers if the government annulled the election on the basis of his alleged withdrawal. After further pressure, he appeared to once again hesitantly agree to acquiesce to the annulment of the vote if it was on the alternative basis of another candidate’s physical infirmity, further promising to assuage his supporters and urge them not to nominate him again in the second round. In a letter expanding on this commitment, Čaušević once again made reference to his Pan-Islamist ideals, claiming that insisting on his candidacy would jeopardize the greater good of Muslim unity, further declining any government sinecure in exchange for this choice. Given this assurance, the government formally annulled the results of the first election on August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1913, nearly 7 months after the initial vote.

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<sup>566</sup> Johann von Pallavicini, “To the Minister of Foreign Affairs,” June 28, 1913, ZMF.1913.1022, ABiH.

<sup>567</sup> “Čaušević H. Mehmed Džemaludin ef. Zurückziehung des Antrages auf Ernennung zum Reis-ul Ulema,” August 1, 1913, ZMF.1913.1132, ABiH [H. Mehmed Džemaludin ef. Čaušević, Withdrawal of the Application for Appointment as Reis-ul-Ulema].

Far from backing down, however, Čaušević's allies responded by doubling down on their insistence on his candidacy, increasingly critiquing the authorities in constitutional terms and employing popular political pressure. The Muallim & Imam Society thus held a general assembly where it called on authorities to honor the Ulema's choice and approve Čaušević, the "most modern" Islamic scholar, as the new *Reis-ul-Ulema*.<sup>568</sup> The Ulema Association similarly issued an official statement, rejecting the government annulment of the initial vote as an "absolutist imposition of decree" that depended purely on force.<sup>569</sup> A delegation headed by Bašić, Korkut, and Muftić then personally handed over this declaration on behalf of the Association to the provincial government. Both Muallim and Misbah also made reference to numerous public petitions to both the authorities and the imperial chancellery in Vienna, stressing that Čaušević was the popular choice. These included appeals not just from Sarajevo, but from Zenica, Zvornik, Brčko, and Vlasenica as well, further testifying to how Čaušević's longstanding efforts at organizing the Ulema now allowed them to exert tangible political pressure from across the country.<sup>570</sup> At the same time, with Sarajevo city council elections looming on the horizon, Mehmed Spaho, the younger brother of Čaušević's close friend and collaborator Fehim, opened up a new political front, directly challenging the prevailing UMO MPs over precisely the issue of Čaušević's election and their adherence to the popular will over their own narrow political interests.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>568</sup> "Zapisnik," *Muallim* 3, no. 11–12 (August 1913): 187 [Minutes].

<sup>569</sup> "Glave brdu! ...," *Misbah* 1, no. 22–23–24 (October 17, 1913): 173–74.

<sup>570</sup> The petitioners from Zenica, for instance, appear to have included several relatives of the Muallim editor Serdarević. "Telegrams of Support for Džemaludin Čaušević," 1913, ZMF.1913.235, ABiH.

<sup>571</sup> Jahić, "O imenovanju Džemaludina Čauševića," 73–75 [On the Appointment of Džemaludin Čaušević].

The end result was that when the electoral Curia met for a second time on September 8<sup>th</sup>, they once again selected Čaušević with a clear majority.<sup>572</sup> Despite heavy pressure by the authorities, and in particular on electors who were effectively state functionaries as faculty at the Sharia Judges School, the MP-backed Kulenović received a trifling two votes. Left with no plausible excuses for annulling the vote a second time and facing a candidate with both broad support among the Ulema and an emerging popular mandate, the authorities relented: on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1913, they formally accepted the nomination of Čaušević as *Reis-ul-Ulema*. The news unleashed a wave of celebratory announcements in the periodical press and grassroots jubilation on the ground. Šaćir Sikirić, a 20-year-old pupil at the Sharia Judges School, recalled rushing to first convey the news to Čaušević himself, whom he found in the company of the Spaho brothers at their residence above the city's main bazaar. Finding himself at the head of a group of his peers and overwhelmed by the moment, he instinctively exclaimed: "Your appointment, our dear honorable Reis effendi, is today a cause for celebration for 300 million Muslims on earth."<sup>573</sup> Whether or not he shared in the youthful hyperbole, Čaušević was in any case cognizant of the international dimension behind what had transpired; his public thanking on the front page of the following issue of *Misbah* ran in Turkish.<sup>574</sup> In the issue after that, the journal's editorial board took one more characteristic swipe at director Hadžić's "despotism and police-satrap methods," denouncing his attempt to stifle student celebrations of Čaušević's victory.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>572</sup> "Zasjedanje naše izborne kurije," *Misbah* 1, no. 22-23-24 (October 17, 1913): 179-81 [The Session of Our Electoral Curia].

<sup>573</sup> Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević* [Reis Džemaludin Čaušević: Enlightener and Reformer].

<sup>574</sup> Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, "Teşekkür aleni," *Misbah*, November 6, 1913 [Open Thanks].

<sup>575</sup> "Đačke nevolje u nuvabu," *Misbah* 2, no. 3 (November 15, 1913): 4 [Student Troubles in the Sharia Judges School].

Čaušević's formal inauguration ceremony as *Reis-ul-Ulema* on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1914 further illustrates the intersection of student activism, textual transnationalism, and popular Ottoman-Islamic prestige that had helped bring his victory about. Čaušević himself actively solicited the title Mullah of Mecca and Medina, the third highest rank in the Ottoman Ulema hierarchy, which both confirmed his links to the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph and provided him with an accompanying ceremonial robe.<sup>576</sup> In a gushing article in *Misbah*, Bašić took the granting of this award in January as validation of the entire program of the Ulema Association and its official journal. "I particularly congratulate the Ulema Association," he wrote, "And especially the editors of *Misbah*, whose activities provide an enormous, magnificent source of support for our Reis and can be interpreted as a benevolent prayer for all Muslims in this part of the world."<sup>577</sup> Čaušević then wore the new robe both during his official confirmation by Emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna on March 26<sup>th</sup>, as well as upon his return to Bosnia the next day. Joining him in the ceremonial train for its final leg from Zenica to Sarajevo, Mustafa Fatin Kulenović once again wrote in to *Sebilürreşad* to report on the festivities.<sup>578</sup> "Everyone was full of zest and joyous," Kulenović recalled. "The Reis, seeing people—most of them peasants—saluting him from various stations, would stop the train, come out, and acknowledge all of them in an appropriate manner. The people, who saw the Reis Effendi come in the official robes of the title granted to him by the Office of the Şeyhülislam, clung to his hands and feet, some even crying from joy." Adding that "these tears of joy were due to an outfit that had come

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<sup>576</sup> "Čaušević, Hadži Mehmed Džemaluddin eff. Gesuch um Erwirkung der Ah. Bewilligung zur Annahme des Titels eines Molla von Mekka und Medina," 1914, ZMF.1914.156, ABiH [Hadži Mehmed Džemaludin ef. Čaušević. Request for Permission to Accept the Title of Mullah of Mecca and Medina].

<sup>577</sup> Salih Safvet Bašić, "Hakiki Bir Söz," *Misbah* 2, no. 12 (January 15, 1914): 1 [A True Word].

<sup>578</sup> H. M. Fatin, "Bosna Mektupları: Bosna Reisi'ül-Uleması," *Sebilürreşad* 12, no. 296 (May 26, 1914): 307–8 [Bosnian Letters: the Bosnian Reis-ul-Ulema].



from the Caliph of Islam,” Kulenović concluded that Bosnians Muslims could also be joyous for having found “a teacher who, in publishing [in both] the religious and worldly sciences, will, God willing, secure their future.”



Figure 13: Čaušević in *Reis-ul-Ulema* costume, strolling alongside an Austro-Hungarian functionary in Sarajevo, 1914. The scene is most likely from his formal inauguration on March 27<sup>th</sup> of that year.

This emphasis on Čaušević’s dress highlights a striking parallel to his alleged mentor Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s mission to Bosnia half a century earlier. As described in chapter one, the Ottoman statesman’s deliberate choice to wear the turban and robes of an Islamic religious scholar played a critical role in both implementing key aspects of the Tanzimat reforms as well as empowering the circle of reformist provincial Ulema from whom Čaušević would ultimately descend. Like Cevdet, Čaušević’s triumph represented a major shift in Bosnian Muslims’ communal and spiritual affairs: his combination of a modernist theological outlook drawing on Cairene reformists, embrace of mass media and education in the spirit of progressive contemporaries the world over, and stress on popular, youthful participation in politics and the press on the model of revolutionary Istanbul all

represented bold departures from his predecessors. At the same time, as with the case of his Tanzimat forerunner, this revolution came dressed, quite literally, in the robes of traditional religious authority and sultanic legitimacy, helping to forge broad support for his ambitious modernizing agenda among the Bosnian Ulema and Muslim masses.

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Between 1908 and 1914, the Young Turk Revolution in Istanbul also enabled a parallel “micro-revolution” in Sarajevo. The steady expansion of communications technologies and educational opportunities had already increasingly linked the two cities in the preceding period, but the dramatic liberalization of the Ottoman public sphere in the revolution’s aftermath suddenly made these links explicit. As the subsequent Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina introduced parliamentary politics there as well, Sarajevo’s Muslim periodicals drew on this burgeoning press scene to make competing claims over Ottoman-Islamic prestige before their own nascent electorate and reading public. The key intermediaries in this process were the polyglot Bosnian students based in Istanbul, but over time the most active portion of them allied not with any of the lay-dominated Bosnian Muslim political parties, but with the Pan-Islamist reform ventures of the theologian Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević. Writing both in his *Arabica* press in Sarajevo and likeminded Istanbul publications such as *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, they carried out an uneven reciprocal promotion of their respective reformist projects, successfully elevating Čaušević as the champion of an ideological line that both best represented popular Muslim public sentiment in Bosnia-Herzegovina and encouraged modernizing links with the Ottoman Empire and wider Islamic World. Further expanding on Čaušević’s efforts to organize Bosnian Ulema under the new

constitutional circumstances, they ultimately elevated him and his Pan-Islamist agenda to a position of formidable institutional power as *Reis-ul-Ulema* in the protracted election of 1913-1914.

Relative to the preceding chapters, this study of the years 1908-1914 revealed elements of both continuity and rupture in the longer-term development of cosmopolitan Islamic reformism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For instance, Mehmet Akif's study under the Herzegovinian [Kadri hoca] Pajić ties him to chapter one's network of Bosnia's Tanzimat-era reformist Ulema and "transitional pedagogues." Together with his own later influence on their provincial homeland as editor of *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, this link reveals a more mutually-constitutive relationship between the Balkan provinces and the imperial center than traditional narratives of Ottoman reform and Islamic modernism have typically allowed. At the same time, the open conflict between Bašagić and Čaušević over the latter's candidacy for *Reis-ul-Ulema* in 1913 signifies the same network's gradual breakdown; both intellectual descendants of the Travnik Mufti Korkut and his students in the 1860s, the two friends came to fundamentally differ over the role of the Ulema in achieving Muslim modernization. Despite the relative privileging of Bašagić and his cohort of Vienna-educated literary intellectuals in later historiography, it was Čaušević and the Istanbulites whose program of Ulema-led communal reform won the day. In retrospect, this local project ultimately depended on a delicate larger constellation of political circumstances, in which Bosnian Muslims enjoyed generous confessional autonomy within the framework of a pluralistic European monarchy but could also look toward the Ottoman state as the battered but undisputed spiritual custodian of the Islamic World. It stands as an immense historical irony that this entire constellation would begin to unravel with a gunshot in Sarajevo, barely 100 meters from Čaušević's new offices.

## Chapter 4: The Lay Literati:

### Islamic Reform and Print Cosmopolitanism in the Journal *Biser*, 1912-1914

In October of 1911, Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić, 19-year-old scion of a well-to-do Muslim family in Mostar, bought out the bookshop and printing press of the local Croat parliamentarian and publisher Đuro Džamonja.<sup>579</sup> Rebranding it “The First Muslim Publishing Bookshop and Printing Press” (BCS: *Prva muslimanska nakladna knjižara i štamparija*), Kalajdžić soon set out to publish a communal literary revue on the model of the recently extinguished *Behar* in Sarajevo. When it ultimately appeared in June of the following year, the resulting *Biser* (literally “The Pearl”) promised readers that it would “strive to gather within [its] circle all of our workers in the cultural and educational field.”<sup>580</sup> Before abruptly ceasing operations with the outbreak of the First World War, Kalajdžić’s project largely succeeded in this mission, producing a voluminous enough output of criticism, novels, and poetry that later scholars would label it a fitting culmination of Bosnia’s entire fin-de-siècle Muslim literary scene.<sup>581</sup> Alongside this original material, however, *Biser* also commented on and translated an eclectic array of foreign influences that sit less easily within prevailing narratives of Europeanization and nation building in Bosnian and Balkan historiography. Most glaringly, it adopted an explicitly Pan-Islamist editorial line, lambasting European colonial powers and repeatedly urging readers to “spread the Pan-Islamist idea.” At the same time, its liberal borrowing from both Ottoman and Western publications also lent it a distinctly cosmopolitan air,

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<sup>579</sup> Elbisa Ustamujić, ed., *Život i djelo Muhameda Bekira Kalajdžića: naučni skup, Mostar, 21. novembar 2002. godine* (Mostar: BZK Preporod, 2002) [The Life and Work of Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić: Scientific Conference, Mostar, November 21, 2002].

<sup>580</sup> Uredništvo “*Bisera*,” “Riječ-dvije o pokrenuću ‘*Bisera*,’” *Biser* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1912): 1–2 [A Word or Two About the Founding of “*Biser*”].

<sup>581</sup> Memija and Hadžiosmanović, *Biser*, 93 [Biser: A Literary-Historical Monograph and Bibliography].

perhaps even unique well beyond Bosnian borders. In a characteristic cycle of poems “On Womanhood” from October 1912, one of *Biser*’s foremost poet-contributors penned laudatory sonnets for Cleopatra, Lady Godiva, Joan of Arc, the Virgin Mary, Muhammad’s daughter Fatima, and George Sand, “coquette lady of the Parisian salons,” among 12 others.<sup>582</sup>

*Biser*’s diverse influences reflected the peculiar background of its authors, a singular generation of multilingual literary intellectuals who variously combined study in Austro-Hungarian gymnasia and universities with training in the Ottoman Empire’s Hamidian state schools. This trans-imperial dimension, however, receives relatively short thrift in the existing secondary literature, which has treated the 1878 Austro-Hungarian occupation as a central rupture in Bosnian history.<sup>583</sup> Similar to the historiography of other Muslim societies in this period, the established Bosnian-language scholarship has thus posited that the introduction of Western-style education under European oversight gave rise to a new Muslim intelligentsia, champions of a contemporary “cultural renaissance” and harbingers of future national thought. By contrast, this chapter reinterprets *Biser*, one of the era’s defining publications, outside of the framework of narrow Westernization, stressing the formative experiences of its principal authors in late Ottoman Istanbul. These origins predisposed them to two influences addressed earlier in the dissertation: the broader vernacular cosmopolitan tradition of Bosnian Islamic reformism from chapter one and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamist movement of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević and his Ulema allies from chapters two and three. On a domestic level, *Biser* thus served as Latin-script allies of Čaušević’s Pan-Islamist press in Sarajevo, appealing to a segment of Gymnasia-educated Muslim youth still ambivalent

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<sup>582</sup> M. Ćazim Ćatić, “Iz ciklusa ‘O ženi,’” *Biser* 1, no. 5 (October 1912): 77–80 [From the Cycle “On Womanhood”].

<sup>583</sup> For a notable counter-example that makes a similar argument about contemporary Bosnia’s Muslim intellectual scene more broadly, see: Amzi-Erdoğdular, “Alternative Muslim Modernities.”

toward Serbian and—to a lesser extent—Croatian ethno-linguistic nationalism and their perceived anti-Muslim undertones. At the same time, the polyglot proclivities of the *Biser* authors entangled their journal not only with Istanbul, but also with Western Europe and even more distant world regions. Although by no means bereft of internal divisions, by the eve of the Great War *Biser's* Habsburg Pan-Islamism ultimately held out the promise of a different kind of Bosnian Muslim elite culture than would emerge from the other side of Versailles.

Similar to the previous chapter on their theological contemporaries, this one begins by situating the *Biser* authors within a wider structural context. Section one briefly considers how the early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw select Bosnian Muslim students pursue secular studies between the Habsburg and Ottoman domains, with section two focusing on the personal background of the trio—Musa Ćazim Ćatić, Šemsudin Sarajlić, and Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac—that would eventually come together around the literary journal. The chapter then considers their early careers in Bosnia and Kalajdžić's founding of *Biser*, arguing that both developed under the significant influence of Čaušević's growing Pan-Islamist reform movement from the previous chapters. Section four assesses *Biser's* resulting editorial ideology, which combined Ottoman and Habsburg influences while also exhibiting a broader youthful fascination with the first age of globalization and its associated technologies. By contrast, section five examines the ideological fissures that emerged over the course of the journal's initial two-year print run, in particular over the national and woman questions, arguing that it nevertheless maintained a cohesive appeal before new cohorts of Muslim students. The chapter then closes by considering *Biser's* participation in the transnational circulation of ideas between “East” and “West,” with its multilingual contributors creatively drawing on and synthesizing materials from orientalist and Pan-Islamists alike.

#### 4.1. State Studies Between Istanbul and Vienna

Unquestionably the region's premier urban center for centuries, Istanbul's significant influence as an educational center on the modern Balkans has received relatively limited scholarly attention. Balkan historiography has instead broadly focused on the turn away from Istanbul toward national capitals or Western European influences, even as the city remained a center for Greek Orthodox elite learning through most of the nineteenth century, with institutions such as Robert's College—predecessor to today's Boğaziçi University—tallying an extensive list of Balkan alumni well into the twentieth.<sup>584</sup> On the side of Ottoman and Turkish studies, the field long read educational and intellectual developments in terms of the eventual foundation of a secular Turkish nation-state, with historians relatively recently dwelling on the Balkan origins of the Young Turk movement, as well as this same generation's influence on the Empire's diverse successor states.<sup>585</sup> The lingering lacunae of this dual emphasis on nationalism and Westernization loom particularly large in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its Muslim population; as previous chapters have shown, Istanbul remained an important site of higher learning for Bosnian Muslims through the 1910s, but the established literature retains a handful of important misconceptions on the form this influence took.

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<sup>584</sup> For the classic treatment of the reorientation of Balkan Orthodox commercial elites from Istanbul toward Western Europe, see: Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234–313; For a study that touches on the still-vibrant Greek-language elite culture and its associated educational pathways in Istanbul through the mid-19th century, see: Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Robert's College's record of alumni by nationality from 1930 serves as a useful testament to the city's continued influence into the 20th century: "List of Graduates by Nationality, 1863-1930," 1930, Robert College Records 1858-1986, Series VIII, BOX 32, F.37, Columbia RBML.

