

CONTRIBUTION
TO RESEARCH ON THE STUDENT POPULATION
AT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES:
THE FIRST MUSLIM STUDENTS FROM BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB (1874–1914)*

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ABSTRACT. Muslim students at the University of Zagreb played a significant role in the political and administrative life of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first half of the twentieth century. On the basis of matriculation records of the University of Zagreb from the years 1874–1914, this article for the first time presents the structure of this group of students, including their origin, mother tongue, social status, academic mobility, age, length of studies, and receiving scholarships and tuition fee exemptions. The conclusion offers a synthetic overview of the places of employment of the most prominent former Muslim students of the University of Zagreb. As there was no university in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period before the First World War, young people, including Muslims, who wished to pursue higher education, had to leave the country. Most frequently, they chose universities in Vienna, Graz and Zagreb. The latter was the nearest university within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and enabled them to study without a language barrier. For the Austro-Hungarian authorities, who were then expanding the administration in the newly acquired territory, educated officials were needed; hence, a considerable number of former Muslim students at the University of Zagreb went on to hold important positions in the judiciary and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina after graduation. In this study, based on the matriculation registers of the University of Zagreb from 1874–1914, the population of Muslim students is presented for the first time. Most of the Muslim students at this university chose to study at the Faculty of Law, while only a few enrolled at the Faculty of Philosophy. Whereas in the last decade of the nineteenth century only a handful of Muslim students studied in Zagreb, their numbers gradually increased, reaching several dozen annually on the eve of the First World War. It is worth noting that the vast majority of Muslim students in Zagreb studied for only a few semesters – on average four – and continued their education at other universities in the Monarchy, most often in Vienna. Almost half of the Muslim students were able to cover their study expenses thanks to scholarships they received, as well as exemptions from tuition fees. The overwhelming majority declared Croatian as their mother tongue, a small number declared Serbian, while none identified Bosnian. At the end of the article, a brief overview is given of the places of employment of the most prominent Muslim students of Zagreb.

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* The research presented in this article was funded by a grant from the Polish National Science Centre (NCN): Social Changes of the Muslim Communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Comparative Studies [2020/39/B/HS3/01717].



Keywords: University of Zagreb, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muslim students, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, history of education

Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia, XXXII, Poznań 2025, Wydawnictwo Wydziału Historii UAM, pp. 159–176, ISBN 978-83-67284-72-1, ISSN 0239-4278. English text with the summary in English

<https://doi.org/10.14746/bp.2025.32.8>

INTRODUCTION

In 1878, by decision of the Congress of Berlin, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, which until then had belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Thirty years later, in 1908, Bosnia and Herzegovina was formally annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Thus, under the rule of Emperor Franz Joseph I, both part of the partitioned Poland (the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria together with the Grand Duchy of Kraków) and Bosnia and Herzegovina were incorporated into the same state.

The new administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina inherited the bureaucratic apparatus and educational institutions from the Ottoman period. The Austrian authorities undertook reforms of both administration and the education system, encountering numerous difficulties in the process. The system of schooling was underdeveloped and divided along religious lines (Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic education). However, expanding the education system was essential in order to train staff capable of assuming positions in the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ The Austrian authorities sought to address staff shortages in various administrative institutions, among other means, by encouraging educated individuals from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, such as Poles from Galicia, to relocate.²

According to the 1910 census, in terms of religious structure, the largest group in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the Orthodox – 825,000 persons (43.49%); Muslims numbered 612,000 (32.25%), while Catholics totalled 442,000 (23.3%).³ This structure may be compared with that of other peripheral regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, for example Galicia, where Catholics constituted 46.5% of the population and Orthodox 42.11%,⁴ or Croatia and Slavonia, neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovi-

¹ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, *Fostering loyalty to the Habsburg cause: Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the University of Vienna 1899–1911*, „Social History” 2025, vol. 50, no. 3, p. 312.

² For more on Polish officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Second World War, see T. J. Lis, *Polscy urzędnicy wyższego szczebla w Bośni i Hercegowinie w latach 1878–1918. Studium prozopograficzne*, Kraków 2020.

³ I. Markešić, *Vjerske i crkvene prilike u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon I. svjetskog rata* [in:] *Fra Didak Buntić – čovjek i djelo*, eds S. Tadić, M. Šakota, Zagreb 2009, p. 99.

⁴ B. Hołub, *Studium historyczno-geograficzne narodowości w Galicji Wschodniej w świetle spisów ludności w latach 1890–1910*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska” 2013, vol. 67, no. 2, sectio B, p. 27.

na, where Catholics accounted for 71.6% and Orthodox for 24.9% of the population.⁵ In both Galicia and Croatia-Slavonia, Muslims were at that time a very small minority. Individual Muslim migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia and Slavonia began after the Austrian occupation in 1878, but it generally remained temporary in character, while permanent settlement only commenced after the First World War. Until 1918, the most important Muslim group in Zagreb consisted precisely of students from Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶

In the period before the First World War there were no universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although the idea of founding an institution of higher education in Sarajevo had already emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷ The first faculties in Bosnia and Herzegovina were established only in the 1940s (the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry in 1940, the Faculty of Medicine in 1944, and the Faculty of Law in 1946 – all in Sarajevo), and the first university was founded in Sarajevo in 1949.⁸ The small number of young people with secondary education who wished to continue their studies had been until then compelled to pursue them abroad. The most important academic centres in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Vienna (with a university founded in 1365), Graz (1585), Prague (1348), Kraków (1364), and Lviv (1611). Students from Bosnia and Herzegovina most frequently pursued studies in Zagreb, Vienna, and Graz.⁹ After completing their studies, some returned to their homeland, where they assumed important positions in the local administration.

