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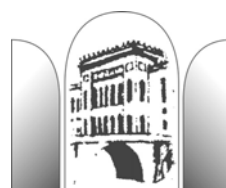
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BOSNIACA

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SADRŽAJ | CONTENTS

7	Ismet Ovčina RIJEČ UREDNIKA FOREWORD BY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
BIBLIOTEČKO-INFORMACIJSKI SISTEM (BIS) LIBRARY-INFORMATION SYSTEM (LIS)	
9	Viktorija Martinčević-Huseinčehajić CIP PROGRAM U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: ISKUSTVO NACIONALNE I UNIVERZITETSKE BIBLIOTEKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE CIP PROGRAMME IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
17	Dejana Golenko, Evgenia Arh PROGRAMI INFORMACIJSKOG OPISMEJAVANJA (TEORIJSKI OKVIRI U PODRUČJU PRAVA I MEDICINE) INFORMATION LITERACY PROGRAMMES (THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK IN THE FIELD OF LAW AND MEDICINE)
42	Anita Konjicija-Kovač PRAVO NA PRIVATNOST I ZAŠTITU OSOBNIH PODATAKA U KNJIŽNICAMA: PERSPEKTIVE I DOKUMENTI RIGHT TO PRIVACY AND PROTECTION OF PERSONAL DATA IN LIBRARIES: PERSPECTIVES AND DOCUMENTS
60	Emina Adilović KONCEPT ČLANSTVA U BH. BIBLIOTEKAMA: OD SAMOUPRAVLJANJA K PARTICIPACIJI CONCEPT OF MEMBERSHIP IN BIH LIBRARIES: FROM SELF-MANAGEMENT TOWARDS PARTICIPATION
DOKUMENTARNO NASLIJEĐE DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE	
78	Anton Likhomanov, Kseniia Morozova THE READERS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA IN XIX – BEGINNING OF XXI CENTURY ČITALAČKA PUBLIKA NACIONALNE BIBLIOTEKE RUSIJE U 19. I POČETKOM 21. STOLJEĆA
88	Hana Younis (PRE)ŠTAMPA(VA)NJE DJELA I AUTORSKA PRAVA POČETKOM 20. STOLJEĆA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI (RE)PRINTING AND COPYRIGHT IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
99	Danijela Radulović KARTOGRAFIJA CRNE GORE S NAGLASKOM NA PRVE DOMAĆE KARTE CRNE GORE CARTOGRAPHY OF MONTENEGRO WITH THE EMPHASIS ON ITS EARLIEST DOMESTIC MAPS
124	Arijana Bajrić, Lejla Durmo-Mehmedović, Berina Mihaljević MUSLIMANSKA NARODNA BIBLIOTEKA U MOSTARU: HISTORIJSKI PREGLED RADA BIBLIOTEKE OD NJENOG NASTANKA 1928. DO 1941. MUSLIM NATIONAL LIBRARY IN MOSTAR: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LIBRARY'S WORK SINCE ITS INITIATION IN 1928 UNTIL 1941
141	Maša Miloradović MESTO POPULARNE MUZIKE U SISTEMU ZAŠTITE KULTURNE BAŠTINE NA PRIMERU SARADNJE NARODNE BIBLIOTEKE SRBIJE I ZADUŽBINE MILANA MLADENOVIĆA PLACE OF THE POPULAR MUSIC IN THE SYSTEM OF CULTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION – THE EXAMPLE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA AND MILAN MLADENOVIĆ ENDOWMENT
148	Ismet Ovčina, Muamera Smajić, Alma Mešić OSTAVŠTINA HAMDIIJE KAPIDŽIĆA U FONDOVIMA SPECIJALNIH ZBIRKI NACIONALNE I UNIVERZITETSKE BIBLIOTEKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE HERITAGE OF HAMDIIJA KAPIDŽIĆ IN THE FUNDS OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

157	Amila Kasumović IDEJA O OSNIVANJU UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU POČETKOM 20. STOLJEĆA: AUSTROUGARSKA VLAST U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI IZMEĐU KULTURNE MISIJE I POLITIČKE REALNOSTI THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING THE UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO AT THE BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AUTHORITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BETWEEN CULTURAL MISSION AND POLITICAL REALITY
172	Тамара Малешев / Tamara Malešev, Ирена Зечевић / Irena Zečević, Оливера Топалов / Olivera Topalov КУЛТУРНЕ ЛИГЕ – ПРЕТЕЧЕ ЈАВНИХ БИБЛИОТЕКА У СРБИЈИ CULTURAL LEAGUES – FORERUNNERS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN SERBIA INFORMACIJE I SERVISI U NOVOM TEHNOLOŠKOM OKRUŽENJU INFORMATION AND SERVICES IN THE NEW TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT
183	Alexandru-Ionuț Petrișor PEER REVIEW UNDER THE ETHICAL LENS: POSSIBLE QUESTIONS STRUČNA RECENZIJIA POD ETIČKIM POVEĆALOM: MOGUĆA PITANJA
198	Iva Vrkić, Ivana Hebrang Grgić, Jadranka Stojanovski RAZLIKE U OTVORENOSTI I DIJELJENJU ZNANSTVENIH RADOVA NA SVEUČILIŠTU U RIJECI DIFFERENCES IN OPENNESS AND SHARING OF SCIENTIFIC PAPERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF RIJEKA
216	Anida Ibričić ISTRAŽIVANJE PRIMJENE KORISNIČKIH OZNAKA U PREDMETNOM OPISU GRAĐE: DRUŠTVENO OZNAČAVANJE RESEARCHING OF APPLICATION THE USER BOOKMARKS IN SUBJECT CATALOGUING: SOCIAL BOOKMARKING PRIKAZI REVIEWS
231	Amra Rešidbegović PISANA RIJEČ KROZ FONDOVE NACIONALNE I UNIVERZITETSKE BIBLIOTEKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE: KATALOG STARE PERIODIKE WRITTEN WORD FROM THE FUNDS OF THE NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: CATALOGUE OF OLD PERIODICALS
232	Senada Dizdar VODIČ KROZ JAVNE BIBLIOTEKE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI A GUIDE TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN BOSNA I HERZEGOVINA
234	Zijada Đurđević-Alidžanović EDUKACIJA BIBLIOTEKARA I STRUČNI ISPITI U 2020. GODINI EDUCATION OF LIBRARIANS AND PROFESSIONAL EXAMS IN 2020
236	PREPORUKE AUTORIMA ZA DOSTAVLJANJE RADOVA
239	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AUTHORS / AUTHOR GUIDELINES

RIJEČ UREDNIKA

Poštovani čitatelji!

Pred vama se nalazi novi broj časopisa Bosniaca, koji donosi petnaest novih članaka i tri prikaza. Ova godina značajna je za časopis jer Bosniaca od ovog broja izlazi i na engleskom jeziku. Trudili smo se da u novom broju prikupimo što raznovrsnije članke iz naše regije i šire.

Dio posvećen Bibliotečko-informacijskom sistemu objedinjuje radove koji su po svojoj strukturi veoma raznoliki i bave se različitim temama. U ovom bloku govorimo o CIP programu u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz iskustvo Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine, pravu na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka u knjižnicama i programima informacijskog opismenjavanja. Blok završavamo radom o konceptu članstva u bosanskohercegovačkim bibliotekama.

U dijelu Dokumentarnog naslijeđa imamo najviše radova. Blok otvaramo radom iz Rusije na temu čitalačke publike u Nacionalnoj biblioteci Rusije. U nastavku imamo priliku pročitati radove na temu preštampavanja djela i autorskih prava, zatim kartografije Crne Gore kroz fondove Nacionalne biblioteke Crne Gore „Đurđe Crnojević“, Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru, Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije, ideje o osnivanju Univerziteta u Sarajevu početkom 20. stoljeća, te preteča javnih biblioteka u Srbiji. Osim toga, čitatelji imaju priliku steći uvid u bibliografiju radova historičara i akademika, prof. dr. Hamdije Kapidžića, u fondovima Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine.

U bloku pod nazivom Informacije i servisi imamo priliku upoznati se s radovima na temu procjene utjecaja članaka i transparentnosti recenzija, razlika u otvorenosti i dijeljenju znanstvenih radova na Sveučilištu u Rijeci, te istraživanja primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe. U prikazima i prilogima predstavljamo dvije knjige, kao i aktivnosti vezane za edukaciju i stručne ispite u Nacionalnoj i univerzitetskoj biblioteci Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ovaj broj časopisa Bosniaca donosi pregršt raznorodnih tema i pristupa te vjerujemo da će svaki čitatelj u njemu pronaći nešto zanimljivo i korisno. Uz zahvalnost svima koji su doprinijeli tome da ovaj broj ugleda svjetlo dana unatoč teškim okolnostima u kojima se nalazi cijeli svijet, nadamo se da će njegove teme pronaći svoje čitatelje.

Dr. Ismet Ovčina
Glavni i odgovorni urednik

FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Dear Readers,

In front of you is a new issue of the journal Bosniaca, which brings fifteen new articles and three reviews. This year is significant for the journal because from this issue, Bosniaca is also published in English language. In the new issue, we tried to collect as much diverse articles as possible from our region and beyond.

The section dedicated to the Library Information System combines papers that are very diverse in their structure and deal with different topics. In this block we talk about the CIP programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the experience of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the right to privacy and protection of personal data in libraries and information literacy programmes. We finish the block with a paper on the concept of membership in the libraries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the Documentary Heritage block, we have the highest number of papers. We are opening the block with a paper from Russia on the topic of readers in the National Library of Russia. Afterwards we have the opportunity to read papers on the topic of reprinting of the works and copyrights, then cartography of Montenegro through the funds of the National Library of Montenegro „Đurđe Crnojević“, Muslim National Library in Mostar, Milan Mladenović Endowment in the National Library of Serbia, the idea of establishing the University of Sarajevo in the early 20th century, and the forerunners of public libraries in Serbia. In addition, readers have the opportunity to gain insight into the bibliography of works of the historian and academician, Prof. Dr Hamdija Kapidžić, in the funds of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the block entitled Information and Services we have the opportunity to get acquainted with the papers on the topic of impact assessment of articles and transparency of reviews, difference in openness and sharing of scientific papers at the University of Rijeka, and research into the application of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing of materials. In the reviews and contributions, we present two books, as well as activities related to education and professional exams in the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This issue of the journal Bosniaca brings a handful of diverse topics and approaches, and we believe that every reader will find something interesting and useful. With gratitude to all who contributed for this issue to see the light of day despite the difficult circumstances that the whole world is facing, we hope that its topics will find their readers.

Ismet Ovčina, PhD
Editor-in-Chief

CIP program u Bosni i Hercegovini: iskustvo Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine

CIP Programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Experience of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Viktorija Martinčević-Huseinčehajić

Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina / National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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CIP programme, publisher, library, CIP record, cataloguing in a publication

Sažetak / Abstract

U članku je predstavljena realizacija CIP programa u Bosni i Hercegovini i njegov značaj za izdavače i biblioteke. Istaknuto je koliko je bitna suradnja između izdavača i biblioteka. Dat je prikaz CIP programa u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i naznačene smjernice za daljnji rad.

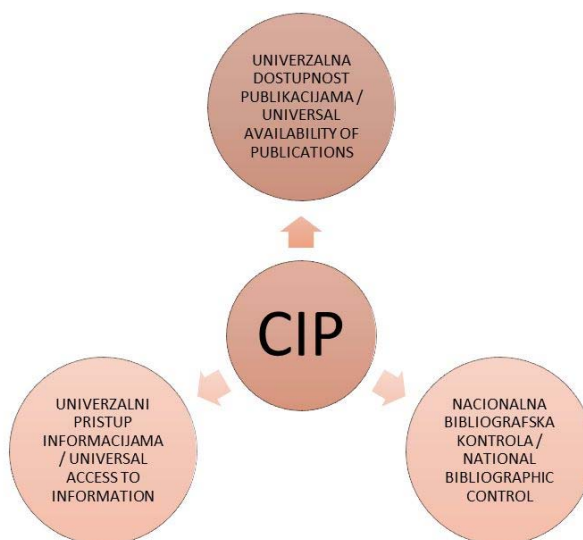
The article presents the implementation of the CIP programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its significance for publishers and libraries. The importance of cooperation between publishers and libraries was emphasized. An overview of the CIP programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina is given, as well as guidelines for further work.

Uvod

Sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća javlja se interes za katalogizaciju u publikaciji (u daljem tekstu CIP). Zahvaljujući tehnološkom razvoju, njegovoj primjeni u bibliotekama i potrebi za standardiziranim pravilima za obradu bibliotečke građe te sve većoj izdavačkoj produkciji, započela je realizacija CIP programa. CIP je engleski akronim za Cataloguing in Publication i predstavlja skraćeni kataloški zapis otisnut u publikaciji i izrađen prema međunarodnim pravilima. Svaka država koja ima CIP program pridržava se međunarodnih standarda, preporuka i smjernica međunarodnih organizacija kao što su IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions), UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) i dr. zbog razmjene podataka i razvoja saradnje na međunarodnoj razini. Publikacija je nosilac informacija, a s CIP-om poboljšava upotrebu publikacije i ubrzava njenu cirkulaciju, kao i saradnju biblioteka i izdavača. Publikacija se CIP-om uključuje u program nacionalne bibliografske kontrole, zatim univerzalne dostupnosti publikacija i globalni projekat univerzalnog pristupa informacijama.

Introduction

In the 1970s there was an interest in cataloguing in publication (further in text CIP). Thanks to technological development, its application in libraries and the need for standardized rules for the processing of library materials, as well as increasing publishing production, the implementation of the CIP programme has begun. CIP is the English acronym for Cataloguing in Publication and is an abbreviated catalogue record printed in a publication and made according to international rules. Each country that has a CIP programme adheres to international standards, recommendations and guidelines of international organizations such as IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions), UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), etc. for data exchange and development cooperation at the international level. The publication is a carrier of information, and with the CIP it improves the use of the publication and speeds up its circulation as well as the cooperation of libraries and publishers. The publication is included in the CIP programme of national bibliographic control, then the universal availability of publications and the global project of universal access to information.



Počeci CIP-a u Bosni i Hercegovini

CIP program se pojavio u prošlom stoljeću, a inicijatori u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bili su Hrvatska i Makedonija. Katalogizacija u publikaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini pokrenuta je 1986. godine, a nosilac programa je Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine sa sjedištem u Sarajevu. Prvi izdavač kojem je dodijeljen CIP i s kojim je biblioteka ostvarila suradnju bila je Svjetlost iz Sarajeva. Kada se CIP program pojavio u Bosni i Hercegovini, predstavljao je zajednički interes za biblioteke i izdavače, a to je da omogući da brza i potpuna informacija o novim naslovima što prije dođe do korisnika.

Značaj za izdavače

CIP program podrazumijeva stalnu suradnju izdavača i biblioteke. Izdavač želi da zna zašto bi se trebao uključiti u CIP program i što mu taj program omogućuje. Izdavači i biblioteke imaju jedan zajednički interes koji je usmjeren na korisnika. Oboje žele omogućiti da knjiga što prije dođe u ruke korisnika i da imaju brzu i cjelovitu informaciju o novim naslovima, a to je upravo ono što CIP program omogućava.

Izdavači imaju višestruku korist od CIP-a kao npr. izlaženjem CIP biltena – informativne publikacije o novim naslovima, tj. knjigama u štampi, pružajući:

- propagandnu vrijednost – služi kao najava publikacija,
- ekonomsku vrijednost – omogućava bržu prodaju publikacija,
- marketinšku vrijednost – omogućava reklamiranje izdavačke djelatnosti u CIP biltenu.

The beginnings of the CIP in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The CIP programme appeared in the last century, and the initiators in the former Yugoslavia were Croatia and Macedonia. Cataloguing in the publication in Bosnia and Herzegovina was launched in 1986, and the holder of the programme is the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina based in Sarajevo. The first publisher to be assigned the CIP and the library cooperated with was Svjetlost from Sarajevo. When the CIP programme appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was of common interest to libraries and publishers, and that was to enable quick and complete information on new titles to reach users as soon as possible.

Significance for publishers

The CIP programme implies constant collaboration between publishers and the library. The publisher wants to know why they should join the CIP programme and what that programme allows them to do. Publishers and libraries have one common interest that is user-centered. They both want to enable the book to get into the hands of users as soon as possible and to have quick and complete information about new titles, and that is exactly what the CIP programme allows.

Publishers have multiple benefits from the CIP, such as publishing a CIP Bulletin – informative publications on new titles, i.e. books in print, by providing:

- propaganda value – serves as an announcement of publications,
- economic value – enables faster sale of publications,
- marketing value – enables advertising of the publishing activity in the CIP Bulletin.

CIP izdavačima pruža mogućnost da izrađuju vlastite izdavačke kataloge, a CIP bilten im pruža uvid u produkciju drugih izdavača.

CIP ima i edukativnu ulogu jer zahtijeva od autora i izdavača da knjigu pripreme prema međunarodnim standardima, što znači da se pridržavaju osnovnih parametara kako i koje podatke staviti na naslovnu stranicu, kako složiti naslov i podnaslov, gdje staviti podatke o odgovornosti, koji se podaci nalaze u impresumu i sl.

Značaj za biblioteke

Pored navedenog značaja CIP-a za izdavače, CIP ima veliko značenje i za biblioteke jer podrazumijeva:

- ujednačenu i standardiziranu obradu katalogizacije i klasifikacije knjiga,
- racionalizaciju poslovanja u biblioteci, što znači bržu obradu, smanjenje troškova, bržu i bolju nabavu,
- obavijest o novim naslovima putem biltena,
- služi za kontrolu pristizanja obaveznog primjerka,
- osnovu za tekuću nacionalnu bibliografiju.

Korištenjem CIP-a smanjuje se vrijeme katalogiziranja. CIP zapis sadrži provjerene bibliografske podatke i na taj način osigurava tačnost i kvalitetu (Pšenica 1994, 24).

Izrada CIP zapisa

CIP je kataloški opis otisnut u publikaciji koji se izrađuje tijekom završne pripreme izdavanja knjige. Kao predložak koristi se konačni prijelom pripremljen za štampu. Na taj način knjiga, koja je već nosilac informacija s CIP-om, dobija dodatnu dimenziju informiranja koja umnogome poboljšava upotrebu knjige, odnosno njenu cirkulaciju na relaciji izdavač – biblioteka – korisnik.



CIP zapis izrađuje se na temelju podataka sadržanih u publikaciji pripremljenoj za štampu. Za potrebe formalne i sadržajne obrade, kako bi se dobili što potpuniji i tačniji bibliografski podaci, izdavač/nakladnik treba dostaviti konačan prijelom knjige pripremljene za štampu/tisak nakon posljednje korekture s jasno definisanom naslovnom stranom (3. strana u knjizi) i potpunim impresumom u PDF formatu.

The CIP provides an opportunity for publishers to create their own publishing catalogues, and the CIP Bulletin provides them with insight into the production of other publishers.

CIP also has an educational role because it requires authors and publishers to prepare the book according to international standards, which means that they adhere to the basic parameters of how and what information to put on the title page, how to put the title and subtitle, where to put responsibility information, what information is in imprint, etc.

Significance for libraries

In addition to the importance of the CIP for publishers, the CIP is also of great importance for libraries because it implies:

- uniform and standardized processing of cataloguing and classification of books,
- rationalization of business in the library, which means faster processing, cost reduction, faster and better acquisition,
- notification of new titles via CIP Bulletin,
- serves to control the arrival of a mandatory copy,
- basis for the current national bibliography.

Using CIP reduces cataloguing time. The CIP record contains verified bibliographic data and thus ensures accuracy and quality (Pšenica 1994, 24).

Creating CIP records

A CIP is a catalogue description printed in a publication that is produced during the final layout of a book publishing. A final print-ready layout is used as a template. In this way, the book, which is already a carrier of information with the CIP, gets an additional dimension of information that greatly improves the use of the book and its circulation in the publisher – library – user relationship.

The CIP record is made on the basis of the data contained in the publication prepared for printing. For the purposes of formal and subject processing, in order to obtain the most complete and accurate bibliographic data, the publisher should submit the final copy of the book prepared for printing after the last proofreading with a clearly defined title page (3rd page in the book) and a complete imprint in PDF format.

Osnovni podaci za identifikaciju publikacije su naslov, podnaslov, podaci o odgovornostima, podatak o izdanju, godina izdavanja, paginacija, zbirka, originalni naslov, ISBN broj. Prvi i najvažniji element je odrednica (osobna, korporativna, stvarna ili formalna), nakon koje slijedi bibliografski opis.

Oblik CIP zapisa

Na vrhu je uvodna kratica CIP s nazivom na jeziku i pismu ustanove, oznakom zemlje i ureda koji izrađuje CIP.

Nakon toga slijedi UDK.

Zatim slijedi odrednica glavne kataložne jedinice, pa bibliografski opis koji se temelji na ISBD standardima.

Na kraju zapisa se nalaze oznake, tj. ISBN broj i ID broj zapisa.

The basic data for the identification of the publication are the title, subtitle, data on responsibilities, data on the edition, year of publication, pagination, collection, original title, ISBN number. The first and most important element is the heading (personal, corporate, actual or formal) followed by a bibliographic description.

CIP record format

At the top is the introductory abbreviation CIP with the name in the language and script of the institution, the name of the country and the office that assigns the CIP.

This is followed by the UDC.

Then follows the heading of the main cataloguing unit, followed by a bibliographic description based on ISBD standards.

At the end of the record there are tags, i.e. ISBN number and ID number of the record.

CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka
Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

821.163.4(497.6)-992
012 Ovčina I.

OVČINA, Ismet

Putovanja i saznanja : od Katara do Islanda / Ismet Ovčina. - Sarajevo : Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 2020. - 254 str. : fotogr. ; 30 cm. - (Edicija Memoria Mundi)

ISBN 978-9958-500-97-8
COBISS.BH-ID 38577158

naziv i sjedište institucije koja dodjeljuje CIP
name and place of the institution which assigned CIP

stručna oznaka = UDK
classification = UDC

autorska odrednica | main entry
bibliografski opis | bibliographic description

ISBN broj | ISBN number

identifikacijski broj zapisa u bazi podataka
identification number of records in the database

CIP je prvi kataložski zapis koji se kasnije u procesu obrade koristi i nadopunjuje za potrebe bibliografije. Bibliografska kontrola treba da unapređuje izradu jednog bibliografskog zapisa za svaku publikaciju, uklanjajući dupliciranje zapisa, i osigura međunarodno kompatibilne i dostupne zapise. CIP omogućuje to jer se svaka publikacija katalogizira jednom, i to u zemlji gdje se izdaje.

CIP program u Bosni i Hercegovini danas

U Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine CIP se dodjeljuje u Sarajevu pri NUBBiH.

U Bosni i Hercegovini bilježimo porast broja

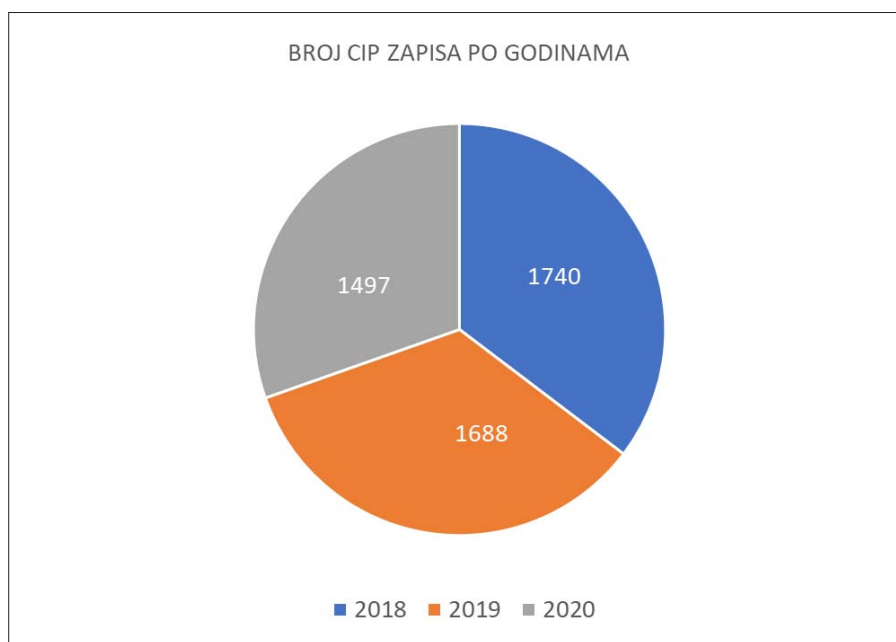
CIP is the first catalogue record that is used later in the processing and complemented for the purposes of bibliography. Bibliographic control should enhance the production of one bibliographic record for each publication, eliminating duplication of records, and ensure internationally compatible and accessible records. The CIP makes this possible because each publication is catalogued once in the country where it is published.

CIP programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina today

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the CIP is assigned in Sarajevo in the NUBBiH.

izdavača, kao i promjene vezane za nove tehnologije u izdavačkoj djelatnosti. Naime, sve više se traži CIP za elektronska izdanja i sve je veći broj autora izdavača.

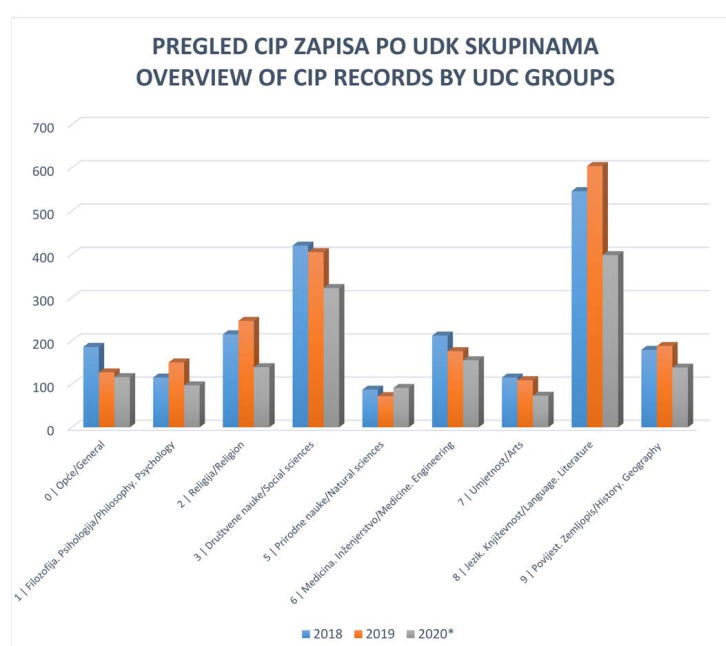
In Bosnia and Herzegovina, we are recording an increase in the number of publishers as well as changes related to new technologies in the publishing industry. Namely, CIP for electronic editions is increasingly requested and there is an increasing number of authors-publishers.



* Podaci preuzeti iz COBISS-a | Data retrieved from COBISS

Također, najviše se izdaju djela iz književnosti i društvenih nauka, a najmanje iz prirodnih nauka i umjetnosti, što je vidljivo iz sljedećeg grafikona.

Also, the most published works are from literature and social sciences, and the least from natural sciences and arts, which can be seen from the following chart.



* Podaci preuzeti iz COBISS-a | Data retrieved from COBISS

Dosadašnja iskustva pokazuju da neki izdavači ne izvršavaju svoju obavezu prema NUBBiH jer ne šalju redovno ili uopće ne šalju obavezne primjerke. Za posljedicu imamo poteškoće u poslovanju biblioteke, što se odražava na fond i nepotpunost tekuće bibliografije.