<sup>585</sup> Lewis, *Modern Turkey*; Zürcher, "The Young Turks"; Nathalie Clayer, "Albanian Students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye: Social Networks and Trends of Thought," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 289–309; Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Arguably the overarching such misconception pertains to the very relevance of the Ottoman Empire on modern Bosnian educational history, particularly outside of theology and Islamic studies. Hajrudin Ćurić, for instance, characteristically concluded in his comprehensive 1983 survey of pre-1918 Bosnian Muslim education that late Ottoman reforms fell far short of their Habsburg successors in the province, “ultimately not departing from the trend of decay.”<sup>586</sup> As Ćurić’s own work shows, however, Bosnia was a notable province in some of the Empire’s earliest efforts at creating a broader education system. Beyond the significance of the Tanzimat in nurturing a collaborationist current of local Ulema as per chapter one, the reforms also saw Sarajevo acquire one of the Empire’s first provincial army middle schools, as well as a number of other pioneering pedagogical institutions through the 1860s.<sup>587</sup> Admittedly, these initial reforms fell far short of the more comprehensive systems of public education that would later emerge, but in their time they produced a number of notable graduates whose success perhaps escaped further attention because it primarily unfolded in other parts of the empire: Ziver Salom, member of Sarajevo’s Jewish community, for example, went on to serve as district chief of Damascus.<sup>588</sup> Recall too from chapter one that Ibrahim Edhem Berbić had emerged from these same Tanzimat institutions, going on to a successful career as a veterinarian and a linguistic and print entrepreneur in Istanbul and other more central regions of the Sultan’s domains—far beyond Bosnian archives and borders. In short, evaluating early Ottoman state education reforms in Bosnia strictly in terms of their “national” outcomes runs the risk of minimizing their imperial and individual successes.

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<sup>586</sup> Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, 292 [Muslim Schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina Through the Year 1918].

<sup>587</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

<sup>588</sup> Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, 152–54 [Muslim Schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Year 1918].



While Austria-Hungary's 1878 occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina undoubtedly curtailed these nascent educational networks by placing the province under Viennese administration, it did not sever them completely. As the Ottoman education system steadily expanded under the more autocratic rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, new elite high schools in Istanbul and a handful of other major Ottoman cities continued to appeal to Bosnian Muslims still technically under Ottoman sovereignty. This seems to have primarily been the case with wealthy landowning families, who remained immersed in Ottoman elite culture and could afford to send their sons to the Bosphorus, but it also included urban craftsmen and others who appreciated the potential value of a secondary education while remaining wary of studies in a traditionally Catholic monarchy. The Ottoman archives thus hold numerous petitions and requests for the authorities to allow individual Bosnian Muslim youth to study in Istanbul, or otherwise to make this option more widely available through scholarship programs and even the opening of Bosnian dormitories.<sup>589</sup> This last point may have arisen partly in response to the opening of a similarly Bosnian-specific—albeit multi-confessional—dormitory in Vienna, which would further speak to both the entanglement of educational developments in both empires as well as perhaps the Austro-skeptical outlook of Bosnians looking to promote Istanbul as an alternative to the Habsburg capital.

Because Istanbul schools primarily prepared their students for work in the expanding Ottoman administrative apparatus, most of their Bosnian graduates had little incentive to return to their home province, going on to careers elsewhere in the Ottoman lands. The records of the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, the Empire's elite administrative school, thus feature a handful of Bosnian graduates coming up from Istanbul gymnasia and going on to posts everywhere from Thrace to

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<sup>589</sup> See chapter 3 of: Ayşe Zişan Furat, *Gayr-i Müslim İdare Altında Müslümanların Din Eğitimi: Avusturya-Macaristan Dönemi Bosna 1878-1918* (Istanbul: İdil Yayıncılık, 2013).

Eastern Anatolia.<sup>590</sup> As the case of *Biser* shows, however, this administrative assimilation was far from an absolute rule. In fact, a number of post-1878 Istanbul alumni, particularly on the high school level, returned from their studies there during the Austro-Hungarian occupation. While they plainly represented a minority relative both to those who stayed in the Ottoman lands and the growing cohorts of Muslim graduates of Habsburg Bosnia's new gymnasia, their newfound familiarity with the Turkish language and Ottoman intellectual life predisposed them to disproportionate influence as cultural intermediaries, whether as authors, scholars, or translators.

This Istanbulite influence also drew on another facet of their studies that has drawn comparatively little comment in Bosnian historiography: the Ottoman metropolis' role as a conduit for Francophone culture.<sup>591</sup> The life and work of Osman Asaf Sokolović (1882-1972) is illustrative. Son of an elite Sarajevan family, Sokolović left Sarajevo following the death of his father in 1899 to study first at the Numûne-i Terakki Mektebi in Istanbul and then, on the recommendation of local Bosnian émigrés, the Mekteb-i İdâdî-i Mülkiye (F: L'école de préparatoire) in Bursa.<sup>592</sup> Graduating in 1906 with knowledge of both Turkish and French, Sokolović narrowly failed to secure a spot in Ottoman administration, placing 42<sup>nd</sup> in an entrance exam that only allowed 40 applicants to advance. The 24-year-old then fatefully expressed his frustration with this result in starkly political terms, rejecting the Hamidian state's claims to paternalism over extra-Ottoman Muslims and

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<sup>590</sup> See for example İsmail Safa Apaydın in: Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye târihi ve mülkiyeliler*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1969), 1177 [The New History of the Mülkiye and its Graduates].

<sup>591</sup> By the late 19th century, many of the Ottoman Empire's elite schools had in fact "Turkified" their previously Francophone curricula, but French retained significant, supra-confessional prestige in such fields as diplomacy, literature, and the sciences. See: Strauss, "Language and Power," 121–23.

<sup>592</sup> Sokolović's family in fact provided some of the first volunteers to the new Ottoman regular army following Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's 1861 speech in Sarajevo from chapter 1. For more on his ancestry and the other biographical details in this paragraph, see: Bejtić, *Osman Asaf Sokolović* [Osman Asaf Sokolović and His Contribution to the Society and Culture of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

informing his proctors that “a man cannot find any salvation in Turkey” (BCS: “*Čovjeku nema selameta u Turskoj*”). Suddenly facing a warrant for his arrest, Sokolović rapidly recalibrated his imperial allegiances and sought out sanctuary in Istanbul’s Austro-Hungarian embassy, from where he snuck out of the city in the dead of the night on a steamship of the Austrian Lloyd. From there he went on to brief studies at the University of Zagreb, before proceeding to Lausanne to perfect his French and study orientalism, eventually making an extended sojourn in Paris as well. Upon returning once again to Sarajevo, he embarked on a long career of collecting and cataloging local Islamic manuscripts, as well as translating a number of works from both Turkish and French.

Sokolović’s trajectory is comparable to his contemporary Salih Muhidin Bakamović (1885-1940), a native of Mostar and eventually one of *Biser*’s leading translators.<sup>593</sup> Bakamović left for Istanbul together with his two brothers at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, beginning his studies in a Greek Gymnasium before enrolling in the imperial law school. Whereas his older brother completed his education in the city and eventually served as the Ottoman military attaché in Switzerland during the tumultuous 1910s, Salih instead left to continue his studies in the Habsburg lands. Enrolling first in oriental philology at the University of Vienna, he then transferred to the Oriental Academy in Budapest, where he finished his schooling and taught French and Turkish. In addition to these and his native language, Bakamović would also emerge from the process proficient in German, Hungarian, Italian, Arabic, Persian, and Esperanto, as well as familiar to a lesser degree with English, Greek, and Spanish. Though both Bakamović and Sokolović were undoubtedly exceptional, their multilingualism—especially across both eastern and western languages—would allow them to fill an

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<sup>593</sup> Šemsudin Zlatko Serdarević, “Velikan iz Bakamluka: Salih-beg Bakamović - Mostarska duhovna vertikala,” *Most* XXIX, no. 178 (September 2004) [A Great Man From Bakimluk: Salih-beg Bakamović - Spiritual Exemplar from Mostar].

important niche in the Bosnian Muslim publishing scene following their return home. Sokolović thus translated Güzide Sabri's romance novel *Münevver* between Zagreb and Sarajevo, while Bakamović took to the Bosnian periodical press to collect donations for his more ambitious effort to publish the first modern Bosnian-Turkish dictionary, appealing to reader's patriotism to help fund "a work that would benefit our entire people" (T: *millet*).<sup>594</sup>

Bakamović's patriotic appeal points to another important current among his generation of Bosnian students at Ottoman state schools: sympathy for the Young Turk cause. In fact, his effort to produce such a pioneering Bosnian-Turkish dictionary emerged from direct correspondence with Bahaeddin Şakir, one of the founding members of the Committee of Union and Progress, to whom he framed the initiative as propagating "Ottomanism" and "the language of [his] principal fatherland" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>595</sup> According to Şükrü Hanioglu, Bakamović became the CUP's key contact in "establishing a formidable network of sympathizers who sent donations, subscribed to the central organs, and provided information about [Bosnian] affairs." From the perspective of Bahaeddin and other leading CUP operatives, such Bosnian links were valuable in part because the province's ambiguous international position in the pre-1908 period made it an ideal site for smuggling Young Turk materials from exilic centers in Western Europe. The network's most energetic members, however, appear to have consisted of Bosnian students based at Habsburg universities, with those like Bakamović who had previously studied in Istanbul proving particularly apt intermediaries. Sokolović thus also wrote a report on the "Second Young Turk Congress for the

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<sup>594</sup> Salih J. Bakamović, "Izjava," *Musavat*, January 10, 1908, 3.12 edition [Statement].

<sup>595</sup> Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 162, 424.

Zagreb press at around this same time.<sup>596</sup> Whatever their actual contribution to the movement's impending revolutionary success in 1908, trans-imperial students such as Bakamović and sokolović could rightfully see themselves as its polyglot participants.

In contrast to these Francophile and Young Turk aspects, another secondary dimension of Hamidian Istanbul's cultural influence on Bosnian Muslims has received more extensive coverage in the existing literature: its role as a center for pro-Serbian propaganda.<sup>597</sup> In truth, the road to Istanbul at this time not only ran through Belgrade literally, but figuratively as well, with the Serbian government investing substantial resources in drawing Bosnian Muslim students in the Ottoman capital to the Serb nationalist cause. These efforts centered on stipends for students hoping to attend Ottoman state schools, as well as publishing opportunities through Istanbul's Serbian newspaper, *Carigradski glasnik*.<sup>598</sup> The results, however, proved mixed, and the tendency of earlier works to equate Istanbul-educated Bosnians with the pro-Serb camp—often in contrast to the pro-Croat leanings of their leading Habsburg-educated counterparts—appear overstated. To be certain, a handful of contemporary intellectuals, most notably the Mostar poet Osman Đikić (1879-1912), emerged from this nexus of Ottoman studies and Serbian state patronage as strong advocates of a Serb national orientation for Bosnian Muslims. We also know, however, that other Istanbul-based Bosnians in fact gravitated toward the Croat national alternative, or at the very least actively opposed

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<sup>596</sup> Bejić claims that this was a report “in either 1909 or 1910” in the newspaper *Obzor* “from the Second Young Turk Congress” in Geneva. Given Sokolović's own biography and the chronology of CUP organizing during this period, it seems more likely that he reported on the December 1907 Second Congress of Ottoman Opposition Parties in Paris. Bejić, *Osman Asaf Sokolović*, 27.

<sup>597</sup> Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta* [From Tradition to Identity: the Genesis of the Bosnian Muslim National Question].

<sup>598</sup> Klara Volarić, “Carigradski Glasnik: A Forgotten Istanbul-Based Paper in the Service of Ottoman Serbs, 1895-1909” (Central European University, 2014).

these Serbian efforts.<sup>599</sup> The contemporary Bosnian periodical press also features a number of reports from students and other readers in Istanbul who spoke out against their pro-Serb peers or even against ethnic nationalism generally.<sup>600</sup> In fact, the most notable example of the former genre comes from one of the key figures in this period of Bosnian literary history and *Biser's* future chief editor: Musa Ćazim Ćatić.

#### 4.2. The *Biser* Authors: Bosnia's Last Ottoman Generation?

Born on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1878 in the small northern Bosnian town of Odžak, Ćatić stands apart from many of his Muslim literary contemporaries in that he came from a non-elite background.<sup>601</sup> His father Hasan possessed meager landholdings and a strict temperament, fatefully forcing the young Ćazim to study at both the town's mekteb (Islamic primary school) as well as at its new, Austrian-built public elementary school. When the elder Ćatić died from tuberculosis, Ćazim's mother remarried and moved to the nearby town of Tešanj, where he would learn the barber trade from his stepfather. Ćatić simultaneously continued his studies at the local elementary school, but would eventually also enroll at its longer standing madrasa, studying eastern languages under its principal instructor, Mesud Smailbegović.<sup>602</sup> In the fall of 1897, the nineteen-year-old Ćatić set out for Istanbul to avoid conscription into the Austro-Hungarian army.<sup>603</sup> He soon perfected his Turkish

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<sup>599</sup> Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana*, 288 [The Struggle of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina for Religious and Endowment-Educational Autonomy].

<sup>600</sup> "Fahrija, Carigrad," *Bošnjak*, November 15, 1900, 10.46 edition, sec. Dopisnica uredništva [Editorial Correspondance: Fahrija in Istanbul].

<sup>601</sup> For the classic study of Ćatić's life and work, see: Abdurahman Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić* (Tešanj: Narodni univerzitet, 1965).

<sup>602</sup> S. S. M-ć, "Ćazim u životu (Prilog za biografiju)," *Novi vijek* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1920): 30–34 [Ćazim in His Life (Contribution to a Biography)].

<sup>603</sup> See the introduction by Hamdija Kreševljaković in: Musa Ćazim Ćatić, *Izabrane Pjesme*, ed. Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1928) [Selected Songs].

to such an extent that he spoke it nearly as well as his native tongue, but this linguistic adaptation could not make up for his material difficulties. Under these circumstances, Ćatić took the advice of the aforementioned Đikić and reached out to Aćim Čumić, Serbian academic and politician, acquiring financial support in exchange for penning pro-Serb literary materials.<sup>604</sup> By 1899, however, this relationship had already frayed. Ćatić would later claim that the falling out occurred during a trip to Belgrade, where his contacts pressured him to relocate to the Serbian capital even while betraying what he perceived as anti-Muslim animus.



Figure 14: Musa Ćazim Ćatić.

Whatever the balance of factors involved, Ćatić then returned to Tešanj and embarked on the next stage of his educational and literary development. Once back in Bosnia, he had to first confront the military service he had evaded two years earlier, and while he entered the army with a distinct anti-Austrian animus, his jovial nature apparently endeared him to the officers in Tuzla and Budapest regardless. Perhaps building on his already polyglot education, Ćatić used his stint with the imperial and royal military to acquire German and Hungarian as well. It was presumably around this

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<sup>604</sup> Musa Ćazim Ćatić, “Moji doživljaji u Carigradu,” *Bošnjak*, July 9, 1903, 13.28 edition [My Experiences in Istanbul].

time that Ćatić also won his enduring patronage from Adem-aga Mešić, a fellow Tešanj native and fin-de-siècle Bosnia's most successful Muslim entrepreneur; over the coming years, he would write extensively in Mešić's Croat-leaning Muslim periodical publications in Sarajevo, soon developing a reputation as the most exciting Muslim poet of his generation. Besides the previously mentioned 1903 text in the newspaper *Bošnjak*, where he publicly renounced his association with the pro-Serb Istanbulites, Ćatić had made his debut in the literary *Behar* the prior year with a landmark poem celebrating Islam.<sup>605</sup> In the interim, Ćatić also briefly returned to Istanbul on the advice of his madrasa instructor Smailbegović, reenrolling in the Numune-i Terakki Mektebi. He only lasted ten months there, switching to a different gymnasium where he completed the fourth year of study before deciding to return to Bosnia permanently. Later in life, Ćatić would frame this decision in political terms, casting blame on the Hamidian authorities: "Though I grew up under Kállay's regime, still I could not accustom myself to the absolutism of Sultan Abdul Hamid."<sup>606</sup>

Although Ćatić's freewheeling political proclivities may well have caused him to butt heads with the teaching staff at Ottoman state schools, even a cursory glance at his biography identifies another, perhaps more likely culprit. In the words of Hamdija Kreševljaković (1888-1959), Ćatić's close friend and later doyen of interwar Bosnian Muslim historiography, "Ćazim was a real drunk" (T: *sarhoş*).<sup>607</sup> As per another acquaintance, "if he could, I feel that he would have drunk his entire life in a single glass."<sup>608</sup> To this day, Ćatić's drinking remains inseparable not only from his literary legend and poetic oeuvre, but his basic biography as well, having caused him cascading personal and

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<sup>605</sup> Musa Ćazim, "İslamu," *Behar* 3, no. 1 (May 1, 1902): 3.

<sup>606</sup> Ćatić, *Izabrane Pjesme*.

<sup>607</sup> Ćatić.

<sup>608</sup> M-ć, "Ćazim u životu."



professional troubles. According to Kreševljaković's later account, in addition to frequently being found unconscious on the outskirts of town, it saw him "suffer from pneumonia twice, delirium twice, and once even try to kill himself, though his sister prevented him."<sup>609</sup> It would also prove particularly problematic in a society where abstinence served as a marker of confessional boundaries, with one elderly passerby, having found the poet disheveled and semi-conscious in an outlying stream at dawn, famously yelling at him to "return to the faith."<sup>610</sup> Ćatić's friends frequently tried to intervene as well, but he rejected their overtures with the fatalistic reply that he lived "to survive, to disappear, to leave for everything and nothing—to enter Nirvana." His patron Mešić repeatedly cast Ćatić away for his excesses as well, but also inevitably took him back in.

Ćatić's disciplinary problems followed him to Sarajevo, where in September of 1903 he enrolled with Mešić's backing in that city's Sharia Judges School.<sup>611</sup> There he soon developed a reputation as a problematic student, adapting well to the theological curriculum on account of his experience and language skills, but often going even further and challenging his older, more conservative teachers by "pulling Hadith like aces from a sleeve."<sup>612</sup> By 1907, Ćatić's extracurricular infractions had resulted in expulsion from the school dormitory, prompting him to seek lodging elsewhere. At one point, janitors at the *Behar* offices even found him asleep in the hallway during their morning rounds, though he appears to have eventually moved to a separate apartment in the

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<sup>609</sup> Ćatić, *Izabrane Pjesme*.

<sup>610</sup> S. S., "Dina gel Galeša (Sjećanje na r. Ćazima Ćatića od S. S.)," *Novi vijek* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1920) [Return to the Faith you Oxen (Memories of the Late Ćazim Ćatić by S. S.)].