The development of educational institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austrian administration has been thoroughly discussed in the scholarly literature.¹⁰ However, the issue of students from Bosnia and Herzegovina pursuing studies outside the borders of their country has hitherto not been a central focus of research. An exception is the work of Tomasz Jacek Lis and Amila Kasumović, who examined the presence of students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the University of Vienna between 1899 and 1911, with particular attention to Muslim students.¹¹ The presence of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the University of Zagreb has not yet been subjected to detailed study. The only scholar to mention them is Zlatko

⁵ L. Heka, *Popis stanovništva iz 1910. i njegove povijesne i pravno-političke reminescencije*, „Godišnjak za znanstvena istraživanja Zavoda za kulturu vojvodanskih Hrvata“ 2021, vol. 13, p. 52.

⁶ Z. Hasanbegović, *Muslimani u Zagrebu: 1878–1945. Doba utemeljenja*, Zagreb 2007, p. 15, 32.

⁷ A. Kasumović, *Ideja o uspostavi univerziteta u Sarajevu početkom 20. stoljeća*, „Bosniaca“ 2020, vol. 25, p. 158.

⁸ 70 godina Univerziteta u Sarajevu, ed. R. Škrijelj, Sarajevo 2019, p. 54.

⁹ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, op. cit., p. 312.

¹⁰ V. Bogićević, *Istorijski razvijeni osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba turske i austrougarske uprave*, Sarajevo 1965; H. Čurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine*, Sarajevo 1983; M. Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije (1878–1918)*, Sarajevo 1972; Đ. Pejanović, *Srednje i stručne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini od početka do 1941. godine*, Sarajevo 1953.

¹¹ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, op. cit., p. 311–333.

Hasanbegović in his book *Muslimani u Zagrebu: 1878–1945. Doba utemeljenja*, in which he included short biographical notes of the first Muslim students in Zagreb and outlined the political circles in which they were active.¹²

This article analyses the presence of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the university most accessible to them within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – the Franz Joseph I University in Zagreb. The findings contribute significantly to research on student mobility within the Monarchy. Moreover, given that many of the students at the University of Zagreb later became an important part of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in the interwar period and during the Second World War, this study sheds light on the context in which the views of this segment of the future Muslim intelligentsia in Bosnia and Herzegovina were formed.

The Franz Joseph I University was founded in Zagreb in 1874 by decision of the Croatian Sabor.¹³ The newly established university comprised the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Philosophy, and the Faculty of Theology. In its first year, 290 students enrolled.¹⁴ This number gradually increased, and by 1910 the university had 1,280 students.¹⁵ Nonetheless, student numbers at the University of Zagreb were significantly lower than at the universities of Vienna (ranging from 2,722 in 1864 to 16,767 in 1898) and Budapest (from 1,885 in 1867 to 4,390 in 1898).¹⁶ In 1908, 4,211 students studied at the University of Lviv, while the Jagiellonian University in Kraków had 3,146 students in the same year.¹⁷

This article is based on an analysis of matriculation records of students at the University of Zagreb, specifically from the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Philosophy.¹⁸ Studies at these faculties lasted for eight semesters, i.e. four years. The matriculation records of the Faculty of Philosophy are preserved in the Archive of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb, while those of the Faculty of Law are kept in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb.¹⁹ The records of the Faculty of Theology were not analysed, as no Muslim students studied there.

¹² Z. Hasanbegović, op. cit., p. 32–38.

¹³ On the University of Zagreb, see T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914). Društveni život, svakodnevica, kultura, politika*, Zagreb 2012; *Spomenica o 25. godišnjici postojanja Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 1900; *Sveučilište Kraljevine SHS u Zagrebu (1874–1924)*, ed. D. Boranić, Zagreb 1925; *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, ed. J. Šidak, vol. 1–2, Zagreb 1969.

¹⁴ *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Hrvatske i Slavonije I*. 1905, Zagreb 1913, p. 750.

¹⁵ *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Hrvatske i Slavonije II*. 1906–1910, Zagreb 1917, p. 521.

¹⁶ K. Šimić Jagunić, *Sveučilište u Zagrebu 1874–1900. godine*, Zagreb 2011, p. 135, 159.

¹⁷ *Österreichische Statistik. Statistik der Unterrichtsanstalten in den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern für das Jahr 1908/1909*, Wien 1912, p. II.

¹⁸ I am deeply grateful to Dr Tihana Luetić for her valuable assistance in the research.

¹⁹ Arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (hereafter AFF), *Imenik upisanih redovnih i izvanrednih slušatelja bogoslovnog, pravno i državoslovnoga i mudroslovnoga fakulteta*, books 1–4; *Imenik redovnih i izvanrednih slušatelja mudroslovnog fakulteta*, books 5–83; Hrvatski državni arhiv [hereafter HAD], fond Pravni fakultet [hereafter PF], *Imenik upisanih redovnih i izvanrednih studenata*, books 1–206, ref. HR-HDA-501.