Još jedan od razloga za razvijanje saradnje između izdavača i biblioteke jeste taj što se često ne poštuju zahtjevi bibliotekara, pa dolazi do nepotrebnih intervencija u CIP zapisu koji je zbog toga više ili manje netačan. Postoje situacije kada izdavač ne dostavi konačan prijelom publikacije, ne navede sve podatke potrebne za obradu ili su ti podaci pogrešni, te zbog toga opada kvalitet CIP-a, a samim tim i njegova upotrebljivost. Česte su situacije kada izdavači nakon već dodijeljenog CIP-a izvrše izmjene, čak i samog naslova, a ne obavijeste CIP centar o urađenim izmjenama i tada imamo potpuno neupotrebljiv zapis u bazi podataka. Izdavači nekada uopće ne kontaktiraju s CIP centrom i štampaju publikacije bez CIP-a ili ubacuju stare CIP-ove od prijašnjih izdanja, a nerijetko sami izrade CIP koristeći naše ime u zaglavlju, što je nedopustivo i predstavlja neovlašteno korištenje tuđeg imena. Još jedan od problema koji se javlja jeste prenos CIP zapisa u knjigu. Izdavači često na svoju ruku pomjeraju zapis, a onda to više nije zapis urađen prema standardima (Pšenica 1994, 28).

CIP bilten

CIP bilten u BiH izlazi jednom mjesečno od januara 2019. godine na web stranici NUBBiH www.nub.ba i omogućava uvid u izdavačku djelatnost BiH svijetu te pruža uvid u produkciju drugih izdavača. CIP zapisi su raspoređeni prema Univerzalnoj decimalnoj klasifikaciji (UDK), a unutar pojedinih stručnih grupa jedinice su razvrstane abecedno. Svaki broj Biltena uključuje i registar autora. BiH nema normativnu datoteku, pa se nadam da će registar autora u Biltenu olakšati u budućnosti izradu normativne datoteke, odnosno poslužiti kao temelj za nju.

Bilten kao prva informacija o knjigama u štampi može poslužiti u planiranju nabavke u bibliotekama i knjižarama, ali i kao informativni katalog.

Budućnost CIP zapisa

Uvijek je postojalo nekoliko nedoumica vezanih za CIP, ali i samu izradu zapisa. Problemi na koje nailazimo su stručni ili bibliotečki i formalni ili izdavački.

Prvo pitanje je da li je potrebno skratiti ili proširiti CIP zapis?

Experience gained so far shows that some publishers do not fulfil their obligation to NUBBiH because they do not send regularly nor mandatory copies at all. As a result, we have difficulties in the operation of the library, which is reflected in the fund and the incompleteness of the current bibliography.

Another reason for developing cooperation between publishers and the library is that the requirements of librarians are often not respected, so there is unnecessary intervention in the CIP record, which is therefore more or less inaccurate. There are situations when the publisher does not submit the final copy of the publication, does not provide all the data necessary for processing or these data are incorrect, and therefore the quality of the CIP, and thus its usability, decreases. There are often situations when publishers make changes, even the title itself, after already assigned CIP, and do not notify the CIP centre about the made changes, and then we have a completely unusable record in the database. Publishers sometimes do not contact the CIP centre at all and print publications without a CIP or insert old CIPs from previous editions, and often create their own CIP using our name in the header, which is unacceptable and the unauthorized use of someone else's name. Another problem that arises is the transfer of CIP records to the book. Publishers often move the record on their own, and then it's no longer a record made to standards (Pšenica 1994: 28).

CIP Bulletin

The CIP Bulletin in BiH is published once a month since January 2019 on the NUBBiH website www.nub.ba and provides insight into the publishing activity of BiH to the world, and provides insight into the production of other publishers. CIP records are arranged according to the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), and within individual professional groups the units are classified by alphabet. Each issue of the Bulletin includes a register of authors. BiH does not have an authority file, so I hope that the register of authors in the Bulletin will facilitate the creation of an authority file in the future, i.e. serve as a basis for it.

The Bulletin as the first information about books in print can be used in planning purchases in libraries and bookstores, but also as an informative catalogue.

The future of CIP records

There have always been a few doubts about the CIP, but also the making of the record itself. The problems we encounter are professional or library and formal or publishing.

Zbog gore navedenih problema smatram da se treba ići na skraćivanje zapisa, a da se dolaskom publikacije putem obaveznog primjerka on proširuje. Potrebno je zakonski odrediti obaveze izdavača, kao i naplatu usluga za CIP.

Potrebno je educirati izdavače, tj. izdati uputstva koja bi bila od pomoći posebno tek registrovanim izdavačima ili autorima koji izdaju knjigu u vlastitom izdanju te svima koji se bave izdavačkom djelatnošću. Na taj bismo način uveliko smanjili nedoumice i probleme na koje nailazimo u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji.

Drugo pitanje je da li se u CIP zapis treba uvesti predmetnica, jer je činjenica da je predmetni katalog zasjenio stručni katalog. Korisnici žele što prije doći do tačne i potpune informacije, a mi kao bibliotekari to im moramo i omogućiti.

Problemi vezani za izdavače javljaju se jer se predlošci donose u posljednji čas, često nepotpuni, ne pridržavaju se tačnog ispisa interpunkcijskih znakova, čak ih i mijenjaju zajedno s određenim podacima bez znanja bibliotekara. Izdavači često znaju reći da im CIP zapis kvari publikaciju, zauzima mjesto i sl. pa štamparije preslože CIP zapis i kada knjiga bude odštampana, kasno je da se nešto promijeni. Smatram da bi trebalo izostaviti skupinu materijalnog opisa, jer upravo u tom području nailazimo na najveći broj izmjena.

Zaključak

Katalogizacijom u publikaciji ubrzava se i unapređuje proces obrade knjige, što omogućuje da knjiga što prije dođe do svojih korisnika. Na međunarodnom planu CIP program se odvija uspješno uz dobru saradnju izdavača i biblioteka. Sve je veća potreba za CIP zapisima za neknjižnu građu. Važan alat za uspješno odvijanje programa trebalo bi biti uputstvo za izdavače kako bi što kvalitetnije prema standardima uradili prijelom publikacija i izbjegli neugodnosti prilikom rada. Svaka zemlja koja ima nacionalni centar za CIP dužna je pratiti i prihvatiti preporuke i standarde koje koordinira IFLA, jer nema međunarodnog centra za CIP. Potrebno je nastaviti raditi na promicanju CIP-a i zajednici izdavača i bibliotekara. Na kraju možemo naglasiti da je potrebna što operativnija suradnja CIP službe s izdavačima u svrhu što boljeg poslovanja.

The first question is whether it is necessary to shorten or expand the CIP record? Due to the above mentioned problems, I believe that the record should be shortened, and that with the arrival of the publication, it should be expanded through a mandatory copy. It is necessary to legally determine the obligations of the publisher as well as the cost for CIP services.

It is necessary to educate publishers, i.e. to issue instructions that would be especially helpful to newly registered publishers or authors-publishers, and to all those who are engaged in publishing. In that way, we would greatly reduce the doubts and problems we encounter in everyday communication.

Another question is whether a subject terms should be introduced in the CIP record, because the fact is that the subject catalogue has overshadowed the special catalogue. Users want to get accurate and complete information as soon as possible, and we as librarians must provide that.

Problems related to publishers occur because templates are brought at the last minute, often incomplete, do not adhere to the correct printing of punctuation marks, and even are changed together with certain data without the knowledge of the librarian. Publishers often say that the CIP record spoils their publication, takes up space, etc., so the printing houses rearrange the CIP record, and when the book is printed, it is too late to change anything. I think that the group of material description should be left out, because precisely in this area we encounter the largest number of changes.

Conclusion

Cataloguing in a publication speeds up and improves the process of book processing, which enables the book to reach its users as soon as possible. At the international level, the CIP programme is running successfully with good cooperation between publishers and libraries. There is a growing need for CIP records for non-book material. An important tool for the successful conduct of the programme should be a guide for publishers in order to break down publications as well as possible according to the standards and avoid inconveniences during work. Every country that has a national CIP centre is required to follow and accept the recommendations and standards coordinated by IFLA, as there is no international CIP centre. There is need to continue to promote the CIP and cooperation between publishers and libraries. Finally, we can emphasize that the most operational cooperation of the CIP service with publishers is needed for the purpose of better business.

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Programi informacijskog opismenjavanja (teorijski okviri u području prava i medicine)

Information Literacy Programmes (Theoretical Framework in the Field of Law and Medicine)

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Information Literacy in the field of law; Information Literacy in the field of medicine; Information Literacy programmes in the field of law; Information Literacy programmes in the field of medicine; models of Information Literacy; standards of Information Literacy; Academic Libraries

Sažetak / Abstract

Visokoškolske knjižnice u Republici Hrvatskoj u posljednjih petnaestak godina započele su s provođenjem programa informacijskog opismenjavanja. Najčešći oblici informacijskog opismenjavanja su radionice na dobrovoljnoj osnovi koje knjižničari provode ili samostalno ili kroz neformalnu suradnju knjižničara i nastavnog osoblja na različitim kolegijima. Zbog nesustavne i sporadične edukacije može se pretpostaviti da studenti na svim godinama studija posjeduju različite razine temeljnih informacijskih kompetencija, ali i potrebnih kontekstualnih informacijskih vještina, specifičnih za pojedino područje znanosti. S obzirom na mali broj istraživanja i nedostatan broj dokaza, može se pretpostaviti da ne postoji dovoljna svijest o promicanju i važnosti uključivanja formalnih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, što može dovesti do zaključka da ili programa nema dovoljno, ili da se oni, ako i postoje, ne temelje na stvarnim potrebama studenata, nastavnika i drugih sudionika obrazovnog procesa.

Cilj je rada kvalitativnom metodom analize sadržaja relevantne literature iz područja informacijske pismenosti ukazati na neke od najvažnijih modela i standarda informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine u svijetu. Svrha je istraživanja proširiti teorijske spoznaje i unaprijediti poučavanje informacijske pismenosti u ova dva predmetna područja u Republici Hrvatskoj. Na praktičnoj razini istraženi modeli i standardi mogu poslužiti kao okviri za izradu formalnih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u praksi navedenih knjižnica, kao i za unaprjeđivanje prakse u knjižnicama sa sličnim iskustvom u Republici Hrvatskoj.

Academic libraries in Croatia for the past fifteen years have started implementing information literacy programmes for their users. Most frequent forms of information literacy programme delivery are library workshops with voluntary participation, conducted by librarians, either independently or through informal cooperation with academic staff on various courses. However, it can be assumed, because of non-systematic and sporadic information literacy programmes, that students of all years possess different levels of both generic and contextual information literacy skills in the field of law.

Because of the small number of studies and the insufficient number of evidence, it can be assumed that there is not enough awareness regarding the promotion and relevance of the information literacy programmes. Thus, it can be concluded that the programmes are insufficient, or if they exist, they do not rely on the real needs of students, teachers and other participants in the educational process.

The aim of the paper is to point to some of the most important models and standards of information literacy in the field of law and medicine in the world by using qualitative method of analysing the content of relevant literature in the area of information literacy in the field of law and medicine.

The purpose of the research is to broaden theoretical knowledge and to improve the teaching of information literacy in the field of law and medicine in the Republic of Croatia. On a practical level, the explored models and standards can serve as a theoretical framework for creating formal programmes of information literacy in law libraries' practice, as well as for improving practice in libraries with similar experience in other countries.

1. Informacijska pismenost na visokoškolskoj razini

U novom obrazovnom okruženju, zbog razvoja informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije (IKT) (Zurkowski 1974) i pojave novih obrazovnih koncepata i paradigmi (uvođenje bolonjskog procesa) na sveučilišta, potreba za razvojem informacijskih vještina studenata dolazi do punog izražaja (usp. na primjer Dewey 1997; Bruce 2000; Lau 2011). Student informaciju mora naučiti pronaći, učinkovito koristiti, vrednovati, prosuditi o njoj, a da pritom razvija svoje kritičko mišljenje i usvoji vještine koje su mu potrebne ne samo kroz njegovo akademsko, već i cjeloživotno obrazovanje (Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2008, 14). Poznavanje i korištenje IK tehnologije i informacijskih izvora povezano je s korisničkim potrebama, stoga knjižničari svoje usluge i djelatnosti trebaju uskladiti s njima (Webber i Johnston 2000). Zbog toga programi informacijskog opismenjavanja sve više postaju neizostavni dio rada visokoškolske knjižnice jer kompetencije i vještine obuhvaćene informacijskom pismenošću postaju preduvjet za uspješno učenje studenata (Candy, Crebert i O'Leary 1994).

No, bez obzira na važnost formaliziranja sadržaja informacijske pismenosti, različita je praksa na visokoškolskim knjižnicama ne samo u Republici Hrvatskoj već i u svijetu. Naime u izvođenju i primjeni tipova poučavanja informacijske pismenosti studenata, knjižničari i visokoškolske knjižnice nailaze na različite probleme. Oni su u praksi ponekad teško ostvarivi s obzirom na osviještenost nastavnog osoblja ili uključivanje informacijske pismenosti u kurikulum visokoškolske institucije. Jedan je od problema nepoimanje uloge knjižnice kao sudionika u obrazovnom procesu visokoškolskih ustanova, već poimanje knjižnice kao informacijskog središta, koje u 21. stoljeću nudi samo pristup većem broju različitih informacijskih izvora (Rubinić i Stričević 2011). Kao jedan od razloga može se uzeti u obzir i činjenica da znanstveno-nastavno osoblje često smatra da današnje generacije studenata ne trebaju razvijati svoje informacijske vještine, jer se radi o tzv. *Google generaciji* koja je odrasla uz IK tehnologiju (Rowlands et al. 2008). No, brojna su istraživanja pokazala zapravo suprotno. Sve više studenata ima tzv. lažan privid da znaju kako se služiti potrebnim informacijskim izvorima tijekom svog studiranja i često precjenjuju svoje znanje o korištenju interneta, ne prepoznaju relevantne informacije, površni su u pretraživanju i nemaju razvijena mjerila vrednovanja (Torrás i Saetre 2009). Taj je izazov

1. Information literacy at the academic level

In a new educational environment, due to the development of information and communications technology (ICT) (Zurkowski 1974), and the emergence of new educational concepts and paradigms (introduction of the Bologna Process) at universities, the need to develop students' information skills comes to the full expression (cf. for instance Dewey 1997; Bruce 2000; Lau 2011). The student must learn to find, effectively use, evaluate and judge the information, developing its critical opinion and adopting the skills needed not only through the academic but also lifelong education (Špiranec and Banek Zorica 2008, 14). Conversance and use of IC technology and information sources is related to user needs, so librarians should coordinate their services and activities with them (Webber and Johnston 2000). Therefore, information literacy programs are increasingly becoming an indispensable part of the work of the academic library because of the competencies and skills covered by information literacy are becoming a precondition for successful student learning (Candy, Crebert and O'Leary 1994).

However, regardless of the importance of formalizing the content of information literacy, the practice is different at academic libraries not only in the Republic of Croatia, but also in the world. In fact, in the performance and implementation of types of teaching students information literacy, librarians and academic libraries encounter various problems. They are sometimes difficult to achieve in practice due to the awareness of the teaching staff or the inclusion of information literacy in the curriculum of the academic institution. One of the problems is the lack of comprehension of the role of the library as a participant in the educational process of academic institutions, but the comprehension of the library as an information centre that in the 21st century offers only access to many different information resources (Rubinić and Stričević 2011). As a one of the reasons, the fact that scientific and teaching staff often believe that today's generations of students do not need to develop their information skills, because it is so-called *Google generation* that grew up with IC technology, can be taken into account (Rowlands et al. 2008). But numerous studies have actually shown the opposite. More and more students have so-called false illusion that they know how to use the necessary information sources during their studies and often overestimate their knowledge about the use of the Internet, do not recognize relevant information, sloppy in research and do not have developed

još veći zbog toga što svaka znanstvena disciplina ima svoje specifičnosti, pa knjižničari na visokoškolskim knjižnicama pri oblikovanju programa informacijskog opismenjavanja često moraju uzeti u obzir specifičnosti znanstvenog područja. Razlog tome je upravo činjenica da je informacijska pismenost preduvjet cjeloživotnog učenja, a povezivanjem generičkih (temeljnih) vještina i konceptualnih (specifičnih) vještina informacijske pismenosti pojedine znanstvene discipline studenti stječu potrebne i cjelovite vještine informacijske pismenosti koje će im biti potrebne u svakodnevnom životu i radu.

1.1. Modeli i standardi informacijske pismenosti na visokoškolskoj razini

Tijekom godina razvijeni su brojni modeli i standardi kojima su autori pokušali dati okvir za tumačenje informacijske pismenosti, ali i njezinu praktičnu primjenu. Modeli, kao teorijski okviri nastali znanstvenim istraživanjem, zapravo su bili podloga za standarde – neki izravno, a neki samo kao polazište (Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2008, 49, 121).

Neki od najvažnijih modela i standarda koji su primjenjivi u visokoškolskom okruženju te koji mogu pomoći u razumijevanju povezanosti informacijske pismenosti s disciplinarnim kontekstom razvijanja potrebnih informacijskih vještina studenata jesu SCONUL model¹ (SCONUL 2011) (usp. Bainton 2001), ACRL Standard Američkog udruženja za visokoškolske knjižnice (ACRL 2000) i Australski i novozelandski standard (ANZIL) (Bundy 2004).

Navedeni modeli i standardi za visokoškolsko obrazovanje omogućuju razumijevanje iskustva informacijske pismenosti i korištenja informacije da bi učenje bilo moguće. U njima se uočava da se informacijska pismenost u visokoškolskim ustanovama zbiva u suodnosu visokoškolska knjižnica – nastava, zbog potrebe razvijanja dodatnih znanja i vještina korisnika o korištenju i vrednovanju informacijskih izvora, poticanjem i osmišljavanjem programa informacijskog opismenjavanja kao redovite, a ne samo sporadične djelatnosti knjižnice, koja se temelji na dobrovoljnoj osnovi, te uključivanjem navedenih programa na formalnu razinu institucije (Bruce 2001). Povezujući informacijsku pismenost s kurikulumom, zahtijeva se partnerska suradnja edukatora, knjižničara, nastavnog osoblja, tj. svih sudionika obrazovnog procesa. Na temelju prijedloga ANZIL-a trenutačna praksa uključenosti informacijske pismenosti s kurikulumom obuhvaća kombina-

evaluation criteria (Torras and Saetre 2009). This challenge is even greater, because each scientific discipline has its own specifics, so librarians in academic libraries often have to take into account the specifics of the scientific field when designing information literacy programs. The reason for this is the fact that information literacy is a precondition for lifelong learning, and by connecting generic (basic) skills and conceptual (specific) skills of information literacy of a particular scientific discipline, students acquire the necessary and complete information literacy skills they will need in everyday life and work.

1.1. Models and standards of information literacy at the academic level

Over the years, numerous models and standards have been developed and using them the authors have tried to provide a framework for the interpretation of information literacy, but also for its practical application. Models, as theoretical frameworks created by scientific research, were in fact the basis for standards – some directly, and some only as a starting point (Špiranec and Banek Zorica 2008, 49, 121).

Some of the most important models and standards that are applicable in the academic environment and can help in understanding the connection between information literacy and the disciplinary context of developing the necessary information skills of students are SCONUL model¹ (SCONUL 2011) (cf. Bainton 2001), ACRL Standard of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL 2000) and Australia and New Zealand standard (ANZIL) (Bundy 2004).

These models and standards for academic education provide an understanding of the experience of information literacy and the use of information to make learning possible. They show that information literacy in academic institutions takes place in the relationship between academic library and courses, due to the need to develop additional knowledge and skills of users on the use and evaluation of information resources, encouraging and designing information literacy programs as regular library activity, and not just sporadic one, which is based on a voluntary basis, and by including these programs at the formal level of the institution (Bruce 2001). Linking information literacy with the curriculum requires the partnership of educators, librarians, teaching staff, i.e. all participants in the educational process. Based on

¹ SCONUL je akronim od Society of College, National and University Libraries.

¹ SCONUL is an acronym for Society of College, National and University Libraries.

ciju generičkih, usporednih, integriranih i ugniježđenih komponenti (vidi više Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2008, 121). Stoga se danas u svijetu govori o četiri najvažnija tipa informacijskog opismenjavanja u visokoškolskom okruženju: intrakurikularnom ili ugniježđenom tipu; interkurikularnom ili integriranom kolegiju; ekstrakurikularnom ili paralelnom informacijskom opismenjavanju i samostojećem tipu (usp. Bundy 2004, 6).

Ako se uzmu u obzir specifičnosti svakoga pojedinog tipa, može se uočiti da uloga visokoškolskih knjižničara u informacijskom opismenjavanju postaje iznimno važna, ali je i specifična. Ona je izražena u sva četiri tipa, ali je zastupljena u različitom opsegu. Tako je u ugniježđenom tipu najuočljivija isprepletenost sadržaja predmeta s informacijskom pismenošću budući da ga zajednički kreiraju knjižničari i nastavno osoblje. To omogućuje podizanje kvalitete nastave i motiviranje studenata da usvoje odgovarajuće informacijsko ponašanje (Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2008, 121). Važnost integracije, odnosno ugniježđivanja koncepta informacijske pismenosti u kurikulum institucije kroz suradnju knjižničara i nastavnog osoblja prepoznali su brojni autori (usp. Calkins i Kvenild 2010; Freudenberg i Lupton 2005). Neki autori smatraju da je to teže ostvarivo te navode neke od problema (Kobzina 2010). Primjerice, Winner smatra da još uvijek nije široko prihvaćena niti prepoznata uloga knjižničara u planiranju i kreiranju kurikula, kao i unutar predmeta (Winner 1998). S druge strane, Torras i Saetre ističu da se pri kreiranju primjerenog programa u pojedinom znanstvenom području moraju uzeti u obzir i pedagoški aspekti, primjerenost sadržaja programa, odnosno vještine koje bi trebala imati svaka informacijski pismena osoba, te specifičnosti pojedinoga područja (Torras i Saetre 2009, 30). Pritom je jedan od temeljnih preduvjeta da knjižničari trebaju posjedovati potrebne pedagoške kompetencije i vještine za kreiranje i provedbu takvih programa.

2. Razvoj informacijske pismenosti u području prava i specifičnosti pravne znanosti

Razvoj informacijske pismenosti u području prava može se promatrati usporedno s razvojem informacijske pismenosti na sveučilištima i visokoškolskim knjižnicama u svijetu. Slično kao i u drugim znanstvenim poljima, većina autora ističe da pravne knjižnice zbog razvoja IKT-a i promjena u obrazovnom okruženju moraju prilagoditi svoje informacijske usluge i što više primjenjivati programe informacijskog opismenjavanja (usp. Kaplan i Darvil 2011, 154; Percy Jayasuriya 2007; Abbas 2014).

the ANZIL proposal, the current practice of including information literacy in the curriculum includes a combination of generic, comparative, integrated and nested components (see more: Špiranec and Banek Zorica 2008, 121). Therefore, today, there are four most important types of information literacy in the world in the academic environment: intracurricular or nested type; intercurricular or integrated course; extracurricular or parallel information literacy and stand-alone type (cf. Bundy 2004, 6).

If we take into account the specifics of each type, it can be seen that the role of academic librarians in information literacy is becoming extremely important, but it is also specific. It is expressed in all four types, but is represented to a different extent. Thus, in the nested type, the most noticeable is the intertwining of the subject content with the information literacy, since it is jointly created by librarians and teaching staff. This allows raising the quality of teaching and motivating students to adopt appropriate informational behaviour (Špiranec and Banek Zorica, 2008: 121). The importance of integration, i.e. nesting the concept of information literacy in the curriculum of the institution through the cooperation of librarians and teaching staff has been recognized by numerous authors (cf. Calkins and Kvenild 2010; Freudenberg and Lupton 2005). Some authors find this more difficult to achieve and cite some of the problems (Kobzina 2010). For example, Winner believes that the role of librarians in curriculum planning and design, as well as within the subject, is not yet widely accepted or recognized (Winner 1998). On the other side Torras and Saetre point out that when creating an appropriate program in a particular scientific field, pedagogical aspects, the adequacy of the program content, i.e. the skills that every information literate person should have and the specifics of the particular field, must be taken into account (Torras and Saetre 2009, 30). One of the basic preconditions is that librarians should have the necessary pedagogical competencies and skills to create and implement such programs.

2. Development of information literacy in the Field of Law and specifics of Legal Science

The development of information literacy in the Field of Law can be observed in parallel with the development of information literacy at universities and academic libraries in the world. Similar to other scientific fields, most authors point out that, due to the development of ICT and changes in the educational environment, law libraries must adapt their information services and apply information literacy

Pengelley naglašava da se obrazovanje pravnika ne provodi više samo u učionicama pravnih fakulteta, već postaje hibridno mjesto koje uključuje elektroničke izvore dostupne na *webu*, kao i nove načine učenja, primjerice e-učenja, pa tako internet postaje ključan u razvijanju obrazovnog iskustva studenata (Pengelley 2001).

S druge strane, informacijska pismenost unutar područja prava zahtijeva velik broj specifičnih aspekata, čak jedinstvenih u odnosu na druga područja znanosti (posebice humanističke i prirodne znanosti) (Callister 2010). Prema Ryskom u većini područja znanosti najčešći primarni izvori za izučavanje pojedine discipline ili predmeta su knjige i znanstveni časopisi. Za područja prava to nije slučaj. U primarne izvore spadaju zakoni, zakonske odredbe, uredbe, direktive, sudske odluke (Ryskey 2007, 22). Studenti prava tijekom svoga školovanja moraju naučiti znati pronaći, koristiti, vrednovati i naučiti citirati različite pravne izvore, prepoznati osobitosti pravnih baza, ali i naučiti analizirati i kritički pristupiti pravnom problemu, prepoznati normativni okvir za pravni problem, usporediti pravne sustave dostupne u pravnim bazama podataka ili drugim izvorima informacija (Ryskey 2007, 22). Stoga autori smatraju da studenti trebaju razvijati ne samo generičke (opće) već i kontekstualne (stručne) vještine informacijske pismenosti u području prava koje su ključne za razvijanje njihovih cjeloživotnih kompetencija kao budućih pravnika (Beeljars 2009).

3. Razvoj informacijske pismenosti u području medicine i specifičnosti medicinske znanosti

Medicinsko znanje je iznimno složeno. Sposobnost učinkovitog pretraživanja literature od suštinske je važnosti za buduće liječnike. *Association of American Medical Colleges* (Udruženje američkih medicinskih fakulteta) u dokumentu *Learning Objectives for Medical Student Education Guidelines for Medical Schools* navodi da budući liječnici moraju moći pronaći biomedicinsku informaciju iz baza podataka i ostalih izvora, upravljati njome i koristiti je za rješavanje problema i donošenje odluka koje su relevantne za njegu pojedinaca, kritički procijeniti informaciju i njezin izvor te ih na odgovarajući način primijeniti na donošenje odluka u praksi. Razvoj vještina informacijske pismenosti prepoznat je kao važan aspekt medicinske edukacije i prakse traženja dokaza u medicini. Stoga je u medicinskim knjižnicama diljem svijeta zabilježen veliki broj programa informacijskog opismenjavanja (Brettelle 2003; 2007). Pretraživanje informacija i kritička procjena

programs as much as possible (cf. Kaplan and Darvil 2011, 154; Percy Jayasuriya 2007; Abbas 2014). Pengelley emphasizes that education of lawyers is no longer conducted only in the classrooms of law faculties, but is becoming a hybrid place that includes electronic resources available on the *web*, as well as new ways of learning, such as e-learning, so the Internet becomes crucial in developing students' educational experience (Pengelley 2001).

On the other hand, information literacy within the field of law requires a large number of specific aspects, even unique one in relation to other fields of science (especially to the Humanities and Natural Sciences) (Callister 2010). According to Ryskey, in most fields of science, the most common primary sources for studying a particular discipline or subject are books and scientific journals. For fields of law this is not the case. Primary sources include laws, legal provisions, regulations, directives, court decisions (Ryskey 2007, 22). During their studies, law students must learn to find, use, evaluate and cite different legal sources, recognize the peculiarities of legal bases, but also learn to analyze and critically approach a legal problem, recognize the normative framework for a legal problem, compare different legal systems available in legal data bases or other sources of information (Ryskey 2007, 22). Therefore, the authors believe that students should develop not only generic (general) information literacy skills, but also contextual (professional) information literacy skills in the field of law, which are crucial for developing their lifelong competencies as future lawyers (Beeljars 2009).