<sup>611</sup> M-ć, "Ćazim u životu."

<sup>612</sup> S., "Dina gel Galeša."

same building.<sup>613</sup> Tensions came to a head in May of the following year, when a report “from the Sharia Judges School” surfaced in the city’s *Musavat* newspaper. There a pseudonym-clad author accused the Professor Ibrahim Zafranija, a graduate of the Al-Azhar Madrasa in Cairo, of “experiencing daily fiascos in his lectures,” “refusing to accept his spiritual poverty,” and “blushing from shame as he quarrels with his pupils.”<sup>614</sup> The writer went on to claim that the school’s principal, 67-year-old Hasan Spaho, “had gotten up there in years,” and was now taking directions from “his pet, Zafranija.” Whether or not this was actually Ćatić, it did not take long for Spaho to identify him as the primary suspect; in a follow-up from the very next week, *Musavat* reported that the principal had “rushed like a madman into the room where Ćatić had been sleeping and immediately began beating him with his fists and flailing him with the coat he had been using as a blanket.”<sup>615</sup>

The end result was that Ćatić found himself kicked out of both dorm and school, with even a mass protest by his entire class of fellow students failing to overturn the expulsion. Desperate, Ćatić wrote an emotive letter appealing the decision, pleading with the school “*to wipe away the tears of a poor family and to rescue me from obvious collapse, so that I may not remain among the ranks of the proletariat, but rather become a worthy member of human society.*”<sup>616</sup> Eventually, most likely with the urging of Mešić, the school allowed Ćatić to take the final examinations and obtain his diploma in November, though not before signing an agreement to never actually seek employment

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<sup>613</sup> Ćatić, *Izabrane Pjesme*, 4; Rizvić, *Behar*, 323.

<sup>614</sup> Sadik, “Iz šeriatske škole,” *Musavat*, May 22, 1908, 3.22 edition [From the Sharia School].

<sup>615</sup> “Iz šeriatske škole,” *Musavat*, May 29, 1908, 3.23 edition [From the Sharia School].

<sup>616</sup> Mina Kujović, “Musa Ćazim Ćatić: tragom arhivskih dokumenata i rukopisa – prilog biografiji,” *Gračanički glasnik - Časopis za kulturnu historiju*, no. 39 (2015): 135–49 [Musa Ćazim Ćatić: on the Trail of Archival Documents and Manuscripts—Contribution to a Biography].

as a Sharia Judge.<sup>617</sup> Having thus spoiled his chances at a theological career, Ćatić proceeded to briefly enroll at the Law School of the University of Zagreb, where he failed to take a single exam and spent his time in the company of the Croatian capital's bohemian literati, most notably Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914).<sup>618</sup> According to Tin Ujević, Matoš introduced Ćatić to the "Dionysian" creative process of this Zagreb circle, suggesting that the two developments were far from independent.<sup>619</sup> It was also during this time that Ćatić began to increasingly reference Croat nationalist themes in his poetry.<sup>620</sup> Eventually leaving Zagreb for good, the poet tried his luck as a functionary in Mešić's bank in Tešanj in 1910, though this episode also proved unsuccessful, with his patron ultimately severing ties over his drinking habit.

Despite never translating into sustained academic success, Ćatić's personal charisma and poetic talent ensured that his reputation and personal networks grew regardless. Most importantly, Mešić evidently harbored an abiding personal sympathy for the mercurial poet, and though Ćatić periodically fell out of his patron's graces, the relationship would ultimately endure until the very end of his life. In the meantime, Ćatić's often-tumultuous bohemian lifestyle seems to have directly contributed to his popularity among his younger peers, with the abundant anecdotes related to his creative process testifying to this mystique. We know, for example, that he scribbled innumerable poems on pieces of scrap paper in moments of inspiration (T: *keyif*), tucking them away in the pockets of his raggedy suit and ultimately forgetting any that he later failed to rediscover. In one

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<sup>617</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*.

<sup>618</sup> M-ć, "Ćazim u životu."

<sup>619</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 28.

<sup>620</sup> Vervaet, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj*, 4 [Center and Periphery in Austria-Hungary: the Dynamic of National Identity Construction in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918 through the Example of Literary Texts].

characteristic instance, he inaugurated a dinner at Mešić's manor by composing a spur-of-the-moment sonnet to the host's cheese-and-cornbread pie (BCS: *presnac*).<sup>621</sup> This spontaneous element also extended to his often-unsuccessful romantic pursuits, where impromptu quoting of the Ottoman poet Ziya Pasha for "healthy village girls" apparently failed to overcome the skepticism of their families.<sup>622</sup> The resulting frustrations may have in turn inspired another popular feature of his poetry: an oft-provocative erotic sensibility unique among his contemporaries, as seen in a 1911 poem in which he compared a woman's breasts to "the sacred hills of Sinai."<sup>623</sup> Just as enduringly, however, Ćatić made a point of befriending and encouraging younger peers whose work he found promising, helping launch the literary careers of numerous other Muslim poets during this period.

This was the case with the youth who would become one of Ćatić's principal collaborators in *Biser*: Šemsudin Sarajlić. Born on May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1887 in Knežina, a small village outside the northeast Bosnian town of Vlasenica, Sarajlić actually descended from one branch of a prominent Sarajevo family, the Đugumlije, whose members had changed their surname after moving to the countryside.<sup>624</sup> Returning to his urban point of origin to pursue an education, Sarajlić enrolled first in the Sarajevo Rüşdiye, a reformed Muslim elementary school left over from the Tanzimat, before entering the city's Gazi Husrev-beg Madrasa and studying Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Alongside madrasa studies, he also attended classes at the Darülmüallimin, the reformed teacher's college that, as per the previous chapter, had arisen alongside the Sharia Judges School at the turn of the 1880s

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<sup>621</sup> S., "Dina gel Galeša."

<sup>622</sup> A. Hifzi Bjelevac, "Musa Ćazim Ćatić (uspomena)," *Novi vijek* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1920): 25–26.

<sup>623</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 45–48.

<sup>624</sup> Alija Pirić, *Šemsudin Sarajlić: od društvene funkcije do književnoestetske umjetnosti* (Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2009) [Šemsudin Sarajlić: From a Social Post to Literary-Aesthetic Artistry].

out of the joint efforts of Austro-Hungarian administrators and collaborationist Ulema. In this sense, Sarajlić emerged as a product of the reformed Islamic theological education that select Muslim reformists—chapter one’s transitional pedagogues—had envisioned in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 15: Šemsudin Sarajlić.

In contrast to many of his peers, however, Sarajlić also exhibited a keen interest in literature and politics, which together with a remarkable confidence in his own abilities and the importance of what he had to say would define his entire professional life. Leaving to continue his madrasa studies in Istanbul in late 1904, Sarajlić returned in less than a year, having quickly run afoul of the Ottoman authorities for his “liberal political views.”<sup>625</sup> Surprisingly for such a prolific writer, Sarajlić seems to have left no autobiographical record of his time there, but an extended four-part study of the disappointing experience of a “typical” Bosnian madrasa student in Istanbul from 1907 is so

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<sup>625</sup> In a letter dated September 24th, 1904, Ćatić wished Sarajlić luck on his impending studies. Šemsudin Sarajlić, “Iz Ćazimovih pisama,” *Novi vijek* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1920): 27–30 [From Ćazim’s Letters].

detailed that it begs the question of how much of it drew on his personal experience.<sup>626</sup> Sarajlić's text thus centers on a hypothetical youth who heads to Istanbul "to learn much in a short period of time and to be respected among his people upon his return, like all the others who had gone to Istanbul to study." Unfortunately, the young idealist soon finds that his ethnic compatriots in the city, "having not fully understood their duty to devote themselves exclusively to their studies and nothing else," try to lead him astray. Upon realizing that the newcomer is firm in his more noble intentions—"and talented to boot"—they turn instead to "multiple and various impermissible means to force him into their circle, such as threatening him with the Istanbul police." Sarajlić added that this particular threat carried additional weight in a city where "every third man is an undercover agent," with many of them "susceptible to cheap bribes." Whatever the parallels with Sarajlić's own episode on the Bosphorus, we know that he had returned to Sarajevo by fall 1905 and accepted a less imaginative role as a functionary in the administration of Islamic religious endowments.

Sarajlić's experience features a number of notable parallels to that of Ćatić. Although both represent major figures in the narrative of a Western-oriented Muslim "cultural renaissance" under Austro-Hungarian oversight, they in fact emerged in large part through traditional madrasa studies, which they supplemented with time in reformed state schools, whether multi-confessional or more narrowly communal. Both also failed to complete their studies in Istanbul and, similar to Sokolović above, framed this failure in self-flattering political terms, though there is strong reason to believe that the root causes actually lay in their particular personalities. Finally, the two poets shared certain similarities in terms of their literary development and professed ethno-national allegiances. As

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<sup>626</sup> Muhamed-Šemsuddin Sarajlić, "Nastava u muslimanskim školama u Bosni s obzirom na Istok. (Svršetak.) [4/4]," *Školski vjesnik* 14 (December 1907): 761–76 [Instruction in Muslim Schools in Bosnia with Regard to the East (Conclusion)].

mentioned above, some of Ćatić's earliest work consisted of pro-Serb poetry stemming from his affiliation with Serbian activists in Istanbul, with the poet eventually rejecting these circles entirely and gravitating more toward Croat-sympathizing Muslim intellectuals in Sarajevo. Sarajlić's first poem similarly appeared in the Mostar Serb journal *Zora* in 1897, eventually reappearing in *Carigradski glasnik*, the previously referenced Serb newspaper in Istanbul, three years later.<sup>627</sup> By fall of 1903, however, he too had evidently had a change of heart, publishing primarily in the Mešić-backed and Croat-leaning *Behar* in Sarajevo. It was there that he published the vituperative "Traitor's Grave" (BCS: *grob izdajice*), quite possibly intended as a subtle rebuke of the group of pro-Serb Muslim students in Istanbul.<sup>628</sup> In fact, it was precisely over this poem, appearing shortly before his own public rejection of Serb nationalism from the following year, that Ćatić first reached out to Sarajlić and praised his younger colleague's poetic sensibilities.<sup>629</sup>

The last of *Biser*'s three primary contributors of original materials, Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac, differed from his peers on a few of these counts, but he too spent formative years on studies in Istanbul. Born on July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1886 in Mostar, Bjelevac came from a family of craftsmen with deep roots in central Herzegovina; his grandfather Halil had first moved to the city from the village of Bjelojevići near Stolac at the beginning of the century, while the young Abdurezak also spent much of his childhood in the nearby town of Počitelj.<sup>630</sup> In a later, loosely biographical short story, Bjelevac

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<sup>627</sup> Pirić, *Šemsudin Sarajlić*.

<sup>628</sup> Framed as a nightmare of a traitorous corpse whose bones his native soil refuses to accept, the poem's indignant tone in some ways presages that of Ćatić's subsequent first-hand account. Šemsuddin, "Grob izdajice," *Behar* 4, no. 8 (August 15, 1903): 116.

<sup>629</sup> Sarajlić, "Iz Ćazimovih pisama."

<sup>630</sup> Muris Idrizović, *Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac, 1886-1972: život i književno djelo* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1978) [Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac, 1886-1972: Life and Literary Opus].

synthesized many of these elements from his family history, describing how Halil had set out from his ancestral village upon hearing of the clock tower in Počitelj, knowledge of which unmoored him from his provincial surroundings and drove him to develop a more materialist understanding of the world.<sup>631</sup> Whatever the historical specifics, Bjelevac indeed grew up the son of a clock maker. Similar to Ćatić, he too attended public and religious primary schools in parallel. At a time when Mostar represented the focal point of the Muslim movement for cultural and educational autonomy, however, Bjelevac's father hesitated to send his son to the state-backed secondary schools, where rumors held that the largely Catholic teaching staff sought to convert Muslim youth to Christianity. He instead petitioned the Ottoman government to accept his son to the *Mekteb-i Sultani* in Istanbul, predecessor to today's *Galatasaray*, with his insistence eventually paying off even though the boy had not yet learned Turkish.

Bjelevac spent the years 1902-1905 at the lycée, which would fundamentally shape his literary career and broader worldview. He spent considerable time with fellow Bosnians in the city, including elite émigrés, impoverished migrants, and other gymnasium students such as Ćatić, whom he first met during the poet's ill-fated second stay at the Numûne-i Terakki Mektebi in 1902. He also encountered the broader diversity of late Ottoman society, and in particular the multi-confessional and polyglot elite who sent their children to these elite schools. His classmates included Armenians, Greeks, Turkic nationalists from the Caucasus, and others, nearly all of whom he would later weave into his quasi-biographical stories.<sup>632</sup> In this context, Bjelevac not only developed sympathies for the clandestine Young Turk movement, but for the national idea more generally; in

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<sup>631</sup> A-Hifzi Bjelevac, *Na kraju* (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1921).

<sup>632</sup> Idrizović, *Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac*, 13.



one telling exchange, a visit to his classmate's home ended with the family, Greek-speaking Muslims from Crete, accusing him of being a Hellenist. Bjelevac would also emerge from this experience fluent in both French and Ottoman Turkish, but his studies were cut short by his father's death in 1905. The news forced him to return to Bosnia and, similar to Sarajlić, take up a job as a tax functionary in Austro-Hungarian administration. This dramatic change in surroundings no doubt also influenced Bjelevac's literary output, which characteristically spanned the distance between Istanbul high society and the Bosnian countryside, ruminating on the obligation of cosmopolitan intellectuals to their ethnic compatriots and native soil. His new work frequently focused on the estates of Bosnia's large Muslim landholders, providing him with further insights on the subject.

Bjelevac's debut novel, first appearing in serialized form in *Biser* as "Under a Foreign Sun" (BCS: *pod drugim suncem*), thus centered on the divide between two Bosnian brothers, Hamid and Muris, educated sons of a wealthy landowner: one rational, trained in medicine in Vienna and tied to his father's land, the other a romantic, fully assimilated into Istanbul's high society and pursuing passionate affairs with Armenian and Turkish women.<sup>633</sup> In one characteristic passage, Bjelevac described this younger brother as "raised in Istanbul in the highest of circles, inspired by the traditional mysticism of an easterner... closer to everything but to his own people from whom he had emerged and among whom he had first entered the world." The author's palatable disdain for the Istanbulite may appear incongruous or even self-deprecating given the parallels with his own experience, but it ultimately speaks to one of the central ironies of his entire creative oeuvre: expressing one of the starkest divides between a rational and progressive "West" and a decrepit and

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<sup>633</sup> Though their particular biographies and ethnic identities were sometimes scrambled, the female characters in Bjelevac's Istanbul-based works appear to have been based on actual acquaintances from his time at Mekteb-i Sultani. Idrizović elaborates on these modifications later in his work, seemingly citing Bjelevac's then-extant manuscript memoir. Idrizović, 13.

romantic “East” in contemporary Bosnian Muslim writings, Bjelevac’s internalized orientalist outlook stemmed less from any perceptible Viennese influence than from elite studies in the heart of the Ottoman Empire.

Among the premier contributors to pre-1914 Bosnian Muslim literature, Ćatić, Bjelevac, and Sarajlić have attracted considerable attention from scholars over the century since, roughly in that order. Ćatić in particular has emerged as something of a poet laureate, lending his name to numerous schools and his visage to modern Bosnia-Herzegovina’s 50 KM paper currency. Nonetheless, the existing literature has rarely considered the trio collectively, despite strong reasons to do so. To begin with, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, between 1912 and 1914 they made up the three primary contributors of original literary materials to the seminal journal *Biser*. Moreover, as this section has argued, they all studied in contemporary Istanbul, which influenced their literary output and socio-political views. This influence was not necessarily uniform, but it did feature a handful of overarching similarities. First, all three exhibited an abiding sympathy for the Ottoman Empire, identifying with its political fortunes and frequently referencing its more progressive intellectual currents as a model for Muslims in Bosnia as well. Second, study in Istanbul shaped their linguistic horizons, ensuring firm command of contemporary Turkish as well as varying degrees of familiarity with the French language and literature. Finally, their stay there in the years preceding the 1908 revolution exposed them to the more iconoclastic strands of Ottoman political thought, and while their sympathy for the Young Turk cause developed in close conjunction with their personal idiosyncrasies and circumstances, it still remains significant enough to identify them as

a Balkan, literary offshoot of the “last Ottoman generation” that shaped state-building projects in the Empire’s other successor states.<sup>634</sup>

This personal dimension ultimately highlights an additional factor for considering the trio together: their close collective friendship, dating to well before the founding of *Biser*. Sarajlić thus felt compelled to preface his 1911 review of Bjelevac’s debut collection of short stories from that year with the earnest, twice-repeated admission “Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac is my friend!”<sup>635</sup> Ćatić, meanwhile, served as a literary mentor, befriending both of them as early as 1902. Their circle also extended to a handful of others, most notably the previously mentioned historian Hamdija Kreševljaković, as well as to their fellow *Biser* collaborator Bakamović and other authors and translators in the same journal. Ćatić even devoted a number of his poems to these colleagues from *Biser*, including one for Bakamović that he subtitled “repentance of a sinful poet.”<sup>636</sup> Indeed, Ćatić’s drinking seems to have periodically strained relations with nearly all of them, and especially Sarajlić, the most religious member of the group, who at one point even refused Ćatić’s postcards.<sup>637</sup> Nonetheless, their friendship would endure throughout Ćatić’s life, with the same figures bearing much of the responsibility for promoting his legacy following the poet’s untimely death. As Bjelevac later recalled, reflecting posthumously on first hearing the news, “I subtly sensed that, despite everything, Ćazim—that bohemian and tavern-dweller—was someone I had loved.”<sup>638</sup>

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<sup>634</sup> Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East*.

<sup>635</sup> M. Š. Sarajlić, “Listak: Književne i kulturne bilješke: «Sličice i profili» od A. Hifzi Bjelevca,” *Gajret* 4, no. 23–24 (December 1, 1911): 331.

<sup>636</sup> Ćatić, *Izabrane Pjesme*.

<sup>637</sup> Sarajlić, “Iz Ćazimovih pisama” [From Ćazim’s Letters].

<sup>638</sup> Bjelevac, “Musa Ćazim Ćatić (uspomena).”