The matriculation records constitute a valuable source for research on the student population.²⁰ They contain, among other things, the following information about students:

- personal details (name and surname, date, place and country of birth, religion, and from 1900 also mother tongue),
- details concerning a parent or guardian (name, occupation, place of residence),
- information about education outside the University of Zagreb,
- information on studies at the University of Zagreb (student status: regular or irregular, scholarship, tuition fees or exemption from fees).

The principal research method applied in this study was quantitative analysis, supplemented by qualitative and comparative methods.

THE NUMBER OF MUSLIM STUDENTS FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

In the period under consideration, i.e. from the beginning of the academic year 1874/1875 to the end of the academic year 1913/1914, a total of 122 Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina studied at the University of Zagreb.²¹ This number is by no means insignificant considering that, for example, in 1900 only ten Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina held a degree from one of the universities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.²²

Of particular importance for the admission of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the University of Zagreb was the decision of the Croatian-Slavonian provincial government of 1892, which allowed graduates of the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo to enrol in the Faculty of Law in Zagreb.²³

A striking disparity can be observed in the number of Muslim students at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law. While during the analysed period only five Muslims studied at the Faculty of Philosophy, as many as 117 studied at the Faculty of Law. Overall, the Faculty of Law at the University of Zagreb admitted a significantly higher number of students than the Faculty of Philosophy – in the period under review it had two to three times as many students.²⁴ This also corresponds to the general situation within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where law faculties enjoyed the greatest popularity. Among the matriculated Muslim students, the majority

²⁰ T. J. Lis, *Możliwości wykorzystania katalogów studenckich nationale do badań nad zmianami tożsamości narodowej w XIX wieku*, „*Studia śródwowieczne i Bałkanistyczne*” 2022, vol. 31, p. 23.

²¹ As no personal identification number or similar existed at the time, in cases of individuals bearing the same first name, the year of birth and father's name were checked.

²² A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, op. cit., p. 314.

²³ Z. Hasanbegović, op. cit., p. 32.

²⁴ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914)*, p. 217–218.

were regular students – 70% (86 individuals), while extraordinary students accounted for 28% (34 individuals). Two of them, Arif Muftić and Ibrahim Šušić, changed their status during the course of their studies.²⁵

A similar disparity can be observed when comparing the academic years in which the first Muslim students appeared at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law: the first student at the Faculty of Law, Osman Nuri-Hadžić,²⁶ was recorded in the academic year 1893/1894, whereas at the Faculty of Philosophy the first Muslim student, Ibrahim Omeragić, enrolled only eighteen years later, in 1911/1912.²⁷

The number of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the University of Zagreb is worth comparing with their presence at the University of Vienna, the centre of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, by juxtaposing the available data on the Faculty of Law in Vienna with those relating to the Faculty of Law in Zagreb. Between 1899 and 1911, 22 Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina studied at the Faculty of Law in Vienna,²⁸ whereas in Zagreb there were as many as 79. Factors contributing to this significant difference may have included language barriers as well as the geographical proximity of Zagreb to Bosnia and Herzegovina compared to Vienna.

In the period under discussion, no Muslim female students were recorded; all those enrolled were men.

PERIOD OF STUDY

At the end of the nineteenth century, only a handful of Muslim students studied in Zagreb (specifically, one or two per year), and, as already noted, exclusively at the Faculty of Law. At the beginning of the twentieth century, their number began to increase, and this trend continued until the outbreak of the First World War (see Chart 1). In the years immediately preceding the war, several dozen Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina were already studying annually in Zagreb (academic year 1911/1912 – 26 students, 1912/1913 – 28 students, and in 1913/1914 as many as 42).

AGE STRUCTURE OF MUSLIM STUDENTS

How old were students on average when they began their first year of study, and how old were those who commenced their fourth year? The statistical results may be surprising. Regular students enrolled in the first semester of the first year were on average 23 years old, while those who began the first semester of the fourth year (i.e. the

²⁵ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 167, 169, 192.

²⁶ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, book 36.

²⁷ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, book 77.

²⁸ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

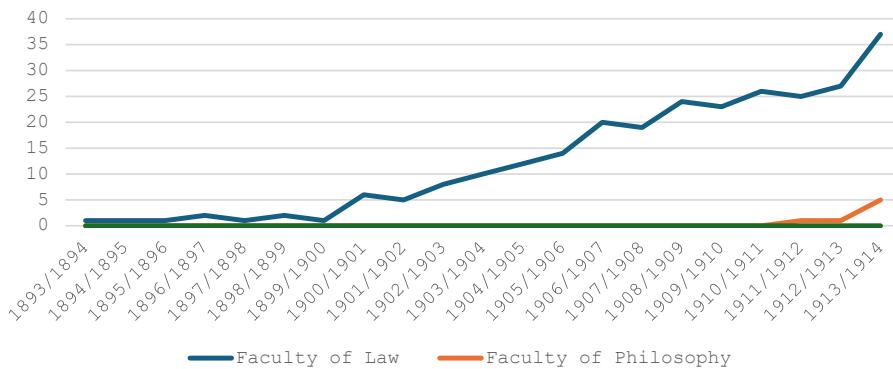


Chart 1: Number of Muslim Students at the University of Zagreb by academic year (1874–1914)

seventh semester of study overall) were on average 25 years old.²⁹ This primarily reflects the high rate of student fluctuation, as confirmed by the data presented later concerning the average length of Muslim students' stay at the University of Zagreb. There were cases of men enrolling in their first year of law studies at the age of 29 or even 30 (for instance, in 1913 Osman Redžović began his first year at the age of 29, while in 1905 Salih Kazazović enrolled at the age of 30).³⁰ On the other hand, the youngest student to enrol in the first semester of the fourth year of study was Salih Baljić, who in 1913 began his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at the age of 22.³¹