3. Development of information literacy in the Field of Medicine and specifics of Medical Science

Medical knowledge is extremely complex. The ability to effectively research the literature is essential for future physicians. *Association of American Medical Colleges* in the document *Learning Objectives for Medical Student Education Guidelines for Medical Schools* states that future physicians must be able to find biomedical information from databases and other sources, manage and use it to solve problems and make decisions that are relevant to the care of individuals, critically evaluate information and its source and apply them appropriately to decision-making in practice. The development of information literacy skills is recognized as an important aspect of medical education and evidence-seeking practice in medicine. Therefore, a large number of information literacy programs have been recorded

informacija postaju važni jer standardi medicinske edukacije/obrazovanja u medicini zahtijevaju da studenti posjeduju vještine informacijske pismenosti (Storie i Campbell 2012). U provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja jedan je od najvećih izazova kako utjecati na studente, kojima je puno ugodnije pretraživati web, da počnu koristiti provjerene relevantne baze podataka umjesto toga (usp. Spring 2010; Kuhn, Edwards-Waller 2009). Neki autori (Shershneva, Slotnick i Mejicano 2005) smatraju da će se taj problem riješiti primjerenim predstavljanjem informacijskih izvora tijekom obrazovanja te da je važno izvore informacija staviti u odgovarajući kontekst.

Preporuka je većina autora programe informacijskog opismenjavanja što ranije integrirati u kurikulum i ne ih ograničiti samo na prve godine, odnosno trebaju biti integrirani tijekom trajanja obrazovanja kako bi studenti kontinuirano razvijali svoje vještine informacijske pismenosti (Buysse 2018).

4. Cilj, svrha rada i istraživačka pitanja

Važnost provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim i medicinskim fakultetima prepoznali su i knjižničari u Republici Hrvatskoj pa se bilježi sve više primjera dobre prakse provođenja takvih programa, posebice u posljednjih pet godina, što je iznimno pohvalno (usp. Golenko, Petr Balog i Siber 2017; Markulin, Škorić i Petrak 2014). No, problem koji se pojavljuje i ostaje je različita praksa provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, gdje se oni uglavnom najčešće provode paralelno, samostalno unutar knjižnice kroz nekoliko školskih sati ili kroz neformalnu suradnju s nastavnim osobljem na različitim kolegijima. Time koncept informacijske pismenosti nije integriran u kurikulum institucije, odnosno nije uključen na formalnoj razini visokoškolskih institucija. Zbog nesustavne i sporadične edukacije može se pretpostaviti da studenti na svim godinama studija posjeduju različite razine temeljnih informacijskih kompetencija, ali i potrebnih informacijskih vještina u području prava i medicine. Isto tako, s obzirom na mali broj istraživanja, može se pretpostaviti da ne postoji dovoljna svijest o promicanju i važnosti programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, što može dovesti do zaključka ili da programa nema dovoljno ili da se oni, ako i postoje, ne temelje na stvarnim potrebama studenata, nastavnika i drugih sudionika obrazovanog procesa (Golenko 2017).

Tako je primjerice u području prava zabilježen samo jedan formalni program – na Pravnom fakultetu u Zagrebu na Poslijediplomskom doktorskom studiju

in medical libraries around the world (Brettle 2003; 2007). Information retrieval and critical evaluation of information are becoming important as standards of medical education in medicine require students to possess information literacy skills (Storie and Campbell 2012). In implementing an information literacy program, one of the biggest challenges is how to influence students who are much more comfortable in browsing the web to start using verified relevant databases instead (cf. Spring 2010; Kuhn and Edwards-Waller 2009). Some authors (Shershneva, Slotnick and Mejicano 2005) consider that this problem will be solved by appropriate presentation of information sources during education and that it is important to put information sources in the appropriate context.

It is recommended that most authors integrate information literacy programs into curricula as soon as possible and not limit them only to the first years, i.e. they should be integrated throughout the period of education in order for students to continuously develop their information literacy skills (Buysse 2018).

4. Aim, purpose of the work and research questions

The importance of implementing information literacy programs at law and medical faculties has also been recognized by librarians in the Republic of Croatia, so there are more and more examples of good practice in implementing such programs, especially in the last five years, which is exceptionally commendable (cf. Golenko, Petr Balog and Siber 2017; Markulin, Škorić and Petrak 2014). But the problem that arises and remains is the different practice of implementing information literacy programs, where they are usually conducted in parallel, independently within the library over several classes or through informal collaboration with teaching staff in different courses. Thereby, the concept of information literacy is not integrated into the institution's curriculum, that is, it is not involved at the formal level of academic institutions.

Due to the unsystematic and sporadic education, it can be assumed that students in all years of study possess different levels of basic information competencies, but also the necessary information skills in the field of law and medicine. Likewise, given the small number of studies, it can be assumed that there is insufficient awareness of the promotion and importance of information literacy programs, which may lead to the conclusion that there are not enough programs or that they, if any, are not based on actual

prava izvodi se kolegij *Pretraživanje pravnih izvora i baza podataka*, koji zajednički izvode nastavnici i knjižničari. U području medicine izvode se dva izborna kolegija *Važno je naći valjan dokaz* i *Kako izraditi diplomski rad* na Medicinskom fakultetu u Zagrebu.

S obzirom na specifičnosti predmetnih područja prava i medicine u odnosu na druga područja značnosti (vidi više u poglavlju 2 i 3), iznimno je važno da studenti razvijaju vještine i kompetencije obuhvaćene informacijskom pismenošću, budući da su one postale, s obzirom na virtualno okruženje, preduvjet za uspješno učenje.

Iz svega navedenoga, stoga proizlaze sljedeća istraživačka pitanja:

1. Na podlozi kojih modela i standarda informacijske pismenosti se provode programi informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim i medicinskim fakultetima u svijetu?
2. Koji je najprimjereniji tip informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata prava i medicine s obzirom na specifičnosti područja prava i medicine i s obzirom na važnost razvijanja ne samo općih već i kontekstualnih (specifičnih) vještina informacijske pismenosti studenata prava i medicine?
3. Koje je smjernice potrebno uzeti pri oblikovanju primjerenog programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine?

Cilj je rada kvalitativnom metodom analize sadržaja relevantne literature iz područja informacijske pismenosti ukazati na neke od najvažnijih modela i standarda informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine u svijetu. Svrha je istraživanja proširiti teorijske spoznaje i unaprijediti poučavanje informacijske pismenosti u ova dva predmetna područja u Republici Hrvatskoj te također skrenuti pozornost na važnost sustavnog i formalnog provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, kao i na važnost poimanja holističkog i interdisciplinarnog pristupa informacijskoj pismenosti u ta dva predmetna područja.

Na praktičnoj razini istraženi modeli i standardi mogu poslužiti kao okviri za izradu formalnih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u praksi navedenih knjižnica, kao i za unaprjeđivanje prakse u knjižnicama sa sličnim iskustvom. Dobiveni rezultati stoga mogu poslužiti za postavljanje primjerenih indikatora za kreiranje takvog obrazovnog okruženja studenata koje omogućuje kontinuirano i sustavno stjecanje kompetencija informacijske pismenosti.

student, teacher and other participants needs of the educational process (Golenko 2017).

Thus, for example, only one formal program has been recorded in the field of law – at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, at the Postgraduate Doctoral Study of Law, a course is taught *Search for legal sources and databases*, conducted jointly by teachers and librarians. In the field of medicine, two elective courses are conducted *It is important to find valid evidence* and *How to make a graduate thesis* at the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb.

Given the specifics of the subject fields of law and medicine in relation to other fields of science (see more in the chapter 2 and 3), it is extremely important that students develop the skills and competencies within information literacy, since they have become, given the virtual environment, a precondition for successful learning.

From all of the above, thereby, the following research questions arise:

1. On the basis of which models and standards of information literacy are information literacy programs implemented at law and medical faculties in the world?
2. What is the most appropriate type of information literacy of law and medicine students given the specifics of the field of law and medicine and given the importance of developing not only general but also contextual (specific) information literacy skills of law and medicine students?
3. What guidelines should be taken when designing an appropriate information literacy program in the field of law and medicine?

The aim of this paper is to point out some of the most important models and standards of information literacy in the field of law and medicine in the world by the qualitative method of content analysis of relevant literature in the field of information literacy. The purpose of the research is to expand theoretical knowledge and improve the teaching of information literacy in these two subject fields in the Republic of Croatia, and also to draw attention to the importance of systematic and formal implementation of information literacy programs and the importance of understanding a holistic and interdisciplinary approach to information literacy in these two subject fields.

At the practical level, the researched models and standards can serve as frameworks for the development of formal information literacy programs in the practice of these libraries, as well as for the im-

5. Metodologija istraživanja

Da bismo pronašli odgovore na postavljena pitanja, nužno je steći detaljniji uvid u koncept informacijske pismenosti i istražiti na podlozi kojih modela i standarda se najčešće temelje i kreiraju programi informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine. Korištena metodologija obuhvatila je kvalitativan pristup u istraživanju, koji je obuhvatio metodu analize sadržaja (Neuendorf 2002). Jedinica analize bila je informacija o informacijskoj pismenosti i tipovima programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u predmetnim područjima obuhvaćenim istraživanjem (Halmi 1996).

Sadržajna analiza omogućila je da se na sustavan, jednostavan i kvalitetan način pretraži i analizira dostupna literatura, ali i stekne uvid u najčešće korištene termine i relevantno nazivlje u kontekstu informacijske pismenosti u području prava i medicine (McNicol 2005). Analiza je obuhvatila identificiranje literature o temi istraživanja (knjige i znanstvene članke) te je provedeno kritičko vrednovanje i odabir literature o modelima i standardima informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine (Creswell 2013, 79). S obzirom na specifičnosti predmetnih područja, sadržajna je analiza obuhvatila radove iz informacijske pismenosti u području prava i medicine u različitim bazama podataka, relevantnim za navedena područja.

Za područje prava analizirani su radovi zastupljeni u pravnoj bazi podataka *HeinOnline* te bazi podataka *Taylor i Francis* s obzirom na njihovu interdisciplinarnu prirodu povezivanja prava kao discipline i informacijskih znanosti. Za područje medicine analizirani su radovi zastupljeni u bazama *Web of Science Core Collection*, *Scopus*, *Medline* i *CINHAL*. Analizirani su radovi objavljeni u rasponu od tridesetak godina. Razlog tomu su promjene koje su se dogodile na visokoškolskim knjižnicama zbog pojave interneta, razvoja i primjene IKT-a te promjene u visokoškolskom obrazovanju i nove paradigme učenja.

U sadržajnoj analizi radova krenulo se od postavljenih istraživačkih pitanja i definiranog postavljenog problema. Tako su u tražilicama baza podataka kao jedinice analize formulirani sljedeći upiti za područje prava: *legal information literacy*, *information literacy in the field of law*, *information literacy programme in the field of law*, *legal research competency* itd. Za područje medicine kombinirani su pojmovi: *information literacy*, *information competence*, *information skills* s pojmovima koji pokrivaju područje biomedicine i zdravstva.

improvement of practice in libraries with similar experience. The obtained results can therefore be used to set appropriate indicators for creating such educational environment for students that allows continuous and systematic obtainment of information literacy competencies.

5. Research methodology

To find answers to the asked questions, it is necessary to gain a more detailed insight into the concept of information literacy and explore the models and standards which the information literacy programs are mostly based on and created in the field of law and medicine. Used methodology included a qualitative approach in the research, which included a content analysis method (Neuendorf 2002). The unit of analysis was information on information literacy and types of information literacy programs in the subject fields covered by the research (Halmi 1996).

The content analysis enabled a systematic, simple and high-quality way to search and analyze the available literature, but also to gain insight into the most commonly used terms and relevant terminology in the context of information literacy in the field of law and medicine (McNicol 2005). The analysis included the identification of literature on the research topic (books and scientific articles), and then a critical evaluation and selection of literature on models and standards of information literacy in the field of law and medicine has been carried out (Creswell 2013, 79). Given the specifics of the subject fields, the content analysis included works on information literacy in the field of law and medicine in various databases, relevant to these fields.

For the field of law, the works from the law database *HeinOnline* and database *Taylor and Francis* were analysed, given their interdisciplinary nature of linking law as a discipline and the information sciences.

For the field of medicine, the papers in the databases *Web of Science Core Collection*, *Scopus*, *Medline* and *CINHAL* were analysed.

Papers published over a period of thirty years were analysed. The reason for this are the changes that have taken place in academic libraries due to the emergence of the Internet, the development and use of ICT and changes in academic education and new learning paradigms.

The content analysis of the papers has started from the research questions and the defined and raised problem. Thus, the following queries for the field of law are formulated as units of analysis in database

Pritom su uzete u obzir različite poznate varijante i istoznačnice ključnih pojmova te su primijenjeni primjereni alati koje pružaju baze podataka: ključne riječi, riječi iz naslova i sažetka, pojmove iz tezaurusa, različiti filtri i sl. Pri određivanju prikladnih, relevantnih u odnosu na nerelevantne radove uzimalo se u obzir i precizno postavljeno pitanje, za ključci, odnosno pokušalo se utvrditi jesu li radovi dali važne informacije ne samo u praktičnoj primjeni već i za buduće istraživačke radove na dosljedan, objektivan i nepristran način te na temelju ugleda autora i časopisa u kojem je rad objavljen (Franić, Dokuzović i Petrak 2017).

6. Rezultati istraživanja

S obzirom na cilj rada, iščitana literatura probirana je i prikazana kroz pregled informacijske pismenosti predmetnih područja obuhvaćenih istraživanjem u različitim dijelovima svijeta. Analizirana literatura je izdvojena, tj. klasificirana u četiri glavne skupine na područje Sjeverne Amerike, Australije i Europe. Sadržajna je analiza obuhvatila i radove o informacijskoj pismenosti u području Republike Hrvatske kako bi se stekao uvid i napravila usporedba s navedenim državama.

6.1. Informacijska pismenost u području prava

Informacijskom pismošću u području prava najviše se bave autori iz Sjedinjenih Američkih Država (Kim-Prieto 2011), Australije (Cuffe 2018) i Europe, ponajprije Velike Britanije, Škotske i Walesa (Mishkin 2017), kao zemalja s najdužom tradicijom pravnog knjižničarstva.

6.1.1. Informacijska pismenost u području prava u SAD

U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama uloga knjižničara kao edukatora na pravnim fakultetima, osobito u izradi bibliografskih uputa, ima iznimno dugu tradiciju još od 19. stoljeća (Callister 2010, 10). No, bez obzira na to, programi informacijskog opismenjavanja na američkim pravnim fakultetima razvijaju se tek posljednjih tridesetak godina. Tako je na pojedinim pravnim fakultetima informacijska pismenost uključena u kurikulum i strateške dokumente institucija, a na nekima ne. Na problem različite prakse provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja ukazuju i brojni autori (Kim-Prieto 2011). Kaufmann 2010. godine ističe da, s obzirom na to da nisu postavljeni učinkoviti tipovi informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim fakultetima, studenti tijekom godina studija ne posjeduju jednake vještine informacijske pismenosti (Kaufmann

search engines: *legal information literacy*, *information literacy in the field of law*, *information literacy programme in the field of law*, *legal research competency*, etc. For the field of medicine, the terms: *information literacy*, *information competence*, *information skills* are combined with terms covering the field of biomedicine and health.

In doing so, various known variants and synonyms of key terms were taken into account, and appropriate tools provided by databases were applied: keywords, words from the titles and abstracts, terms from the thesaurus, various filters, etc. In determining the appropriate, relevant in relation to irrelevant papers, the precisely asked question, conclusions were taken into consideration, i.e. an attempt was made to establish whether the papers have provided important information not only in practical use, but also for future research papers in a consistent, objective and impartial manner and if they are based on the reputation of the author and the journal in which the paper was published (Franić, Dokuzović and Petrak 2017).

6. Research results

Considering the aim of the paper, the read literature was selected and presented through an overview of information literacy of the subject fields covered by the research in different parts of the world. The analysed literature is separated, i.e. classified into four main groups in North America, Australia and Europe. The content analysis also included works on information literacy in the territory of the Republic of Croatia in order to gain an insight and make a comparison with mentioned countries.

6.1. Information literacy in the Field of Law

Information literacy in the Field of Law is mostly a focus of authors from the United States (Kim-Prieto 2011), Australia (Cuffe 2018) and Europe, primarily the United Kingdom, Scotland and Wales (Mishkin 2017), as countries with the longest tradition of law librarianship.

6.1.1. Information literacy in the Field of Law in the United States of America

In the United States of America, the role of librarians as educators at law faculties, especially in the production of bibliographic references, has an extremely long tradition dating back to the 19th century (Callister 2010, 10). But, regardless of that, information literacy programs at American law faculties have been developing only for the last thirty years. Thus, in some law faculties, information literacy is

2010). Navodi tri najčešća tipa informacijskog opismenjavanja koja se provode na pravnim fakultetima: a) izborni kolegij uputa za istraživanje (engl. *research instruction*), koji je najčešće korišten; b) individualne edukacije koje provode knjižničari sa studentima u knjižnici ili u dogovoru s nastavnim osobljem unutar pojedinog kolegija, tzv. *non credit instruction*, te c) programi informacijskog opismenjavanja uključeni u okviru polaganja pravosudnog ispita koji mora položiti svaki student prava nakon završetka studija. U prilogu navedenom problemu, AALL² je donio dva iznimno važna dokumenta. Godine 2009./2010. u SAD su postavljeni tzv. *LSIL standards*, odnosno Standardi za informacijsku pismenost studenata prava,³ a tri godine kasnije 2013. donesena su Načela i standardi za kompetencije pravnog istraživanja (Principles and standards for legal research competency 2013). Oba se dokumenta temelje na ACRL standardima, ali su oblikovani kako bi odgovarali razvijanju potrebnih informacijskih vještina i specifičnih alata i tehnika pretraživanja namijenjenom studentima prava (Law student research competencies and information literacy standards 2012). Kim-Prieto ističe da su navedeni standardi nastali zbog potrebe provođenja holističkog pristupa pravnom obrazovanju te nužnosti razlikovanja pravnih vještina od vještina informacijske pismenosti u području prava (Kim-Prieto i Kahvecioglu 2014). Nastavno na donesene standarde zaključuje se da se programi informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava trebaju temeljiti na praktičnim modelima koji naglašavaju suradnički i integrirajući pristup u stvaranju kurikula, tj. suradnju akademskog i knjižničkog osoblja, upravo kako bi se podjednako razvijale ne samo generičke već i kontekstualne vještine studenata prava.

6.1.2. Informacijska pismenost u području prava u Australiji

U Australiji se autori ponajviše bave problematikom informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata prava sa stajališta sadržaja programa s obzirom na specifičnost pravnoga područja, oblik provođenja nastave, organizaciju nastave itd., kao i da ne postoji još potpuno prihvaćen model informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata prava (usp. O'Sullivan 2001; McLaurin Smith i Presser 2005).

Polazište programa informacijskog opismenjavanja studenta prava u Australiji i Novom Zelandu teme-

included in the curriculum and strategic documents of institutions, and in some is not. Numerous authors point out the problem of different practices of implementing information literacy programs (Kim-Prieto 2011). In 2010, Kaufmann points out that since effective types of information literacy have not been set in law faculties, students do not have the same information literacy skills during their years of study (Kaufmann 2010). He lists the three most common types of information literacy conducted at law faculties: a) elective course *research instruction*, which is the most commonly used; b) individual trainings conducted by librarians with students in the library or in agreement with the teaching staff within a particular course, so called *non credit instruction*, and c) information literacy programs are included in the bar exam that each law student must pass after graduation. In support to the stated problem, AALL² adopted two extremely important documents. In 2009/2010 in the USA the so-called *LSIL standards*, i.e. Standards for information literacy of law students³, are set, and three years later in 2013 *Principles and standards for legal research competency* (Principles and standards for legal research competency 2013) were adopted. Both documents are based on ACRL standards, but they are designed to suit the development of the necessary information skills and specific search tools and techniques for law students (Law student research competencies and information literacy standards 2012). Kim-Prieto points out that these standards were created due to the need to implement a holistic approach to legal education and the need to distinguish legal skills from information literacy skills in the field of law (Kim-Prieto and Kahvecioglu 2014). Following the adopted standards, he concludes that information literacy programs in the field of law should be based on practical models which emphasize a collaborative and integrative approach in curriculum creation, i.e. the collaboration of academic and library staff, specifically in order to equally develop not only the generic but also the contextual skills of law students.

6.1.2. Information literacy in the Field of Law in Australia

In Australia, the authors mostly deal with the issue of information literacy of law students from the point of view of the program content considering the specifics of the field of law, the form of teaching, the organization of teaching, etc., as well

² AALL je akronim za *American Association of Law libraries* (Američko udruženje pravnih knjižnica).

³ LSIL standards je akronim za *Law student information literacy standard* (Standardi za informacijsku pismenost studenata prava).

² AALL is an acronym for *American Association of Law libraries*.

³ LSIL standards is an acronym for *Law student information literacy standard*.

ljeno je na ANZIL modelu informacijske pismenosti (praktični model koji se temelji na suradničkom i integrirajućem pristupu u stvaranju kurikula) (Bundy 2004). Programi se najčešće provode kroz zajedničku suradnju knjižničara i nastavnog osoblja temeljeni na tzv. intrakurikularnom ili ugniježđenom tipu informacijskog opismenjavanja unutar kojeg je sadržaj informacijske pismenosti uključen u nastavu pojedinoga pravnog kolegija.

6.1.3. Informacijska pismenost u području prava u Europi

U Europi su zabilježeni brojni radovi o važnosti provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim fakultetima, no polazišta za kreiranje programa u praksi su različita. (Beeljars 2009, 327). Tako su, primjerice, u pojedinim državama koncept informacijske pismenosti kao i programi informacijskog opismenjavanja u potpunosti uključeni u strateške dokumente i kurikulum institucije. S druge strane, pojedini autori u drugim državama tek naglašavaju važnost provođenja programa u području prava, ali i navode brojne probleme njihova neprovođenja (npr. nedovoljna osviještenost svih sudionika obrazovnog procesa o važnosti informacijske pismenosti) (Davies i Jackson 2005).

Konceptom informacijske pismenosti te provedbom programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim fakultetima ponajviše se bave autori iz Velike Britanije, Irske, Škotske i Nizozemske. Tomu pridonosi i činjenica da je u navedenim zemljama na pravnim fakultetima informacijska pismenost uključena u kurikulum i strateške dokumente institucija, pa se i programi informacijskog opismenjavanja provode formalno na svim razinama diplomskih studija. Stoga je stajalište autora da nije dostatno da knjižničar bude prepušten samostalnom provođenju edukacije studenata. Tako primjerice Davies i Jackson ističu važnost suradnje knjižničara s nastavnim osobljem u kreiranju programa, kao i da se on mora temeljiti na didaktičkim polazištima (Davies i Jackson 2005).

Potaknut iskustvom američkih kolega, BIALl⁴ je utemeljio radnu skupinu u cilju postavljanja standarda informacijske pismenosti u području prava u Velikoj Britaniji i Irskoj, koji su doneseni u srpnju 2012. godine, pod nazivom BIALl *Legal information literacy statement* (BIALl 2012). BIALl *Legal information literacy statement* i revidirana verzija SCONUL modela sa serijom specijalističkih

as that there is not yet a fully accepted model of information literacy of law students (cf. O'Sullivan 2001; McLaurin Smith and Presser 2005).

The starting point of the information literacy program for law students in Australia and New Zealand is based on ANZIL model of information literacy (a practical model based on a collaborative and integrative approach in curriculum creation) (Bundy 2004). Programs are most often implemented through the collaboration of librarians and teaching staff based on so called intracurricular or nested type of information literacy within the content of information literacy is included in the teaching of a particular law course.

6.1.3. Information literacy in the Field of Law in Europe

Numerous papers on the importance of implementing information literacy programs in law faculties have been recorded in Europe, but the starting points for creating programs in practice are different (Beeljars 2009, 327). Thus, for example, in some countries the concept of information literacy as well as information literacy programs is fully included in the strategic documents and curriculum of the institution. On the other hand, some authors in other countries only emphasize the importance of implementing programs in the field of law, but also cite a number of problems of their non-implementation (eg. insufficient awareness of all participants in the educational process about the importance of information literacy) (Davies and Jackson 2005).

Authors from Great Britain, Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands mostly deal with the concept of information literacy and the implementation of information literacy programs at law faculties. It is also contributed by the fact that at the law faculties in these countries information literacy is included in the curriculum and strategic documents of institutions, so the information literacy programs are formally implemented at all levels of graduate studies. Therefore, the author's position is that it is not enough for a librarian to be left to independently conduct student education. Thus, for example, Davies and Jackson emphasize the importance of cooperation between librarians and teaching staff in creating the program, as well as that it must be based on didactic starting points (Davies and Jackson 2005).

Encouraged by the experience of American colleagues, BIALl⁴ established a working group to

⁴ BIALl je akronim za *British and Irish Association of Law libraries* (Britansko i irsko udruženje pravnih knjižnica).

⁴ BIALl is an acronym for *British and Irish Association of Law libraries*.

leća, koje prikazuju različite perspektive i potrebe različitih kategorija korisnika u različitim kontekstima, ključni su dokumenti za razvoj informacijske pismenosti u području prava u Velikoj Britaniji i Irskoj (usp. Bird 2013). Oni pružaju okvir za kreiranje programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava koji se temelje na suradničkom i integrirajućem pristupu u stvaranju kurikula, kroz suradnju nastavnog i knjižničnog osoblja, kako bi se podjednako razvijale ne samo generičke već i specifične (kontekstualne) vještine informacijske pismenosti studenata prava (SCONUL 2011, 2013).

S druge strane, na području jugoistočne Europe, premda autori u svojim radovima ističu ulogu visokoškolske knjižnice u informacijskom opismenjavanju studenata, još uvijek je mali broj zabilježanih radova o informacijskoj pismenosti u području prava (Rašidović 2013; 2016; 2019). Ipak, sve se više uočavaju pozitivne promjene na pravnim fakultetima na području Jugoistočne Europe i preporuke autora o važnosti uključivanja informacijske pismenosti na formalnoj razini visokoškolske institucije (Rašidović 2019). Tijekom 2013. godine Društvo bibliotekara pravnih i srodnih biblioteka Jugoistočne Evrope (SEAL) izradilo je dokument Uloga i kompetencije bibliotekara u pravnim i srodnim bibliotekama u kojem se navodi da je uloga knjižničara da *Podučava korisničku zajednicu u sferi informacijske pismenosti*⁵ (Uloga i kompetencije 2013). Može se zaključiti da, premda u Europi postoji različita praksa provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, koja se očituje u zastupljenosti i uključenosti ili neuključenosti informacijske pismenosti na formalnoj, institucijskoj razini, autori ističu da je s obzirom na specifičnosti prava neizostavna suradnja nastavnika i knjižničara u kreiranju programa informacijskog opismenjavanja. Pritom smatraju da se moraju temeljiti, kao i u SAD i u Australiji, na praktičnim modelima koji ističu suradnički i integrirajući pristup u stvaranju kurikula institucije, kako bi se razvile potrebne vještine informacijske pismenosti studenata prava.