### 4.3. The Influence of Čaušević's Pan-Islamist Reform Movement

As the first decade of the twentieth century wore on, the above trio of writers gradually made a name for themselves with their work—often collaborative—in Sarajevo's Muslim periodical press. This early output reflected their diverse intellectual influences from the previous section, but it also came under the increasing influence of another trans-imperial figure: the reformist theologian Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević. As per chapter two, Čaušević had returned to Sarajevo from extended studies in the Ottoman lands in 1903, quickly setting out on an ambitious program of communal reform that combined a global Pan-Islamist outlook with pedagogical vernacularization and print entrepreneurship. The scholar's Islamic modernist worldview particularly appealed to younger members of the Ulema class of Islamic scholars, but it also resonated with the circles of state-sponsored lay literati who had entered into conflict with the Ulema's more conservative elements. Within this latter group of sympathizers, Ćatić and Sarajlić took a leading role in contributing to Čaušević's print ventures, finding particular inspiration in his appeals to Pan-Islamist solidarity and corresponding stress on multilingualism. Their work in this vein during the period 1905 to 1911 in many ways set the stage for *Biser*, both in terms of presaging its editorial ideology and bringing together its principal backers and contributors.

The collaboration between the key *Biser* writers and Čaušević began as early as 1905, when the theologian and Mešić had come together to found the Islamic Shareholders' Printing Press (IDŠ) in Sarajevo. At the opening ceremony on July 10<sup>th</sup> of that year, Ćatić's poem extolling the virtues of print technology adorned the leaflet to guests: "The printing press"—that is the road sign / to that delightful path where the future blooms / ... your new proof / that you belong to the cultured

world.”<sup>639</sup> Less than a year later, Ćatić and Sarajlić played a key role in bringing Čaušević to the editorship of *Behar*, the leading Muslim literary journal where the two had come to increasingly rub shoulders over the prior few years. It was Sarajlić, after all, who penned an open letter calling the previous editor, Edhem Mulabdić, to step down for not being sufficiently attuned to a younger generation of contributors, “among whom there are also young talents.”<sup>640</sup> Ćatić backed Sarajlić up in this rebellion, at least privately, writing to him to complain about the journal’s literary content and suggest that the editor should be someone “unencumbered by other tasks,” though this latter point suggests he may have primarily drawn inspiration from Mulabdić’s dual role as instructor at the Sharia Judges School. Čaušević’s subsequent appointment as editor saw the journal adopt an explicitly Pan-Islamist editorial line and include an entire section in Ottoman Turkish, but control over the larger, Bosnian-language “half” seems to have in large part fallen to his assistant editor, the nineteen-year-old Sarajlić.<sup>641</sup>

Čaušević’s reformist project had an underlying linguistic logic, promoting the writing of Bosnian in a reformed Arabic script while also encouraging higher learning in the “eastern languages,” above all Turkish. This agenda naturally appealed to Ćatić and Sarajlić, whose madrasa backgrounds and time in Istanbul left them uniquely positioned to contribute among Bosnia’s young Muslim authors. Sarajlić in particular embraced *Behar*’s new editorial line to stake a claim to linguistic authority, as seen in his review of a translation of Ottoman statesman Ahmed Muhtar

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<sup>639</sup> Radulović, “Islamska dionička štamparija.”

<sup>640</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*, 150–51 [Behar: a Literary-Historical Monograph]; According to Alija Nametak, Sarajlić also wrote a private letter to Mešić in which he accused Mulabdić of misappropriating his editorial salary. Nametak, *Sarajevski nekrologij*, 27.

<sup>641</sup> Pirić, *Šemsudin Sarajlić*, 46.

Pasha's "the Conquest of Constantinople" by the Sarajevo Serb translator Aleksa J. Popović.<sup>642</sup> There he chastised Popović for referring to Muslims as "Mohammedans" and confusing the Quran and the Hadith, which "he, 'as someone with a strong grasp of the Turkish language' (?) [sic] should be able to differentiate." Further documenting a litany of translation errors in the text, Sarajlić concluded that the work was "excessively incorrect, hollow, downright banal. The language is not worth a thing, and the translation is lacking for not just individual words, but entire sentences." More than likely, Sarajlić also stood behind a similarly critical review of a translation of the Ottoman Empire's Mecelle civic code from a few issues earlier, where the editor had suggested that the authorities should henceforth leave such tasks to the more capable hands of the IDŠ.<sup>643</sup>

Both Ćatić and Sarajlić also contributed poetry to Čaušević's early Bosnian publications in the Arabic script, such as the calendar *Mekteb*.<sup>644</sup> While perhaps lacking in literary quality compared to their Latin-script materials, they are nevertheless significant for demonstrating their lay support of Čaušević's Ulema-centered project. Between the two of them, however, the more pious Sarajlić appeared to take to the project with more enthusiasm, signing his contribution with his real name where Ćatić opted for a pseudonym. Sarajlić would also contribute to *Muallim*, the journal of the Čaušević-backed Muallim and Imam Society, from its very first issue in November of 1910.<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>642</sup> Šemsuddin, "Listak: Književnost: 'Osvajanje Carigrada,'" *Behar* 7, no. 7 (August 1, 1906): 82 [Literature: "the Conquest of Constantinople"].

<sup>643</sup> "In the previous issue of 'Behar,' we promised to more comprehensively deal with the translation of the Mecelle which the local A. Daniel Kajon bookshop has published, but now that we have had an opportunity to leaf through it a little bit, we have realized that this would be impossible for the simple reason that we would have to republish the entire 'translation' to warn of all the linguistic monstrosities and its corruption of the meaning of the original, which the space of our journal simply does not allow." "Listak: Književnost: Medžele," *Behar* 7, no. 2 (May 15, 1906): 22.

<sup>644</sup> Čaušević, *Mekteb Salnama za 1325*.

<sup>645</sup> M. Šemsudin, "Lijep spomen," *Muallim* 1, no. 1–2 (evval-Zilkade 1328): 12–13 [A Fine Memorial].

Čaušević's editorship of *Behar* ended together with year seven, as the theologian turned to his organizing work within Bosnia's formal Islamic institutions. Though the journal quickly lost its Turkish-language section and outwardly Pan-Islamist stance, this did not signify a total editorial counter-revolution; while Čaušević's formal successor was one Šemsi-beg Salihbegović, a Sarajevo veterinarian, the editorship in fact passed onto Ćatić, the journal's twenty-nine-year-old *éminence grise*.<sup>646</sup> Under his control, *Behar* returned to its previous literary focus, but with a number of elements reflecting the continued relevance of the Pan-Islamist line. To begin with, translated materials, particularly in poetry, now drew far more on contemporary Turkish authors, as opposed to the classical Arabic and Persian sources from the journal's outset.<sup>647</sup> This shift not only reflected Ćatić's personal aesthetic tastes, but his studies in Istanbul and embrace of Čaušević's agenda more generally. Thus when Bakamović submitted an advertisement for his aforementioned Bosnian-Turkish dictionary, Ćatić praised the project as "very necessary, for [Turkish] is the official language of the Islamic Caliphate to which we are bound by religious ties," further noting that its literature was "full of pearls and riches that one who knows Turkish could make abundant use of."<sup>648</sup>

Beyond translating these literary materials for readers' benefit, Ćatić also featured more explicitly Islamic modernist texts, including his own contribution, "Why are the Islamic Peoples Not Advancing?"<sup>649</sup> The treatise notably framed the predicament in global terms, questioning why "over two thirds of all Muslims live under foreign rulers" and footnoting this claim with a country-by-

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<sup>646</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*.

<sup>647</sup> Rizvić, 342.

<sup>648</sup> "Književni oglas," *Behar* 8, no. 9 (September 1, 1907): 144.

<sup>649</sup> Faik-Zeki, "Za što islamski narodi ne napreduju," *Behar* 8, no. 2 (May 15, 1907): 26–27 [Why Are the Islamic Peoples not Advancing?].

country count of the world's occupied Muslim populations. In another article under the pseudonym Šair ("Poet"), he wrote at length on "Signs that Islamic Womanhood is Awakening," once again invoking the idea of a broader Islamic World to call for social reform.<sup>650</sup> When his attendant indictment of Bosnia's provincial clerics provoked the predictable outrage, he responded by publishing a poem expressing hope for an Islamic scholarly revival, which he attributed to the recently deceased Muhammad 'Abduh.<sup>651</sup> Describing 'Abduh as "the greatest Islamic scholar of our times," Ćatić explained that he carried his purported deathbed poem as an explicit rebuke of *Behar's* Ulema critics: proof that "the greatest intellect of Islam himself thought of them in much the same way that we do." To be fair, Ćatić's lament that the entire world save for Muslims had "taken up Western culture" set him apart from 'Abduh, Čaušević, and the rest of the era's theological modernists, who tended to more carefully demarcate between culture and science. Nonetheless, his framing of calls for local communal reform with reference to Cairene theological authority and a broader "Islamic World" reflect the continued influence of the "Pan-Islamist Progressivism" from chapter two. In that sense, Ćatić's editorial interventions here belong to the same subgenre as Osman Nuri Hadžić's likeminded and similarly pseudonymous texts from *Behar's* previous year.

*Behar's* return to a literary focus under Ćatić also belied certain additional novelties. As mentioned, translated materials in year 8 primarily consisted of Turkish texts, reflecting in part the Bosnian reading public's palatable hunger for contemporary Ottoman materials. Under private contract with a reader in Mostar, for instance, Ćatić famously locked himself in the *Behar* offices and translated Namik Kemal's 1876 novel *İntibah* over three nights with a jug of brandy under his

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<sup>650</sup> Šair, "Znaci da se budi islamsko ženskinje," *Behar* 8, no. 5 (July 15, 1907): 69–71 [Signs that Islamic Womanhood is Awakening].

<sup>651</sup> Šejh Muhamed Abduhu, *Behar* 8, no. 8 (August 15, 1907): 121.



desk.<sup>652</sup> The bulk of materials in *Behar* itself, however, drew on the noticeably younger generation of Ottoman writers then gathered around the avant-garde literary journal *Servet-i Fünun*. Ćatić afforded space in particular to its chief editor, the poet Tevfik Fikret, whom he dedicated an original poem and may have even known personally.<sup>653</sup> The generational dynamic underlying Ćatić's preference for *Servet-i Fünun* also extended to his choice of local collaborators, who tended toward the young and familiar with Turkish. A number of them, such as Mirhab Šukri Karišiković and Ahmed Rašidkadić, would subsequently play important roles in the founding of *Biser*. Ultimately, given the refinement of Ćatić's own editorial line and the involvement of these future collaborators, *Behar* year 8 in many ways represents the incubator for the future *Biser*.

In this regard, Ćatić's editorship of *Behar* is particularly notable for midwifing the literary career of Bjelevac, by then fully resettled in Bosnia and making his first tentative attempts at prose. Admittedly, the Herzegovinian had already made a few contributions to local youth periodicals prior to his departure for Istanbul, but these largely consisted of collected folk aphorisms and a poem so closely modeled on an earlier work by Safvet-beg Bašagić that the senior poet personally wrote in to demand an apology.<sup>654</sup> Under Ćatić, he began building his reputation for more ambitious original works, beginning with *Amor* (i.e. *Amour*), a love story centered on the elite émigré Ihsan-beg's return to Bosnia from Istanbul. In this and the interrelated series of short stories that would follow, Bjelevac broached themes and motifs that would dominate his output for the rest of his life: Bosnian characters of by-and-large elite provenance, their lives unfolding between Istanbul, Bosnia, and

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<sup>652</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 27.

<sup>653</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*, 361.

<sup>654</sup> Idrizović, *Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac*.

ultimately even Western Europe, often in pursuit of love affairs that highlighted the era's "women's question." While the geographic horizons of his writings extended far beyond the norm of his Muslim peers—*Amor* reached Switzerland, other stories as far as Paris and Sweden—he still ultimately turned to Istanbul as his primary source of inspiration for communal modernization, presenting such early Ottoman poetesses as Fatma Aliye and Nigâr Hanım as models for Bosnian women to aspire to.<sup>655</sup> In that sense, while the lycée graduate's liberal outlooks already distinguished him from most of his fellow young writers, his simultaneous drawing on the Ottoman example nevertheless fit comfortably under Ćatić's editorship, and correspondingly, the "Pan-Islamist progressive" alliance at its most ecumenical.

Sarajlić also contributed to *Behar* under Ćatić's editorship, but his writings from this time built on his ambitions as Čaušević's closest associate from the previous year of the journal, embracing more explicitly Pan-Islamist themes and ultimately spilling over into other publications as well. Thus where Bjelevac's stories took readers in the direction of Switzerland, Sarajlić simultaneously translated Abdülhak Hamid's *Duhter-i Hindu*, an 1876 play set in British India. Sarajlić justified this selection on the basis of the Ottoman playwright's "familiarity with the life of the Indian people under the English yoke," simultaneously embracing the anticolonial current within the broader Pan-Islamist movement while flipping on its head the Balkan nationalist cliché of the "Turkish Yoke."<sup>656</sup> This translation also appeared not in *Behar* but *Gajret*, the journal of the Muslim student benefactory society, which had by then adopted a Pan-Islamist tone more generally. As per chapter three, responsibility for this shift lay in large part with Sakib Korkut, one of Čaušević's key allies in

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<sup>655</sup> Idrizović, 29.

<sup>656</sup> Šemsudin Sarajlić, trans., "Kći Indije," *Gajret* 4, no. 12 (June 15, 1911): 187–89.

the younger generation of Bosnian Ulema, which would situate Sarajlić as the most literary-inclined of Čaušević's youthful followers and, conversely, the closest to Čaušević among the literary intellectuals. In this context, Sarajlić also used *Gajret* to serialize a short story, "The Morning Star Waited for the Moon" (BCS: *Danica je čekala mjeseca*), in which he tackled the subject of Pan-Islamism even more directly. In a pivotal passage, Sarajlić's character Rasim described the phenomenon to his companion as follows:

Imagine the world set out before you, as you might see on a common map. Let's somehow situate ourselves there over Egypt, so that we may freely see all the Islamic lands: the upper half of Africa, Arabia, India, Tibet, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia, southern Russia, Manchuria, Asia Minor, and European Turkey. Muslims inhabit these varied lands as a single whole, so that the religious map could in these countries be enveloped by a single color. In addition, there would also be branches jutting out on all sides. One such branch could be marked over Bosnia as well, with a tiny little stroke leading toward the immense lands of the Islamic whole. Now, in this newest era, that whole is permeated by the idea of unity and common labor of all the Muslims in the world, so that this great, Islamic world organizes itself to this end. The goal of this organizing is the cultural uplift and economic strengthening of the Muslim peoples in these different countries, without regard to the varied political authorities, and also the expansion of Islam in all those directions where up until now it has not existed. This idea is awing the intelligentsia of all of Islamdom and, as we can see, gathers them to work... Political circumstances in European Turkey do not allow for this idea to spread in its full swing here, as it does elsewhere, and so my Bosnia lags the furthest behind our entire world. That pains me very much...<sup>657</sup>

With a glance at an imaginary map, Sarajlić's narrator distilled many of the core tenets of the Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement. This cartographic element is significant not just for reaffirming its global horizons—previous generations of Bosnian reformists may have traversed far-reaching pilgrimage routes, but their mental maps would have hardly included Tibet and Manchuria—but also in pointing to some of its underlying demographic anxieties. Sarajlić, after all, had come of age in an era where maps color-coded by religion and nationality had come to underpin major

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<sup>657</sup> Šemsuddin Sarajlić, "Danica je čekala mjeseca... (Nastavak.)," *Gajret* 4, no. 3 (February 1, 1911): 39 [The Morning Star Waited for the Moon... (Continuation)]; As cited in: Vervaet, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj*, 307–30.

transformations in the international order, when the “tiny little stroke” (BCS: *mali potezčić*) over the Sanjak of Novi Pazar became Bosnia’s last, tenuous geopolitical connection to the Ottoman Empire. The solution for vulnerable peoples was to overcome their “backwardness” through the hard labor of “cultural uplift and economic strengthening,” which in turn depended on internal and external unity. In terms of the latter, however, the “Islamic World,” whether in Ćatić’s polemics or Sarajlić’s fiction, served less as a source of tangible aid than a model for communal advancement and a rhetorical cudgel against local conservatives who stood in the way.

To varying degrees then, Sarajlić, Ćatić, and Bjelevac continued their literary development during the years 1905-1911 under the influence of Čaušević and the broader atmosphere of Pan-Islamist activism that his forays into print publishing had enabled. Toward the latter half of this period, however, political developments significantly altered Bosnia’s Muslim literary landscape. As touched upon previously, the MNO political party, long agitating against Austro-Hungarian administration and its Sarajevan Muslim collaborators, increasingly gained power over communal affairs following its foundation in 1906. By 1908, they had successfully taken over the *Gajret* benefactory society, purging it of their political opponents. As the MNO had long advocated for a Muslim political alliance with Bosnian Serbs, their operatives gradually pushed the *Gajret* periodical in this direction as well, which eventually caused intellectuals such as Sarajlić who disagreed with this tack to jump ship. In response to these developments, Mešić had directed *Behar* to leave behind its narrowly Muslim orientation and transform into an outright Croat journal, with Ćatić’s *de facto* editorship giving way to that of the Catholic writer Ljudevit Dvorniković and a correspondingly multi-confessional pool of contributors.<sup>658</sup> The result was a sharply divided literary and political

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<sup>658</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*.

landscape, with rival pro-Croat and pro-Serb Muslim factions engaging in bitter polemics and no publication left to work in a non-national vein.

It was in this context that Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić from the outset of this chapter decided to make his entry into the publishing trade. A review of Kalajdžić's youth reveals that he, like many of his future contributors in *Biser*, had also long grappled with the so-called national question, balancing his sense of Muslim communal belonging with the appeal of the Croat national idea and its literary propagators. During his childhood in Mostar, Kalajdžić supplemented elementary studies in a mekteb and Rüşdiye with work in the Paher & Kisić bookshop and, from there, the city's Croat Printing Press.<sup>659</sup> These early working relationships likely explain the roots of his Croat nationalist sympathies, which led to his first expulsion from the Mostar trade school. Kalajdžić eventually reenrolled, but soon found himself expelled again after he protested the granting of a scholarship to a functionary's son at the expense of a poorer student.<sup>660</sup> From there, he tried to continue his studies at the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo, but his father's death compelled him to instead try to make a living from publishing in his hometown. Similar to how Kalajdžić's earlier embrace of Croatian nationalism likely stemmed from work in Mostar's Croat print scene, we can speculate that this brief consideration of a theological career coincided with a turn toward Čaušević's Pan-Islamism.

The Pan-Islamist line, as evidenced by the Čaušević-backed Ulema publications in Sarajevo, largely rejected the issue of nationality in favor of a focus on Muslim communal interests. Not coincidentally then, Kalajdžić's acquisition of a printing press and decision to found *Biser* followed shortly on the heels of *Behar*'s final disbandment in early 1911, which had itself followed a popular

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<sup>659</sup> Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost*, 247.