ORIGIN OF MUSLIM STUDENTS

In terms of place of birth, the majority of students came from Bosnia (93 students – 76%) as opposed to Herzegovina (29 students – 24%).³² It should be noted that Bosnia comprises the part of Bosnia and Herzegovina lying north of the Bitovnja, Ivan-planina, Bjelašnica, Treskavica, and Lelija mountain ranges (around 80% of the country's territory), while Herzegovina refers to the area south of this mountain range (about 20% of the territory).³³ For the Austro-Hungarian period, there are no precise figures for the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina separately. Only aggregate data are

²⁹ Ordinary students were taken into account, since in the case of extraordinary students the year and/or semester of enrolment was often not indicated.

³⁰ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 204, 130.

³¹ AFF, *Imenik*, book 80.

³² Student Arif Muftić, in the academic years 1909/1910 and 1910/1911, declared that he came from Polje near Konjic in Bosnia, while in 1912/1913 and 1913/1914 he indicated Konjic in Herzegovina (HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 169, 169, 201). Since Konjic lies in Herzegovina (right on the border with Bosnia), he was included among students from Herzegovina.

³³ *Hercegovina* [in:] *Hrvatski opći leksikon*, ed. M. Klemenčić, vol. A–Ž, Zagreb 1999, p. 356.

available: the first census of 1879 recorded 1,158,440 inhabitants, while the census of 1910 recorded 1,898,044 inhabitants.³⁴

As for the places of birth of Muslim students at the University of Zagreb, the largest number were born in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo (16), followed by Mostar (7), Travnik (6), Ljubiški (6), Tuzla (5), Derventa (5), Banja Luka (4), Kulen Vakuf (4), and Brčko (4). These data should be compared with the administrative centres of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which during Austro-Hungarian rule was divided into six districts (Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Mostar, and Bihać), which were further subdivided into counties (with seats, among others, in Ljubiški, Brčko, and Derventa). The majority of students were therefore born in the administrative centres of Bosnia and Herzegovina – either district centres (39 individuals, 32%) or county centres (55 individuals, 45%). The exception is Kulen Vakuf, which, however, had previously, under Ottoman rule, been the seat of the Novosel kaza.³⁵ These findings partly overlap with information concerning students of all religions from Bosnia and Herzegovina studying at the University of Vienna: there too, most came from Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, Tuzla, and Travnik,³⁶ although a marked difference is evident in the proportion of students from Sarajevo (at Vienna they accounted for 36% of students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while at Zagreb only 13%).

In total, the students under consideration at the University of Zagreb were born in 57 localities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which demonstrates that Zagreb as a university centre attracted young people from almost all regions of the country rather than from a single region or city. The results also show that most came from administrative centres of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is hardly surprising, as it was there that the demand for educated individuals was greatest. Moreover, the urban population was better educated and wealthier than the rural population and was therefore in a privileged position compared to the peasantry in terms of access to higher education.

STUDENT MOBILITY

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, student mobility was by no means an unusual phenomenon. Many students changed universities during their academic education. Although the number of students from Croatian lands at the Jagiellonian University, and of students from Polish lands at the University of Za-

³⁴ *Zanimljivosti o popisu*, <https://fzs.ba/index.php/popis-stanovnistva/zanimljivosti-oko-popisa-i-ostalo-2/> [accessed: 1.08.2025]; *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910*, Sarajevo 1912, p. XXII.

³⁵ A. S. Aličić, *Uredenje bosanskog elajeta: od 1789. do 1878. godine*, Sarajevo 1983, p. 26; *Kulen Vakuf* [in:] *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, ed. A. Kovačec, vol. 6, Zagreb 2004, p. 334–335.

³⁶ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, op. cit., p. 319–320.

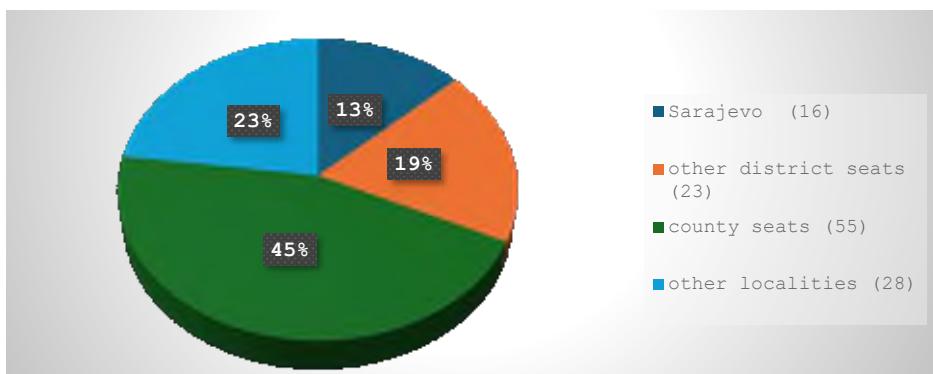


Chart 2: Place of birth of Muslim students at the University of Zagreb (1874–1914)

greb between 1874 and 1918 was not large, as many as ten students of the Jagiellonian University had previously attended the University of Zagreb before continuing their studies in Kraków.³⁷