6.1.4. Informacijska pismenost u području prava u Republici Hrvatskoj

Promjene u obrazovnom sustavu pod utjecajem IK tehnologije odražavaju se i unutar knjižnica pravnih fakulteta u Republici Hrvatskoj. Zbog toga se uočava sve veći broj programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim fakultetima u Republi-

set information literacy standards in the field of law in the UK and Ireland, which were adopted in July 2012, under the title *BIALL Legal information literacy statement* (BIALL 2012). *BIALL Legal information literacy statement* and revised version of SCONUL model with a series of specialist lenses are key documents for the development of information literacy in the field of law in the UK and Ireland (cf. Bird 2013). They provide a framework for creating information literacy programs in the field of law, based on a collaborative and integrative approach in curriculum development, through the collaboration of teaching and library staff, in order to equally develop not only generic but also specific (contextual) information literacy skills of law students (SCONUL 2011; 2013).

On the other hand, in the area of Southeast Europe, although the authors in their works emphasize the role of the academic library in information literacy of students, there is still a small number of recorded works on information literacy in the field of law (Rašidović 2013; 2016; 2019). Nevertheless, positive changes are increasingly observed at the law faculties in Southeast Europe and the authors' recommendations on the importance of including information literacy at the formal level of the academic institution (Rašidović 2019). During 2013, Southeast Europe Association of Law and Related Libraries (SEAL)⁵ drafted a document *The Role and Competences of Librarians in Legal and Related Libraries* stating that the role of librarians is to *Teach the user community in the field of information literacy* (Role and competencies 2013). It can be concluded that although there are different practices in Europe for implementing information literacy programs, which is manifested in the representation and inclusion or non-inclusion of information literacy at the formal, institutional level, which is manifested in the representation and inclusion or non-inclusion of information literacy at the formal, institutional level, authors point out that, given the specificity of law, the collaboration of teachers and librarians in creating information literacy programs is indispensable. In doing so, they believe that they must be founded, as in the USA and Australia, on practical models that emphasize a collaborative and integrative approach in creating the institution's curriculum, in order to develop the necessary information literacy skills of law students.

⁵ SEAL je akronim za Southeast Europe Association of Law and Related Libraries – Društvo bibliotekara pravnih i srodnih biblioteka jugoistočne Evrope.

⁵ SEAL is an acronym for Southeast Europe Association of Law and Related Libraries.

ci Hrvatskoj. Oni se najčešće provode sporadično, parcijalno, na pojedinim kolegijima ili u okviru seminarske nastave, koju ne polaze svi studenti, već samo oni koji su se prijavili. Najčešće ih provode ili knjižničari samostalno ili na poziv predmetnog nastavnika u neformalnom dogovoru, što dovodi do toga da programi nisu obvezatni i najčešće nisu uključeni na formalnoj razini visokoškolske institucije (Golenko, Petr i Siber 2016; Kolegij Pretraživanje pravnih izvora i baza podataka 2019). Zbog nesustavne sporadične edukacije koja nije uključena na formalnoj razini institucije, studenti na svim godinama studija posjeduju različite razine vještina informacijske pismenosti. To dovodi do toga da su studenti često nesamostalni i nedovoljno aktivni u istraživačkom procesu i izradi različitih radova koji iziskuju vještine i znanja iz područja informacijske pismenosti (Golenko, Vilar i Stričević 2013). S obzirom na specifičnosti pravnoga područja i potrebe studenata prava u svakodnevnom radu i učenju, vidljiva je potreba neizostavne partnerske suradnje knjižničara i nastavnog osoblja u kreiranju i realizaciji programa informacijskog opismenjivanja. Knjižničari često nisu po zvanju pravnici, stoga niti ne poznaju potrebne pravne vještine i znanja.

Ako se opisano promotri u kontekstu objavljene znanstvene literature, u posljednjih pet godina uočava se sve veći broj radova o informacijskoj pismenosti u području prava, što predstavlja pozitivni pomak i promjenu (Golenko i Model 2016). Autori pritom najviše ističu važnost uključivanja programa informacijskog opismenjivanja na formalnoj razini visokoškolske institucije, nužnosti razvijanja informacijskih vještina studenta prava, ali i važnosti promicanja informacijske pismenosti unutar institucije, između znanstveno-nastavnog osoblja i vodstva institucije (usp. Petr, Siber i Plašček 2013; Golenko i Siber 2018). Godine 2013. provedeno je istraživanje o zastupljenosti informacijske pismenosti unutar strateških dokumenta na sva četiri pravna fakulteta u Republici Hrvatskoj, koje je prošireno i ažurirano u istraživanju iz 2017. (Golenko, Vilar i Stričević 2013; 2017). Cilj je istraživanja bio utvrditi zastupljenost informacijske pismenosti unutar obrazovnog okruženja institucije u formalnom smislu, odnosno analizirati strateške dokumente koji daju okvir za djelovanje na razini fakulteta, kako bi se identificirali oni sadržaji i metode koji daju polazišta za razvoj informacijske pismenosti i otvaraju prostor za suradnju knjižničara i nastavnika u izvođenju nastave. Korak dalje bilo je istraživanje kojim su ispitana stajališta i iskustva vodstva institucije i tijela koja odlučuju o strateškim dokumen-

6.1.4. Information literacy in the Field of Law in the Republic of Croatia

Changes in the education system under the influence of IC technology are also reflected within the libraries of law faculties in the Republic of Croatia. Therefore, an increasing number of information literacy programs are observed at law faculties in the Republic of Croatia. They are most often conducted sporadically, partially, in individual courses or as part of seminar classes, which are not attended by all students, but only by those who have applied. They are most often carried out either by librarians themselves or at the invitation of the subject teacher in an informal agreement, which leads to the fact that the programs are not mandatory and usually are not included at the formal level of the academic institution (Golenko, Petr and Siber 2016; Course Search of legal sources and databases 2019). Due to unsystematic sporadic education that is not included at the formal level of the institution, students of all years of study own different levels of information literacy skills. This leads to the fact that students are often not independent and insufficiently active in the research process and the creation of various papers that require skills and knowledge in the field of information literacy (Golenko, Vilar and Stričević 2013). Given the specifics of the field of law and the needs of law students in everyday work and learning, the need for the inevitable partnership cooperation of librarians and teaching staff in the creation and implementation of information literacy programs is visible. Librarians are often not lawyers by profession, so they do not even know the necessary legal skills and knowledge.

If the described is observed in the context of the published scientific literature in the last five years, a larger number of papers on information literacy in the field of law is noticed, which represents a positive progress and change (Golenko and Model 2016). The authors emphasize the importance of including information literacy programs at the formal level of academic institutions, the need to develop information skills of law students, but also the importance of promoting information literacy within the institution, between the scientific and teaching staff and the management of the institution (cf. Petr, Siber and Plašček 2013; Golenko and Siber 2018). In 2013, a study was conducted on the representation of information literacy within strategic documents at all four law faculties in the Republic of Croatia which was expanded and updated in the 2017 survey (Golenko, Vilar and Stričević 2013; 2017).

tima i kurikulumu institucije o važnosti provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja te njihova uključivanja na formalnu razinu institucije i razvijanja informacijskih vještina studenata, posebice u području prava, na pravnim fakultetima u Osijeku i Rijeci (Golenko, Petr i Siber 2017). Rad koji se najšire dotaknuo konteksta informacijske pismenosti u području prava u Republici Hrvatskoj istraživanje je koje je autorica provela u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji (Golenko i Model 2016). S obzirom na praksu uključivanja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim fakultetima u svijetu ponudila je prijedlog *Modela intrakurikularnog pristupa informacijskoj pismenosti na visokoškolskoj razini u području prava*. Autorica je došla do zaključaka da su programi informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava itekako nužni i da bi se pritom trebali temeljiti na intrakurikularnim tipovima informacijskog opismenjavanja gdje je informacijska pismenost dio kurikula institucije, ali koji se trebaju provoditi u uskoj suradnji nastavnika i knjižničara. Odnosno, na razini institucije, ciljevi i strategije knjižnice postavljeni za obrazovanje studenata prava moraju uključivati koncept informacijske pismenosti te biti sukladni sa strateškim ciljevima institucije. Za uspješno uključivanje programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u institucijski kurikulum visokoškolske institucije u području prava, vizija i misija knjižnice za obrazovanje korisnika i informacijska pismenost mora odražavati strateške ciljeve i obrazovni prioritet institucije. Samo na taj način programi informacijskog opismenjavanja postaju obvezatni na razini institucije, a informacijska pismenost postaje uključena u strateške dokumente svake visokoškolske institucije. Time će se programi informacijske pismenosti sustavno provoditi na svim godinama studija, a studenti će usporedno razvijati ne samo temeljne vještine informacijske pismenosti već i kontekstualne vještine, specifične vještine za područje prava. Postavljeni model može poslužiti kao teorijski okvir za tumačenje procesa i međudodnosa u procesu informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava.

6.2. Informacijska pismenost u području medicine

U području biomedicine i zdravstva informacijska pismenost se provodi kroz prilagodbu navedenih općih modela i standarda predmetnom području. Programi se provode u različitim oblicima: radionice izrade sustavnog pregleda s pretraživanjem literature, radionice upoznavanja s postojećim izvorima, programi složeni od više modula, samostalni

The aim of the research was to determine the representation of information literacy within the educational environment of the institution in a formal sense, that is, to analyse strategic documents that provide a framework for action at the faculty level in order to identify those contents and methods that provide starting points for the development of information literacy, and open a space for cooperation between librarians and teachers in realization of classes. A step further was the research which examined the views and experiences of the institution's management and decision-making bodies on the institution's strategic documents and curriculum on the importance of implementing information literacy programs, and their involvement at the formal level of the institution and the development of students' information skills, especially in the field of law, at the faculties of law in Osijek and Rijeka (Golenko, Petr and Siber 2017). The paper that widely touched on the context of information literacy in the field of law in the Republic of Croatia is a research conducted by the author in her doctoral dissertation (Golenko and Model 2016). Given the practice of including information literacy programs at law faculties around the world, she offered a proposal of *Model of intracurricular approach to information literacy at the academic level in the field of law*. The author came to the conclusion that information literacy programs in the field of law are highly necessary and that they should be based on intracurricular types of information literacy where the information literacy is part of the institution's curriculum, but which should be carried out in close collaboration between teachers and librarians. That is, at the level of the institution, the goals and strategies of the library installed for the education of law students must include the concept of information literacy and be in line with the strategic goals of the institution. For the successful inclusion of information literacy programs in the institutional curriculum of academic institution in the field of law, the vision and mission of the library for user education and information literacy must reflect the strategic goals and educational priority of the institution. Only in this way the information literacy programs do become mandatory at the level of the institution, and information literacy becomes included in the strategic documents of each academic institution. Thus, information literacy programs will be systematically implemented in all years of study, and students will simultaneously develop not only basic information literacy skills, but also contextual skills, specific skills for the field of law. The

kolegiji, no, najčešće zastupljeni oblik provođenja programa je integracija informacijske pismenosti u kurikulum medicinskog područja (Storie i Campbell 2012).

6.2.1. Informacijska pismenost u području medicine u SAD i Kanadi

Najveći broj programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u SAD temelji se na ACRL modelu. U pregledanoj literaturi pronađeni su i primjeri programa utemeljeni na kombinaciji općeg ACRL standarda i modela zasnovanog na praksi traženja valjanih dokaza *Evidence-based practice* (EBP) (usp. Franzen i Bannon 2016; Muellenbach et al. 2018). EBP je savjesna, izričita i razborita upotreba najboljih dokaza na temelju kojih se odlučuje o liječenju (Sackett et al. 1996) i predstavlja osnovni koncept u modernom zdravstvu, povezujući rezultate kliničkih istraživanja i svakodnevne prakse. Informacije u ovom konceptu igraju ključnu ulogu, a vještine pretraživanja i korištenja informacija postaju ključne u kurikulumima za liječnike i ostalo medicinsko osoblje. ACRL standardi pružaju temelj za praksu traženja valjanih dokaza (EBP). Vještine informacijske pismenosti visoko su cijenjene od strane praktičara EBP. Kroz programe informacijskog opismenjavanja knjižničari mogu pripremiti studente da budu uspješni u traženju valjanih dokaza (Adams 2014).

Jedan od pravaca u kojem se razvijaju modeli informacijske pismenosti za područje biomedicine i zdravstva jesu modeli zasnovani na problemskom učenju (Santharooban i Premadasa 2015). Koncept problemskog učenja (*Problem-based learning* (PBL)) potječe s kanadskoga sveučilišta McMaster iz kasnih 1960-ih, gdje su uočili da su studenti medicine manje motivirani za učenje tijekom temeljnih – pretkliničkih predmeta, a njihova motivacija za učenje raste s uvođenjem kliničkih predmeta, koji im omogućavaju povezivanje temeljnih znanja s problemima pacijenata (Jubien 2008). Problemsko učenje utemeljeno je na konstruktivističkoj teoriji učenja, učitelj vodi studenta kroz problem. Učinkovito prikupljanje informacija ključno je u problemskom učenju (Oker-Bloom 1998). Santharooban i Premadasa predlažu model koji se sastoji od sljedećih faza kroz koje se razvijaju elementi informacijske pismenosti:

1. analiza problema (studenti utvrđuju što nedostaje u njihovom znanju – moraju moći utvrditi svoju informacijsku potrebu – određivanje ključnih riječi, određivanje potrebnih izvora za razjašnjavanje nepoznatih termina)

set model can serve as a theoretical framework for the interpretation of the process and the relationship between the processes of information literacy in the field of law.

6.2. Information literacy in the Field of Medicine

In the field of biomedicine and health, information literacy is implemented through the adaptation of these general models and standards to the subject field. Programs are implemented in various forms: systematic review workshops with literature search, workshops for familiarization with existing resources, programs composed of several modules, independent courses, but the most common form of program implementation is the integration of information literacy into the Medical field curriculum (Storie and Campbell 2012).

6.2.1. Information literacy in the Field of Medicine in the USA and Canada

Most information literacy programs in the United States of America are based on the ACRL model. In the reviewed literature examples of programs based on a combination of general ACRL standards and models based on the practice of seeking valid evidence were also found *Evidence-based practice* (EBP) (cf. Franzen and Bannon 2016; Muellenbach et al. 2018). EBP is the conscientious, explicit and reasonable use of the best evidence on the basis of which treatment is decided (Sackett et al. 1996) and represents a basic concept in modern healthcare linking the results of clinical research and everyday practice. Information plays a key role in this concept, and skills of retrieval and use of information are becoming essential in curricula for physicians and other medical staff. ACRL standards provide the basis for the practice of seeking valid evidence (EBP). Information literacy skills are highly valued by EBP practitioners. Through information literacy programs, librarians can prepare students to be successful in seeking valid evidence (Adams 2014).

One of the directions in which models of information literacy for the field of biomedicine and health are being developed are models based on problem-based learning (Santharooban and Premadasa 2015). Concept of *Problem-based learning* (PBL) comes from a Canadian university McMaster from the late 1960s where they observed that medical students are less motivated to learn during basic – preclinical subjects, and their motivation to learn grows with the introduction of clinical subjects, which enable them to connect basic knowledge with patients' problems (Jubien 2008). Problem-based

2. lociranje informacija (studenti se usmjeravaju prema samostalnom učenju – moraju moći locirati knjige i ostale izvore u knjižnici koristeći knjižnična pomagala, koristiti različite strategije pretraživanja, procijeniti izvore)
3. korištenje informacija (studenti dijele informacije koje su prikupili – organizacija sadržaja na način pokazivanja mogućnosti rješavanja problema, priprema prezentacije i prezentiranje prikupljenog)
4. recenzija (procjena rezultata rada – edukatori, stručnjaci i studenti procjenjuju rezultate pretraživanja, primijenjenih tehnika, studenti dobivaju procjenu svog rada).

Na temelju ACRL standarda i modela *Objectives for Information Literacy Instruction: a Model Statement for Academic Librarians*, koji je razvijen za razvoj integriranog kurikula informacijske pismenosti, u Kanadi je razvijen program informacijskog opismenjavanja koji se sastoji od devet modula, kroz koje se polaznici upoznaju s informacijskim alatima i stječu znanja i vještine informacijske pismenosti (Demczuk, Gottschalk i Littleford 2009).

U Nacionalnoj medicinskoj knjižnici Kube provodi se program *Cohrane Library Course for the Search of Best Evidence for Clinical Decision* kroz koji se studente educira za učinkovito pretraživanje, vrednovanje i korištenje/primjenu dokaza u medicini (Santana Arroyo i del Carmen González Rivero 2012). Program se temelji na modelu Big 6, koji su razvili Mike Eisenberg i Bob Berkowitz, a sastoji se od šest koraka: definiranje zadatka, strategija traženja informacija, pretraživanja i pristupa, korištenje informacija, sinteza i vrednovanje (Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2008, 56).

6.2.2. Informacijska pismenost u području medicine u Europi

SCONUL model revidiran je 2011. kako bi informacijsku pismenost prilagodio suvremenom okruženju. Dodane su leće za prilagodbu osnovnog modela različitom kontekstu i korisničkim grupama. Dodane su leće za digitalnu pismenost, otvoreno dostupne sadržaje i istraživačke leće. Na temelju toga Dalton razvija leće za potrebe traženja dokaza (*Evidence-based practice* (EBP)) u području medicine, sestrinstva i ostalih područja u zdravstvu (Dalton 2013). Istražio je ponašanje djelatnika u medicini i zdravstvu pri pretraživanju kliničkih informacija. Na temelju toga konstruirao je leće za EBP, koje mogu poslužiti knjižničarima u zdravstvu za kreiranje programa informacijskog opismenjavanja

learning is based on constructivist learning theory, the teacher guides the student through the problem. Effective information gathering is crucial in problem-based learning (Oker-Bloom 1998). Santharoban and Premadasa propose a model consisting of the following stages through which elements of information literacy are developed:

1. problem analysis (students identify what is missing in their knowledge – they must be able to determine their information need – determining keywords, determining the sources needed to clarify unknown terms)
2. locating information (students are directed towards independent learning – they must be able to locate books and other resources in the library using library aids, use different search strategies, evaluate sources)
3. use of information (students are sharing the information they have gathered – organizing content in a way that demonstrates problem-solving capabilities, preparation of presentations and presentation of the collected)
4. a review (evaluation of work results – educators, experts and students evaluate search results, applied techniques, students receive an evaluation of their work).

Based on ACRL standards and *Objectives for Information Literacy Instruction: a Model Statement for Academic Librarians* model, which was developed for the development of an integrated curriculum of information literacy, in Canada an information literacy program consisting of nine modules has been developed, and participants are introduced to information tools and acquire knowledge and skills of information literacy through it (Demczuk, Gottschalk and Littleford 2009).

In the *National Medical Library of Cuba* the program *Cohrane Library Course for the Search of Best Evidence for Clinical Decision* is being implemented, and it made students educated for the effective search, evaluation, and use / application of evidence in medicine (Santana Arroyo and del Carmen González Rivero 2012).

The program is based on the Big 6 model developed by Mike Eisenberg and Bob Berkowitz, and consists of six steps: defining tasks, information retrieval strategies, search and access, information usage, synthesis and evaluation (Špiranec and Banek Zorica 2008, 56).

nja. Iako je ovaj model nastao na ponašanju i potrebama stručnjaka, može poslužiti i kao model za informacijsku pismenost pri izradi kurikula za obrazovanje navedenih profesija.

SCONUL model poslužio je belgijskim autorima Buysse, Peleman i De Meulemeester kao jedan od temelja za razvoj njihovog modela razvoja informacijske pismenosti za studente u području medicine (Buysse 2018). Glavna okosnica modela je višedimenzionalnost (multiperspektiva). Informacijska pismenost trebala bi biti integrirana u kurikulum kao ključni sastojak na vertikalnoj i horizontalnoj razini, što daje pogled iz više dimenzija (perspektiva). Vertikalna dimenzija (perspektiva) omogućuje studentima razvoj različitih vještina na različitim nivoima, te vještine su stalno prisutne i na taj način se simultano razvijaju. Horizontalna integracija odnosi se na razvoj različitih vještina informacijske pismenosti. Model je usmjeren na praktično učenje koje mora biti integrirano u kurikulum kako bi se razvile vještine definiranja informacijske potrebe, traženja informacija, čitanja, pisanja, objavljivanja i prezentiranja radova. Na kraju obrazovanja moraju znati kako provesti istraživanje u okruženju znanstvene čestitosti.

I u drugim europskim visokoškolskim knjižnicama također nailazimo na programe koji se temelje na modelima zasnovanim na problemskom učenju, primjerice Danski model MILE (Virkus 2003) i model koji se provodi u Norveškoj (Haraldstad 2002).

6.2.3. Informacijska pismenost u području medicine u Australiji

Podloga za provođenje programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u području medicine u Australiji je ANZIL standard i problemsko učenje (PBL) (Carr et al. 2011), a koncept informacijske pismenosti ugrađen je u kurikulum institucije. Tako primjerice *Australian School of Advanced Medicine* (ASAM) provodi program informacijskog opismenjavanja studenta temeljen na teoriji enaktivizma (engl. *enactivism*), koji preporuča obrazovanje u malim kliničkim timovima u koje su studenti uključeni kao ravnopravni sudionici. Sve obrazovne aktivnosti odvijaju se oko liječenja bolesnika. Takvo učenje uključuje pristup medicinskoj literaturi kako bi se donijele ispravne odluke za liječenje pacijenata, za što su ključne vještine informacijske pismenosti. Takav program medicinske edukacije primjenjuje se i u *Royal Australian College of Surgeons* (RACS) i *Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada* (CanMEDS). Vještine informacijske pismenosti studenti usvajaju kontinuirano tijekom školovanja u malim grupama ili individualno. Knjižničari prate

6.2.2. Information literacy in the Field of Medicine in Europe

SCONUL model was revised in 2011 to adapt information literacy to the modern environment. Lenses have been added for the basic model adaptations to different contexts and user groups. Lenses have been added for digital literacy, open access content and research lenses. Based on this, Dalton develops lenses for the purpose of seeking evidence (*Evidence-based practice* (EBP)) in the field of medicine, nursing and other fields in health care (Dalton 2013). He has investigated the behaviour of medical and healthcare professionals in searching for clinical information. Based on this, he has constructed lenses for EBP, which can serve librarians in health care to create information literacy programs. Although this model is based on the behaviour and needs of experts, it can also serve as a model for information literacy in the development of curriculum for the education of these professions.

SCONUL model served the Belgian authors Buysse, Peleman and De Meulemeester as one of the foundations for the development of their model of information literacy development for the students in the field of medicine (Buysse 2018). The main framework of the model is multidimensionality (multi perspective). Information literacy should be integrated into the curriculum as a key component at the vertical and horizontal level which gives a view from multiple dimensions (perspectives). The vertical dimension (perspective) allows students to develop different skills at different levels, these skills are constantly present and thus are developed simultaneously. Horizontal integration refers to the development of different information literacy skills. The model focuses on practical learning that must be integrated into the curriculum in order to develop the skills of defining information needs, seeking information, reading, writing, publishing and presenting papers. At the end of their education, they must know how to conduct research in an environment of scientific integrity.

In other European academic libraries, we also come across programs based on problem-based learning models, such as the Danish model MILE (Virkus 2003) and a model implemented in Norway (Haraldstad 2002).

svakog studenta i pomažu mu u pripremi njihovih slučajeva koji zahtijevaju pretraživanje izvora medicinskih informacija (Simon et al. 2018).

6.2.4. Informacijska pismenost u području medicine u Republici Hrvatskoj

U analiziranoj literaturi za područje Hrvatske nailazimo na programe Središnje medicinske knjižnice Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu (Škorić et al. 2012; Markulin i Petrak 2018). Informacijsko opismenjavanje provodi se kroz module u obaveznim kolegijima *Uvod u znanstveni rad* i *Temelji neuroznanosti* te dva izborna kolegija: *Važno je naći valjan dokaz* i *Kako izraditi diplomski rad*. Prema ANZIL-ovoj tipologiji informacijskog opismenjavanja u visokoškolskom okruženju riječ je o interkurikularnom ili integriranom tipu te samostojećem tipu informacijskog opismenjavanja.

7. Zaključak

Analizom istražene literature može se zaključiti da pravne i medicinske knjižnice zbog razvoja IK tehnologije i promjena u obrazovnom okruženju moraju prilagoditi svoje informacijske usluge i što više provoditi programe informacijskog opismenjavanja. Polazišta tih programa u svijetu najčešće su opći modeli i standardi informacijske pismenosti koji se primjenjuju na visokoškolskoj razini. Zajednička karakteristika istraženih teorijskih okvira upravo je važnost suradničkog i integrirajućeg pristupa u stvaranju kurikula i kreiranju programa informacijskog opismenjavanja. Pritom su pojedine države svijeta otišle i korak unaprijed te unutar predmetnog područja kreirale specifične standarde informacijske pismenosti. Ti standardi pružaju okvir za kreiranje primjerenih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja nastalih u suradnji nastavnog i knjižničnog osoblja, u predmetnim područjima pravu i medicinu, kako bi se podjednako razvijale ne samo generičke već i specifične (kontekstualne) vještine informacijske pismenosti.

Razlog tomu je da se analizom literature uočava da se pri izboru i kreiranju primjerenog tipa informacijskog opismenjavanja moraju uzeti u obzir specifičnosti pravne i medicinske discipline. Stoga i ne čudi što veliki broj autora smatra da bi se programi informacijskog opismenjavanja u području prava i medicine trebali temeljiti na praktičnim modelima koji naglašavaju suradnički i integrirajući pristup u stvaranju kurikula, tj. kroz suradnju akademskog i knjižničnog osoblja. Naime, ako je informacijska pismenost umetnuta u kurikulum institucije, ona je uključena i planirana u ciljeve i ishode učenja tije-

6.2.3. Information literacy in the Field of Medicine in Australia

The basis for the implementation of information literacy programs in the field of medicine in Australia is ANZIL standard and problem-based learning (PBL) (Carr et al. 2011), and the concept of information literacy is built into the institution's curriculum. So for example, *Australian School of Advanced Medicine* (ASAM) implements student information literacy programs based on theory of *enactivism*, which recommends education in small clinical teams which students are involved in as equal participants. All educational activities take place around the treatment of patients. Such learning involves access to the medical literature to make the right decisions to treat the patients, which information literacy skills are essential for. Such a medical education program is also applied in the *Royal Australasian College of Surgeons* (RACS) and the *Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada* (CanMEDS). Information literacy skills are adopted by students continuously during studies in a small group or individually. Librarians monitor each student and help them prepare their cases that require searching for resources of medical information (Simons et al. 2018).

6.2.4. Information literacy in the Field of Medicine in the Republic of Croatia

In the analysed literature for the area of Croatia, we find the programs of the Central Medical Library of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb (Škorić et al. 2012, Markulin and Petrak 2018). Information literacy is implemented through modules in compulsory courses *Introduction to scientific work* and *Foundations of neuroscience* and two elective courses: *It is important to find valid evidence* and *How to write a diploma thesis*. According to ANZIL's typology of information literacy in the academic environment, this is an intercurricular or integrated type and a stand-alone type of information literacy.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the researched literature can conclude that due to the development of IC technology and changes in the educational environment, law and medical libraries must adapt their information services and implement information literacy programs as much as possible. The starting points of these programs in the world are most often general models and standards of information literacy that are applied at the academic level. A common feature of the researched theoretical frameworks is precisely the importance of a collaborative and integrative

kom cijeloga studija, a knjižničari i nastavno osoblje promiču informacijsko opismenjavanje unutar konteksta discipline i specifičnih vještina pojedine discipline, ali i na svim područjima učenja i poučavanja.

Preporuka je stoga većine autora da je najprikladniji tip informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata u području prava i medicine intrakurikularni ili ugniježđeni tip. Razlog tomu je što je u određivanju ključnih čimbenika za uspješno uključivanje programa informacijske pismenosti u sveučilišni kurikulum ili instituciju nužno uzeti u obzir:

- da vizija i misija obrazovanja korisnika i informacijske pismenosti mora održavati strateške ciljeve i obrazovni prioritet institucije,
- da obrazovanje mora biti izgrađeno na pedagoškoj platformi koja podržava kurikulum discipline i predmetnih područja unutar kojih bi bili uključeni knjižnični programi,
- važno je holistički pristupiti pravnom i medicinskom obrazovanju zbog nužnosti razlikovanja generičkih i kontekstualnih vještina informacijske pismenosti u predmetnim područjima u odnosu na pravne i medicinske vještine potrebne ne samo tijekom studiranja već i u cjeloživotnom obrazovanju.