<sup>660</sup> Ustamujić, *Život i djelo Muhameda Bekira Kalajdžića* [The Life and Work of Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić: Academic Conference, Mostar, November 21st, 2002].

backlash to the journal's brief pivot to Croat nationalism. In fact, the very suggestion to found such a new publication came from Mirhab Šukri Karišiković, one of the young writers who had emerged from Ćatić's editorship of *Behar*, recently sent to a new post in the government bureaucracy in Mostar. *Biser*'s first issue thus explicitly identified "a certain void, some slowdown in our literary-educational work" with the demise of its Sarajevan predecessor, promising to offer young authors a new platform on which to "spread their spiritual product among their people and thereby gradually uplift it toward cultural and educational progress."<sup>661</sup> For the first several issues, the editorial responsibility of overseeing this mission fell largely on the shoulders of Kalajdžić himself, though the young entrepreneur had in fact already reached out to a more experienced man of letters to take over

In the period since his failed stint at the Zagreb law school, Kalajdžić's preferred candidate appears to have led a shambolic existence, bereft of funds and wandering between friends and relatives in provincial towns across northern Bosnia. On May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1912, at perhaps the lowest point, Ćatić wrote once again to his estranged patron Mešić, asking for his support and claiming that he might otherwise drown in the river *Bosna*.<sup>662</sup> Mešić's mercy may have helped things, but it provided no lasting stability; a private letter from Ćatić to his nephew at the turn of 1913 suggests that at some point in the intervening few months his house had burned to the ground with no insurance.<sup>663</sup> Thus when Kalajdžić came to Tešanj and offered him a position as chief editor of *Biser*, the poet seized the opportunity and followed him back to Mostar. The result would be the most productive phase of Ćatić's life: over the subsequent year-and-a-half, he would compose more poems

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<sup>661</sup> Uredništvo "Bisera," "Riječ-dvije o pokrenuću 'Bisera.'"

<sup>662</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 25.

<sup>663</sup> ABiH.NKHZ.VI.28-8.

than at any other stage of his career, together with some 700 pages of original and translated prose. This unprecedented efficiency depended in no small part on the stringent oversight of his new employer, some fourteen years his junior, but Ćatić initially more than tolerated this exchange; writing to an acquaintance in Tešanj in January 1913, he proclaimed himself in good health and spirits, announcing that he had stopped drinking since arriving in Mostar and suggesting that “were it not for this unruly wind, I may as well be in paradise.”<sup>664</sup> During this time he also regularly wrote to Sarajlić, keeping him abreast of developments in Mostar and urging him to contribute materials and popularize *Biser* in Sarajevo.

#### 4.4. Fin-de-siècle Pan-Islamists: *Biser*'s Editorial Line

Whether with Ćatić at the helm or not, *Biser* would maintain a broadly cohesive editorial line, melding Habsburg and Ottoman imperial influences in the service of a local Pan-Islamist agenda. While the journal grew directly out of fin-de-siècle Bosnia's growing Muslim literary and publishing scenes, these supra-Bosnian aspects merit attention as well. Thus on the Central European side, *Biser* fully embraced the Herderian idea of “cultural workers,” tasked with, as the introductory article phrased it, lifting its people (BCS: *narod*) “into the ranks of the other educated and cultured peoples.”<sup>665</sup> This concern with popular uplift, however, did not simply limit itself to didactic literary production, but extended to more concrete initiatives as well. As early as the second issue, *Biser* praised the founding of a Muslim youth *Sokol* club in Mostar, an echo of the gymnastic movement that had rapidly expanded among Slavic activists in the wider region over the preceding

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<sup>664</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*.

<sup>665</sup> Uredništvo “*Bisera*,” “Riječ-dvije o pokrenuću ‘*Bisera*.’”

decades.<sup>666</sup> In later issues, *Biser* would closely follow and support the founding of a Muslim Students' Sport Club in Sarajevo for much the same reason.<sup>667</sup> This more activist dimension subtly set the journal apart from its immediate predecessors, such as *Behar*, though the range of work it advocated for paralleled not only the concerns of local Serb and Croat nationalists, but counterparts from as far afield as Bohemia as well.<sup>668</sup> In that sense, *Biser* took part in a broader cultural moment in Austria-Hungary and Central Europe, where the multinational Empire's competing ethnographic activists engaged in a social Darwinian arms race over youth education, sport, and a variety of other fields.

*Biser's* most tangible intervention in the Bosnian Muslim political spectrum, however, came in support of Čaušević's ongoing reformist project. Already in the fourth issue, Kalajdžić ran an article promoting the previously mentioned *Muallim*, simultaneously welcoming its announcement of a new Čaušević-backed "Association of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Ulema."<sup>669</sup> *Muallim* would later reciprocate this support from the Mostar literati, promoting the journal among its Ulema readership and playing up its theological credentials, citing in particular the Arabic language mottos added to the journal's header in its second year.<sup>670</sup> When the Ulema Association eventually materialized, its

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<sup>666</sup> "Kulturne bilješke: Muslimanski soko u Mostaru," *Biser* 1, no. 2–3 (July 15, 1912): 25 [Cultural Notes: the Muslim Sokol in Mostar].

<sup>667</sup> "Kulturne bilješke: M. Gj. Š. K. u Sarajevu," *Biser* 2, no. 12 (December 15, 1913): 192.

<sup>668</sup> Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*.

<sup>669</sup> "Književnost: 'Muallim,'" *Biser* 1, no. 4 (September 1912): 70 [Literature: "Muallim"]; "Kulturne bilješke: Udruženje bosansko-hercegovačke 'Ilmije,'" *Biser* 1, no. 4 (September 1912): 70 [Cultural Notes: the Association of Bosnian-Herzegovinian "Ulema"].

<sup>670</sup> "Bilješke: Prikaz lista iz Mostara," *Muallim* 3, no. 9–10 (June 1913): 160–61 [Notes: Presentation of a Paper in Mostar].



own Arabic-script journal, *Misbah*, similarly ran an article encouraging subscriptions to *Biser*.<sup>671</sup> In effect, *Biser* deliberately nurtured collaborative ties with the Arabic press in Sarajevo, in sharp contrast to its expressed disavowal of more forthrightly political publications and lukewarm stance vis-à-vis the Serb-leaning *Gajret*. As per chapter three, Čaušević’s *Arabic* publications had similarly established connections with post-1908 Islamic modernist journals in Istanbul, most notably *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, with the subsequent exchange of materials effectively promoting Čaušević and his agenda of pan-Islamist reform among Bosnian Ulema. In this context, *Biser* and its multilingual staff helped to do the same for sympathetic Gymnasia graduates, taking likeminded materials from Sarajevo and Istanbul and presenting them in the Latin script. As further evidence for this point, Kalajdžić’s bookshop stocked all books in Arabic from the IDŠ in Sarajevo, making a point of advertising this fact in their own Latin-script publications.



Figure 16: Header for *Biser*'s first issue.

To cite but one notable example, Čaušević obituary for his mentor, the CUP-linked Istanbul theologian Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı, first appeared in Turkish in *Misbah* in December 1912, before

<sup>671</sup> “Kitap, Resail, ve ceraid: *Biser*,” *Misbah* 1, no. 20–21 (September 18, 1913): 169 [Books, Texts, and Journals: *Biser*].

reappearing just one week later in Mehmet Akif's *Sebilürreşad* (the renamed *Sırat-ı Müstakim*) under the more poetic heading "The Islamic World Has Been Brought to the Foot of Its Grave."<sup>672</sup> Then, in January 1913, *Biser* translated it from the Turkish language and Arabic script to render it in the Bosnian vernacular and Latin script.<sup>673</sup> By writing the original article in Turkish, Čaušević partly addressed educated Bosnian Muslim readers of *Misbah*, highlighting his personal link to one of the most esteemed Islamic scholars in Istanbul and reaffirming his own championing of the Ottoman Muslim cause during the unfolding Balkan Wars. At the same time, this allowed for the obituary's easy dissemination to Istanbul, where it would have contributed to his Bosnian Pan-Islamist movement's growing prestige among sympathetic readers of *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, whether in the Ottoman Empire or beyond.<sup>674</sup> But while the Bosnian Muslim public exhibited overwhelming sympathy for the Ottoman war effort, such a Turkish text would have had more difficulty reaching new generations of Muslim students educated in Bosnia's Habsburg schools, where proficiency in the language had entered steady decline. In the vernacular *Biser*, Čaušević's message would have reached this audience as well, promoting his Pan-Islamist vision and personal reputation among the growing lay intelligentsia. Though the previous chapter had focused on the role of the Arabic press in Sarajevo, the Latin-script *Biser* thus also contributed to Čaušević's rise to institutional power and popular legitimacy as Reis-ul-Ulema in 1914.

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<sup>672</sup> Čaušević, "Mevt-ul-alimi mevt-ul-alemi"; "Alem-i İslam Mezar Başına Getirildi."

<sup>673</sup> The anonymous editor here notably refers to Manastırlı as a great "kapacitet" (capacity, i.e. intellect), suggesting that the translation was the work of Čatić, who had used the same term to refer to 'Abduh in year 8 of *Behar*. "Iz islamskog svijeta: Smrt velikog muslimanskog učenjaka," *Biser* 1, no. 8 (January 1913): 164–65 [From the Islamic World: the Death of a Great Muslim Scholar].

<sup>674</sup> As many readers were in Bosnia-Herzegovina, its reappearance would have also once again affirmed to a domestic Ulema audience the credibility of Čaušević's movement and claims of global Pan-Islamist solidarity.



Figure 17: Three versions of Čaušević's obituary for his mentor, İsmail Hakkı Manastırlı. From left to right: the original in *Misbah*, its excerpted reproduction in *Sebülürreşad*, and Čatić's Latin-script BCS translation in *Biser*.

As the following section will address in more detail, the Balkan Wars represent an important turning point, pushing *Biser* into a more confrontational Pan-Islamist stance vis-à-vis its communal rivals. Nonetheless, as some of the above examples suggest, this dimension formed part of the journal's agenda virtually from the outset. Thus the very first article following its introductory manifesto in the first issue was the previously mentioned Ahmed Rašidkadić's translation of "Pan-Islamism and Europe" by the Ottoman Syrian intellectual Rafiq Bey al-'Azm.<sup>675</sup> The text, which argued that European anxieties over Pan-Islamism were historically hypocritical and economically shortsighted, ran in serialized form throughout *Biser's* inaugural year. By the summer of 1913, Kalajdžić's associated bookshop and printing press separately published not only al-'Azm's brochure, but a series of other such translations that first appeared in *Biser*, including Halil Halit's "The Crescent and the Cross" and an anonymous author's "Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism." The programmatic advertisement on the back of this last publication is worth reproducing here in full, for it encapsulates how *Biser's* Čaušević-affiliated Pan-Islamism also fit in neatly with the broader late Habsburg activist culture mentioned earlier:

<sup>675</sup> Azma dez Refik beg, "Panislamizam i Evropa," trans. Ahmed Rašidkadić, *Biser* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1912): 3–4.

Muslim brothers! Spread and subscribe to “Vakat,” “Misbah,” “Muallim,” “Gajret,” and “*Biser*”—establish various useful associations such as crafts guilds, commercial enterprises, *sokol* clubs, banks, and other beneficial institutions. Send your children to various modern guilds, businesses, and schools as much as you can if you want to secure your future. Enroll as members of the Association of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Ulema, Gajret, and other useful institutions. Read as many useful books as possible and spread Islamic literature. Raise your youth in the spirit of the principles of holy Islam. Muslim brothers, spread the Pan-Islamist idea, for within it lies salvation for all Muslims. Collect voluntary contributions to the Islamic orphanage fund. Shop in Muslim businesses if you want to support yourselves!”<sup>676</sup>

As with Čaušević’s movement more generally, *Biser*’s Pan-Islamism welded this domestic, activist dimension with what Adeb Khalid has described as an “affective solidarity [knitting] Muslim elites around the Ottoman state.”<sup>677</sup> More broadly still, it extended this solidarity to a wider “Islamic World,” which it put forward as a model for Muslim advancement. In the hands of *Biser*’s writers, however, this global outlook ultimately entailed more malleable boundaries than the rhetoric of civilizational conflict and Islamic unity might itself imply. In addition to frequent allusions to classical Islamic science and learning, an article from October 1912 thus made a point of informing readers that the oldest newspaper in the world appeared in ancient China.<sup>678</sup> Such items furthered the basic Islamic reformist claim that the West’s ongoing predominance was historically contingent rather than intrinsic, but substantiated it with reference to the history of another “eastern” civilization. Elsewhere, Hifzi Muftić’s claim that Bosnians needed “to achieve the Islam of ‘Abduh” from the journal’s second issue partly highlights the growing prestige of Cairene Islamic modernism among lay Bosnian authors, but it also reflected a broader insistence on the compatibility of faith with reason and science.<sup>679</sup> To that end, *Biser* cited numerous scientific developments and ideas from

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<sup>676</sup> X, *Panislamizam i panturcizam*, trans. Salih Bakamović, Muslimanska biblioteka 7 (Mostar: Prva muslimanska nakladna knjižara i štamparija, 1914) [Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism].

<sup>677</sup> Khalid, “Pan-Islamism in Practice.”

<sup>678</sup> “Razno: Najstarije novine,” *Biser* 1, no. 5 (October 1912): 95 [Miscellanea: the Oldest Newspaper].

<sup>679</sup> M. Hifzi Muftić, “Šta je naš cilj?,” *Biser* 1, no. 2–3 (July 15, 1912): 20 [What is Our Goal?].

Western Europe that it perceived as corroborating Islamic teachings or befitting the task of Islamic reform, such as anti-pornographic initiatives in Wilhelmine Germany.<sup>680</sup> Even the above-mentioned snippet on the ancient Chinese newspaper pointedly noted that it now “printed on the most modern machines, entirely in the European manner,” and that its editors consisted of “very educated people, some of whom have completed higher studies in Europe.”

In the addendum for anecdotes and miscellaneous world news at the close of every issue, *Biser*'s editors also betrayed a more lighthearted fascination with the dizzying advance of Western science and technology. Issue one, for instance, may have begun with Kalajdžić's clarion call for Bohemian-style ethno-confessional activism and Azm's pro-Ottoman Pan-Islamism, but it concluded with a report on the John Hopkins Medical Association's purportedly semi-successful efforts to teach a monkey to speak.<sup>681</sup> If this concern with conversational simians appears incongruous at first, it in fact fit neatly in a section that frequently focused on communications technologies and the unprecedented global integration that they enabled—a process that *Biser*, in translating and disseminating these items from foreign newspapers for a local audience, directly participated in. Issue two thus turned readers' attentions to New York City, where Joseph Pulitzer had just founded the world's first academic program in journalism at Columbia University.<sup>682</sup> Immediately below, *Biser* also noted that the New York Times had succeeded in sending a telegraph

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<sup>680</sup> “Borba proti prljavoj i nepristojnoj književnosti,” *Biser* 2, no. 2 (July 15, 1913): 30 [The Fight Against Dirty and Impolite Literature].

<sup>681</sup> “Razno: Može li majmun naučiti govoriti,” *Biser* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1912): 15 [Miscellanea: Can a Monkey Learn to Speak?].

<sup>682</sup> “Razno: Novinarski kurs u Americi,” *Biser* 1, no. 2–3 (July 15, 1912): 26 [Miscellanea: Journalism Course in America].

around the world in an unprecedented 16.5 minutes.<sup>683</sup> Just three issues later, the journal extended this fascination further, citing the work of American scientists David Todd and Leo Steffens to speculate whether humans might soon establish a wireless telegraph connection with Mars and communicate with extraterrestrials.<sup>684</sup>

In the finally tally, however, these more far flung interests in Western science generally referred back to the journal's more narrow Pan-Islamist mission. Pulitzer's efforts to standardize journalistic training thus ultimately gave way to a report from the Kazan newspaper *Vakat* on a new Muslim journalism school to open in Ufa.<sup>685</sup> Situated within *Biser's* recurring section on news "From the Islamic World," the article rested next to a number of other examples of Muslims under Russian rule (in Bukhara, Kazan, and Tbilisi) founding charitable and educational institutions. In another characteristic item from the following month, *Biser* reported on scientific research showing that most of Central Europe had once been covered in ice—an early reference to climate change in the Bosnian press—but seemed most excited by the implication that "the Bohemian basin had been an arctic sea, the domicile of walruses and seals, and the vicinity of Vienna and Berlin the homeland of polar bears."<sup>686</sup> Similar to the previously mentioned case of the ancient Chinese newspaper, Kalajdžić and company's fascination with Western science and technology came coupled with a firm belief in two closely connected postulates: that their current predominance had been far from predetermined and that they could be harnessed to serve local Muslim interests.

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<sup>683</sup> "Razno: Za 16 i pol minuta oko svijeta," *Biser* 1, no. 2–3 (July 15, 1912): 27 [Miscellanea: Around the World in 16 and a Half Minutes].

<sup>684</sup> "Razno: Brzjav bež žica na zvijezdu Mars," *Biser* 1, no. 5 (October 1912): 95 [Miscellanea: A Wireless Telegraph to the Planet Mars].

<sup>685</sup> S. B., "Iz islamskog svijeta: Žurnalistička muslimanska škola," *Biser* 2, no. 6 (September 15, 1913): 95 [From the Islamic World: Muslim Journalism School].

<sup>686</sup> "Razno: Promjena podneblja," *Biser* 2, no. 8 (October 15, 1913): 128 [Miscellanea: Climate Change].

#### 4.5. Ideological Fault Lines: the National and Woman Questions in *Biser*

Despite *Biser's* overarching ideological consistency and the similarities between its principal authors, substantial differences remained. Above all, tensions would develop over two of the defining debates of the era, the “National” and “Woman” questions, particularly in the context of the ongoing Balkan Wars and the traumatic destruction of the Ottoman presence in Europe. To begin with the former, recall that *Biser's* Pan-Islamist editorial line itself represented a certain intervention in the polemics over Muslim nationhood. After all, the journal had emerged at the intersection of *Behar's* demise following the adoption of an openly Croat nationalist outlook and *Gajret's* simultaneous shift to increasingly stark Serb sympathies, with Pan-Islamism providing a Muslim-centered alternative. Within this consensus, the *Biser* authors also shared skepticism toward Serb nationalism in particular, with one contributor explicitly identifying Gajret's adoption of Cyrillic as needlessly fracturing the Muslim literary scene.<sup>687</sup> This unity, however, belied a certain tension between those who saw ethno-linguistic nationalism as more generally threatening Muslim communal reform and those who saw the two as essentially compatible. Where Kalajdžić and Sarajlić broadly fit into the former camp, Bjelevac and Ćatić belonged to the latter.