Similarly, Muslim students at the University of Zagreb were no exception in terms of academic mobility. This is confirmed by the fact that 34% of students (42 individuals) had studied at another university before continuing their education in Zagreb. Most of them had previously studied at the University of Vienna (55%, 23 students) and in Prague (24%, 10 students), with smaller numbers at the University of Graz (10%, 4 students) and at the Higher School of Agriculture in Vienna (5%, 2 students). Individual cases were recorded at the universities of Budapest and Würzburg as well as at the Higher School of Veterinary Medicine in Vienna (Chart 3). No Muslim students were recorded as having studied at the universities of Kraków, Lwów or Warsaw before coming to Zagreb. After completing part of their studies in Zagreb, some students continued their education at other universities; however, the matriculation registers of the University of Zagreb do not provide information on such cases. An exception is the situation when a student, after spending part of his studies elsewhere, returned to Zagreb, as in the case of Muhamed beg Kulenović, who attended the 4th, 7th and 8th semesters in Zagreb, while completing the 3rd and 6th semesters at the University of Vienna.³⁸

The matriculation registers provide not only information about the universities and higher schools from which students transferred to the University of Zagreb but also – in the case of first-semester students in their first year – data on where they had completed secondary school.

³⁷ S. Kale, „Poljaci, naša braća na sjeveru”. *Hrvatska javnost o Poljacima 1860.–1903.*, Zagreb 2019, p. 318.

³⁸ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 37, 41.

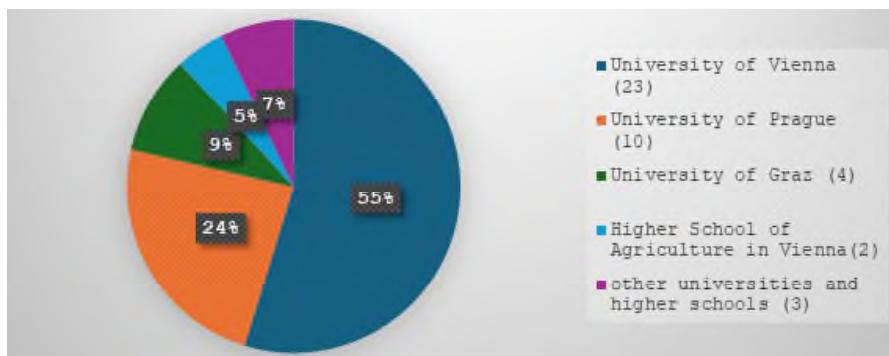


Chart 3: Muslim students transferring from other institutions of higher education to the University of Zagreb (1874–1914)

After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian authorities began to establish a network of secondary schools, a process that progressed slowly. A Realschule was founded in Sarajevo in 1879, in Mostar in 1893, in Banja Luka in 1895, and in Tuzla in 1899.³⁹

Among the total of 89 students who enrolled in the first year between 1874 and 1914, the largest number had graduated from the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo – 31% (28 individuals). To this group one should probably add a further 8% of students (7 individuals) who declared that they had attended a Sharia Judges' School without specifying the city, and for whom it was not possible to determine whether they had graduated from the Sarajevo institution. Since it was the only Sharia school in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it may be assumed with considerable certainty that this was indeed the case. A significant number of students reported having graduated from gymnasiums in Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely in Sarajevo (8), Mostar (7), Tuzla (5), Banja Luka (3) and Travnik (1). Among those who had graduated from gymnasiums outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, the largest group were graduates of Istanbul gymnasiums – 22% (20 individuals) – while individual cases had completed gymnasiums in Bursa (1), Smyrna (1), Thessaloniki (2), Belgrade (1) and Zagreb (1). For three first-year students, no information was available regarding the gymnasium they had attended.

Since a considerable number of students did not spend their entire academic education in Zagreb, it is necessary to examine how long they remained at the University of Zagreb. The largest group consisted of those who studied there for only two semesters – 28% (34 students). They were followed by students who attended for one semester – 18% (22), six semesters – 14% (17), and four semesters – 13% (16). Only 7% of students were enrolled at the University of Zagreb for eight semesters (9 individuals). The average length of stay of Muslim students at the University of Zagreb amounted to just under four semesters, i.e. just under two academic years.

³⁹ *Izještaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb 1906, p. 177.

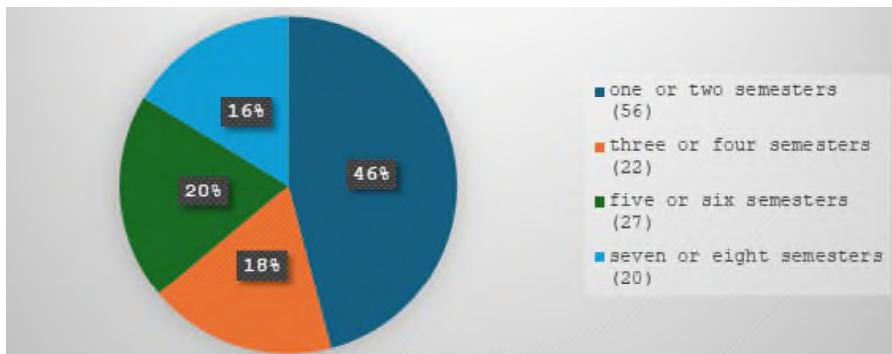


Chart 4: Duration of study of Muslim students at the University of Zagreb (1874–1914)

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF MUSLIM STUDENTS FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

The social status of students was examined on the basis of data regarding the profession of a parent or guardian, most often the father. It should be emphasised that the occupational categories of parents were not precisely defined; thus, the matriculation registers provide only an outline of the social composition of the student population.⁴⁰

The largest number of students came from families in which the parent or guardian was a landowner. They accounted for 45% (55 individuals). This social structure differed from that of the overall student body of the Faculties of Law and Philosophy in Zagreb, where the children of state officials and fathers practising the liberal professions predominated – together amounting to about 40%.⁴¹

The second most numerous group consisted of various entrepreneurs, who were listed as the parents or guardians of 18% of students (22 individuals). Among them, merchants formed the largest category, being recorded as the parents or guardians of 14 students.