Zbog specifičnosti prava i medicine općenito kao znanosti, ali i kao svake pojedine discipline koja zahtijeva posebna znanja i kompetencije, u promicanju programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na institucijskoj razini moraju pridonijeti i nastavnici i knjižničari zajedno u suradnji. Na taj način studenti paralelno razvijaju generičke i kontekstualne specifične vještine informacijske pismenosti na svim godinama studija, budući da je informacijska pismenost uključena u ishode učenja kolegija i kurikulum institucije kroz partnersku suradnju knjižničara i nastavnog osoblja.

Problematika informacijske pismenosti i informacijskog opismenjavanja mora biti uključena u strateške dokumente ustanove jer su oni odraz njezine institucionalne politike s obzirom na njihovu ulogu temeljnih pravnih akata dokumenata. Odgovornost za programe informacijskog opismenjavanja potrebno je dijeliti među strateškim partnerima, koji djeluju na različitim razinama, uključujući i izradu kurikula, razvoj politike institucije, obrazovanje osoblja, istraživanja i nastave; i mora biti podržana od vodstva institucije. Time se omogućuje poticanje izvrsnosti u pružanju informacijskih izvora pritom uzimajući u obzir promjene u visokom obrazovanju i kontekst učenja i time postaje dodatna vrijednost za učenje.

approach in the creation of curriculum and the creation of information literacy programs. At the same time, some countries of the world went a step further and created specific standards of information literacy within the subject field. These standards provide a framework for creating appropriate information literacy programs created in collaboration with teaching and library staff, in the subject fields of law and medicine, in order to equally develop not only generic but also specific (contextual) information literacy skills.

The reason for this is that the analysis of the literature shows that when choosing and creating an appropriate type of information literacy, the specifics of legal and medical discipline must be taken into account. Therefore, it is not surprising that a large number of authors believe that information literacy programs in the field of law and medicine should be based on practical models that emphasize a collaborative and integrative approach to curriculum development, i.e. through collaboration of academic and library staff. In fact, if information literacy is inserted into the institution's curriculum, it is included and planned in the learning objectives and outcomes throughout the study, and librarians and teaching staff promote information literacy within the context of the discipline and specific skills of each discipline, but also in all fields of learning and teaching.

It is therefore recommended by most authors that the most appropriate type of information literacy for students in law and medicine is the intracurricular or nested type. The reason for this is that in determining the key factors for the successful inclusion of an information literacy program in a university curriculum or institution, it is necessary to take into account that:

- the vision and mission of user education and information literacy must maintain the strategic goals and educational priority of the institution,
- education must be built on a pedagogical platform that supports the curriculum of the discipline and subject fields within the library programs which would be included
- it is important to approach legal and medical education holistically due to the need to distinguish generic and contextual information literacy skills in the subject fields in relation to law and medical skills needed not only during studies, but also in lifelong learning.

Due to the specifics of law and medicine in general as a science, but as well as each individual discipline that requires special knowledge and compe-

Važnost provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja na pravnim i medicinskim fakultetima prepoznali su i knjižničari u Republici Hrvatskoj, pa je sve veći broj primjera dobre prakse provođenja takvih programa, posebice u posljednjih pet godina. No, navedeno je ponekad teško ostvarivo s obzirom na različitu praksu provođenja programa informacijskog opismenjavanja, osobito u Republici Hrvatskoj, gdje se oni uglavnom najčešće provode paralelno, samostalno unutar knjižnice kroz nekoliko školskih sati, a koncept informacijske pismenosti nije integriran u ciljeve i ishode te aktivnost učenja akademskog kolegija ili programe unutar područja prava.

Potaknuti događajima i pojavom koronavirusa (COVID-19) koji je uzdrmao cjelokupno čovječanstvo, više smo nego ikada svjesni važnosti stjecanja i razvijanja potrebnih kompetencija i vještina informacijske i digitalne pismenosti studenata, koje bi im omogućile samostalno pretraživanje, korištenje i vrednovanje točnih i provjerenih informacija u virtualnom okruženju – budući da one postaju ključ i preduvjet za uspješno učenje.

Implementacija informacijske pismenosti moguća je zagovaranjem i promicanjem važnosti informacijske pismenosti samih knjižničara unutar svoje institucije. Budući da je informacijska pismenost poznatija i istraženija u knjižničarstvu i informacijskoj znanosti negoli u visokoškolskoj akademskoj pravnoj zajednici, visokoškolske knjižnice trebale bi preuzeti ulogu “veleposlanika” u promicanju i zagovaranju važnosti informacijske pismenosti, ali i potrebnih vještina i kompetencija koje knjižničari već posjeduju u provođenju programa informacijskog opismenjavanja. To bi mogao biti prvi korak u zagovaranju i postavljanju koncepta informacijske pismenosti na visokoškolskoj razini.

Na praktičnoj razini istraženi modeli i standardi mogu poslužiti kao okvir za izradu formalnih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja u praksi knjižnica pravnih fakulteta i mogu biti značajna pomoć kod oblikovanja primjerenih programa informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata prava koje provodi visokoškolska knjižnica.

Na teorijskoj razini želja je bila potaknuti raspravu o važnosti programa informacijskog opismenjavanja studenata prava i medicine, predstaviti neke od prikladnih modela informacijskog opismenjavanja u području studija prava i medicine koji otvaraju put daljnjim istraživanjima te povećati osviještenost o važnosti informacijske pismenosti u području prava i medicine u Republici Hrvatskoj.

tencies, in promoting information literacy programs at the institutional level, teachers and librarians must contribute together in cooperation. In this way, students are developing in parallel generic and contextual specific information literacy skills in all years of study, as information literacy is included in the learning outcomes of the course and the institution's curriculum through the partnership collaboration of librarians and teaching staff.

The issue of information literacy and information literacy learning must be included in the strategic documents of the institution because they are a reflection of its institutional policy given their role in the basic legal acts of the documents. Responsibility for information literacy programs is need to be shared among strategic partners, who operate at different levels, including curriculum development, institution policy development, staff education, research and classes; and must be supported by the management of the institution. This makes it possible to promote excellence in the provision of information resources while taking into account changes in academic education and the learning context, and thus becomes an added value for learning.

The importance of implementing information literacy programs at law and medical faculties has been recognized by librarians in the Republic of Croatia, so there is a growing number of examples of good practice in implementing such programs, especially in the last five years. However, this is sometimes difficult to achieve due to the different practice of implementing information literacy programs, especially in the Republic of Croatia where they are usually conducted in parallel, independently within the library through several classes, and the concept of information literacy is not integrated into goals and outcomes of academic course or programs within the field of law.

Driven by the events and occurrence of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) that has shaken all of humanity, we are more than ever aware of the importance of acquiring and developing the necessary competencies and skills of information and digital literacy of students, which would enable them to independently search, use and evaluate accurate and verified information in the virtual environment – as they become the key and precondition for successful learning.

The implementation of information literacy is possible by advocating and promoting the importance of information literacy of librarians themselves within their institution. As information literacy is better known and researched in

librarianship and information science than in the academic legal community, academic libraries should take on the role of “ambassador” in promoting and advocating the importance of information literacy, but also the necessary skills and competencies that librarians already have in implementing the program of information literacy education. This could be the first step in advocating and setting the concept of information literacy at the academic level.

At the practical level, the researched models and standards can serve as a framework for developing formal information literacy programs in the practice of law faculty libraries and can be a significant help

in designing appropriate information literacy programs for law students implemented by the academic library. At the theoretical level, the desire was to stimulate discussion on the importance of information literacy programs for law and medicine students, to present some of the appropriate models of information literacy in law and medicine that lead the way for further research, and increase awareness of the importance of information literacy in law and medicine in the Republic of Croatia.

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Pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka u knjižnicama: perspektive i dokumenti

Right to Privacy and Protection of Personal Data in Libraries: Perspectives and Documents

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Sažetak / Abstract

Privatnost kao pravni koncept nezaobilazan je dio modernog demokratskog društva i prepoznato je kao jedno od temeljnih ljudskih prava svakog građanina. Pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka zajamčeni su međunarodnim dokumentima o ljudskim pravima. U knjižničarskoj se djelatnosti pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka također garantira u dokumentima međunarodnih knjižničarskih udruženja u kojima se jasno naglašava da su knjižničari u svom radu obvezni da štite privatnost i osobne podatke svojih korisnika. Privatnost i osobne podatke je danas sve teže zaštititi, jer je pristup podacima jednostavniji i lakši zbog korištenja različitih i novih informacionih tehnologija, elektronskog komuniciranja, društvenih mreža, elektronskih baza podataka itd. Osobna se prava garantiraju međunarodnim dokumentima o zaštiti osobnih podataka, a štite se nacionalnim zakonima o zaštiti osobnih podataka. Glavni ciljevi rada su: problematizirati definiranje pojma privatnosti iz nekoliko perspektiva; problematizirati značaj prava na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka u kontekstu knjižničarske profesije; dati pregled značajnijih međunarodnih dokumenata u području ljudskih prava u kojima se garantira i pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka; načiniti osvrt na značajnije međunarodne dokumente kojima se garantira pravo na zaštitu i tajnost osobnih podataka; i na kraju rad će dati pregled dokumenata međunarodnih knjižničarskih udruženja koji u svojim tekstovima ukazuju na značaj privatnosti i zaštite osobnih podataka u knjižničnoj djelatnosti.

Privacy as a legal concept is an unavoidable part of a modern democratic society and is recognized as one of the fundamental human rights of every citizen. The right to privacy and the protection of personal data are guaranteed by international human rights documents. In librarianship, the right to privacy and protection of personal data is also guaranteed in the documents of international library associations, which clearly emphasize that librarians are obliged in their work to protect the privacy and personal data of their users. Privacy and personal data are increasingly difficult to protect today, as access to data is simpler and easier due to the use of different and new information technologies, electronic communication, social networks, electronic databases, etc. Personal rights are guaranteed by international documents on protection of personal data and protected by national personal data protection laws. The main objectives of the paper are: to problematize the definition of the concept of privacy from several perspectives; problematize the importance of the right to privacy and protection of personal data in the context of the library profession; provide an overview of significant international documents in the field of human rights which also guarantee the right to privacy and protection of personal data; make a review of important international documents guaranteeing the right to protection and confidentiality of personal data; and finally, the paper will provide an overview of documents of international library associations that in their texts indicate the importance of privacy and protection of personal data in the library business.

Uvod – O pojmu privatnosti

Da bismo problematizirali pojam privatnosti u što širem kontekstu, potrebno je da se nakratko vratimo još u antičko doba gdje koncept privatnosti svoje uporište ima u filozofskim raspravama grčkog mislioca Platona. On poručuje “neka potraže mjesto u državi gdje bi bilo najbolje udariti tabor, odakle bi najlakše držali na uzdi državljane ako se tko ne bi htio zakonima pokoravati” (Platon 2009, 163; prema Pavuna 2019, 5) i da nitko ne bi trebao imati “stana ni takve riznice u koje ne bi mogao ulaziti svatko tko će htjeti” (Platon 2009, 165; prema Pavuna 2019, 5). U tom je smislu ideja države takva da “pretpostavlja potpunu transparentnost nasuprot privatnosti u svrhu ostvarivanja ideje pravednosti i dobra” (Pavuna 2019, 5). Kako navodi Pavuna, ključni momenat u razvoju privatnosti bio je “pretvaranje filozofskog koncepta, objektivnog prava u subjektivno pravo koje pripada svakom građaninu” (Pavuna 2019, 6). Tako se u 18. stoljeću privatnost pojavljuje kao “pravo privatnog vlasništva” (Pavuna 2019, 6, 7), što potvrđuje Povelja o pravima Sjedinjenih Američkih Država iz 1791. koja u 4. amandmanu građanima jamči “nepovredivost vlastite osobe, mjesta stanovanja, dokumenata i imovine od neosnovanih pretraga i zapljena” (Pavuna 2019, 7). Moderno poimanje privatnosti kao “prava” na privatnost započinje krajem 19. stoljeća kada su dva mlada bostonska odvjetnika, Samuel Warren i Louis Brandeis, u *Harvard Law Reviewu* 1890. objavili članak pod naslovom *The right to privacy* (“Pravo na privatnost”, v. Warren i Brandeis 1890) u kojem sintagmom *right to be let alone* (“pravo biti ostavljen na miru”) privatnost opisuju kao uobičajeno pravo koje je sadržavalo zaštitu “nepovrjedive osobnosti” svakog pojedinca. To bi značilo da svaki pojedinac ima pravo odabrati da li će s drugima podijeliti ili ne informacije o svom privatnom životu (navikama, postupcima) i na taj način zaštititi svoj psihološki integritet vršeći kontrolu nad informacijama koje utiču na individualnost, osobnost tog pojedinca. Članak mnogi nazivaju “rođenjem” prava na privatnost, koji je stoljeće poslije ugrađen u američko pravosuđe kao i u zakone mnogih europskih država. Brojni sudovi su usvojili obrazloženja Warrena i Brandeisa, iako postoje i oni koji kažu da su Warren i Brandeis zapravo samo prepisali ono što je već postojalo kao dio opće zakonske regulative (prema Glancy 1979).

Prema pisanju R. Clarka (2016) privatnost je interes koji pojedinci imaju u održavanju “osobnog prostora”, bez uplitanja drugih ljudi i organizacija. Bitna je

Introduction – About the concept of privacy

In order to problematize the concept of privacy in the broadest possible context, it is necessary to briefly go back to ancient times where the concept of privacy has its stronghold in the philosophical discussions of the Greek thinker Plato. He says “let them look for a place in the state where it would be best to pitch their camp, from where it would be easiest to keep the citizens in check if someone do not want to obey the laws” (Plato 2009, 163; quoted from Pavuna 2019, 5) and that no one should have “residence nor such treasury that anyone who wants could not enter” (Plato 2009, 165; quoted from Pavuna 2019, 5). In this sense, the idea of the state is such that it “presupposes complete transparency versus privacy for the purpose of realizing the idea of justice and property” (Pavuna 2019, 5). According to Pavuna, the key moment in the development of privacy was “the transformation of the philosophical concept, objective law into subjective law that belongs to every citizen” (Pavuna 2019, 6). Thus in the 18th century privacy appeared as “the right of private property” (Pavuna 2019, 6, 7), which is confirmed by the Bill of Rights of the United States of America from 1791, which in 4th Amendment guarantees citizens “to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures” (Pavuna 2019, 7). The modern notion of privacy as a “right” to privacy began in the late 19th century when two young Boston lawyers, Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis, published an article in the *Harvard Law Review* in 1890 entitled *The right to privacy* (Warren i Brandeis 1890) in which by syntagm *right to be let alone* describe privacy as a customary right that included the protection of the “inviolable personality” of each individual. This would mean that each individual has the right to choose whether or not to share with others information about their private life (habits, actions) and thus protect their psychological integrity by controlling information that affects the individuality, personality of that individual. The article is called by many the “birth” of the right to privacy, and a century later was incorporated into the America’s judiciary as well as into the laws of many European countries. Numerous courts have adopted the reasoning of Warren and Brandeis, although there are those who say that Warren and Brandeis actually only transcribed what already existed as part of the general legislation (quoted from Glancy 1979).

According to R. Clarke (2016), privacy is the interest that individuals have in maintaining ‘personal

iz nekoliko perspektiva: filozofske, psihološke, sociološke, ekonomske, političke. S tim u vezi isti autor (Clarke 2016) navodi kako filozofska perspektiva ustvari dotiče pitanja koncepta “ljudskog dostojanstva”, integriteta, individualne autonomije i samoodređenja. U nekim tradicijama i jurisdikcijama, to su ideje koje podupiru pojam i značaj ljudskih prava. Psihološka perspektiva definira misao da je ljudima općenito potreban privatni prostor. To se odnosi i na “javnost”, kao i na ono što se događa iza “zatvorenih vrata”. Sociološki, ljudi moraju biti slobodni družiti se s drugima, biti podložni širokim društvenim običajima, ali bez stalne prijetnje da će ih se u tim akcijama promatrati. U ekonomskoj perspektivi, Clarke (2016) navodi da je zastrašujući učinak koji nadzor nad privatnošću sa sobom donosi, gušći “inovacije”. U tom smislu inovatori odstupaju od normi i smatraju se ugroženima ako im nedostaje privatnog prostora u kojem bi mogli eksperimentirati. I na kraju, politički, ljudi moraju biti slobodni razmišljati, raspravljati i djelovati. Isti autor (Clarke 2016) tvrdi da privatnost nipošto nije jednodimenzionalna, nego višestruka, sveobuhvatna, pa razlikuje: privatnost osobe, privatnost osobnog ponašanja, privatnost osobne komunikacije, privatnost osobnih podataka (često označenu i kao privatnost podataka – *data privacy* i informacijsku privatnost – *information privacy*), privatnost osobnog iskustva (v. više u Clarke 2016). Negdje na tom tragu i autorica Horvat (Horvat i Živković 2012, 29) definiraju privatnost kao intimu čovjeka, njegov osobni i obiteljski život, a pravo na privatnost pravo je čovjeka da bude sam kad želi i da podatke o sebi ne mora dijeliti s drugima. Autorica navodi i to da pravnici privatnost promatraju s različitih aspekata te tako razlikuju prostornu, informacijsku i komunikacijsku privatnost (v. više u Horvat i Živković 2012).

Kada govorimo o informacijskoj i komunikacijskoj privatnosti, neophodno je naglasiti da se informacijska privatnost odnosi upravo na “osobne podatke o pojedincu koji se prikupljaju, obrađuju i koriste u različite svrhe” (Horvat i Živković 2012, 30), a uređuje se zakonima o zaštiti osobnih podataka. U osobna se prava između ostalih ubraja i pravo na čast i ugled, odnosno “poštovanje dostojanstva čovjeka”, koje je u digitalnoj sredini dobilo na važnosti jer ga je teže zaštititi nego ikad ranije (Horvat i Živković 2012, 31) s obzirom na sve veće prisustvo društvenih mreža u svakodnevnom životu, raznovrsnost informacionih tehnologija koje koristimo, dostupnost digitalnih medija i sl. Nadalje, među osobnim pravima tu su, po Horvat (Horvat i Živković 2012), još i pravo na vlastitu sliku (lik), pravo na identitet itd.

space’, without the interference of other people and organizations. It is important from several perspectives: philosophical, psychological, sociological, economic, and political. In this connection, the same author (Clarke 2016) states that the philosophical perspective actually touches on the issues of the concept of “human dignity”, integrity, individual autonomy and self-determination. In some traditions and jurisdictions, these are ideas that support the notion and significance of human rights. The psychological perspective defines the idea that people generally need private space. This also applies to the “public”, as well as to what is happening behind “closed doors”. Sociologically, people must be free to associate with others, be subject to broad social customs, but without the constant threat of being observed in these actions. From an economic perspective, Clarke (2016) states that the intimidating effect that privacy control brings with it is stifling “innovation”. In this sense, innovators deviate from the norms and are considered vulnerable if they lack a private space in which they could experiment. And finally, politically, people must be free to think, discuss and act. The same author (Clarke 2016) claims that privacy is by no means one-dimensional but multiple, comprehensive, so he distinct: privacy of a person, privacy of personal conduct, privacy of personal communication, privacy of personal data (often referred to as *data privacy* and *information privacy*), privacy of personal experience (see more in Clarke 2016). Somewhere on this trail, the author Horvat (Horvat and Živković 2012, 29) also defines privacy as a person’s intimacy, his personal and family life, and the right to privacy is a person’s right to be alone when they want, and not to have to share information about themselves with others. The author also states that lawyers view privacy from different aspects, and so distinguish between spatial, informational and communication privacy (see more in Horvat and Živković 2012).

When we talk about information and communication privacy, it is necessary to emphasize that information privacy refers to “personal data about an individual that is collected, processed and used for various purposes” (Horvat and Živković 2012, 30), and is governed by personal data protection laws. Among other things, personal rights include the right to honor and reputation, i.e. “respect of human dignity”, which has become important in the digital environment because it is harder to protect it than ever before (Horvat and Živković 2012, 31) given the growing presence of social networks in everyday life, the variety of information technolo-

Privatnost je s druge strane važan element “i u autonomiji individualnosti” (McMenemy 2016, 1). Bez prava na privatnost, kako to definira McMenemy (2016, 1), nismo u mogućnosti biti potpuno svoji. Mnogo onoga što nas čini ljudima dolazi iz naših interakcija s drugima u našoj privatnoj sferi gdje pretpostavljamo da nas nitko ne promatra. Privatnost se tako odnosi na ono što kažemo, uradimo, a možda čak i na ono što osjećamo (McMenemy 2016, 1, 2). Privatnost je i “pravo biti slobodan od neopravdanog zadiranja (...)” (Law 2015), a neophodna je i za “slobodu, neovisnost i ljudsko dostojanstvo” (Schneier 2015, 273).

Još je prije 50-ak godina Alan Westin, jedan od najznačajnijih autora u području privatnosti, istakao njenu važnost u svojoj knjizi *Privacy and Freedom* iz 1967. te je napravio detaljan povijesni pregled razvoja pojma privatnosti u okviru političke misli na zapadu, naglašavajući da je privatnost zapravo mogućnost svakog pojedinca da za sebe odredi na koji će način, kada, kome i do koje mjere biti prezentirani podaci o njemu (Westin 1967, 7; prema Pavuna 2019, 18). U tom smislu, privatnost je i pravo svakog pojedinca da bude zaštićen od nedopuštenog uplitanja u njegov osobni život, posao, obitelj, objavljivanjem informacija o njemu ili neposrednim fizičkim mjerama (Michael 1994). Privatnost u kontekstu demokracije i građanskih prava, prema Cohen (2016), “štiti našu subjektivnost od sveprisutnih komercijalnih napora i vladinih aktera da pojedince i zajednice, učine transparentnima i predvidljivima. Privatnost je neizostavna značajka demokracije u kojoj pojedinac zadržava svoj identitet pridonoseći njegovoj građanskoj dužnosti.” (prema: IFLA. The right to privacy in the digital age, 1).

Pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka u knjižnici

U knjižničarstvu je definiranje privatnosti ustvari “vitalno etičko područje za kojim moramo tragati” (McMenemy 2016, 3) u knjižničarskoj profesiji, što znači da knjižničari u svom radu imaju obvezu štititi privatnost svojih korisnika. To potvrđuju i IFLA-in Etički kodeks za knjižničare i druge informacijske djelatnike, mnogi dokumenti i izjave koje su donijela međunarodna knjižničarska udruženja. No, nameće se pitanje koji su to podaci koje knjižničari trebaju štititi? To su prvenstveno osobni podaci, koji se u skladu sa zakonima o zaštiti osobnih podataka definiraju kao oni podaci, odnosno one informacije na temelju kojih se identificira određeni pojedinac, fizička osoba. To npr. prema Brezaku (1997) mogu biti činjenični osobni podaci (ime, adresa, dob, spol

gies we use, the availability of digital media, etc. Furthermore, among personal rights there are, according to Horvat (Horvat and Živković 2012), the right to one’s own image (character), the right on identity, etc.

Privacy, on the other hand, is also “an important element in the autonomy of the individual” (McMenemy 2016, 1). Without the right to privacy, as defined by McMenemy (2016, 1) we are unable to be completely our own. Much of what makes us human comes from our interactions with others in our private sphere where we assume no one is watching us. Privacy thus refers to what we say, do, and perhaps even how we feel (McMenemy 2016, 1, 2). Privacy is also “the right to be free from unjustified interference (...)” (Law 2015), and it is also necessary for “freedom, independence and human dignity” (Schneier 2015, 273).

As far back as 50 years ago, Alan Westin, one of the most important authors in the field of privacy, emphasized its importance in his book *Privacy and Freedom* from 1967 and made a detailed historical overview of the development of the concept of privacy within political thought in the West, emphasizing that privacy is actually the ability of each individual to determine for themselves how, when, to whom and to what extent information about them will be presented (Westin 1967, 7; quoted from Pavuna 2019, 18). In that sense, privacy is also the right of every individual to be protected from unauthorized interference in the personal life, work, family, by publishing information about them or by immediate physical measures (Michael 1994). Privacy in the context of democracy and civil rights, according to Cohen (2016) “protects our subjectivity from the pervasive efforts of commercial and government actors to render individual and communities fixed, transparent and predictable. Privacy is an indispensable feature of a democracy where an individual maintains his identity while contributing to their civic duty” (quoted from: IFLA. The right to privacy in the digital age, 1).

The right to privacy and protection of personal data in the library

In librarianship, defining privacy is actually “a vital ethical area that we must seek” (McMenemy 2016, 3) in the library profession, which means that librarians in their work have an obligation to protect the privacy of their users. This is confirmed by IFLA’s Code of Ethics for Librarians and other Information Workers, many documents and statements that were issued by international library associations. But

i sl.), podaci o nekoj osobi koji sadrže vrijednosne sudove (napredovanje, preporuke, mišljenje) i podaci o namjerama korisnika podataka (prema: Horvat i Živković 2012, 47).

Svrha zaštite osobnih podataka je zaštita privatnog života pojedinca u okviru temeljnih ljudskih prava i sloboda vezanih za prikupljanje, obradu i prijenos osobnih podataka na temelju dokumenata Ujedinjenih nacija, Europske unije, Vijeća Europe itd. Kako navodi Horvat (2002) zaštita osobnih podataka utemeljuje se na nekoliko osnovnih načela, a to su među prvim da se osobni podaci moraju prikupljati na zakonit način i za opravdanu svrhu; da moraju biti relevantni, ne preopširni, točni i redovito osuvremenjivani. "Svaki pojedinac mora imati pravo uvida u svoje podatke i ima pravo zatražiti njihov ispravak, ako smatra da nisu točni. Podaci moraju biti zaštićeni tako da se spriječi uvid neovlaštenih osoba ili potpun gubitak podataka" (Horvat 2002). U tom smislu, osobni su podaci zaštićeni zakonima u kojima se ujedno mora zajamčiti i sigurnost i tajnost osobnih podataka. Naravno, zadaća knjižničara je da u svojoj praksi zagovaraju, ali i provode mjere zaštite osobnih podataka.

S ciljem da podigne svijest javnosti o zaštiti privatnosti i osobnih podataka, prikazujući dobre prakse iz te oblasti, Vijeće Europe je 28. siječanj proglasilo Europskim danom zaštite osobnih podataka, koji prvi put počinje da se obilježava 2006, što nam dodatno potvrđuje činjenicu da je zaštita privatnosti jedna od temeljnih vrijednosti knjižničarske struke, a danas se uz najnovija tehnološka i društvena dostignuća rad knjižničara oblikuje u segmentu ne samo zaštite nego i zagovaranja privatnosti u "digitalnom dobu".

S obzirom na to da zakoni o zaštiti osobnih podataka definiraju to da se ti podaci sakupljaju u određene svrhe za koje je nositelj tih informacija dao dozvolu, osobni se podaci ne bi smjeli koristiti mimo tih odredbi, mada su zlouporabe u području osobnih podataka itekako prisutne. S tim u vezi, koje će (osobne) podatke knjižnica tražiti od korisnika pri upisu, knjižnica odlučuje sama, ali za sve podatke koje knjižnica sakuplja, mora postojati razlog zašto su traženi, odnosno u koje svrhe će se koristiti (obično su to podaci o imenu i prezimenu, datumu rođenja, zanimanju, adresi, broju telefona, e-mailu i sl.). Podaci o posudbi građe (npr. o najtraženijim naslovima) sakupljaju se uglavnom u statističke svrhe, radi planiranja nabavne politike. Pretraživanja koja korisnici obavljaju na računarima u knjižnicama također ostaju zabilježeni pa ih je s vremena

the question arises: What is the data that librarians need to protect? These are primarily personal data, which in accordance with the laws on personal data protection are defined as those data, i.e. those information on the basis of which a certain individual, natural person is identified. For example, according to Brezak (1997), this can be factual personal data (name, address, age, gender, etc.), data on a person that contain value judgments (promotion, recommendations, opinion) and data on the intentions of data users (quoted from Horvat i Živković 2012, 47).