These conflicting views stemmed in part from differences in education and ideology, but the case of *Biser* also highlights how much they built on more subtle conflicts of personality. The key dynamic at play here was between Kalajdžić and Ćatić, whose relationship rapidly deteriorated over the course of 1913. As early as the second issue, Kalajdžić had used the announcements section to strike an insistent note with his leading author, then still based in Tešanj: “[To] M.Ć.Ć. What is

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<sup>687</sup> H. J., “Književnost: Trogodišnji književni rad lista ‘Gajreta’ (Svršetak),” *Biser* 1, no. 10 (March 1913): 218–21 [Literature: the Three-Year Literary Work of the Journal “Gajret”].

wrong with you? Why haven't you been in touch? You must either be ill or chasing girls, but in either case you should get back to us, for a promise is a heavy debt indeed. We expect some more significant work from you as soon as possible—friendly greetings (BCS: *prijateljski selam*).<sup>688</sup> Somewhat predictably then, later disagreements coalesced at the intersection of Kalajdžić's disciplinarian instincts and Ćatić's drinking habit, the journal's proprietor earmarking a generous stipend for food and personal upkeep, the poet spending the bulk of it on cigarettes and alcohol. In one illustrative anecdote, Ćatić returned to his residence in the Kalajdžić family home so late from a night out at the tavern that he woke up his host's elderly mother; to then placate the widow and prevent word from reaching her son, he begged for forgiveness and proceeded to recite from memory the Quran's 83-verse Surah Yā' -Sīn in honor of her late husband.<sup>689</sup> In letters to friends and family, Ćatić claimed that Kalajdžić had even resorted to reading his private mail.<sup>690</sup>

Simmering tensions between Ćatić and Kalajdžić boiled over into editorial disagreements with the unfolding of the First Balkan War, in which an alliance of Balkan nation-states launched a surprise attack on the Ottoman Empire and quickly overran its depleted defenses in the region. The scale of the military and humanitarian disaster, combined with the gleeful reaction of Serb and Croat nationalist intellectuals, compelled Bosnian Muslim authors to confront the national question more directly. In Sarajevo's Ulema-led Arebica press, the choice was clear: Čaušević and his allies quickly came to the defense of the Ottoman Empire, launching a massive charity drive for the Red Crescent. As part of these efforts, Sakib Korkut wrote a scathing polemic in *Misbah* over the course of spring

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<sup>688</sup> "Poruke i odgovori uredništva," *Biser* 1, no. 2–3 (July 15, 1912): 31 [Messages and Replies from the Editorial Board].

<sup>689</sup> Nametak, *Sarajevski nekrologij*.

<sup>690</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 25.



1913 against Muslim university students in Zagreb, who had recently issued a statement urging Muslims to turn toward Serb or Croat nationalism and embrace the victory of the Balkan powers as their own.<sup>691</sup> Korkut's lambasting of the Zagreb students, however, went directly against the views of Ćatić, who had embraced the more inclusive strain of Croat nationalist thought during his own studies in the city, as well as to an extent Bjelevac, whose belief in the Ottoman state's downward trajectory in some ways hewed closer to the students than his Pan-Islamist associates. Thus when Sarajlić wrote to Ćatić in April suggesting that *Biser* republish Korkut's article in the Latin script, the latter declined, arguing that Korkut's attacks on the Muslim intelligentsia could only "lead to the collapse of our people" (T: *Millet*).<sup>692</sup>

As Korkut's views matched those of not only Sarajlić but Kalajdžić as well, however, *Biser* explicitly endorsed his articles in its April 1913 issue anyway. Through the subsequent year, the journal's foundational Pan-Islamist outlook and collaboration with the Arabic press became more pronounced, with calls for Muslim solidarity now more explicitly framed as a rejection of both Serb and Croat nationalism and even European hypocrisy more broadly. In protest, Bjelevac and one other collaborator formally resigned from the editorial board, though they would continue to contribute their writings throughout. Perhaps out of material necessity, Ćatić declined this symbolic gesture and stayed on as chief editor, though his frustrations with the journal's more explicitly anti-national—or, as he told Bjelevac, "clerical" (BCS: *hodžinski*)—line steadily built.<sup>693</sup> In fact, the poet's editorial responsibilities meant that he contributed to it as well, notably translating "The

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<sup>691</sup> Korkut, "Dvije preuzete rezolucije."

<sup>692</sup> Sarajlić, "Iz Ćazimovih pisama."

<sup>693</sup> Bjelevac, "Musa Ćazim Ćatić (uspomena)."

Crescent Versus the Cross,” a polemically anti-European text by Ottoman intellectual Halil Halit. Kalajdžić serialization and eventual publication of Halit’s work provoked the particular ire of Croat-sympathizing Muslim students in Zagreb and elsewhere, launching yet another round of polemics in which Korkut attacked the students in the *Arebica* periodicals and *Biser* publicized his critique. In more subtle ways, however, Ćatić and Kalajdžić continued to butt heads, especially over the Croat question. Thus in at least one instance, Kalajdžić edited one of Ćatić’s poems to remove a reference to his Croat sympathies.<sup>694</sup> Conversely, when translating a Pan-Islamist sermon from Mehmet Akif in the fall of 1913, Ćatić successfully appended “Croats”—nonexistent in the original—to Akif’s listing of Islamic peoples, with *Misbah* itself then unwittingly carrying his translation.<sup>695</sup>

Alongside his discontent with the tenor of *Biser*’s critique, however, Ćatić in fact shared Kalajdžić and the others’ dismay over the Ottoman defeat and support for Čaušević’s pro-Ottoman activism. In a private letter from shortly after the outbreak of the war, he confided to a friend that he had barely been able to sleep for three nights since hearing the news, blaming the disaster on “Kamil Pasha and the Albanians” and threatening to personally strangle the elderly Grand Vizier with his belt.<sup>696</sup> Ćatić’s sympathies for the Ottoman cause even brought him into conflict with Croatian hardliners in Zagreb, who had cheered the war as the final removal of the Turks from the Balkans, prompting him to write to the city’s newspapers and call for more objective reporting, “at least to such an extent that it befit Christian tolerance and sufferance of Muslims.”<sup>697</sup> Meanwhile, in the

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<sup>694</sup> Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost*.

<sup>695</sup> Mehmed Âkif, “Jedan vaz (svršetak),” trans. Ašik, *Biser* 2, no. 5 (September 1, 1913): 76–78 Mehmed Âkif: a Sermon (conclusion); Mehmet Âkif, “Mehmed Âkif: Jedan vaz (nastavak 6),” trans. Musa Ćazim Ćatić, *Misbah* 2, no. 14 (January 29, 1914): 1–2 [Mehmed Âkif: a Sermon (part 6)].

<sup>696</sup> ABiH.NKHZ.VI.28.16

<sup>697</sup> Nametak, *Musa Ćazim Ćatić*, 31.

Bosnian press, he contributed a poem to *Zeman*, by then the primary Muslim political paper in Sarajevo, exhorting the Ottoman army to victory.<sup>698</sup> Toward the end of 1913, Bjelevac similarly published a review of French journalist Georges Rémond's account of the Ottoman army's Thracian campaign, praising Enver Pasha and the Young Turks while casting blame for the defeat on the Hamidian old guard and Kamil Pasha in particular.<sup>699</sup>

For both Bjelevac and Ćatić then, sympathy with the calls of Western-educated Muslim students for a more radical embrace of European and/or national values coexisted alongside an abiding loyalty to the Ottoman state, and in particular its own inveterate Muslim modernists. In that sense, the ostensible tension between their Croat-national and Pan-Islamist sympathies actually belied an underlying commitment to Muslim-centered yet national-minded reform in line with the broader Young Turk generation. This is precisely why the duo simultaneously championed the efforts of the CUP to preserve the Empire and defended the Zagreb students who had urged Bosnian Muslims to forsake it. At the same time, the response of this nascent Muslim intelligentsia in Zagreb to the Ottoman defeat mirrored that of many in the CUP, the future rank and file of the Turkish Republic, who would similarly renounce the Islamic Empire as untenable and opt instead for an increasingly secularist ethno-linguistic nationalism. These latent and parallel divisions—between Kemalists and Islamists in Turkey, the “intelligentsia” and conservatives in Bosnia—would become

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<sup>698</sup> M. Ć. Ćatić, “Osmanliji,” *Zeman*, October 12, 1912, 2.89 edition, sec. Podlistak.

<sup>699</sup> A. Hifzi Bjelevac, “Književnost: ‘Avec les vaincus,’” *Biser* 2, no. 7 (October 1, 1913): 111–12 [Literature: With the Vanquished].

more acute with the passing of time, but the tensions in *Biser* are indicative of a historical moment when the dividing lines were not yet so stark and could even appear reconcilable.<sup>700</sup>

Bjelevac and Ćatić would also find themselves at the center of the *Biser* editorial board's other major dividing line: the woman question. Initially, the journal's consideration of gender largely consisted of the promotion of female authors and fictional characters, even if within a distinctly patriarchal framework. This stance built on the above duo's earlier work in *Behar* year 8, where the editor Ćatić had heaped glowing praise on the Ottoman writer Nigâr Hanım, whom he now also included in the admiring sonnets mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>701</sup> During his editorial tenure, *Behar* also published its first contributions from Muslim women, as well as an article from Bjelevac in support of women's education.<sup>702</sup> In *Biser*, the pair's influence provided readers with a range of similar materials addressing women's place in Muslim society more broadly, whether in reports on a conference of Ottoman women in Istanbul or Ćatić's translation of Egyptian scholar Farid Wajdi's "Muslim Woman."<sup>703</sup> Such concerns, however, evidently sat uneasily with prevailing Bosnian social norms, including among other members of the editorial board; when a reader from

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<sup>700</sup> From this perspective, the polemics in *Biser* also complement Ramazan Hakki Öztan's recent argument regarding the Ottoman core: that the Balkan Wars actually initiated an era of debate rather than broad consensus and in some ways even reinvigorated the Ottoman imperialist project. Bosnia's position is distinct in that the wars marked a more final geopolitical severance; Istanbul and Sarajevo both grieved for the loss of Macedonia, but only one found itself on the wrong side of the territorial losses. Nonetheless, the case of *Biser* shows how here too the wars actually brought latent ideological decisions into greater relief and in many ways pushed the Pan-Islamists to double down on their convictions Öztan, "Point of No Return?"

<sup>701</sup> Ćazim, "Turska pjesnikinja Nigjar," *Behar* 8, no. 7 (August 1, 1907): 104–6 [The Turkish Poetess Nigâr].

<sup>702</sup> Rizvić, *Behar*, 328.

<sup>703</sup> "Iz islamskog svijeta: Buđenje svijesti muslimanskih žena," *Biser* 1, no. 10 (March 1913): 217 [From the Islamic World: the Awakening of the Consciousness of Muslim Women]; Muhamed Ferid Vedždi, "Muslimanska žena," trans. Edib Tešnjak, *Biser* 2, no. 1 (July 1, 1913): 4–5 [The Muslim Woman].

Vienna inquired in August of 1913 whether Bjelevac remained its member, another editor responded that he was not, “for his liberal views do not correspond to the program of our journal.”<sup>704</sup>

As historians and literary scholars have since pointed out in the case of Wajdi’s Egypt in particular, Islamic reformist arguments for women’s emancipation frequently framed their case in terms of the national or communal good, referencing women’s roles as mothers.<sup>705</sup> Not surprisingly then, *Biser’s* internal fissures over the “Women’s Question” accelerated alongside the above-mentioned disagreements on the “National Question” over the course of the Balkan Wars. The specific trigger was the publication by Alija Hotić, another Croat-oriented Muslim university student in Zagreb, of a brochure entitled “The Causes of the Decadence of Islamic Peoples.”<sup>706</sup> In October 1913, Bjelevac positively referenced Hotić’s text in *Biser*, claiming that his personal views on the emancipation of Muslim women went even further.<sup>707</sup> This in turn prompted an unsigned “editor” to immediately footnote Bjelevac’s review with a miniature rebuttal, claiming that it mischaracterized Hotić’s text, for it “not only called for allowing Muslim women to conduct tasks outside the house, but to participate independently in public life,” which the writer claimed went against divine law. Significantly, Bjelevac had closed his text by directly citing his wife, Šefika

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<sup>704</sup> “Poruke i odgovori uredništva,” *Biser* 2, no. 4 (August 15, 1913): 64 [Messages and Replies from the Editorial Board].

<sup>705</sup> Marilyn Booth, “Liberal Thought and the ‘Problem’ of Women,” in *Arabic Thought beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda*, 2016, 187–213.a

<sup>706</sup> Karić, *Povijest islamskog mišljenja* [Contributions to the History of Islamic Thought in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 20th Century].

<sup>707</sup> A. Hifzi Bjelevac, “Za ljetne dosade (Hadžer-Merešov dnevnik),” *Biser* 2, no. 8 (October 15, 1913): 118–19 [For Summertime Boredom (Hajji Mereš’s Journal)].

Nesterin Bjelevac, who had published an article calling for “modern schooling” for Muslim girls in the previous volume of the journal—a point the editor apparently had fewer qualms with.<sup>708</sup>

The identity of Bjelevac’s anonymous editorial critic is not immediately clear, but a few months later another author, most likely Sarajlić, wrote under a female pseudonym to stake a middle ground relative to Bjelevac and Hotić’s iconoclasm.<sup>709</sup> “Razija” thus shared her name with the title of Sarajlić’s first book, in which he had encouraged Muslim women’s education while still insisting on their primarily domestic role.<sup>710</sup> Here too, Razija/Sarajlić called for “modern science, schooling, and education, so that we women may make good housewives, mistresses, spouses, and mothers,” simultaneously rejecting unveiling in particular as an example of excessive imitation of European models. Given the same author’s previous admiration for the reforms of Muslims in the Russian Empire, the text is notable for casting the same group in a negative light, warning that some overly “progressive” Russian women had unveiled, fallen in love with non-Muslims, and ultimately “departed both from morality and exalted Islam.” Given the article’s closing appeal to Čaušević as the newly elected Reis-ul-Ulema, this symbolic break with the Tatar example may also indicate a certain newfound confidence in Bosnian Muslims’ institutional capabilities for forging their own model of Islamic reform.

Under the pressures of regional war then, and particularly in light of the Ottoman state’s rapid geopolitical disintegration, significant cracks appeared between *Biser*’s principal authors on questions of nationality and gender. On both fronts, however, the journal’s barely-contained

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<sup>708</sup> Šefika Nesterin Bjelevac, “Odgoj i škola,” *Biser* 1, no. 12 (May 1913): 274 [Upbringing and School].

<sup>709</sup> Razija, “O ženskom pitanju,” *Biser* 2, no. 17–18 (March 1, 1914): 282 [On the Woman Question].

<sup>710</sup> Pirić, *Šemsudin Sarajlić*, 63.

editorial splits did not prevent it from also enabling certain novelties in line with its overarching vision of Muslim communal reform. Notably, despite Bjelevac and Sarajlić's disagreement over the scope of women's emancipation, they broadly agreed on the need to promote schooling for Muslim girls, a position *Biser* promoted to its end. The journal also provided a prominent platform for the pioneering writings of both of their wives, Šefika Bjelevac and Nafija Sarajlić, the latter of whom probably contributed the most aesthetically forward-thinking prose in the journal's entire corpus.

At the same time, *Biser's* encouragement of Pan-Islamist youth organizing successfully expanded its network of editorial contacts both further out from and deeper within Bosnia itself, effectively laying the foundation for more sophisticated communal activism. The outset of *Biser's* second year thus heralded the opening of a new club for Muslim students in Vienna, providing youth with an alternative to the two Serb and Croat sympathizing predecessors.<sup>711</sup> Simultaneously, *Biser* had encouraged one Ćazim Ruščuklija, an "agile youth" from the small mountain town of Kladanj to found his own local Pan-Islamist reading club, *İttihad-i Muslimin*, explicitly concerned with "working toward the unity of Kladanj's otherwise fragmented Muslims and spreading among them Islamic education and the Pan-Islamist idea."<sup>712</sup> In effect, *Biser's* reports on Pulitzer's journalism school and 'Abduh's conception of *ijtihad* tied together a new youthful readership spanning Viennese lecture halls and remote Balkan highlands.

#### 4.6. Circulations and Translations: *Biser* Between "Europe" and the "Islamic World"

As this last point reaffirms, *Biser* developed as a fundamentally transregional project. This is reflected both in its principal authors, whose multilingual studies between Istanbul and Vienna

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<sup>711</sup> "Klub muslimana akademičara u Beču" [Cultural Notes: Muslim Academics Club in Vienna].

<sup>712</sup> "Kulturne bilješke: 'İttihadi-muslimin,'" *Biser* 2, no. 6 (September 15, 1913): 96 [Cultural Notes: "Muslim Unity"].

shaped their cosmopolitan worldviews and editorial sensibilities, as well as in its readership, which covered much the same geographic distance. This transregional dimension, however, was not just limited to the ethos of *Biser's* readers and contributors—it also had a more material dimension. Thanks to their linguistic range and expanding personal contacts, the two groups together allowed the journal to incorporate eclectic source materials from both “East” and “West,” a textual transnationalism that frequently blurred the boundaries between the two. Ultimately, *Biser* offers a vivid example of the interconnectedness of orientalist and Pan-Islamist knowledge production during the era of high imperialism, as well as how Muslims in a seemingly peripheral setting such as Bosnia-Herzegovina could creatively position themselves within this exchange.

Broadly speaking, *Biser* drew the bulk of its translated materials from the “Islamic World,” though the precise contours of this construct require further unpacking. Istanbul undoubtedly stood at its center, with the journal frequently urging readers to order from or subscribe to particular bookshops and publishing libraries in the Ottoman capital, further integrating Bosnia into its burgeoning publishing web.<sup>713</sup> Notably, references to more distant regions of this Islamic world appear to have primarily come through Istanbul as well, as evidenced by the Ottoman-influenced orthographic mutilation of such English-language publications as the *Bombay Gazette* (“*Bombaj gazeti*”) as well as frequent citations of reports on China, Japan, and elsewhere in the likes of *Sırat-ı Müstakim/Sebilürreşad*.<sup>714</sup> In citing such publications in the Istanbul press, *Biser* paid little mind to

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<sup>713</sup> The February 1914 issue characteristically recommended that readers acquire Ahmet Hilmi Filibeli’s “History of Islam” (OT: Târih-i İslâm) and İsmail Hakkı Bereketzade’s “Quranic Virtues” (OT: Necâib-i Kur’âniyye) from the Darüşşafaka and Sebilürreşad bookshops, providing addresses for both. See: “Književnost: Povijest Islama,” *Biser* 2, no. 15–16 (February 1, 1914): 249 [Literature: the History of Islam]; “Književnost: Vrline Kur’ana,” *Biser* 2, no. 15–16 (February 1, 1914): 249 [Literature: the Quranic Virtues].