In third place were professions connected with Islam (cleric, hodja, imam, mufiti, qadi and sharia judges, as well as teachers of religion). They accounted for 13% – 16 students. All students who indicated their father's occupation as qadi or sharia judge studied law, which demonstrates that they had decided to follow in their fathers' footsteps.

Next in number were various officials and teachers (such as a municipal commission president, city notary, municipal treasurer, city guard, professor, teacher, etc.) – 8% (10 students).

⁴⁰ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914)*, p. 65.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 435.

Agricultural work was the occupation of the parents or guardians of 7% of students (9 individuals), while three students were the sons of estate managers. The occupations of eight students' parents or guardians remain unknown.⁴²

The fact that a considerable number of students were sons of landowners may explain why students came from such a wide range of localities across Bosnia and Herzegovina – landowners were not concentrated exclusively in the capital.

THE NATIVE LANGUAGE OF MUSLIM STUDENTS FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Given that language is one of the key markers of identity, it is worth examining which language Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina enrolled at the University of Zagreb at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century declared as their mother tongue (Chart 5). As many as 88% of them declared Croatian (107 students), only 6% Serbian (7 students), 2% Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian (2 students), while the data for 2% (3 students) remain unknown. Particular attention should be drawn to the case of three students who changed the language declared as their mother tongue during their studies. Ibrahim Hafizadić Haki declared Croatian for three semesters, and then Serbian for two;⁴³ Hidajet Kulenović declared Croatian for two semesters, and then Serbian for two;⁴⁴ while Mustafa-Beg Kapetanović once declared Croatian and once Serbo-Croatian.⁴⁵ None of the students indicated Bosnian as their mother tongue.

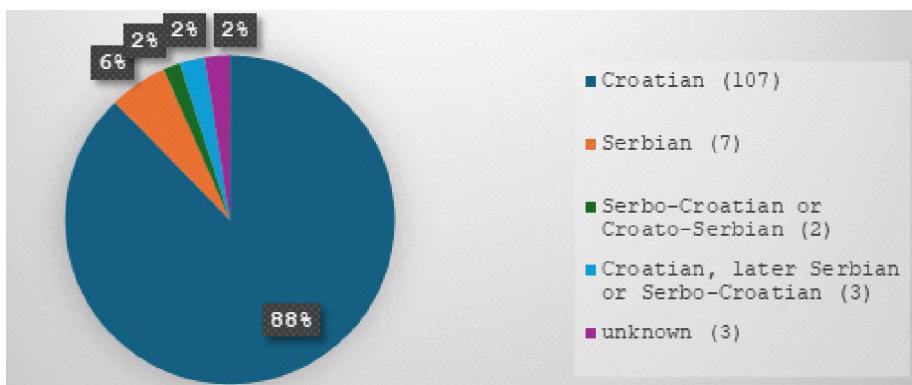


Chart 5: Native language of Muslim students at the University of Zagreb (1874–1914)

⁴² Since 14 students listed two parental occupations in the matriculation registers, the total percentage exceeds 100%.

⁴³ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 140, 141, 147, 164, 172.

⁴⁴ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 194, 195, 202, 203.

⁴⁵ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 202, 203.

The data on native language recorded in the matriculation registers partly correspond to the information in the registers of the Faculty of Law of the University of Vienna. There, too, most Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina declared Croatian as their mother tongue, significantly fewer declared Serbian, and only a handful Serbo-Croatian. However, a difference in proportions is noticeable: in Vienna, the percentage of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina who declared Croatian was lower than in Zagreb (59%), while those who declared Serbian (27%) and Serbo-Croatian (14%) were proportionally more numerous than in Zagreb.⁴⁶

The nationality of students was recorded in the matriculation registers of the University of Zagreb only in the early years of the institution's existence, although such a rubric remained in the form until 1900.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR MUSLIM STUDENTS

For those from outside Zagreb, studying at the university posed difficulties primarily of a financial nature. Tuition fees had to be paid, as well as costs for accommodation (since student dormitories did not yet exist in Zagreb – the first students moved into them only in 1921), board, books, and other necessities.⁴⁷

However, the financial burden could be alleviated by obtaining a scholarship. Data show that as many as 39% (48 individuals) received some form of scholarship, at least for one semester. It should be noted that the majority of scholarship holders were regular students (42 individuals), meaning that the proportion of scholarship holders among regular students was as high as 49%. Most of these were scholarships from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial government (21), municipal scholarships (13) – the largest number from Sarajevo (7), foundation scholarships⁴⁸ (8) – for example, from the Tahira-hanuma Tuzlić Foundation (2), as well as scholarships from the society *Gajret*⁴⁹ (11). One student (Smajilbeg Gradaščević from Derventa) received the Golden Scholarship of Franz Joseph I and Elisabeth.⁵⁰

Scholarship amounts ranged from 60 crowns, as in the case of a scholarship from the Sarajevo municipality received in 1906 by Mehmed Memišević, to 1,000 crowns,⁵¹ which the city of Sarajevo awarded to Sulejman Mujagić in 1912.⁵²

Some students were exempt from paying the full tuition fee. As many as 43% of Muslim students (71 individuals) enjoyed this privilege for at least one semester. This

⁴⁶ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, op. cit., p. 321.