The purpose of personal data protection is to protect the private life of an individual within the framework of fundamental human rights and freedom related to the collection, processing and transfer of personal data based on documents of the United Nations, the European Union, the Council of Europe, etc. According to Horvat (2002), the protection of personal data is based on several basic principles. The first is that personal data must be collected in a lawful manner and for a justified purpose; they must be relevant, not too extensive, accurate and regularly updated. "Every individual must have the right to access their data and have the right to request their correction if they believe that they are inaccurate. Data must be protected in such a way as to prevent unauthorized access or complete loss of data" (Horvat 2002). In that sense, personal data are protected by laws in which the security and confidentiality of personal data must be also guaranteed. Of course, the task of librarians is to advocate in their practice but also to implement measures to protect personal data.

In order to raise public awareness about the protection of privacy and personal data, showing good practices in this area, The Council of Europe declared 28 January as a European Data Protection Day, which begins to be celebrated for the first time in 2006, that further confirm to us the fact that the protection of privacy is one of the fundamental values of the library profession, and today, with the latest technological and social achievements, the work of librarians is shaped in the segment of not only protection but also in advocacy of privacy in the "digital age".

As personal data protection laws define that this data is collected for certain purposes which the holder of this information has given permission for, personal data should not be used outside these regulations, although abuses in the field of personal data are very present. With this in connection, which (personal) data the library will ask from the user when enrolling, the library decides for itself, but for all

na vrijeme potrebno brisati (Horvat 2002). Uz podatke o korisnicima, u knjižnici se čuvaju i podaci o knjižničnom osoblju, podaci o dobavljačima, donatorima itd. (Horvat 2002).

U nekim je državama prikupljanje osobnih podataka uređeno zakonskim propisima koji se tiču i knjižnica, kao npr. u Norveškoj, gdje postoji posebno tijelo državne uprave koje mora dati dopuštenje narodnim knjižnicama da uz utvrđene uvjete smiju prikupljati podatke o korisnicima. U Velikoj Britaniji je Zakon o zaštiti podataka na snazi od 1984., i odnosi se i na knjižnice. Prema njemu je svaki voditelj neke ustanove koja prikuplja određene podatke u strojno čitljivom obliku dužan prijaviti da se ti podaci prikupljaju. U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama postoje "propisi o tajnosti podataka o posudbi", i ne samo to nego se čak "jamči i tajnost korisničkih pitanja" (Horvat 2002).

Iz navedenog možemo zaključiti da je tajnost podataka o korisnicima i podataka o korištenju građe i informacija važna iz praktičnih i moralnih razloga, s obzirom na to da je u današnje vrijeme zbog jednostavnijeg pristupa podacima uvođenjem novih informacijskih tehnologija i postojanja različitih elektronskih baza podataka, privatnost ugroženija nego ikad prije (Gorman 2000, 151). "Pojedinač se stoga može s pravom bojati da bi mu neovlašteni uvid u njegove osobne podatke mogao onemogućiti dobivanje neke usluge, povlastice itd. Također se može pretpostavljati da podaci ne moraju uvijek biti točni ili ne moraju biti točno protumačeni odnosno da se mogu tumačiti na štetu pojedinca" (Horvat 2002). S druge strane i "države se posebno boje da mogućnosti da velik broj osobnih podataka o njihovim građanima bude prenesen izvan njihovih granica" (Horvat 2002).

Jasno je da bez povjerljivosti osobnih podataka o pojedincu nije moguća ni zaštita čovjekove privatnosti (Injac 2008, 36). Svaki korisnik knjižnice ima pravo na privatnost, to mu garantiraju međunarodni dokumenti i principi knjižničarskog poslovanja, ali kako kaže Injac (2008), koliko će njegova privatnost uistinu biti zaštićena i poštovana, uvelike ovisi i o profesionalnoj etici knjižničara. Zbog toga je jako važno da su s pravima o zaštiti osobnih podataka upoznati ne samo knjižničari nego i svi korisnici, mediji i ostali tražitelji ili prenositelji informacija (Injac 2008).

Zanimljivo je kako Bowers (2006, 377) tumači odnos povjerenja i privatnosti u knjižnici. On kaže da, ako osoba nema osjećaj sigurnosti da će njegovi zapisi u knjižnici biti čuvani u povjerljivosti, to će

data collected by the library, there must be a reason why they are requested or for what purposes they will be used (usually data on name and surname, date of birth, occupation, address, telephone number, e-mail, etc.). Data on material borrowing (e.g. on most requested titles) are collected mainly for statistical purposes, in order to plan the acquisition policy. Searches performed by users on computers in libraries also remain recorded and need to be deleted from time to time (Horvat 2002). In addition to user data, the library also stores data on library staff, data on suppliers, donors, etc. (Horvat 2002).

In some countries, the collection of personal data is regulated by legislation concerning libraries, such as in Norway where there is a special public administration body that must give permission to public libraries to collect user data under certain conditions. In the United Kingdom, the Data Protection Act has been in force since 1984, which also applies to libraries, and according to which every head of an institution that collects certain data in machine-readable form is obliged to report that this data is collected. In the United States, there are "regulations on the confidentiality of loan information", and not only that, but even "guarantees the confidentiality of user questions". (Horvat 2002)

From the stated we can conclude that the confidentiality of user data and data on the use of materials and information is important for practical and moral reasons, whereas today, due to easier access to data through the introduction of new information technologies and the existence of various electronic databases, privacy is more compromised than ever before (Gorman 2000, 151). "An individual may therefore rightly fear that unauthorized access to their personal data may prevent them from obtaining a service, privilege, etc. It can also be assumed that the data may not always be accurate or may not be accurately interpreted i.e. they may be interpreted at the expense of the individual" (Horvat 2002). On the other hand, "states are particularly afraid of the possibility that large number of personal data about their citizens may be transferred beyond their borders" (Horvat 2002).

It is clear that without the confidentiality of personal data about an individual, the protection of human privacy is not possible (Injac 2008, 36). Every library user has the right to privacy, which is guaranteed by international documents and principles of library work, but as Injac (2008) says, how much their privacy will truly be protected and respected, depends greatly on the professional ethics of librarians.

ga možda obeshrabriti da istražuje, čita ili traži informacije zbog straha od osude okoline u kojoj živi ili osude društva u cjelini (prema Sutlieff i Chelin 2008, 11). Zato je važno da knjižnice štite privatnost svojih korisnika, podatke o njihovim pretraživanjima, posudbi građe itd. da bi uistinu opravdale svoju ulogu "edukatora privatnosti" (Coombs 2004; Shuler 2004, prema Sutlieff i Chelin 2008, 12) koji bi trebali da u svom poslu potiču i razvijaju svijest korisnika o privatnosti, ističu važnost zaštite osobnih podataka, i ne samo to nego i da dijele s korisnicima informacije o najboljim praksama u području privatnosti i zaštite osobnih podataka i u svakom smislu budu u službi zakona i potreba svojih korisnika.

Pravo na privatnost kao osnovno ljudsko pravo u europskim i međunarodnim dokumentima

Privatnost je i subjektivno pravo koje pripada svakom građaninu u demokratskoj državi i zajamčeno je međunarodnim dokumentima o ljudskim pravima. Sintagma "pravo na privatnost" je moderno poimanje privatnosti kao pravnog koncepta, a ujedno je i odmak od onoga što je privatnost bila skoro do kraja 19. stoljeća, više filozofski ili moralni koncept. Upravo se ta težnja o pravu na privatnost, kao osobnom pravu svakog pojedinca, ističe već u temeljnom dokumentu o modernom poimanju ljudskih prava *Općoj deklaraciji o ljudskim pravima*¹ iz 1948. u članu 12 koji glasi: "Nitko ne smije biti izvrnut samovoljnom miješanjem u njegov privatni život, obitelj, dom ili dopisivanje, niti napadima na njegovu čast i ugled. Svatko ima pravo na zakonsku zaštitu protiv takvog miješanja ili napada."

Polovinom 20. stoljeća, točnije godine 1950., usvojena je i *Europska konvencija za zaštitu ljudskih prava i temeljnih sloboda*² koja članom 8.1 štiti pravo svakoga pojedinca na poštovanje privatnog i obiteljskog života, doma i dopisivanja, i u kojoj se naglašava da se javna vlast neće miješati u ostvarivanje tog prava, osim u interesu javne sigurnosti, sprječavanja kaznenih djela i sl.

*Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima*³ iz 1966. godine u članu 17 također vrlo slično potvrđuje da "Nitko ne smije biti podvrgnut samovoljnom ili nezakonitom miješanjem u njegov privatni život, obitelj ili dopisivanje, niti nezakonitim napadima na njegovu čast ili ugled."

ians. Therefore, it is very important that the rights to personal data protection are known not only to librarians, but also to all users, media and other seekers or transmitters of information (Injac 2008).

It is interesting how Bowers (2006, 377) interprets the relationship of trust and privacy in the library. He says that if a person does not have a sense of security that their records in the library will be kept in confidentially, it may discourage them from researching, reading or seeking information for fear of the condemnation of environment in which they live or condemnation of society as a whole (quoted from Sutlieff and Chelin 2008, 11). That is why it is important for libraries to protect the privacy of their users, their search data, material borrowing, etc. in order to truly justify their role as "privacy educators" (Coombs 2004; Shuler 2004; quoted from Sutlieff and Chelin 2008, 12) who should encourage and develop users' awareness of privacy in their work, emphasize the importance of personal data protection, and not only that, but also share with users information on best practices in the field of privacy and personal data protection and in every sense be in the service of the law and the needs of its users.

The right to privacy as a basic human right in European and international documents

Privacy is also a subjective right that belongs to every citizen in a democratic state and is guaranteed by international human rights documents. The syntagm "right to privacy" is a modern notion of privacy as a legal concept, and at the same time a detachment from what privacy was almost until the end of the 19th century, more a philosophical or moral concept. This aspiration about the right to privacy, as a personal right of every individual, is already emphasized in the basic document on the modern understanding of human rights in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*¹ from 1948, in Article 12, which reads: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

In the middle of the 20th century, more precisely in 1950, *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*² was also adopted. The Article 8.1 of this Convention protects the right of every individual on respect for

¹ Deklaracija usvojena i proglašena na Skupštini UN-a Rezolucijom 217/III.

² Konvencija potpisana u Rimu, 4. 11. 1950. od strane zemalja članica Vijeća Europe, stupila na snagu 1953.

³ Usvojen Rezolucijom 2200A (XXI) Generalne skupštine 16. 12. 1966., na snagu stupio tek 23. 3. 1976.

¹ The declaration was adopted and promulgated by the UN Assembly in a Resolution 217/III.

² The Convention, signed in Rome on November 4, 1950 by the member states of the Council of Europe, entered into force in 1953.

Intenzivnija pitanja tajnosti i zaštite osobnih podataka počinju se postavljati od 70-ih godina dvadesetog stoljeća. Posebno je značajna 1974. godina kada je generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih nacija pripremio cjeloviti izvještaj na temu *Human rights and scientific and technological development* ("Ljudska prava i znanstveno-tehnološki razvoj"). U zaključku ovog izvještaja onim se državama koje nemaju zakonodavnu zaštitu osobnih podataka preporučuje da to što prije učine. Pri tome procesu UN preporuča i tri načela koja bi članice trebale uvažavati, a to su: načelo određenosti, načelo obavještavanja i načelo pristanka. Načelo određenosti kaže da se mogu sakupljati samo oni osobni podaci koji su nužno potrebni da bi se postigao cilj zbog kojega se sakupljaju. Načelo obavještavanja govori o potrebi da se pojedinca prethodno obavijesti koji se osobni podaci o njemu sakupljaju, a načelo pristanka kaže da se mogu sakupljati samo oni osobni podaci za koje je pojedinac pristao da se sakupljaju.

Poštovanje privatnog i obiteljskog života, doma i komuniciranja ponovno se aktualizira članom 7. u *Povelji o temeljnim pravima EU*⁴ iz 2000. godine, koja je obuhvatila i čitav niz građanskih, ekonomskih i političkih prava građana EU. U članu 8 potvrđuje se da "svatko ima pravo na zaštitu osobnih podataka (...)" i da se takvi podaci moraju pošteno obrađivati i u određene svrhe, na temelju pristanka osobe na koju se ti isti podaci odnose. Povelja ističe da svatko ima pravo pristupa podacima koji se na njega odnose, kao i pravo na njihovo ispravljanje. Potpisivanjem Ugovora iz Lisabona⁵ 2009. postala je pravno obavezujući dokument.

Generalna je skupština UN-a tokom prosinca 2013. usvojila Rezoluciju A/RES/68/167 i revidiranu Rezoluciju u 2014. pod nazivom *The right to privacy in the digital age* ("Pravo na privatnost u digitalnom dobu", United Nations 2013) i pozvala sve države da poštuju i štite pravo na privatnost uključujući i ono u digitalnoj komunikaciji, te da poduzimaju mjere za zaustavljanje kršenja tih prava, kao i da usklade vlastita zakonodavstva s tim pravom. Traženo je da se imenuje posebni izvjestitelj, povjerenik UN-a za ljudska prava u području privatnosti. Povjerenik je trebao pripremiti izvještaj o pravu na privatnost u digitalnom dobu. Ovom Rezolucijom, Generalna skupština prepoznaje globalnu i otvore-

private and family life, home and correspondence, and it is emphasized that there shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except in the interests of public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, etc.

*The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*³ from 1966 in Article 17 also very similarly confirms that "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation."

More intense questions of confidentiality and protection of personal data are beginning to be asked in the 1970s. The year 1974 was especially significant when the Secretary-General of the United Nations prepared a comprehensive report on the subject *Human rights and scientific and technological development*. In conclusion of this Report, those states that do not have statutory protection of personal data are encouraged to do so as soon as possible. In this process, the UN also recommends three principles that members should respect, and those are: the principle of certainty, the principle of notification and the principle of consent. The principle of certainty states that only those personal data which are needed to achieve the purpose for which they are collected may be collected. The principle of notification speaks of the need to inform the individual in advance what personal data is being collected about them, and the principle of consent states that only those personal data for which the individual has agreed to be collected may be collected.

Respect for private and family life, home and communication is reaffirmed in Article 7 of the *EU Charter of Fundamental Rights*⁴ from 2000, which included a whole range of civil, economic and political rights of EU citizens. Article 8 confirms that "everyone has the right to the protection of personal data (...)" and that such data must be processed fairly and for certain purposes, with the consent of the person to whom the same data relates. The Charter emphasizes that everyone have the right of access to data relating to them, as well as the right to have it rectified. With the signing of the Lisbon Treaty⁵ in 2009, it became a legally binding document.

³ Adopted by General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on 16 December 1966, it entered into force on 23 March 1976.

⁴ First adopted on December 7, 2000. Revised several times. Quoted according to: Povelja Europske unije o temeljnim pravima 2016/C 202/02 and: Priručnik o europskom zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka: izdanje iz 2018, 2020.

⁵ The treaty was signed on December 13, 2007, and entered into force on December 1, 2009. See more in Sokolska and Pavy 2020.

⁴ Prvi put donesena 7. 12. 2002. Nekoliko puta revidirana. Navedeno prema: Povelja Europske unije o temeljnim pravima 2016/C 202/02 i prema: Priručnik o europskom zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka: izdanje iz 2018, 2020.

⁵ Ugovor je potpisan 13. prosinca 2007., stupio na snagu 1. prosinca 2009. Vidi više u Sokolska i Pavy 2020.

nu prirodu Interneta i brzinu napretka u informacijskim i komunikacijskim tehnologijama. Također, Rezolucijom se potvrđuje to da ista prava koja ljudi imaju i izvan mreže moraju biti zaštićena i na mreži, uključujući i pravo na privatnost. Vijeće za ljudska prava Rezoluciju RES/28/16 (United Nations 2015)⁶ usvaja u travnju 2015. i odlučuje imenovati na tri godine povjerenika za pravo na privatnost. Povjerenik se upućuje na to da podnosi izvještaje o kršenjima prava na privatnost kao i ostale ključne probleme. Države se pozivaju na punu suradnju s povjerenikom. Rezolucije o pravu u digitalnom dobu revidiraju se i donose i 2016. i 2017. godine.

Zaštita osobnih podataka u međunarodnim dokumentima

Prve preporuke na području zakonskih legislativa o zaštiti privatnosti i osobnih podataka nastale su 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća u okviru OECD-a (*Organisation for Economic, Co-operation and Development* – Organizacija za ekonomsku suradnju i razvoj) i Vijeća Europe. OECD je 1980. donio Smjernice o zaštiti privatnosti i međunarodnom prijenosu osobnih podataka (OECD 1980)⁷ (revidirane 2013.), a Vijeće Europe 1981. *Konvenciju br. 108 o zaštiti pojedinaca pri automatskoj obradi osobnih podataka*. Smjernice OECD-a su istovremeno omogućile i zaštitu privatnosti i prijenos podataka preko granica zemalja članica. *Konvencija br. 108 (108 Konvencija o varstvu posameznika glede na avtomatsko obdelavo osebnih podatkov; v. i Priručnik o europskom zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka 2020, 26)* postala je normom, odnosno “vrijednosnim kriterijumom za informacijske politike zemalja koje su potpisale tu konvenciju” i razvijenim europskim zemljama omogućila poštovanje privatnosti. Konvencija je također definirala neka od temeljnih načela u zaštiti osobnih podataka pojedinaca. Načela se odnose na kvalitetu osobnih podataka, posebne vrste osobnih podataka, osiguranje tih podataka itd. S tim u vezi, osobni podaci koji se obrađuju automatski moraju biti prikupljeni na zakonit način, pohranjeni u određene svrhe, prikladni, primjereni i ne pretjerani s obzirom na svrhe za koje su pohranjeni. Moraju biti točni, pohranjeni u obliku koji dopušta identifikaciju pojedinca na kojega se ti podaci od-

In December 2013, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution A/RES/68/167 and a revised Resolution in 2014 entitled *The right to privacy in the digital age* (United Nations 2013) and called on all states to respect and protect the right to privacy, including the one in digital communication, and to take measures to stop violations of these rights, and to harmonize their own legislation with this right. It was requested that a special rapporteur, the UN Commissioner for Human Rights in the field of privacy, be appointed. The Commissioner was to prepare a report on the right to privacy in the digital age. With this Resolution, the General Assembly recognizes the global and open nature of the Internet and the speed of progress in information and communication technologies. Also, the Resolution confirms that the same rights that people have offline must be protected online, including the right to privacy. The Human Rights Council adopted Resolution RES/28/16 (United Nations 2015)⁶ in April 2015 and decides to appoint a Commissioner for the Right to Privacy for three years. The Commissioner is instructed to report violations of the right to privacy as well as other key issues. States are called upon to cooperate fully with the Commissioner. Resolutions on the law in the digital age are being revised and passed in 2016 and 2017.

Protection of personal data in international documents

The first recommendations in the field of legislation on the protection of privacy and personal data were made in the 80s of the 20th century within the OECD (Organisation for Economic, Co-operation and Development) and the Council of Europe. In 1980, the OECD adopted the Guidelines on the Protection of Privacy and Transborder Flows of Personal Data⁷ (revised in 2013), and in 1981 the Council of Europe, *Treaty No. 108, Convention for the Protection of Individuals with regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data*. The OECD guidelines have at the same time enabled the protection of privacy and the transfer of data across the borders of member countries. *Treaty No. 108 (108 Konvencija o varstvu posameznika glede na avtomatsko obdelavo osebnih podatkov; see also Priručnik o europskom*

⁶ Vidi i *Priručnik o europskom zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka*: izdanje iz 2018, 2020.

⁷ Ovdje ćemo i kratko upozoriti na grešku koja se autorici ovog rada potkrala u netočnom navodu godine OECD Smjernica u prethodnom radu “Pravo na slobodan pristup informacijama u knjižnicama u okvirima međunarodnih dokumenata: između javnosti i privatnosti”, objavljenog u *Bosniaca* 24 (19), str. 14, gdje umjesto 1981. treba da stoji 1980. godina.

⁶ See also: *Priručnik o europskom zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka*: izdanje iz 2018, 2020.

⁷ Here we will briefly point out the mistake that the author of this paper made in the incorrect citation of the year of OECD Guidelines in the previous paper “The right to free access to information in libraries within the framework of international documents: between the public and privacy”, published in *Bosniaca* 24 (19), p. 14, where instead of 1981, 1980 should be written.

nose i to onoliko dugo koliko je potrebno za svrhe za koje su pohranjeni.

Direktiva 95/46/EZ Europskog parlamenta i Vijeća EU o zaštiti pojedinaca pri obradi osobnih podataka i slobodnom protoku takvih podataka donijeta je 1995. godine. S ovom Direktivom trebali su se uskladiti zakoni pojedinih zemalja članica EU i smatra se najznačajnijim zakonodavnim aktom o zaštiti osobnih podataka u Uniji. Njen je cilj osigurati pravo na zaštitu osobnih podataka i slobodan protok tih podataka među državama članicama. U tom smislu, Direktiva 95/46/EZ zahtijeva od država članica zaštitu temeljnih prava i sloboda fizičkih osoba, a posebno njihovih prava na privatnost pri obradi osobnih podataka, kako bi se osiguralo i slobodno kretanje osobnih podataka u Zajednici.

Dvije godine kasnije donosi se Direktiva 97/66/EZ (Directive 97/66/EC) Europskog parlamenta i Vijeća od 15. prosinca 1997. o obradi osobnih podataka i zaštiti privatnosti u sektoru telekomunikacija. Ovom se direktivom osigurava jednaka razina zaštite temeljnih prava i sloboda, posebno prava na privatnost, s obzirom na obradu osobnih podataka u telekomunikacijskom sektoru, i osigurava se slobodno kretanje takvih podataka u Zajednici. Ova je direktiva prenijela načela navedena u Direktivi 95/46/EZ u pravila za područje telekomunikacija. U Direktivi se naglašava da je potrebno donijeti zakone kojima će se regulirati i prava korisnika i prava onih koji nude određene usluge.

Donošenjem Uredbe (EZ) br. 45/2001 Europskog parlamenta i Vijeća EU o zaštiti pojedinaca u vezi s obradom osobnih podataka u institucijama i tijelima Zajednice i o slobodnom kretanju takvih podataka, štite se ponovno temeljna prava i slobode fizičkih osoba, posebno njihovo pravo na privatnost u vezi s obradom osobnih podataka. Slobodno kretanje osobnih podataka ne smije se ograničiti niti zabraniti, a Uredbom se osniva i Nadzorno neovisno tijelo koje prati primjenu odredbi ove uredbe i uvodi sankcije za prekršitelje odredbi.

Ovdje ćemo spomenuti i dvije direktive posebno aktualne u području elektroničkih komunikacija i javnih komunikacijskih mreža, a to su Direktiva 2002/58/EZ i Direktiva 2006/24/EZ Europskog parlamenta i Vijeća. Direktiva 2002/58/EZ od 12. srpnja 2002. o obradi osobnih podataka i zaštiti privatnosti u području elektroničkih komunikacija (tzv. Direktiva o privatnosti i elektroničkim komunikacijama ili Direktiva o e-privatnosti) “zahtijeva od država članica da osiguraju prava i slobode fizičkih osoba u vezi s obradom osobnih podataka te posebno nji-

zakonodavstvu o zaštiti podataka 2020, 26) has become the rule, i.e. “criteria value for the information policies of the signatory countries” and gave an opportunity to developed European countries to respect privacy. The Convention also defined some of the fundamental principles in the protection of personal data of individuals. The principles relate to the quality of personal data, special types of personal data, security of such data, etc. Regarding this, personal data that are automatically processed must be collected lawfully, stored for certain purposes, adequate, appropriate and not excessive in relation to the purposes for which they are stored. They must be accurate, stored in a form that allows the identification of individual to which this data relates and for as long as is necessary for the purposes for which they are stored.

Directive 95/46/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data was adopted in 1995. This Directive was intended to harmonize the laws of individual EU Member States and is considered to be the most important piece of legislation on the protection of personal data in the Community. Its aim is to ensure the right to the protection of personal data and the free flow of such data between Member States. And in that sense, Directive 95/46/EC requires Member States to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons, and in particular their right to privacy with regard to the processing of personal data, in order to ensure the free movement of personal data within the Community.

Two years later, Directive 97/66/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 December 1997 concerning the processing of personal data and the protection of privacy in the telecommunications sector was adopted. This Directive ensures an equal level of protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, in particular the right to privacy, with regard to the processing of personal data in the telecommunications sector and ensures the free movement of such data within the Community. This Directive transposed the principles laid out in Directive 95/46/EC into rules in the field of telecommunications. The Directive emphasizes the need to enact laws to regulate both the rights of users and the rights of those offering certain services.

Regulation (EC) No 45/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal

hova prava na privatnost, kako bi se osigurao slobodan protok osobnih podataka unutar Zajednice". U ovoj su se direktivi zapravo prevela načela Direktive 95/46/EZ u konkretna pravila za sektor elektroničkih komunikacija. Druga Direktiva 2006/24/EZ od 15. ožujka 2006. o zadržavanju podataka dobivenih ili obrađenih u vezi s pružanjem javno dostupnih elektroničkih komunikacijskih usluga ili javnih komunikacijskih mreža i o izmjeni Direktive 2002/58/EZ, donosi set mjera koje su "zakonodavne mjere kojima bi se osiguralo da se podaci pohranjeni u skladu s ovom Direktivom prosljeđuju nadležnim nacionalnim tijelima samo u skladu s nacionalnim zakonodavstvom i uz puno poštivanje temeljnih prava predmetnih osoba". U tekstu ove Direktive naglašava se da se ona "ne primjenjuje na sadržaj elektroničke komunikacije kao ni na informacije do kojih se dolazi korištenjem elektroničke komunikacijske mreže, ali se osigurava da podaci budu dostupni u svrhu istrage, otkrivanja i progona teških kaznenih djela".

Okvirna odluka Vijeća EU 2008/977 PUP donesena je 27. studenog 2008., a radi se o zaštiti osobnih podataka obrađenih u okviru policijske i pravosudne suradnje u kaznenim stvarima, čija je svrha "osigurati visoku razinu zaštite temeljnih prava i sloboda fizičkih osoba, a osobito njihova prava na privatnost, u pogledu obrade osobnih podataka u okviru policijske i pravosudne suradnje u kaznenim stvarima, uz istodobno jamčenje visoke razine javne sigurnosti".

Dokument novijeg datuma u području zaštite podataka jeste prije svega Uredba (EU) 2016/679 Europskog parlamenta i Vijeća od 27. travnja 2016. o zaštiti pojedinaca u vezi s obradom osobnih podataka i o slobodnom kretanju takvih podataka te o stavljanju izvan snage Direktive 95/46/EZ, poznata još i kao Opća uredba o zaštiti podataka (engl. *General Data Protection Regulation* – GDPR). Uredba je u primjenu krenula tek 2018., a njome se utvrđuju pravila koja su povezana sa zaštitom pojedinaca u vezi s obradom i kretanjem osobnih podataka, te se štite temeljna prava i slobode pojedinaca (posebno pravo na zaštitu osobnih podataka). Uredba se primjenjuje na osobne podatke koji se automatski obrađuju te na "neautomatiziranu obradu osobnih podataka koji čine dio sustava pohrane ili su namijenjeni biti dio sustava pohrane".