<sup>714</sup> “Iz islamskog svijeta: Vjersko-prosvjetna autonomija kineskih muslimana,” *Biser* 1, no. 10 (March 1913): 217 [From the Islamic World: the Religious-Educational Autonomy of Chinese Muslims]; “Iz islamskog svijeta: Gasprinski otvara



particular intellectual factions and disagreements therein; while it took after the *Arebica* press in Sarajevo and drew heavily on Istanbul's modernist Ulema, it also happily drew from publications with a more overtly nationalist tone such as *Türk Yurdu*.<sup>715</sup> This approach probably rested in part on the still relatively ambiguous boundaries between these Ottoman ideological currents, but it also speaks to *Biser's* overarching objective in referencing the Islamic World: providing Bosnian readers with examples of Muslim communal modernization and activism.

Outside of Istanbul itself, the most prominent reference society in *Biser's* "Islamic World" consisted of "Russian Muslims," i.e. the geographically dispersed but intellectually well-networked Muslim communities of the Russian Empire, including in particular Azerbaijan, the Crimea, and the Volga-Ural region. More recent works at the intersection of Russian and Ottoman history have challenged older portrayals of these Russo-Turkic intellectuals as harbingers of Turkish nationalism, and *Biser's* enthusiastic embrace of figures such as Ismail-beg Gasprinski, who it portrayed primarily as a Pan-Islamist champion, highlights the multifaceted ways in which their thought and work reached Muslims beyond the Ottoman domains.<sup>716</sup> Similar to Čaušević and the Ulema-led publications in Sarajevo, *Biser* drew on Russian Muslims writings both in Istanbul and in their own Russia-based journals, such as *Tercüman*. The greater accessibility of these Ottoman/Turkish publications and the perceived similarity of Muslim life under Habsburg and Romanov rule helps explain why these Russian sources appear to feature even more heavily than the much-lauded

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mektebe u Bombaju," *Biser* 1, no. 7 (December 1912): 141–42 [From the Islamic World: Gasprinsky is Opening Mektebs in Bombay].

<sup>715</sup> Yusuf Akçura, "Iz islamskog svijeta: Ismail-beg Gasprinsky," trans. Sabri, *Biser* 1, no. 6 (November 1912): 116–18 [From the Islamic World: Ismail-beg Gasprinsky].

<sup>716</sup> A. Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002); James H. Meyer, *Turks Across Empires: Marketing Muslim Identity in the Russian-Ottoman Borderlands, 1856-1914*, Oxford Studies in Modern European History (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Cairene modernist school of 'Abduh and Rida. Though *Biser* did occasionally reference the Egyptian Mufti, these mentions tended to be vague in the particulars, with the cleric featuring more as a symbol of “scientific” Islam among its theological contributors.<sup>717</sup>

Turkey, Russia, and Egypt thus represented the Islamic World’s primary reference societies and source bases for the writers of *Biser*, and indeed for their Ulema collaborators in Sarajevo as well. At the same time, the journal’s reliance on news and materials from these regional nodes ultimately exposed it to and colored its perspective toward far more distant world regions as well. The regular “Islamic World” section from *Biser*’s 12<sup>th</sup> issue in July 1913 is particularly illustrative. Citing the “Vakit” newspaper in Orenburg, it began with a report on the success of Muslim merchants in Manchuria, before referencing a “reputable Arabic newspaper” to similarly report on their counterparts in Nanjing.<sup>718</sup> In both cases, the editors emphasized the associational successes of local Muslims, who had apparently founded communal organizations to advance commerce, education, and the promotion of “strict Islamic upbringing and morality.” The global expansion of Islamic publishing networks that enabled these accounts in *Biser* showed few signs of slowing down: in the journal’s final issue ahead of the Sarajevo assassination, Muhamed Tufo translated an item on Afghanistan from *Al-Manār*, explaining that the Cairene journal had translated it from an English

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<sup>717</sup> As per chapter 2, it was in *Biser* that one such theological contributor, Muhamed Tufo, complained about his compatriots’ ignorance of *Al-Manār*. Tufo, “Savjeti afganskog emira Abdurahmana” [The Advice of the Afghan Emir Abdurahman, Which He Left in Trust to His Son and Successor Habibullah].

<sup>718</sup> “Iz islamskog svijeta: Kulturno-gospodarstveni napredak muslimana u Mandžuriji,” *Biser* 1, no. 12 (May 1913): 275 [From the Islamic World: the Cultural-Economic Progress of Muslims in Manchuria]; “Iz islamskog svijeta: Djelovanje kineskih muslimana u Nankingu,” *Biser* 1, no. 12 (May 1913): 275–76 [From the Islamic World: the Activities of the Chinese Muslims in Nanjing].

language gazette in India, which had itself translated it from the Persian-language original in the Calcutta newspaper *Habl al-Matin*.<sup>719</sup>

In the same issue as the two earlier reports above, the editors also featured a lengthy article on “the number of Muslims in America,” speaking once again to the combination of demographic anxieties and global outlooks that characterized Bosnian Pan-Islamism.<sup>720</sup> The editor in question was most likely Ćatić, who in year 8 of *Behar* translated Mirza Abdul'Rahim Tabrizi's text “Islam in America.”<sup>721</sup> Here he expressed skepticism toward a recent New York Press' article claiming 450,000 Muslims in the United States, speculating that they may have conflated Muslims with Mormons before reiterating that the former should work to convert the latter regardless. In his subsequent comments, however, the author moved beyond the simple question of Muslims' relative demographic weight to comment on America's freedom of speech and religion more generally:

No country in the world has freedom of religion as does America, for which reason it contains many different faiths and sects... [It] is renowned today for its freedom of speech and assembly. In great squares, in buildings called 'halls', and in public parks and streets, any number of speakers will lecture on religion. While in one corner of a park we see a speaker atheistically denouncing all faiths, just a little further we can hear another, using all his wordiness to prove the truth of an entirely new religion. The American government does not get the least bit involved in this proselytizing and propaganda... Debates on Islam also frequently occur in elite circles, and many of the more intelligent and respected Americans are clearly sympathetic toward Muslims and their exalted religion.

In effect, *Biser's* Pan-Islamism took readers far beyond just the heartland of the “Islamic World,” introducing them to and critically engaging with even non-Muslim societies. Put

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<sup>719</sup> Tufo, “Savjeti afganskog emira Abdurahmana.”

<sup>720</sup> “Iz islamskog svijeta: Broj muslimana u Americi,” *Biser* 1, no. 12 (May 1913): 276 [From the Islamic World: the Number of Muslims in America].

<sup>721</sup> Mirza Abdurrahim El-Tibrizi, “Islam u Americi,” trans. Musa Tešnjali, *Behar* 8, no. 10 (September 15, 1907): 145–46 [Islam in America].

differently, the era's rapid expansion of Pan-Islamist publishing networks both encouraged a narrowly confessional political outlook and served as an important engine of globalization.

Similar to the above commentary on the United States, *Biser's* drawing on these Pan-Islamist publishing networks ultimately carried it to novel engagements with Europe as well. In particular, by its second year, the journal regularly reported on nascent Muslim organizing in Western European countries, such as the founding of an "Islamic Progress" Association in Geneva in July of 1913.<sup>722</sup> Two months later, it praised the activities of the Mohammedan association in London, whose general assembly had just outlined plans for a multilingual Arabic-English-Urdu monthly that would "acquaint Europeans, particularly the English, with the beauty and exalted principles of Islam, while spreading among the Islamic peoples the great idea of Pan-Islamism, brotherhood, and civilization."<sup>723</sup> The fact that these reports from England and Switzerland found their place in the regular "Islamic World" section further betrays the nebulousness of the construct, demarcated more by the ever-expanding reach of the aforementioned publishing networks than any firm geo-cultural borders. Broadly speaking, Europe remained the Islamic World's "other" on the pages of *Biser*, but these early entanglements illustrate how Pan-Islamist networking paradoxically allowed for a certain blurring of the boundaries as well.

These boundaries blur further if we consider the ways in which *Biser* incorporated European colonial and orientalist sources, particularly in the work of Bakamović, the journal's second major translator after Ćatić and a trained orientalist himself. For much of *Biser's* second year, he provided a

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<sup>722</sup> "Iz islamskog svijeta: Udruženje 'Islamski napredak,'" *Biser* 2, no. 1 (July 1, 1913): 12 [From the Islamic World: the "Islamic Progress" Association].

<sup>723</sup> S. B., "Iz islamskog svijeta: Važna Musl. skupština u Londonu," *Biser* 2, no. 6 (September 15, 1913): 95 [From the Islamic World: an Important Muslim Assembly in London].

serialized translation of the French-language text “Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism,” originally published just a few months earlier in *Revue du monde musulman*.<sup>724</sup> Bakamović and *Biser*’s other editors lent the piece pride of place in their journal, no doubt because its survey of Ottoman intellectual currents ultimately came down against Turkic nationalism as threatening the Empire’s Islamic character. In fact, Bakamović frequently relied on Western European sources when they suited *Biser*’s purposes: in October 1913, he thus introduced readers to a series of Arabic odes (BCS: *kaside*, from A: *qaṣā’id*) that French colonizers had uncovered in Timbuktu, translating them “secondhand” into Bosnian from the French translations of Franz Toussaint in *Mercure de France*.<sup>725</sup> Elsewhere, Bakamović and his colleagues drew on other Francophone publications to publicize such phenomena as the contemporary expansion of Persian publishing and the rise of a new generation of Muslim students in Tunis, “armed with Islamic culture but inspired by Western ideas.”<sup>726</sup> In other words, *Biser* in large part drew on orientalist publications in much the same way as it drew on their Pan-Islamist counterparts from the “Islamic World,” bolstering its narrative of a global Muslim cultural renaissance.

If the linguistic range of *Biser*’s authors helps explain how a small literary journal from Herzegovina blended such diverse sources from much larger intellectual centers, its expanding editorial networks suggest that it could have soon engaged those same centers more directly as well. In March of 1914, Muharem Dubravić, vice president of the aforementioned Bosnian Muslim

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<sup>724</sup> The text’s anonymous author was likely the Iranian-Azeri intellectual Hassan Taqizadeh, who wrote the report based on his observations during a brief exile in Istanbul in 1911. X, “Le panislamisme et le panturquisme,” *Le Revue du Monde Musulman* 22 (March 1913): 179–220 [Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism].

<sup>725</sup> S. Bakamović, “Iz arapske lirike,” *Biser* 2, no. 7 (October 1, 1913): 110 [From Arab Lyrical Poetry].

<sup>726</sup> S, trans., “Književnost: perzijska štampa,” *Biser* 2, no. 3 (August 1, 1913): 45–47 [Literature: the Persian Press]; Sabri, trans., “Iz islamskog svijeta: Intelektualni pokret tuniških muslimana,” *Biser* 1, no. 10 (March 1913): 215–17 [From the Islamic World: the Intellectual Movement of Tunisian Muslims].

students club in Vienna, wrote to *Biser* about an exciting new contact.<sup>727</sup> This was the recently founded Society for Islamic Studies (G: *Gesellschaft für Islamkunde*) in Berlin, which the club had reached out to on its own initiative. In its response, the Society asked the Viennese students to become members themselves, further requesting that their club keep them informed as much as possible about the condition of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. “We thereby most warmly recommend this society and its journal to our Muslim brothers who know the German language,” Dubravić wrote to *Biser*, adding that “those who would like to write in it but do not know German may feel free to send their work to our club [first], where it will be translated and forwarded to the publication.” In closing, he promised that the students would also occasionally translate key items from the journal into Bosnian, which the editors at *Biser* enthusiastically agreed to republish.

The journal in question was *Die Welt des Islams*, which outlived its original *Gesellschaft* and still stands as one of the oldest Western journals in Islamic Studies. Indeed, its final issue from 1914 dutifully lists “*Klub der islamitischen Akademiker aus Bosnien und Herzegowina*” as its most recent subscriber for the period through March 31<sup>st</sup> of that year.<sup>728</sup> Had *Biser*’s print run not come to a sudden end with the outbreak of the First World War, it seems reasonable to assume that this tentative link would have borne further fruit.

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<sup>727</sup> “Klub muslimana akademičara iz Herceg-Bosne u Beču i društvo za proučavanje Islama u Berlinu,” *Biser* 2, no. 17–18 (March 1, 1914) [The Club of Muslim Students from Bosnia-Herzegovina in Vienna and the Society for Islamic Studies in Berlin].

<sup>728</sup> The same issue also lists as a slightly later subscriber the Muslim Students Sports Club in Sarajevo (BCS: muslimanski đачki športski klub, G: Der muselmanische Studenten-Sportklub), an organization advertised earlier in *Biser* that would have almost certainly heard of the journal through the Viennese students’ above-cited letter. “Mitglieder-Verzeichnis,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 2, no. 2/4 (December 15, 1914): VIII [Members Directory].

The March 1914 issue of *Biser* is also notable for registering another development: the formal inauguration of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević as Bosnia's Reis-ul-Ulema. In a sharp departure from the usual textual format, its front page featured a centered photograph of Čaušević, dressed in the ceremonial green robe alluded to in previous chapters. The accompanying article, transliterated from the Arabic-script *Muallim*, provided readers with an effusive biography, which pointedly cited Čaušević's renewed mastery of the Bosnian language after extended studies in Istanbul as an example of his "talent and diligence."<sup>729</sup> In fact, the journal had been celebrating the theologian's success since his very election, the editors announcing their support for his institutional endeavors and labeling him "the spiritual leader of us Pan-Islamists."<sup>730</sup> In the very next issue, the front page bore a poem by Ćatić, which similarly portrayed Čaušević's election as the expression of a popular will and harbinger of better days for Muslims and Islam.<sup>731</sup>

*Biser's* coverage of Čaušević's election reiterates how the Latin-script literary journal in Mostar worked alongside its Arabic-script Ulema counterparts in Sarajevo to bolster the scholar's reformist project. It also suggests that its marked success in the years 1912-1914 shaped this broader project as well. *Misbah*, the primary Ulema journal, thus began its second year with a new format, featuring articles in the Latin and Cyrillic script as well. Citing a desire to make the paper more accessible to middle and high school students, it likely took the decision in part based on *Biser's* successful example. By its 12<sup>th</sup> issue from January of 1914, the Ulema Association even explained that its preference for Arabic was not inherent to the script itself, but a function of its predominance

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<sup>729</sup> "H. Mehmed Džemaluddin ef. Čaušević, reis-ul-ulema," *Biser* 2, no. 17–18 (March 1, 1914): 257–59.

<sup>730</sup> "Kulturne bilješke: Izbor Reis-ul-uleme potvrđen," *Biser* 2, no. 10 (November 15, 1913): 160 [Cultural Notes: the Electino of the Reis-ul-Ulema Confirmed].

<sup>731</sup> Adil, "Našem novom reisu," *Biser* 2, no. 11 (December 1, 1913): 161 [To Our New Reis].

among Muslims worldwide: “if the Islamic peoples were to agree and put this script aside in favor of some other... then the Ulema would gladly follow suit, for Islam is Islam—good and exalted—no matter in what letters it is written about.”<sup>732</sup> This shift in attitudes did not yet correspond to a full abandonment of Arabic—authors such as Sakib Korkut continued to insist on its primacy—but it did signal an acceptance that a multi-scriptural approach could fit neatly alongside the movement’s longstanding embrace of multilingualism. With Čaušević in a position of institutional power and both his literary and theological supporters enjoying publishing success, Bosnia’s Pan-Islamists entered June 1914 distinctly on the rise.

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<sup>732</sup> H-z. M, “Ilmija naprama ćirilici i latinici,” *Misbah* 2, no. 12 (January 15, 1914): 1 [The Ulema in Regard to Latin and Cyrillic].



## Epilogue

*Biser's* second volume ended abruptly. Though the journal's final issue of the year duly features June 1914 as its date of publication, its discrepant content quickly betrays that it did not see the light of day until much later, long after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand had closed out that month in Sarajevo. Perhaps the most obvious indication, appearing only after an avalanche of backlogged content from previous issues, is Šemsudin Sarajlić's heartfely obituary for his close friend and *Biser's* former chief editor: Musa Ćazim Ćatić.<sup>733</sup> Mobilized into the army shortly after the start of the war, Ćatić served first in Tuzla and then in Örkény in Hungary. In October of that year, he tried to return to his barracks in the latter town after another night out, only to pass out drunk in the snow. Nearly freezing to death, he soon contracted tuberculosis, spending time at the town hospital before being transferred to Budapest. From there he sent letters and postcards home to friends, appearing to maintain decent spirits but few illusions about his condition; on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1915, he wrote that he had not drunk or smoked in four months, joking that he had come to his senses rather late.<sup>734</sup> The army eventually released him; a fellow soldier saw him, "skin and bones," in the railroad hub of Doboj, where the poet explained that he was returning home to die. His patron Mešić spared no expense in providing a private doctor for his bedside, but to no avail. Musa Ćazim Ćatić died in his native Tešanj at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1915.

The war dealt a heavy and multifaceted blow to Bosnia's Pan-Islamist movement, beginning on the level of individual lives. Ćatić was far from the only casualty. Muhamed Seid Serdarević, Čaušević's right-hand man since *Tarık* and later the editor of *Muallim*, also died. Ahmed

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<sup>733</sup> Šemsuddin Sarajlić, "Merhum Musa Ćazim Ćatić," *Biser* 2, no. 22-23-24 (June 15, 1914): 372-74 [The Late...].

<sup>734</sup> ABiH.NKHZ.VI.28.10

Rašidkadić, Ćatić's close friend and one of the primary translators of Turkish-language materials for *Biser*, similarly lived out his final days in a k.u.k. field hospital on the eastern front. The scattershot issues of *Biser* from 1918 are correspondingly full of obituaries, not only for the aforementioned locals, but for some of the international Pan-Islamist figureheads that they had looked up to as well; the same issue that announced the death of Ćatić did the same for Gaspirali, the latter eulogy courtesy of Sarajlić as well. Other losses were more systemic: fourteen lingering students at *Darülfünun* returned to Bosnia that summer, including the just-graduated Derviš Korkut, presumably unaware that a similar number of Bosnians would not study theology in Istanbul for nearly a century to come. Once at home, the young theologians, their more established counterparts, and their literary peers all faced the prospect of conscription to the front. As Reis-ul-Ulema, Čaušević did what he could: some, like Bašić and the Korkut brothers, entered bureaucratic and teaching functions within Bosnia's Islamic institutions; others, such as Sarajlić and eventually Derviš Korkut as well, entered the army as military imams for Austria-Hungary's Bosnian regiments.