⁴⁷ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914)*, p. 121.

⁴⁸ See A. Mehmedović, *Upravljanje vakufima u BiH 1847–2017*, Sarajevo 2017.

⁴⁹ See I. Kemura, *Uloga „Gajreta“ u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine (1903–1941)*, Sarajevo 1986.

⁵⁰ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 174, 175.

⁵¹ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, book 139.

⁵² HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 192, 193.

corresponded to the overall student population of the University of Zagreb, where nearly half were exempt from tuition fees.⁵³ Among Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina who were regular students at the time of receiving a scholarship, as many as 81% were exempt from payment. In all cases of extraordinary students at the Faculty of Law, the matriculation registers note that they were required to pay 50 crowns in tuition fees.

Scholarships were also awarded to some students who had indicated their father's occupation as 'large landowner'; these included Osman beg Kulenović and Muhamed beg Kulenović,⁵⁴ which indicates that the student's financial situation was not the sole criterion for the awarding of scholarships. This confirms the thesis that the provincial government supported the education of students from influential Muslim families, recognising that after graduation they would be useful in the governance of the country due to their families' standing in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society.⁵⁵

POLITICAL LIFE AND ORGANISATION OF MUSLIM STUDENTS IN ZAGREB

It may be said in general that the political activity of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb was connected with the oppositionist and nationalist Croatian Party of Rights led by Ante Starčević, and later with the Pure Party of Rights that emerged from it, whose principal programme was an independent Croatian state.

Muslim students, like Catholic ones, were members of the Club of Croatian Students from Herceg-Bosna, whose statutes were approved in 1906. The Muslim Academic Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina *Firdus*, whose statutes were approved in 1912, also existed at the University of Zagreb.⁵⁶ Its president was Salih Bajić, who in 1913 was also elected president of the Croatian Academic Supporting Society – the organisation representing all students of the University of Zagreb.⁵⁷

FORMER ZAGREB STUDENTS IN THE LEGAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Due to the high level of academic mobility, it is difficult to determine how many of the 122 Muslim students who attended the University of Zagreb before the First World War actually completed their studies. Nevertheless, available data suggest that many of them left a significant mark on the legal, political and cultural life of Bosnia

⁵³ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914)*, p. 74.

⁵⁴ HDA, PF, *Imenik*, books 41, 149.

⁵⁵ A. Kasumović, T. J. Lis, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁵⁶ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874–1914)*, p. 314, 340.

⁵⁷ Z. Hasanbegović, *op. cit.*, p. 40–45.

and Herzegovina. This was particularly the case during the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1941) and the Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945).

Some former students of the Faculty of Law took up positions as judges (for example, Hidajet Kulenović worked as a judge in Tuzla,⁵⁸ Husejin Mašić in Sarajevo, while Asim Ugljen served as a judge in Mostar and Travnik, as well as president of the District Court in Sarajevo and the Supreme Court in Sarajevo,⁵⁹ other judges included Abdurezak Dizdarević, Hašim Jakić and Hafiz Rašid Tvrković) and as lawyers (Sulejman Alečković in Travnik,⁶⁰ Bahrija Kadić in Tuzla,⁶¹ Mehmed Kurt in Mostar and later in Sarajevo).⁶²

Other former Zagreb students achieved success in local and state politics. In local politics, notable figures included Ibrahim Hadžiomerović, mayor of Sarajevo,⁶³ Nasih Repovac, also mayor of Sarajevo, Salih Baljić, mayor of Mostar,⁶⁴ Hafiz Osman Vilović, mayor of Tuzla,⁶⁵ and Osman Kulenović, head of the Kotor Varoš district.⁶⁶ Some former Zagreb students were appointed to leading positions in regional and state administration, for example Ibrahim Hadžiomerović, deputy ban of the Banovina of Drina, Bahrija Kadić, great župan of the Great Župa of Pliva and Rama and of the Great Župa of Usora and Soli,⁶⁷ Osman and Džaferbeg Kulenović, deputy prime ministers of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) government,⁶⁸ Osman Vilović, minister of trade and industry, and the aforementioned Salih Baljić, consul of the NDH in the Third Reich and in Ljubljana.⁶⁹

Many former Zagreb students were associated with the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (JMO) – the political party of South Slavic Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sandžak, founded in 1919. Among JMO deputies in the National Assembly were Mustafa-beg Kapetanović, Hasan Miljković and Mahmud Hrasnica.⁷⁰ Other members of the party included Džaferbeg Kulenović (its president), Zija Rizaefendić

⁵⁸ A. Jahić, *Obnova autonomije Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini 1936. godine*, „Prilozi Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu“ 2008, no. 37, p. 107.

⁵⁹ M. Pojić, *Ugljen Asim* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, ed. D. Stuparić, Zagreb 1997, p. 407.