Protokol o izmjeni Konvencije 108 Vijeća Europe za zaštitu osoba glede automatizirane obrade osobnih podataka (ETS br. 108)⁸ dodatni je protokol o

data by the Community institutions and bodies and on the free movement of such data, protects fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons, in particular their right to privacy in connection with processing of personal data. The free movement of personal data may not be restricted or prohibited, and the Regulation also establishes an Independent Supervisory Body that monitors the application of the provisions of this Regulation and introduces sanctions for violators of the provisions.

Here we will mention two directives that are particularly relevant in the field of electronic communications and public communication networks, namely Directive 2002/58/EC and Directive 2006/24/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council. Directive 2002/58/EC of 12 July 2002 on the concerning the processing of personal data and the protection of privacy in the electronic communications sector (the so-called Directive on privacy and electronic communications or the e-Privacy Directive) "requires Member States to ensure the rights and freedoms of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data, and in particular their right to privacy, in order to ensure the free flow of personal data in the Community". This directive has in fact translated the principles of Directive 95/46/EC into specific rules for the electronic communications sector. The Second Directive 2006/24/EC of 15 March 2006 on the retention of data generated or processed in connection with the provision of publicly available electronic communications services or of public communications networks and amending Directive 2002/58/EC lays down a set of measures that are "legislative measures to ensure that data retained under this Directive are provided to the competent national authorities only in accordance with national legislation in full respect of the fundamental rights of the persons concerned". The text of this Directive emphasizes that it "shall not apply to the content of electronic communications, including information consulted using an electronic communications network, but ensures that the data are available for the purpose of the investigation, detection and prosecution of serious criminal offences".

Framework Decision of the EU Council 2008/977/JHA was adopted on 27 November 2008 and concerns the protection of personal data processed in the framework of police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, the purpose of which is "to ensure a high level of protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons, and in particular their right to privacy, with respect to the processing

⁸ Prijedlog Odluke Vijeća o ovlašćivanju država članica da u interesu Europske unije ratificiraju Protokol o izmjeni Konvencije Vijeća Europe za zaštitu osoba glede automatizirane obrade osobnih podataka.

prekograničnom prijenosu podataka u državama koje nisu članice EU i na neki se način ovim protokolom modernizira Konvenciju s početka 80-ih. Traži se od zemalja članica da u svoja nacionalna zakonodavstva uvrste veću razinu zaštite podataka koja je već osigurana Konvencijom 108, a ovim bi se dodatnim protokolom obuhvatile i sve vrste obrade podataka u okviru nadležnosti stranaka u javnom i privatnom sektoru.

Interesantan je i podatak da je i članom 16. UFEU-a (Ugovora o funkcioniranju Europske unije)⁹ na neki način ozakonjeno pravo na zaštitu osobnih podataka jer se u tom članu navodi da “svatko ima pravo na zaštitu svojih osobnih podataka”. S druge strane u članu 15. stav 3. UFEU-a svakoj se fizičkoj ili pravnoj osobi u državama članicama daje pravo na pristup dokumentima institucija, tijela i agencija EU.

Može se reći da je razlog nastanka navedenih dokumenata ustvari bila spoznaja “da masovna obrada osobnih podataka predstavlja objektivnu opasnost za sigurnost informacijske privatnosti pojedinca” i da se države s pravom mogu bojati neovlaštenog pristupa i prijenosa osobnih podataka. S tim u vezi, posebno je opasna velika sposobnost računarskih sustava i tehnologija koji omogućavaju pohranjivanje velikog broja podataka, lak pristup tim podacima te njihovu brzu i jednostavnu reprodukciju. Jasno je da iz toga proizlazi generalni stav o tome koliko je zaštita privatnosti i osobnih podataka važna i potrebna danas, ali i koliko će još više nastaviti biti potrebna i u budućnosti.

Privatnost i osobni podaci u knjižnicama u okviru međunarodnih dokumenata knjižničarskih udruženja

Knjižnice imaju iznimno značajnu ulogu u promociji i zaštiti privatnosti s obzirom na to da se njihovo djelovanje zasniva na dugoj tradiciji iskustva u radu s informacijama u svim oblicima i raznim profilima korisnika. “Knjižničari se slažu da je privatnost podataka vitalni dio šire digitalne pismenosti – sposobnost izvlačenja najboljih mogućnosti koje nude digitalne tehnologije i servisi.” (prema: IFLA. *The right to privacy in the digital age*, 3) Knjižnice također promoviraju najbolje prakse u određivanju koji su to korisnički podaci koji se prikupljaju i kakva su ograničenja u tom procesu (v. IFLA. *The right to privacy in the digital age*, 3).

Knjižničarska se struka kao javna služba i ona koja se financira iz javnih sredstava s jedne strane poziva

of personal data in the framework of police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, while guaranteeing a high level of public safety”.

A more recent document in the field of data protection is primarily Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC also known as *General Data Protection Regulation* – GDPR. The Regulation did not enter into force until 2018, and it lays down rules related on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and protects the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons (especially the right to protection of personal data). This Regulation applies to the automated processing of personal data and to the “processing other than by automated means of personal data which form part of a filing system or are intended to form part of a filing system”.

Protocol about amending the Council of Europe Convention 108 for the Protection of Individuals with regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data (ETS No. 108)⁸ is an additional protocol on cross-border data transfer in non-EU countries and in a way this protocol modernizes the Convention from the early 80's. Member States are required to incorporate into their national legislation a higher level of data protection already provided in Convention 108, and this additional protocol would cover all types of data processing within the competence of the parties in the public and private sectors.

Information is also interesting that with Article 16 of TFEU (the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)⁹ in some way legitimized the right to protection of personal data because that article states that “everyone has the right to the protection of personal data concerning them”. On the other hand, Article 15 (3) TFEU gives every natural or legal person in the Member States the right to access documents of the EU institutions, bodies and agencies.

It can be said that the reason for the creation of these documents was in fact the realization “that the mass processing of personal data poses an objective threat to the security of information privacy of

⁹ Pročišćene verzije Ugovora o Europskoj uniji i Ugovora o funkcioniranju Europske unije (2016/C 2020/01).

⁸ Proposal for a Council Decision authorising Member States to ratify, in the interest of the European Union, the Protocol amending the Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Individuals with regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data.

⁹ Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2016/C 2020/01).

na slobodan pristup informacijama u skladu s načelom javnosti, dok s druge strane u pristupu tim informacijama ipak postoje ograničenja spomenuta već u IFLA-inoj izjavi *Knjižnice i intelektualna sloboda*¹⁰ iz 1999, u kojoj se kaže da korisnici knjižnica imaju pravo na privatnost i anonimnost, a knjižničari i ostalo osoblje knjižnica ne smiju otkriti identitet korisnika ili korištene građe trećoj osobi. U tom smislu, pravo na privatnost u knjižnicama i tajnost osobnih podataka postaju obveze knjižničara u skladu s etikom knjižničarske struke, u skladu sa zakonima, uredbama itd.

“Knjižnice i informacijske službe trebaju poštivati privatnost svojih korisnika te povjerljivost izvora kojima se služe”, kratko potvrđuje i IFLA u *Manifestu o internetu* iz 2002. (IFLA 2002a) iako se dokument u suštini bavio načelima slobode u pristupu informacijama. Ali to nam opet potvrđuje koliko su ova dva segmenta zapravo neodvojivo povezana.

IEBLIDA (*European Bureau of Library Information and Documentation Associations*) u svojim *Preporukama za knjižnično zakonodavstvo i politiku u Europi*¹¹ iz 2000. jasno ističe da knjižnice trebaju poštovati korisnička prava uključujući i pravo na povjerljivost i privatnost pri korištenju elektroničkih izvora i službi.

Sekcija IFLA-e za slobodan pristup informacijama i slobodu izražavanja objavila je 2002. i zvanični dokument pod nazivom *Deklaracija o bibliotekama, informacionim servisima i intelektualnoj slobodi*¹² u kojem kaže da knjižnice i informacijski servisi moraju da garantiraju svakom korisniku tajnost i poštovanje privatnog života, “bilo da se radi o informacijama koje korisnik traži ili dobiva, o dokumentima koje koristi, pozajmljuje, nabavlja ili ih predaje”.

Zaštita privatnosti i osobnih podataka kao jedan od najvažnijih knjižničarskih postulata istaknuta je i u IFLA-inom *Etičkom kodeksu za knjižničare i druge informacijske djelatnike* (IFLA 2012) prema kojem knjižničari treba da poštuju privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka, a upravo se odnos knjižnice i korisnika zasniva na povjerljivosti tih podataka. U Kodeksu se navodi i da knjižničari treba da poduzimaju prikladne mjere kako bi osigurali da se

the individual” and that states may rightly fear of unauthorized access and transfer of personal data. With this in regard, the great ability of computer systems and technologies that allow the storage of large amounts of data, easy access to this data, and their quick and easy reproduction is especially dangerous. It is clear that this is a general view of how important and necessary the protection of privacy and personal data is today, but also how much more will continue to be needed in the future.

Privacy and personal data in libraries within the international documents of library associations

Libraries have an extremely important role in the promotion and protection of privacy, given that their activities are based on a long tradition of experience in working with information in all forms and various user profiles. “Librarians agree that data privacy is a vital part of broader digital literacy – the ability to get the best out of the opportunities that digital technologies and services offer” (quoted from IFLA. *The right to privacy in the digital age*, 3). Libraries also promote best practices in determining what user data is being collected and what the limitations in this process are (see: IFLA. *The right to privacy in the digital age*, 3).

The library profession as a public service and one financed from public funds on the one hand calls for free access to information in accordance with the principle of publicity, while on the other hand in access to this information there are restrictions mentioned in IFLA’s statement *Libraries and Intellectual Freedom*¹⁰ from 1999, stating that library users have the right to privacy and anonymity, and that librarians and other library staff must not disclose the identity of users or materials used to third parties. In that sense, the right to privacy in libraries and the confidentiality of personal data become the obligations of librarians in accordance with the ethics of the library profession, in accordance with laws, regulations, etc.

“Libraries and information services should respect the privacy of their users and recognize that the resources they use should remain confidential”, briefly confirms IFLA in the *Internet Manifesto* from 2002 (IFLA 2002a) although the document essentially dealt with the principles of freedom of access to information. But this again confirms to us how inseparably these two segments are actually connected.

¹⁰ Izjavu je odobrio Izvršni odbor IFLA-e 25. ožujka 1999. (IFLA 1999)

¹¹ Tekst Preporuka usvojio je Odbor za kulturu Vijeća Europe u listopadu 1999, a Vijeće za kulturnu suradnju odobrilo ga je u siječnju 2000.

¹² Deklaraciju je odobrio Upravni odbor IFLA-e 27. 3. 2002., na sastanku u Hagu, a usvojena je na drugom sastanku Savjeta IFLA-e koji je održan 23. 8. 2002. u Glasgowsu. Navedeno prema IFLA 2002b.

¹⁰ The statement was approved by the IFLA Executive Board on March 25, 1999 (IFLA 1999).

podaci korisnika koriste isključivo u za to predviđene svrhe, čime se jasno štite korisnički podaci od zlouporaba.

Koliko je privatnost i zaštita osobnih podataka sveprisutna i važna u knjižničarskoj profesiji, govori i činjenica da je IFLA 2015. godine objavila Izjavu o privatnosti u knjižnici¹³ (*IFLA Statement on Privacy in the Library Environment*, IFLA 2015) u kojoj vrlo precizno podcrtava da knjižnice i informacijske službe trebaju ne samo poštovati nego i unaprjeđivati privatnost svojih korisnika, da mogu odlučivati koje će osobne podatke o korisnicima prikupljati, na koji će ih način pohranjivati, dijeliti i čuvati i svakako brinuti o sigurnosti tih podataka. Također, Izjavom se knjižnice obvezuju na zagovaranje pitanja vezanih za zaštitu osobne privatnosti i digitalnih prava na svim razinama (međunarodna, državna, lokalna). Knjižnice trebaju odbaciti svako nezakonito praćenje i prikupljanje osobnih podataka kao i podataka o traženim informacijama koje bi ugrozilo privatnost korisnika, te poduzeti mjere za ograničavanje prikupljanja osobnih podataka o korisnicima i uslugama koje korisnici koriste. Knjižničare treba obrazovati uz načela i praksu o zaštiti podataka i privatnosti u umreženom okruženju, a oni trebaju upoznati korisnike s njihovim pravima vezanim za zaštitu privatnosti i osobnih podataka te s posljedicama ugrožavanja te iste privatnosti.

Umjesto zaključka

Po svemu sudeći, knjižničarska profesija u svom radu neupitno podržava pravo na privatnost kao jedan od vitalnih etičkih segmenata struke, promovirajući najbolje prakse u zaštiti privatnosti i osobnih podataka. Pravo na privatnost i zaštita osobnih podataka zajamčeni su međunarodnim dokumentima i prepoznati kao dio osnovnih ljudskih prava. Međunarodna knjižničarska udruženja također prepoznaju važnost i značaj prava na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka, pa u svojim dokumentima vrlo precizno navode da su to prava koja su knjižničari obvezni da štite u svom radu i koja se u skladu s tajnošću osobnih podataka ne smiju otkrivati trećim osobama, a smije ih se prikupljati samo za određenu svrhu.

Prepoznajući privatnost kao “pravo”, odnosno pravni koncept, a ne samo kao “filozofsku”, odnosno “moralnu distinkciju”, omogućuje se promatranje privatnosti kao nezaobilaznog segmenta u razvoju modernog demokratskog društva i globalne mreže ljudskih prava za svakog građanina.

EBLIDA (European Bureau of Library Information and Documentation Associations) in their *Guidelines on Library Legislation and Policy in Europe*¹¹ from 2000 also clearly states that libraries should respect users' rights, including the right to confidentiality and privacy in the use of electronic resources and services.

The IFLA Section for Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression also published an official document in 2002 entitled *Declaration on Libraries, Information Services and Intellectual Freedom*¹² which says that libraries and information services must guarantee every user secrecy and respect for privacy, “with respect to information sought or received and resources consulted, borrowed, acquired or transmitted”.

The protection of privacy and personal data as one of the most important library postulates is also highlighted in IFLA's *Code of Ethics for Librarians and other Information Workers* (IFLA 2012) according to which librarians should respect the privacy and protection of personal data, and it is the relationship between the library and the user that is based on the confidentiality of this data. The Code also states that librarians should take appropriate measures to ensure that user data is used exclusively for its intended purpose, clearly protecting user data from misuse.

How ubiquitous and important is privacy and personal data protection in the library profession, tells also the fact that IFLA published in 2015 *Statement on Privacy in the Library Environment*¹³ (IFLA 2015) which emphasizes very precisely that libraries and information services should not only respect but also improve the privacy of their users, that they can decide what personal information about users should be collected, how to store it, share and keep it and also take care of the security of this data. Also, with the Statement libraries commit to advocate the issues related to the protection of personal privacy and digital rights at all levels (international, national, local). Libraries should reject any illegal monitoring and collection of personal data as well as data on requested information that would endanger the privacy of users, and take measures to restrict the

¹³ Dokument je usvojio Glavni odbor IFLA-e 14. 8. 2015.

¹¹ Text of Guidelines was adopted by Committee for Culture at the Council of Europe in October 1999, and Council for Cultural Co-operation approved it in January 2000.

¹² Declaration was approved by the Governing Board of IFLA on 27 March 2002 at the meeting in Hague, but was proclaimed by on the second meeting of Council of IFLA which was held on 19 August 2002 in Glasgow. Quoted from IFLA 2002b.

¹³ The document was adopted by the IFLA Main Board on August 14, 2015.

S obzirom na sve veće prisustvo modernih tehnologija i interneta u svakodnevnom životu, privatnost i osobne podatke postaje sve teže zaštititi. Osobni se podaci štite zakonima o zaštiti osobnih podataka, što potkrjepljujemo pregledom međunarodnih dokumenata o zaštiti osobnih podataka i u ovom radu. Možemo reći da je pravo na privatnost i zaštitu osobnih podataka u knjižnicama ustvari moguće promatrati negdje na razmeđu međusobnog odnosa u trijadi privatnost – osobni podaci – knjižnica.

collection of personal data about users and services used by users. Librarians should be educated in accordance with the principles and practices of data protection and privacy in a networked environment, and they should inform users about their rights related to the protection of privacy and personal data and the consequences of compromising the same privacy.

Instead of a conclusion

By all accounts, the library profession unquestionably supports the right to privacy in its work as one of the vital ethical segments of the profession, promoting best practices in the protection of privacy and personal data. The right to privacy and the protection of personal data are guaranteed by international documents and recognized as part of basic human rights. International librarians' associations also recognize the importance and significance of the right to privacy and protection of personal data, and in their documents state very precisely that these are rights that librarians are obliged to protect in their work, and which must not be disclosed to third parties and may only be collected for a specific purpose.

Recognizing privacy as a "right" or legal concept, and not just as a "philosophical" or "moral distinction", allows us to view privacy as an indispensable segment in the development of a modern democratic society and a global network of human rights for every citizen.

With the growing presence of modern technologies and the Internet in everyday life, privacy and personal data are becoming increasingly difficult to protect. Personal data is protected by personal data protection laws, which we support by reviewing international documents on personal data protection in this paper as well.

We can say that the right to privacy and protection of personal data in libraries can actually be observed somewhere at the crossroads of the relationship in the triad privacy – personal data – library.

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Koncept članstva u bh. bibliotekama: od samoupravljanja k participaciji Concept of Membership in BIH Libraries: From Self-Management Towards Participation

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Sažetak / Abstract

Cilj ovog rada jeste propitati mogućnosti i domete učesničkog modela djelovanja bh. biblioteka u periodu samoupravnog socijalizma za potrebe reosmišljavanja načina poslovanja i odnosa s korisnicima/cama biblioteke kroz novi, participativni pristup. Učesničko djelovanje u prijeratnim bh. bibliotekama i teorijske postavke participatornog bibliotekarstva mogu poslužiti kao polazna tačka za promišljanje modela uključivanja korisnika/ca biblioteke u svojstvu njenih članova/ica. Rezultati ovog rada nastojat će pokazati da učesnički bibliotekski model uvijek zavisi od pojedinih društveno-političkih aspekata državnog uređenja, polazi od različitih metodologija i načina suradnje, ali i da određena vrsta shvatanja učešća dalje implicira širi građanski angažman ili pak verifikaciju postojećeg društvenog stanja. Važnost je ove analize u boljem razumijevanju dvije vrste učesničkog pristupa u bibliotekama koji zbog redefiniranja odnosa s korisnicima/cama mogu polučiti različite oblike društvenog djelovanja i upravljanja.

The aim of this paper is to examine the possibilities and scope of the participatory model of BIH libraries in the period of self-governing socialism for the purpose of rethinking the way of doing business and relations with library users through a new, participatory approach. Participatory activities in pre-war BIH libraries and theoretical assumptions of participatory librarianship can serve as a starting point for considering the current model of involving library users in their capacity as its members. The results of this paper will try to show that the participatory library model always depends on certain socio-political aspects of government, starting from different methodologies and ways of cooperation, but also that certain type of understanding of participation further implies wider civic engagement or verification of the existing social situation. The importance of this analysis is in a better understanding of the two types of participatory approaches in libraries that, due to redefining relationships with users, can lead to different forms of social action and management.

1. Uvod: Participativna kultura

Kulturne ustanove u savremenom tehnološkom dobu preoblikuju institucijske načine funkcionisanja i djelatničke aktivnosti u skladu s tendencijama informacijsko-komunikacijskog okruženja. Prilagođavanje informacijskim potrebama korisničkih zajednica nije inovativni postupak vezan samo za prakticiranje kulture u tehnološkom okruženju, već su modifikacije takvih praksi oduvijek ovisne o promjenama socijalnih zahtjeva i dio su "šireg, općeg svjetonazora, takvog koji je razvijan pod utjecajem niza društvenih, proizvodnih, tehnoloških, posljednjih sociokulturnih, mentalnih i inih promjena" (Kodrić Zaimović 2017, 42). Vodeći se profesionalnim postulatima o službi zajednicama, kulturne ustanove trebale bi djelovati shodno preferencijama skupina društva za jednakopravnost pristupa infor-

1. Introduction: Participatory culture

Cultural institutions in the modern technological age are reshaping institutional ways of functioning and working activities in accordance with the tendencies of the information and communication environment. Adapting to the information needs of user communities is not an innovative process related only to the practice of culture in the technological environment, but modifications of such practices have always been dependent on changes in social requirements and they are part of "broader, general world view, one that has been developed under the influence of a number of social, productional, technological, consequently socio-cultural, mental and other changes" (Kodrić Zaimović 2017, 42). Guided by the professional postulate of community service, cultural institutions should act in accordance with the preferences of society's groups for

macijama. U praksi su često primjetne prepreke, jer nužni i zahtijevani napredak biva zatomljen pod utjecajem onoga što Ivan Illich (1972) prepoznaje pod “poustanovljenim vrijednostima”, kao odgovarajućih normativnih kodifikacija vrijednosti za prethodne razvojne periode.¹

Pitanje odnosa tehnologije, znanja, ustanova i proizvodnje – bilo robne ili sadržajne u nematerijalnom, digitalnom i uslužnom smislu, mijenja se dinamično u brojnim i međusobno povezanim aspektima društvene stvarnosti. Tome su podložne i forme kulturnih obrazaca posljednjih desetljeća, bivajući obilježene stanovitom promjenom u pristupu konzumaciji sadržaja; naglašava se potreba za participativnim djelovanjem kao zamjenom za dotadašnji preovladavajući konzumeristički aspekt kulturne industrije. Enciklopedija informacijskih nauka participatornu kulturu definira kao kulturu “u kojoj se vrednuju umjetnički izrazi i građanski angažman orijentisani na stvaranje i dijeljenje nečije kreacije” (Martinovic, Freiman i Lekule 2015, 2160).

Prije nego što je doživio svoj procvat u XXI stoljeću, participativni oblik proizvodnje kulturnog sadržaja bio je vezan za tada dominantne medije poput novina, radija i televizije.² Participatorna kultura pojavljivala se najčešće u kombinaciji s djelovanjem zajednice i njenom proizvodnjom medijskog sadržaja u sklopu subkulturnih pokreta. Tako će primjerice Richard Barbrook u knjizi “Znanje u digitalnom dobu” iznijeti pojedinosti aktivističkog djelovanja na piratskom radiju '80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća u Velikoj Britaniji: “Punk je bio prilično usmjeren na to ‘uništavanje spektakla’ (...) Nije to bila samo stvar ljubavi prema bendu. Bilo je to i sviranje vlastite muzike, izdavanje vlastitog fanzina, snimanje svog filma. (...) Dobivši sredstva od Vijeća, osnovali smo Spectrum Radio kako bismo omogućili izbjeglicama i imigrantskim grupama da naprave program za svoje zajednice.” (Barbrook 2019, 92–93).

¹ Nastojeći raskrinkati neke mitove o percepciji institucija – poput onih o znanju i obrazovanju, školovanju i proizvodnji – Illich zastupa mišljenje da se poustanovljivanjem vrijednosti pasivizira i porobljava društvo; ono pokazuje svoju manipulativnu ulogu udaljavanjem znanja od spoznaje i istraživanja. Illich razdvaja znanje i učenje – ono nije rezultat poučavanja, naročito kada je institucionalizacijom otuđeno od njegovih korisnika. Baziranjem svojih premisa na mitu da “proces neizbežno proizvodi vrednosti i da, prema tome, proizvodnja nužno stvara potražnju” (Illich 2012, 25), pojedine kulturne, obrazovne i informacijske ustanove upadaju u zamku udaljavanja i odbijanja postojećih i potencijalnih korisnika od vlastitih usluga.

² U televizijskom serijalu “Big Thinkers”, Henry Jenkins navodi podatke o porijeklu, začetima i historiji pojava oblika participatorne kulture. Sredinom 19. stoljeća u štampariji Tory srednjoškolski su proizvodili publikacije. Takva amaterska grupa postavila je temelje za *fandom* naučnu fantastiku u 20. stoljeću, za radio, amaterski radio, kroz *zine* pokrete i punk rock, indie pokrete oko Seattlea pa sve do uspona digitalnih medija. (Edutopia 2013)

equal access to information. In practice, obstacles are often noticeable, because the necessary and required progress is suppressed under the influence of what Ivan Illich (1972) recognizes as “established values”, as appropriate normative codifications of values for previous developmental periods.¹

The issue of the relationship between technology, knowledge, institutions and production – whether commodity or content in the intangible, digital and service sense – is changing dynamically in many and interconnected aspects of social reality. The forms of cultural patterns of the last decades are also subject to this, being marked by a certain change in the approach to the consumption of contents; the need for participatory action is emphasized as a replacement for the earlier predominant consumerist aspect of the cultural industry. The Encyclopaedia of Information Sciences defines participatory culture as a culture “in which artistic expressions and civic engagement oriented towards the creation and sharing of one’s creation are valued.” (Martinovic, Freiman and Lekule 2015, 2160)

Before its flourishing in the 21st century, the participatory form of cultural content production was tied to at that time dominant media such as newspapers, radio and television.² Participatory culture has appeared frequently in combination with community action and their production of media content within sub-cultural movements. For example, Richard Barbrook in the book “Znanje u digitalnom dobu” (Learning in the age of digital reason) will give details of activism on pirate radio in the 1980s in the UK: “Punk was pretty focused on the ‘destroying the spectacle’ (...) It wasn’t just a matter of love for the band. It was also playing your own music, publishing your own fanzine, making your own movie. (...) After receiving funding from the Council, we established Spectrum Radio to enable refugees and

¹ In an effort to expose some myths about the perception of institutions – such as those about knowledge and education, schooling, and production – Illich argues that restoring values will pacify and enslave society; it shows its manipulative role by distancing knowledge from cognition and research. Illich separates knowledge and learning – it is not the result of teaching, especially when it is alienated from its users by institutionalization. By basing its premises on the myth that “the process inevitably produces values and, therefore, production necessarily creates demand” (Illich 2012, 25), some cultural, educational and information institutions fall into the trap of distancing and rejecting existing and potential users from their own services.

² In a television series “Big Thinkers”, Henry Jenkins provides information on the origins, beginnings, and history of manifestation forms of participatory culture. In the mid-19th century period, high school students produced publications at Tory Printing House. Such an amateur group laid the foundations for fandom science fiction in the 20th century, for radio, amateur radio, through zine movements and punk rock, indie movements around Seattle all the way to the rise of digital media. (Edutopia 2013)

Kao pripadnik subkulturne scene, fan punk muzike i The Sex Pistolsa, Barbrook njeguje participatornu kulturu kroz osnivanje časopisa i *community* radija koji je davao pripadnicima/icama zajednice priliku da učestvuju u kreiranju medijskog sadržaja ispunjavajući tako nedostatke i društveni jaz između javnog i privatnog sistema emitiranja.

Nerijetko, digitalno tehnološko okruženje dodatno naglašava, usložnjava procese pojavne stvarnosti prenoseći ih u virtualno, te potcrtava stvarnosne težnje, pojave i aktivnosti. Iako mrežno ustrojeno društvo pojam participacije gotovo isključivo vezuje za implikacije internetske kulture, jasno je kako učesničko djelovanje korijene ima u vremenu prije nastanka informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija prilagođavajući se različitim medijskim kanalima i načinima diseminacije informacija. "Prosumerizam uključuje i proizvodnju i potrošnju, a ne fokusiranje na jedno (proizvodnja) ili drugo (potrošnja). *Prosumerizam* je oduvijek bio važan, ali niz nedavnih društvenih promjena, posebno onih povezanih s internetom i Webom 2.0 (ukratko, web koji je generirao korisnik, npr. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter), dao mu je još veću važnost" (Ritzer i Jurgenson 2010, 14). Iako se najčešće veže za postmoderni period, oblik kulture koji akcenat stavlja na korisničko učešće u kreiranju sadržaja stariji je od digitalnih medija, pojave interneta i novih informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija. Aktualizacija učesničkog djelovanja u kreiranju kulturnog i medijskog sadržaja, pak, nastaje u digitalnom, umreženom dobu, jer komunikacija, aktivnosti i funkcionisanje pojedinaca na mreži počivaju upravo na suradničkom modelu proizvodnje znanja.