The home front offered little respite, as the growing strain of total war both hamstrung Čaušević and the reformists' original ambitions and presented them with a variety of new challenges. In a sense, this dynamic had begun immediately after the Sarajevo assassination, prior even to the formal start of war. In the city itself, the Archduke's death led to widespread rioting against Serb-owned businesses, which the Muslim press and spiritual leadership felt compelled to address: Čaušević, Bašić, and Sakib Korkut all called for an end to the violence, emphasizing the importance of maintaining neighborly intercommunal relations. "Let it not be thought that Islam establishes a brotherly bond between Muslims but leaves others outside of this circle," Bašić wrote in the July 24<sup>th</sup> issue of *Misbah*, adding that "nurturing human ties with non-Muslim neighbors is one of the

general principles of Islam.”<sup>735</sup> During the preceding period, the Pan-Islamist project had essentially constructed an artificially insulated Muslim public sphere, open only to Muslim authors and, in the case of the Arabic press, further limited to those who could read the Arabic script. Now in a position of broader public authority, Čaušević and the others faced the more immediate task of helping to maintain order in a fundamentally multi-confessional society. As the war wore on and placed new strains on this society, they encountered still new challenges. To cite but one example, Čaušević sanctioned and helped find work for women whose husbands, providers for their families, had left for the front, an effort that extended not only to Muslim women, but non-Muslim ones as well.<sup>736</sup>

Čaušević at first enthusiastically supported Austria-Hungary’s war effort, affirming the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph’s call to Jihad and emphasizing in particular Vienna’s alliance with Istanbul in his addresses to Bosnian worshippers. Over the years, however, this support gradually broke down.<sup>737</sup> At issue were not simply the Dual Monarchy’s military struggles, but at least two interconnected factors. One appears to have been how the war effort and its demands on society had come to blur confessional boundaries and threaten Muslim religious sensibilities; Čaušević’s private papers from this time therefore include extended correspondence with the authorities over the provision of pork-based meals to Muslim soldiers and the later placing of Muslim orphans in Christian-run institutions in other parts of the Empire. The second factor was a readily apparent frustration with the increasingly autocratic nature of the wartime state, exemplified by Čaušević’s

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<sup>735</sup> Salih Safvet Bašić, “Reisu’l-Ulema’nın Nasâyih-i Dindârânesi Münasebetiyle ‘Medeniyet-i İslamiyeden Bir Nebze,’” *Jenji Misbah* 3, no. 17 (July 24, 1914): 1 [On the Occasion of the Reis-ul-Ulema’s Lecture “A Bit on Islamic Civilization”].

<sup>736</sup> See the obituary by Ahmed Mahinić in: Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević*.

<sup>737</sup> Adnan Jahić, “Krug nade i razočaranja: bosanskomuslimansko vjersko vodstvo i Veliki rat (1914.-1918.),” *Vrhbosnensia* XIX, no. 2 (2015): 301–18 [Circle of Hope and Disappointment: the Bosnian Muslim Religious Leadership and the Great War (1914-1918)].

choice words for the governor Stjepan Sarkotić when the latter decided to bring his entire general staff to a packed sermon at the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque.<sup>738</sup> By late summer of 1917, with the formation of a Yugoslav state increasingly likely, Čaušević seemed to conclude that the old Austro-Hungarian order had broken down so thoroughly that a South Slav state would be preferable, confiding to Anton Korošac, president of the Yugoslav Club, that he was “sick of ours, the Turkish, and the German governments.”<sup>739</sup> Notably, Sarajlić’s copious wartime writings reflect a similar trajectory, from enthusiastic support for the Austro-Hungarian war effort framed in Pan-Islamist terms to an increasing sense that the Empire, and its army in particular, did not afford enough respect to Bosnian Muslim religious sensibilities and wartime sacrifices.<sup>740</sup>

The experiences of Čaušević and the surviving Pan-Islamists later in the Yugoslav period and afterward ultimately fall beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, it is worth noting some of the key aspects of these subsequent decades, particularly insofar as they relate to the central figures and themes of this dissertation or suggest potential avenues for future research. In the initial years of the new state, especially through the ratification and aftermath of the 1921 *Vidovdan* Constitution, several members of the pre-1914 Pan-Islamist network played important political roles. Mehmed Spaho, brother of Fehim and a close ally of Čaušević during the previous period, emerged as the head of the newly created Yugoslav Muslim Organization (BCS: *Jugoslavenska muslimanska organizacija*, hereafter JMO) and consequently the major Muslim politician of the new Yugoslav state. Alongside him, Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac and Šemsudin Sarajlić joined him as members of the

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<sup>738</sup> This aligns with the recent work of historians of Austria-Hungary such as Tamara Scheer, who have argued that the Austro-Hungarian military, far from the unifying factor it has traditionally been portrayed as, had in fact played a key role in precipitating the Empire’s collapse.

<sup>739</sup> Jahić, “Krug nade i razočaranja: bosanskomuslimansko vjersko vodstvo i Veliki rat (1914.-1918.),” 314.

<sup>740</sup> Šemsudin Sarajlić, “Ratni dnevnik, 1916-18 [4/4],” 1918, 8.41.SŠ-252-247, HAS [Wartime Diaries].

JMO's executive committee, while Sarajlić joined former *Misbah*-editor Sakib Korkut as a deputy to the Kingdom's first parliament. In that sense, representatives of what this study has identified as the Pan-Islamist movement's Ulema and lay branches both featured prominently in the major post-war Muslim political organization. Owing to their earlier literary and journalistic experience, they also played an outsized role in the party's intellectual wing: Korkut as the editor of the party newspaper *Pravda* ("Justice") and Sarajlić contributing both there and in Bjelevac's contemporary literary revue *Novi vijek* ("A New Age"). Across these publications as well as in their political engagement, the group advocated for a Yugoslav civic nationalism that could also encompass Muslim socio-political organizing on a more narrowly communal basis. Korkut and Sarajlić's splintering from the main, Spaho-led branch of the party in 1923 then brought this initial period of domestic political work to a close at precisely the time that Mustafa Kemal's movement succeeded in establishing the modern Republic of Turkey.<sup>741</sup>

One central theme for the subsequent period is Čaušević's gradual isolation as Reis-ul-Ulema. As several authors have written, the theologian entered the final years of his life under simultaneous pressure from two distinct currents: the centralizing Yugoslav state and Muslim conservatives. In terms of the former, the Alexandrine dictatorship gave rise to renewed efforts to centralize state administration, most famously in territorial terms, but also in regard to Muslim religious autonomy. Initially an imperial institution that the fin-de-siècle Muslim autonomy

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<sup>741</sup> Works on the founding and early political history of Yugoslavia represent an important subgenre of regional scholarship, and though they already touch on the important role of the JMO in this era's parliamentary politics, it would appear fruitful to further probe how the Pan-Islamist roots of some of the party's key intellectuals informed their participation therein. Banac, *The National Question*; Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Husnija Kamberović, *Mehmed Spaho (1883-1939): Politička biografija* (Sarajevo: Vijeće Kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca, 2009) [Mehmed Spaho (1883-1939): a Political Biography].

movement and eventually Čaušević's own sympathizers had helped mold into something more, the Reis-ul-Ulema office's generous autonomy in internal affairs now represented an obstacle for Belgrade authorities; after increasing government pressure to acquiesce to the changes, Čaušević instead retired in 1930 without a pension.<sup>742</sup> The incident speaks not just to the demise of a particular late imperial institution, but the broader world that had allowed for this sort of autonomy; it seems that little room remained for an independent Reis in an ever darker continent.

In the meantime, Čaušević had already provoked the ire of Muslim conservatives as well, in particular in his stated support for such issues as Muslim women's unveiling and the permissibility of the translation of the Quran. Čaušević had exhibited a liberal streak in such matters far earlier, encouraging, for instance, unveiling on a private level, but this more assertive public stance built in part from his approval of the ongoing Kemalist reforms, which he had been able to witness firsthand during a trip in 1927. This stance ultimately earned him harsh criticism from other members of the Ulema through the subsequent year, a situation that only worsened in later polemics over his attempt to translate the Quran in the 1930s.<sup>743</sup> Intellectual cleavages had evidently deepened within Bosnia's Muslim community, not simply in relation to domestic developments, but also in the context of a changing state system. In the aftermath of the abovementioned Ulema censoring, one of the opposing clerics fed an article to the Cairene press heralding "Kemal's Defeat in Bosnia."<sup>744</sup>

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<sup>742</sup> Karić and Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević*.

<sup>743</sup> Bougarel, "Farewell to the Ottoman Legacy?"

<sup>744</sup> Dževad Gološ, "Sjećanje na posljednjeg mostarskog muderisa," *Preporod*, accessed November 6, 2017, <https://www.preporod.com/index.php/sve-vijesti/magazin/vasa-strana/item/4447-sjecanje-na-posljednjeg-mostarskog-muderisa>; Karić, *Povijest islamskog mišljenja*, 310–11.

Čaušević's domestic isolation, however, also coincided with renewed attempts at and new opportunities for international cooperation. The central figure here was Shakib Arslan, the Arab-Ottoman exile intellectual who had emerged from the Empire's ashes to position himself as a novel kind of European Muslim intellectual. Arslan's journal, *la Nation Arabe* in Geneva, thus made a deliberate effort to include the voices of Balkan Muslims, with members of Bosnia's pre-1914 Pan-Islamist movement emerging as some of his key interlocutors.<sup>745</sup> Arslan even visited Bosnia-Herzegovina in person in August 1932, with Salih Bakamović part of the delegation to meet him in Mostar. Following Arslan's visits, Čaušević's brother-in-law Muhamed Pandža and several likeminded Ulema launched a new journal titled *Islamski svijet* ("The Islamic World"), reporting extensively on the situation in Syria and Palestine; Hidajet Kulenović, the Istanbul student whose impassioned writings to *Sirat-ı Müstakim* featured in chapter 3, reappears here as an occasional contributor. When Arslan organized a Congress of European Muslims in 1935, Derviš Korkut, and Salim Muftić attended as part of the Yugoslav delegation; it is no coincidence that both belong to the previously referenced network of Bosnian reformists, the direct descendants of the pro-Tanzimat Muftis of Travnik and Sarajevo respectively, a remarkable and yet, as this dissertation suggests, perfectly logical continuity.<sup>746</sup>

Following the short-lived *Novi vijek*, both Bjelevac and Sarajlić, the key surviving and publicly active contributors to *Biser*, pursued careers and interests that in many ways built on their late imperial linguistic versatility and Pan-Islamist sensibilities. These pursuits, however, also

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<sup>745</sup> Raja Adal, "Constructing Transnational Islam: The East-West Network of Shakib Arslan," in *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>746</sup> Fikret Karčić, "The Bosnian Muslims and Islamic International Networks: 'The Age of Conventions,'" *Bosnian Studies*, no. 1 (2007): 114–21.

frequently ran aground the new nationalist order in the Eastern Mediterranean. Bjelevac thus left Sarajevo and his once successful literary career behind with the dawn on the 30s, making a more dependable living as a Turkish language expert at the Yugoslav Press Bureau in Belgrade.<sup>747</sup> In 1934 he moved again, this time to Istanbul and Ankara, where he served as the Yugoslav press attaché. Finding himself once again in the formative city of his adolescence, Bjelevac integrated himself into a new generation of Turkish writers, even preparing to publish a translated version of “Under a Foreign Sun” in the newspaper *Tanin*. This translation, however, courtesy of one of his local colleagues, wholly changed the tenor of the text by “nationalizing” its characters for the Kemalist age, the protagonist’s Armenian lover Sabina, for instance, rechristened Cennet. Leaving Istanbul in 1936, Bjelevac’s translated texts never saw the light of day. Although the Galatasaray-trained Bjelevac had returned to Herzegovina as an exceptionally liberal figure, the passage of time and his intervening absence from Turkey had rendered him something of an anachronism there. While he championed the Kemalist reforms and evidently felt comfortable in his cosmopolitan surroundings, his literary incongruity ironically confirmed his Ottoman upbringing.

In the aftermath of his break with the JMO, Sarajlić largely put literature aside and turned to his new professional function as an accountant in municipal government. Here too, however, like Bjelevac, he drew on his linguistic range and formative ideological experiences to make sense of his place in the world and build new connections. Examples in his unpublished manuscripts abound, but a detailed travelogue of a business trip to Egypt and Syria in 1939 provides especially rich evidence.<sup>748</sup> In one entry, Sarajlić describes sitting at an American café-pâtisserie in a newer part of

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<sup>747</sup> Idrizović, *Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac*.

<sup>748</sup> Šemsudin Sarajlić, “Po istočnom Sredozemlju” (1939), 8.41.SŠ-252-245, HAS [Around the Eastern Mediterranean].



Cairo, where he noticed two Hungarian couples at the adjacent table. Knowing “a bit” of Hungarian himself, he conversed with the waiter in German instead, so as to not fully give himself away and perhaps even overhear part of their conversation. By the time his acquaintance had arrived and he had told him, once again in German, of his recent trip to Budapest and sympathy for its revanchist protests against Czechoslovakia, Sarajlić had provoked his desired reaction. “The ladies stopped mid-sentence, and when I further mentioned my Sarajevo, they looked at me with eyes full of trust, as if I were their closest neighbor.” Arriving in Damascus the following week, Sarajlić tracked down another compatriot, but this time one from the Sanjak town of Prijepolje, whom he encountered in the company of two retired Ottoman soldiers, a Turk and an Albanian. Sarajlić excitedly recalls finding them in conversation in Turkish, expressing to them his delight at finding a “Turkish oasis in the Arab lands.” Sarajlić’s post-imperial cosmopolitanism, however, also had to reckon with the reality of a world increasingly divided along national lines. Even upon arriving in Beirut a few days earlier, he had to spend a night in jail due to visa issues with the French mandate authorities, a predicament he apparently managed to escape only after threatening to publicize his poor treatment as a citizen of Yugoslavia. His grandiose ideas similarly had to adapt from a world of empires to one of more circumscribed economic blocs: in a lengthy letter to the King of Egypt, he pitched an economic treaty between this country and Yugoslavia as an essentially Pan-Islamist project.

The surviving Pan-Islamists’ backgrounds ultimately colored their experiences with the ensuing Second World War as well, though the precise course this influence took would have been harder to predict. At the invitation of the new Croatian fascist puppet government in 1943, Bjelevac set out for Zagreb and took the lead in a new propaganda venture. This was the newspaper *Doğu ve Batı* (East and West), a Turkish-language publication supported by the Croatian Foreign Ministry,

which sought to reach Bosnian Muslim émigrés and enlist them in improving Croatian-Turkish relations. Under Bjelevac, however, the project suffered from its editor's now archaic Ottoman-inflected Turkish, never achieving the success that its fascist patrons desired. Elsewhere, other members of the pre-war network drew on their youthful activism to take an entirely different position amidst the dramatic political circumstances. This was the case with Derviš Korkut, whose Pan-Islamist advocacy for colonized Muslim peoples in the pre-1914 era translated into a championing of minority rights in interwar Yugoslavia. These initially centered on advocacy for non-Slavic Muslims in the southeastern reaches of his new country at Pan-Islamist congresses during the 20s and 30s, notably including Arslan's in Geneva. By the 1940s, however, Korkut, curator at Sarajevo's Habsburg-era National Museum, had emerged as one of the leading Bosnian Muslim critics of Nazi policies against Jews and Roma as well. Beyond publishing a 1941 article titled "Anti-Semitism is Foreign to the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina" on the eve of Nazi occupation, Korkut's support of local Jews during the Second World War, including hiding a young woman in his family home and helping her escape occupied Sarajevo, ultimately earned him and his wife Servet a place with "the Righteous Amongst the Nations."<sup>749</sup> Decades later, long after Derviš himself had passed, the same woman and her descendants welcomed Servet and her children in Israel as refugees from the Bosnian War.

In the post-war period, both the individuals who remained and the more structural elements of Bosnia's pre-1914 Muslim reform movement firmly receded from public life and even historical memory. The pressures of war and socialist state building, for instance, combined to do away with the independent periodical press that had helped power the movement's rise. Formal Islamic

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<sup>749</sup> Geraldine Brooks, "The Book of Exodus," *The New Yorker*, December 3, 2007.

institutions, having already been significantly politicized since the breakdown in Yugoslav political life in the 1930s, came under even firmer state control. The two wartime Reis-ul-Ulemas, Fehim Spaho and Salih Safvet Bašić, will represent familiar names to readers of this dissertation, Čaušević's close supporters and contributors to *Behar* and *Misbah* respectively. By contrast, the men who succeeded them, whether at the very top of the country's Islamic religious hierarchy or further down, belonged to a distinctly new generation, trained in Al-Azhar and other madrasas in Arabic-speaking countries. Correspondingly, Turkish, which Čaušević had envisioned in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a central thread tying Bosnia to the Islamic World, effectively fell largely out of the curriculum. A 1961 report from the Islamic Community's official journal on the opening of a mosque in the village of Novo Selo noted that the elderly imam Ibrahim Mahinić, a graduate of Darülfünun, recited the Quran in the archaic "Istanbul dialect" before his bemused audience of local worshippers.<sup>750</sup> The Arabic script, which had surfaced in sporadic publications as late as the last war, devolved into a little-known curio, a position it largely occupies to this day. Sarajlić passed away in 1960, Korkut in 1969, and Bjelevac last of all in 1972; the literary scholar Muris Idrizović, visiting him shortly beforehand in Zagreb as part of his research on the novelist's life and work, recalled having to explain to him that every Sarajevo acquaintance he inquired about had long since passed.

Idrizović's own work fit within the larger socio-political context of the Yugoslav party state's efforts to institutionalize and academically legitimize a separate Muslim nationality in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As part of this process, many of the diverse intellectuals at the heart of the pre-1914 reform movement became objects of study and commemoration, while others largely receded from view and public recollection. Given the broader task of nation building, it is perhaps not surprising

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<sup>750</sup> Muharem Ljevaković, "Svečano otvaranje novosagrađenog mesdžida u Novom Selu," *Glasnik IZ* XII, no. 1–3 (1961): 72 [Ceremonial Opening of the Newly-Built Masjid in Novo Selo].

that the transnational dimension of all of their work and writing significantly receded from view as well, even if socialist Yugoslavia's contemporary engagement with Muslim-majority countries in the non-aligned movement had prompted something of a reassessment of its own Islamic cultural heritage. Roughly a decade later, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the unraveling of the Yugoslav political order following the death of Tito marked a distinctly new phase in public discourse, the country's Muslims' real and imagined links with the Islamic World acquiring altogether different connotations. Today, when the tectonic plates of Balkan geopolitics appear to once again be shifting and a rapidly changing Turkey enjoys growing influence, many of these long-obscured early 20<sup>th</sup> century links appear ripe for scholarly and popular reappraisal. My hope is that this dissertation can contribute to a more holistic and nuanced understanding of this enduring and entangled era in the region's not-so-distant past—perhaps even its present as well.

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ZMF.	Zajedničko ministarstvo finansija
ZV.	Zemaljska vlada

*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA, Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives), Istanbul

A.MTZ.BN.	Sadaret Eyalat-ı Mümtaze Kalemi, Bosna
DH.MKT.	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
HAT.	Hatt-ı Hümayun
MF.MKT.	Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
ZB.	Zaptiye Nezareti

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