⁶⁰ A. Nemetak, *Alečković, Sulejman* [in:] *Hrvatska enciklopedija*., ed. M. Ujević, vol. 1, Zagreb 1991, p. 198–199.

⁶¹ D. Stuparić, *Kadić Bahrija* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 179.

⁶² M. I. Majnarić, *Kurti Mehmed Dželaluddin* [in:] *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [hereafter HBL], vol. 8, ed. T. Macan, Zagreb 2013, p. 433.

⁶³ I. Kemura, op. cit., p. 270.

⁶⁴ Z. Dizdar, *Baljić Salih* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 21.

⁶⁵ I. Kemura, op. cit., p. 90.

⁶⁶ Z. Dizdar, S. Zvizdić, *Kulenović Osman* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 219.

⁶⁷ D. Stuparić, *Kadić Bahrija* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 179.

⁶⁸ Z. Dizdar, *Kulenović Osman* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 216–217; Z. Dizdar, S. Zvizdić, *Kulenović Džaferbeg* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 219.

⁶⁹ Z. Dizdar, *Baljić Salih* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 21.

⁷⁰ Z. Hasanbegović, *Jugoslavenska muslimanska organizacija 1929.–1941.*, Zagreb 2012, p. 26.

and Salih Baljić. Among former Zagreb students, the National Assembly also included Edhem Bulbulović, as a deputy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ).

Beyond the judiciary and politics, some former Muslim students of the University of Zagreb pursued careers in education, such as the first Muslim student of the University of Zagreb, Osman Nuri-Hadžić, who worked as a teacher and later director of the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo (he later also served as head of the district in Banja Luka and Bosanska Dubica and as a director in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Belgrade).⁷¹ In the field of education, it should be emphasised that at least several former Zagreb students were actively involved in the *Gajret* society, which in the period under discussion awarded scholarships to students of the University of Zagreb. These included Salih Čišić, Fehim Musakadić, Zija Rizaefendić and Aziz Sarić.⁷² There is no information on whether they themselves received *Gajret* scholarships during their studies.

In the field of culture, Musa Ćazim Ćatić left a notable legacy – as a poet, essayist and translator from Turkish and Arabic, as well as editor of the journals *Muslimanska sloga*, *Sarajevski list* and *Biser*.⁷³

Even during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the positions of military imams were held by Salif Atiković (in Graz) and Osman Redžović (in Tuzla).

Some former students, such as Osman Sokolović, who was secretary of the Chamber of Crafts and Commerce in Sarajevo, entered the sphere of economic life.⁷⁴

Former Muslim students of the University of Zagreb can also be found outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as Adem Sokolović, professor at the State Secondary Technical School in Zagreb and member of the Zagreb Medžlis;⁷⁵ Ismet Muftić, mufti of Zagreb and imam for Croatia and Slavonia;⁷⁶ and Jusuf Smailagić, a lawyer in Skopje.⁷⁷

CONCLUSION

Between 1874, the year of the founding of the University of Zagreb, and the outbreak of the First World War, the vast majority of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina who chose to study in Zagreb enrolled at the Faculty of Law (117 individuals), while only a few studied at the Faculty of Philosophy (5 individuals). The first Mus-

⁷¹ Z. Hasanbegović, op. cit., p. 32–35; I. Kemura, op. cit., p. 23.

⁷² I. Kemura, op. cit., p. 47, 156, 222, 267.

⁷³ H. Šicel, J. Šonje, *Ćazim Ćatić Musa* [in:] HBL, vol. 3, p. 142–143.

⁷⁴ N. Kujraković, *Osvitanje – prvo udruženje muslimanki u Bosni i Hercegovini*, „Prilozi Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu“ 2009, no. 38, p. 163.

⁷⁵ A. Vlašić, *Doğu ve Batı (Istok i Zapad)*, jedini hrvatski list na turskom jeziku (1943.–1944.), „Behar“ 2013, vol. 22, no. 115, p. 18.

⁷⁶ Z. Dizdar, *Muftić Ismet* [in:] *Tko je tko u NDH*, p. 284–285.

⁷⁷ I. Kemura, op. cit., p. 195, 280.

lim student at the Faculty of Law was recorded in 1893, and at the Faculty of Philosophy only in 1911. Over time, the number of Muslim students steadily increased – from only a few per year at the end of the nineteenth century to more than twenty annually in the period preceding the First World War.

Among Muslim students, high academic mobility was observed – on average, they remained at the University of Zagreb for only four semesters. The largest proportion of academically mobile Muslim students had previously studied at the University of Vienna, the most important university of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Although first-year students were of varying ages, the average student was 23 years old. A significant number of Muslims who enrolled in the first year of studies in Zagreb had completed the Sharia Judges' School in Sarajevo.

Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina were born in as many as 57 settlements across the country, most frequently in its administrative centres: Sarajevo, Mostar, Travnik and Ljubuški. This distribution was linked to their social structure, since the fathers or guardians of almost half of them were landowners.

The matriculation records of students also provide valuable information on the mother tongue of Muslim students: as many as 88% of them declared Croatian as their mother tongue, and only 6% Serbian.

Scholarships and exemptions from tuition fees facilitated access to higher education. A considerable number of Muslim students from Bosnia and Herzegovina received a scholarship for at least one semester (39%) and were exempted from tuition fees (43%).

After completing their studies, a significant proportion of former Muslim students of the University of Zagreb returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina and took up important positions in the judiciary and administration of the country, thereby contributing to its development.

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