2. Participativna kultura u bibliotekama

Prijelaz na Web 2.0 tehnologije i prevazilaženje Web 1.0 okruženja jedan je od reprezentativnijih primjera takve kulminacije jer čini osnovu za nadogradnju ne toliko tehničkih, odnosno hardverskih komponenti, koliko načina na koji krajnji korisnici i developeri softvera koriste mrežne tehnologije. Participacija nadjačava osnovni princip Web-a 1.0 baziran na preuzimanju sadržaja i njegovom pasivnom konzumiranju. Tim O'Reilly u tekstu "What Is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software" iznosi značajke i osnovne razlike između dvije verzije mrežnih tehnologija: upravo se Web 2.0 odlikuje učesničkim doprinosom korisnika interneta, njihovim stvaranjem sadržaja, interaktivnim označavanjem i kategorizacijom web sadržaja, društvenim softverima i blogovima (O'Reilly 2007). Takav naglašeno participatorni

immigrant groups to create a program for their communities." (Barbrook 2019, 92–93). As a member of the sub cultural scene, as a fan of punk music and of The Sex Pistols, Barbrook nurtures a participatory culture through the establishing of journal and *community* radio which gave community members the opportunity to participate in the creation of media content, thus filling the insufficiency and social gap between the public and private broadcasting system.

Often, the digital technological environment further emphasizes, complicates the processes of manifestation reality by transferring them to the virtual, and underlines the real aspirations, phenomena and activities. Although a networked society almost exclusively links the concept of participation to the implications of Internet culture, it is clear that the participation has the roots in the time before the occurrence of information and communication technology, adapting to different media channels and ways of disseminating information. "Prosumerism involves both production and consumption, not focusing on one (production) or the other (consumption). *Prosumerism* has always been important, but a number of recent social changes, especially those related to the Internet and Web 2.0 (in short, a user-generated web, e.g. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter), gave it even more importance." (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010, 14) Although most often associated with the postmodern period, the form of culture that emphasizes user participation in content creation is older than digital media, the emergence of the Internet, and new information and communication technologies. The actualization of participatory activities in the creation of cultural and media content, on the other hand, occurs in the digital, networked age, because communication, activities and functioning of individuals on the network are based on the collaborative model of knowledge production.

2. Participatory culture in libraries

The transition to Web 2.0 technologies and overcoming the Web 1.0 environment is one of the most representative examples of such culmination because it forms the basis not so much for upgrade of technical or hardware components, but for the ways in which end users and software developers use network technologies. Participation prevail the basic principle of Web 1.0 based on content downloading and his passive consumption. Tim O'Reilly in text "What Is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software" outlines the features and basic differences between the two versions of network technologies: Web 2.0 is characterized by the participatory contribution

pristup u kreaciji sadržaja na mrežnim medijima mijenja poimanje samog toka informacija, odnosa između proizvođača i primaoca, naglašavajući *prosumeristički* pristup. Vladan Joler u šestoj epizodi “Ubrzavanje medija” emisije “U mreži” ističe: “Ako pogledamo danas, svaki čovjek ima mogućnost da postane medij. Svaki korisnik YouTube-a je mala televizija za sebe.” (SHARE Foundation 2018). U takvom naglašeno participatornom okruženju čije se implikacije prelijevaju iz mrežnih mjesta u ne-virtualne prostore, kulturne ustanove pokušavaju uhvatiti korak s učesničkim zahtjevima i ponuditi nove oblike pristupa i izgradnje kolekcija. U praksi su najčešće vidljivi primjeri muzejskih i arhivskih akcija u kojima građani/ke imaju priliku priložiti i donirati dio porodične kulturne baštine, dokumente sjećanja na pojedini događaj i period³ ili prosto participirati u skupljanju građe za muzej.⁴ Bez obzira na to što ovakve prakse muzeja u XXI stoljeću sve više postaju načini revidiranja profesionalnog djelovanja i u Bosni i Hercegovini, biblioteke kao jedan od tipova informacijskih i kulturnih ustanova još uvijek nisu pokazale spremnost za otvaranje k suradničkom djelovanju korisnika/ca i primjenu participatornog modela. Felton Thomas, direktor Javne biblioteke Clevenad u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, na seminaru “Biblioteke i muzeji u eri participatorne kulture” propitao je “koncepte granica i zidova te predložio da biblioteke i muzeji predviđaju svoje granice na poroznije načine” jer “biblioteke i muzeji tradicionalno uživaju jedinstven položaj i posebnu odgovornost unutar društava širom svijeta” te ne smiju biti obezvrijedjene nespremnosću za prilagodbu savremenom participatornom okruženju (Mack 2011, 3–7). Zato je osvjetljavanje participatorne dimenzije biblioteke kao javnog prostora značajno da bi se uopće mogao sagledati njen položaj u djelovanju od šireg socijalnog značaja.

Biblioteka, kao kulturna i informacijska ustanova koja slijedi općeprihvaćene društvene ciljeve i načela stručnog rada na osnovu kojih odabire, nabav-

of Internet users, their content creation, interactive tagging and categorization of web content, social software and blogs (O’Reilly 2007). Such a strongly participatory approach in the creation of content on online media changes the perception of the flow of information, the relationship between producer and recipient, emphasizing the approach of *prosumerism*. Vladan Joler in the sixth episode of “Ubrzavanje medija” (Accelerating the Media) of the show “U mreži” (In the network) points out: “If we look today, every man has the opportunity to become a medium. Every YouTube user is a small television for themselves.” (SHARE Foundation 2018). In such emphasized participatory environment whose implications spill over from web sites into non-virtual spaces, cultural institutions try to keep pace with participant demands and offer new forms of access and building collections. In practice, most visible examples are museum and archive actions in which citizens have the opportunity to enclose and donate a part of family cultural heritage, documents of remembrance of a particular event and period³ or simply participate in collecting material for the museum.⁴ Despite the fact that such museum practices in the 21st century are increasingly becoming ways to revise professional activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, libraries as one of the types of information and cultural institutions have not yet shown readiness to open to collaborative user activities and apply of a participatory model. Felton Thomas, Director of the Cleveland Public Library in the United States at the seminar “Biblioteke i muzeji u eri participatorne kulture” (Libraries and Museums in the Era of Participatory Culture) questioned “the concepts of borders and walls and suggested that libraries and museums foresee their borders in more porous ways” because “libraries and museums traditionally enjoy a unique position and special responsibility within societies around the world” which must not be devalued by an unwillingness to adapt to a modern participatory environment (Mack 2011, 3–7). Therefore, illuminating the participa-

³ Osnovan u Sarajevu 2017. godine, Muzej ratnog djetinjstva izgradio je kolekciju od prikupljenih ličnih predmeta i videosvjedočenja o ratu 1992–1995. godine (Muzej Ratnog Djetinjstva...).

⁴ Jedan od primjera participacije u prikupljanju građe općenito može se posmatrati kroz Muzej loše umjetnosti koji broji više od 600 umjetnina pronađenih na buvljacima i smetlištima, dok je dio zbirke izgrađen i od umjetničkih slika koje su poslali ljudi “Art Too Bad to Be Ignored” (Museum Of Bad Art...).

Sličnu praksu možemo pronaći i u bh. kulturnim i informacijskim ustanovama; Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine 2018. godine pozvao je građane i građanke da se priključe akciji prikupljanja fotografija, predmeta, videozapisa i “dobrih priča” kako bi dali svoj doprinos dopunjavanju muzejske zbirke “Opkoljeno Sarajevo” kao “relevantnoj podlozi i polju za bilježenje i arhiviranje priča o umjetnosti i kulturi pod opsadom”. (Izložba “NSK Sarajevo” 2018).

³ Founded in Sarajevo in 2017, the War Childhood Museum has built a collection of collected personal items of video testimonies about the war in 1992–1995. (War Childhood Museum...).

⁴ One example of participation in collecting material in general can be seen through the Museum of Bad Art counts more than 600 works of art found at flea markets and junkyards, while part of the collection is also built from art paintings sent by people “Art Too Bad to Be Ignored.” (Museum Of Bad Art...).

A similar practice can be found in B&H cultural and information institutions; in 2018, the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina invited citizens to join the action of collecting photographs, objects, videos and “good stories” in order to contribute to the addition of the museum collection “Sarajevo under Siege” as “a relevant base and field for recording and archiving stories of art and culture under siege”. (Izložba “NSK Sarajevo” 2018)

lja, obrađuje, sređuje, čuva i daje na korištenje biblioteku građu te pruža raznolike usluge trenutnim i potencijalnim korisnicima putem organiziranih službi, izložena je utjecajima društvenih promjena. Takve preinake mogu se odnositi na tehnološki napredak, informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije i zahtjeve umreženog društva, ali i na šire socijalne, individualne promjene koje uvjetuje digitalno okruženje. “Mnogi od spomenutih noviteta Weba 2.0 primjenjivi su u bibliotekama i mogu znatno doprinijeti kvaliteti pružanja njihovih usluga.” (Macan 2009, 226). Participatorni habitus oslikava se i u odnosu korisnika prema informacijskim potrebama, te ustanovama zaduženim za pružanje takvih usluga.

Podjednako kao što se participacija ne veže samo uz savremeno tehnološko okruženje, ideja učešća korisnika/ica u aktivnostima biblioteka također nije nov koncept. Ipak, pojačano zanimanje za mogućnosti i varijacije suradničke proizvodnje informacija u medijskim prostorima, na mreži i oko drugih posrednika sadržaja, u vremenu kada “pojedinci mogu nositi ekvivalent čitave enciklopedije na svojim mobilnim uređajima i kada ljudi mogu koristiti platforme društvenih medija za razmjenu informacija, analizu podataka, stvaranje novih saznanja i povezivanje sa zajednicama od interesa” (Mack 2011, 3), diktira ponovno propitivanje pozicije, misije biblioteka te njenog odnosa s korisnicima. Ovakvim promišljanjima treba pridodati i specifičan, trenutni tehnološki kontekst kako bi bila detaljnije i iznova prilagođena postojećim društvenim aktuelnostima. Tehnološki razvoj fluidnih i promjenljivih struktura biblioteka te često nedovoljno ozbiljno shvaćeni i nejasno artikulirani apeli korisničkih zajednica, u konačnici, “doprinosu stvaranju promjenljivih očekivanja od muzejskog i bibliotekskog iskustva” (Mack 2011, 3).

Participatorna kultura i učesnički pristup izgradnji bibliotekskih kolekcija i organizaciji aktivnosti također uslovljavaju preispitivanje razlika, povezanosti i istovremeno razgraničavanja univerzalnih stručnih i profesionalnih principa s jedne strane, te njihove pojave oblike u raznolikim građanskim zajednicama koje impliciraju i diferencirane pristupe aktivnostima informiranja i omogućavanju razvijanja znanja s druge strane. Lankes podsjeća na to da su se bibliotekari, bez obzira na vremensko razdoblje, “uvijek trudili postići iste stvari i držali se iste kao temeljne vrijednosti... Pitanje je, dakle, kako mi kao bibliotekari trebamo primijeniti svoje vjekovne temeljne vrijednosti u današnjem društvu kako bi pomogli društvu s previše informacija i nedovoljno vremena.” (Lankes 2011, 226). Drugim riječima, kako bi

tory dimension of the library as a public space is important in order to be able to see their position in activities of wider social significance.

The library, as a cultural and information institution that follows the generally accepted social goals and principles of professional work on the basis of which it selects, acquires, processes, arranges, preserves and makes available library materials, and provides various services to current and potential users through organized services, is exposed to the influences of social change. Such modifications may relate to technological advances, information and communication technologies and the requirements of a networked society, but also to the wider social, individual changes conditioned by the digital environment. “Many of the mentioned Web 2.0 innovations are applicable in libraries and can significantly contribute to the quality of their services.” (Macan 2009, 226) Participatory habitus is also reflected in relation to which users perceive information needs, and institutions in charge of providing such services.

Just as participation is not only linked to the modern technological environment, and the idea of user participation in library activities is not a new concept. However, increased interest in the possibilities and variations of collaborative production of information in media spaces, online and around other content intermediaries at a time when “individuals can carry the equivalent of an entire encyclopaedia on their mobile devices and when people can use social media platforms to share information, analysing the data, creating new knowledge and connecting with communities of interest” (Mack 2011, 3), dictate re-examination of the position, mission of the library and its relationship with users. Such considerations should add a specific, current technological context in order to be more detailed and re-adapted to existing social actuality. The technological development of fluid and changing library structures, and often insufficiently taken and vaguely articulated appeals of user communities, ultimately, “contribute to the creation of changing expectations from the museum and library experience” (Mack 2011, 3).

Participatory culture and a participatory approach to the construction of library collections and the organization of activities also require a re-examination of differences, connections and at the same time demarcation of universally scientific and professional principles on the one hand, and their manifestations in diverse civil communities that imply differentiated approaches to information activities and enable the development of knowledge on the

se dugovjekovna profesija prilagodila savremenim zahtjevima, neophodno je komparirati i povezati nepromjenjive zakonitosti biblioteka i bibliotekara te ih modificirati u skladu s trenutnim dešavanjima pitajući se pri tome koje univerzalije vrijedi nastaviti njegovati, kako ih uskladiti s promjenjivim varijablama i u skladu s kojim principima.

S tim u vezi, potrebno je promisliti o redefiniranju pojma informacijskih usluga i službi. Najčešća dilema tiče se pristupa provođenju usluga; trebaju li biblioteke tek pružiti pristup informacijskim izvorima ili umjesto toga trebaju staviti akcenat na osposobljavanje korisnika za samostalno pretraživanje i pronalaženje informacija. Ukoliko se opredijelimo za dvostruki pristup, ovisno o zahtjevima svakog korisnika ponaosob te svijesti da je informacijska pismenost podjednako važna kao i informacijsko usluživanje u primarnom smislu, ostavlja se prostor za druga promišljanja koja se tiču učešća zajednice u procesu usluživanja: “Zapravo, ako ne izgradite sisteme koji se mijenjaju i dopuštaju članovima zajednice da vode njihovu evoluciju, osuđeni ste na to da ih stalno trebate revidirati i obnavljati, a i dalje riskirate otuđivanje članove svoje zajednice” (Lankes 2016, 57). Na taj način olakšava se i rukovođenje kolekcijama i smanjuje potreba za njihovim mijenjanjem i rekonstrukcijom kako bi se više vremena ostavilo za osmišljavanje drugih projekata, naprednih aktivnosti u prostoru biblioteke te širenje percepcije, utjecaja i znanja što proizilaze iz javne sfere. Govoreći o participativnom modelu u kontekstu nove bibliotečke paradigme koja sugerira prirodniji odnos korisnika s bibliotekom, bibliotekarom i njegovu brigu za potrebe svih članova zajednice, Lankes (2016, 5–8) ističe da se građanin/ka treba afirmisati i kao aktivni član biblioteke na isti način na koji je i član zajednice. Da bi se biblioteka u svijesti građana konstituirala kao značajan segment zajednice, on mora osvijestiti vlastiti status unutar bibliotečkog prostora koji isključuje njegovu poziciju kao pasivnog recipijenta. Naime, građanin/ka nikada za sebe neće reći da je korisnik/ca ili klijent/ica određene zajednice, već se smatra njenim članom koji aktivno učestvuje u dešavanjima i voljno daje svoj doprinos.

3. Model učesničkog upravljanja bibliotekama u Bosni i Hercegovini

Da bi postojala kooperativnost u smislu pragmatičnog i učesničkog djelovanja između biblioteka i onih koji se koriste uslugama njenog javnog prostora, uvodi se distinkcija značenja pojmova *korisnik/član* biblioteke. Dok je dugi niz godina u svjetskoj

other hand. Lankes recalls that librarians, regardless of time period, “always strived to achieve the same things and adhered to the same as core values ... The question, therefore, is how do we as librarians need to apply our age-old core values in today’s society to help a society with too much information and not enough time.” (Lankes 2011, 226). In other words, in order to adapt the long-standing profession to modern requirements, it is necessary to compare and connect the immutable laws of libraries and librarians, and their modification in accordance with current events, wondering which universals should be worth to continue to nurture, how to harmonize them with changing variables and in the harmony with what principles.

In that connection, it is necessary to consider redefining the concept of information services and utilities. The most common dilemma concerns the approach to service delivery; whether libraries have yet to provide access to information resources or should instead focus on training users to search and retrieve information independently. If we decide for a dual approach, depending on the requirements of each individual user and the awareness that information literacy is as important as information service in the primary sense, there is room for other considerations regarding community participation in the service process: “In fact, if you don’t build systems that change and allow community members to guide their evolution, you’re doomed to constantly need to revise and renew them, and you still risk alienation of your community members” (Lankes 2016, 57). This facilitates the management of collections and reduces the need to change and reconstruct collections in order to leave more time for designing other projects, advanced activities in the library space and spreading the perception, influence and knowledge that arise from the public sphere. Speaking about the participatory model in the context of a new library paradigm that suggests a closer relationship between the user and the library, the librarian and their care for the needs of all community members, Lankes (2016, 5–8) points out that the citizen should be affirmed as an active member of the library in the same way as is a member of the community. In order for the library to be constituted in the minds of citizens as a significant segment of the community, it must be aware of its own status within the library space, which excludes its position as a passive recipient. In fact, a citizen will never say for himself/herself that he/she is a user or client of a certain community, but is considered as a member who actively participates in events and willingly gives their contribution.

bibliotečkoj znanosti i praksi kao ustaljeni termin preovladavao pojam *korisnik biblioteke*, bh. tradicija bibliotekarstva nakon Prvog svjetskog rata bilježi isprva njegovo drugačije poimanje. Nastajući uglavnom kao privatna inicijativa i njegujući pritom pojam *člana* zbog odgovornosti i mogućnosti koju on sa sobom nosi, bh. biblioteke za vrijeme Kraljevine Jugoslavije pored biblioteka pri vjerskim ustanovama i kulturnim društvima karakterističnim za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske monarhije, javljaju se u izraženo učesničkom obliku: “Članom je moglo postati svako lice bez obzira na pol i godine samo ‘ako nije odano kakvom poroku ili neuglednom životu’. Ulozi su bili različiti, zavisno od statusa samog člana (redovni, utemeljivač, dobrotvor), a obaveze iste, između ostalog, da redovno prisustvuju skupovima, sjedaljkama, koncertima i predavanjima.” (Bašović 1986, 30). Tako se iz citata može zaključiti da je prvi period razvoja javnih biblioteka u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji obilježen učesničkim pristupom primjenjujući model člana zajednice i na one koji se koriste uslugama biblioteke postajući tako njihovim članovima.

Ako se izuzme praksa doniranja knjiga, iskustvo bh. bibliotekarstva pokazalo je da tek odnedavno, posljednjih dvadeset godina nakon rata, nastaje općenito manjak percepcije biblioteka kao prostora u kojima bi se korisnici/ice osjećali pozvanima da učestvuju i djeluju kao punopravni članovi/ice. Zato je na ovom mjestu značajno napraviti distinkciju između određenih koncepata anglosaksonskog bibliotekarstva koji nisu primjenjivi na ovdašnji kontekst; pored toga što ne funkcionišu kao mjesta povjereništva klijenata, bh. biblioteke nisu razvile koncept djelovanja na isti način kao Sjedinjene Američke Države ili Velika Britanija. Disproporcija u percipiranju također proizilazi iz nužnosti ispunjavanja drugih, temeljnih uslova obrazovanja bibliotekara, kritičke pedagogije i svijesti o društvenoj odgovornosti kao profesionalnom načelu. Razvoj bh. bibliotekarstva između dva svjetska rata vezuje se uz oformljavanje “javnih narodnih biblioteka nastalih iz naslijeđa društvenih biblioteka izdržavanih ulozima svojih članova, a kao rezultat naraslih ideja o prosvjećivanju širokih slojeva naroda” (Bašović 1986, 9). Pored učešća u izgradnji bibliotečkih zbirki i pomoći u finansiranju, članovi biblioteka u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, a kasnije i u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji, odnosili su se prema njima kao saučesničkom projektu baziranom na angažmanu članova zajednice / biblioteke, što također pruža mogućnost profesionalnog, kulturnog i političkog usavršavanja. Drugim riječima, članovi

3. Participatory library management model in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In order to have cooperation in terms of pragmatic and participatory action between libraries and those who use the services of its public space, a distinction of the meaning of the terms *user / member* of the library is introduced. While for many years in the world of library science and practice the term *library user* prevailed as an established term, the BIH tradition of librarianship after the First World War initially records its different understanding. Emerging mainly as a private initiative and nurturing the term member because of the responsibility and opportunity it carries with itself, BIH libraries during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in addition to libraries at religious institutions and cultural societies characteristic during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, appear in a highly participatory form: “Any person, regardless of gender and age, could become a member only ‘if they are not loyal to some vice or infamous life’. The stakes were different, depending on the status of the member (regular, founder, benefactor), and the obligations were the same, among other things, to regularly attend gatherings, sittings, concerts and lectures.” (Bašović 1986, 30). That’s how, from the quotation, it can be concluded that the first period of development of public libraries in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was marked by a participatory approach, applying the model of a community member and to those who use library services by which they are becoming their members.

With the exception of the practice of donating books, the experience of BIH librarianship has shown that only recently, in the last twenty years after the war, there has been a general lack of perception of libraries as spaces where users would feel invited to participate and act as full members. Therefore, at this point it is important to make a distinction between certain concepts of Anglo-Saxon librarianship that are not applicable to the local context; in addition to not functioning as client trust places, BIH libraries have not developed the concept of operating in the same way as the United States or the United Kingdom. The disproportion in perception also originates from the necessity of fulfilling other, more fundamental conditions of librarian education, critical pedagogy and awareness of social responsibility as a professional principle. The development of BIH librarianship between the two world wars is linked to the formation of “public national libraries created from the legacy of public libraries supported by the roles of their members, and as a result of growing ideas about education of broad stratum of the peo-

biblioteka u bh. kontekstu počevši od 1920-ih godina pa sve do '90-ih godina nisu doprinosili održavanju biblioteka samo razvojem njihovog fonda već i koristeći njihov prostor i resurse za ličnu, profesionalnu i zajedničku nadogradnju u čemu se ogledao doprinos široj zajednici.

Društveno upravljanje u narodnim bibliotekama pokazalo je pozitivne rezultate. Predstavnici društvene zajednice u organima upravljanja ovih institucija, gdje su god birani u te organe javni radnici s dovoljno afiniteta prema ovom poslu, odigrali su značajnu ulogu u usmjeravanju rada narodne biblioteke. Mjesto koje ovakva ustanova zauzima u sredini u kojoj djeluje i njena uloga u toj sredini često su zavisili koliko od aktivnosti ustanova i kadra koji je zaposlen u njoj toliko i od djelovanja predstavnika društvene zajednice u organima upravljanja u bibliotekama. (Čulić i Grubačić 1965, 10)

Ovakav pristup bio je posebno izražen u periodu samog početka socijalističke Jugoslavije, gdje je samoupravni model u bibliotekama bio dio socijalističke revolucije kroz širenje klasne svijesti – sakupljanjem i čitanjem relevantne, marksističke i uopće ljevičarske literature.

3.1. Između participacije i samoupravljanja: Ko je član?

Ipak, za razliku od savremenog participativnog modela koji se propituje u ovom radu, tadašnji suradnički model prije da ne proizilazi iz zahtjeva struke, već iz ideologije društvenog uređenja. Državni ideološki aparat funkcionira kontrolišući druge društvene formacije i institucijske prakse poput "obrazovnog aparata, religijskog aparata, porodičnog aparata, političkog aparata, sindikalnog aparata, informativnog aparata, 'kulturnog' aparata" (Altiser 2009, 37). Ovakvi aparati represije međusobno su uvezani i ovisni jedni o drugima, jer kao zajedničkog sadržioca imaju "krovni državni (represivni) aparat" (Altiser 2009, 36). Uvidi u njihovu međusobnu uslovljenost mogu se odnositi i na bibliotečku profesiju koja je najviše vezana uz informativni i kulturni aparat. Bez obzira na to što počiva na učesničkom djelovanju članova biblioteke, ovakvom modelu nisu u fokusu prava svih skupina – izuzeti su oni *s porocima*, što bi se danas moglo čitati i kao marginalizirani i manjinski, već legitimacija društvenog uređenja Jugoslavije koje je počivalo na konceptu samoupravnog socijalizma. Međutim, u participativnom bibliotekarstvu, promjena percepcije ne može biti obavezujuća, a sudjelovanje ne smije biti ishod prisile ili obaveze koju nameće državno uređenje. Umjesto takvog pristupa, trenutna bh. društvena situacija izi-

ple" (Bašović 1986, 9). In addition to participating in the construction of library collections and financial assistance, members of libraries in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, treated them as an accomplice project based on engagement of members of community / library which also provides professional, cultural and political training opportunities. In other words, library members in the BIH context from the 1920s until the 1990s contributed to the maintenance of libraries not only by developing their holdings, but also by using their space and resources for personal, professional and joint upgrading which reflected the contribution of the wider community.

Social management in public libraries has shown positive results. Representatives of the social community in the governing bodies of these institutions have played, wherever public workers were elected to these bodies with sufficient affinity for this job, a significant role in directing the work of the public library. The place that such institution occupies in the environment where it operates and its role in that environment often depended as much on the activities of institutions and staff employed in it as on the activities of community representatives in governing bodies in libraries. (Čulić and Grubačić 1965, 10)

This approach was especially expressed in the very beginning of socialist Yugoslavia, where the self-governing model in libraries was part of the socialist revolution through the spread of class consciousness – by collecting and reading relevant, Marxist and leftist literature in general.

3.1. Between participation and self-management: Who is the member?

However, unlike the modern participatory model that is questioned in this paper, collaborative model of that time does not arise from the requirements of the profession, but from the ideology of social organization. The state ideological apparatus functions by controlling other social formations and institutional practices such as "the educational apparatus, the religious apparatus, the family apparatus, the political apparatus, the trade union apparatus, the information apparatus, and the 'cultural' apparatus" (Altiser 2009, 37). Such apparatuses of repression are interconnected and dependent on each other, because, as a common denominator, they have "main state (repressive) apparatus" (Altiser 2009, 36). Insights into their interdependence can also refer to the library profession, which is mostly related to the information and cultural apparatus. Regardless of the fact that it is based on the participation

skuje da se o radu na sistemskim promjenama spram profesionalizacije i obrazovanja te praksi kontinuiteta promoviranja učesničkog aspekta demokratizacije, promisli iz pozicije koja bi promovisala uključivanje kao dio savremenih demokratkih praksi, što bi onda dalo osnove za promjenu svijesti o važnosti percipiranja bibliotekara, ali i samih korisnika/ca kao članova/ica.

Anthony Molaro (2012) u članku "Just Whom Do We Serve?: Patrons? Users? Clients? The name foreshadows the interaction" pojašnjava daljnju, partnersku implikaciju pojma *član*: "Za mene ovo znači partnerstvo – jednake članove istog tima. Sviđa mi se ideja da je članstvo društveno i aktivno. Zato smjelo proglašavam: ti ljudi u biblioteci su članovi biblioteke sa svim pravima i privilegijama koje im pripadaju." U slučajevima kada korisnik biblioteke sudjeluje pasivno u kontaktu s osobljem biblioteke ili njenim drugim članovima, takav odnos rezultira tek floskularnim poimanjem javnog prostora biblioteke zbog toga što se korisnik ne osjeća obaveznim, odgovornim akterom javnog prostora u biblioteci. Da bi javni prostor funkcionisao kao mjesto susreta i debate, nemoguće je izostaviti udio koji na sebe trebaju preuzeti članovi i članice biblioteke. Pored stava bibliotekara i institucijskog viđenja, nužno je i uključivanje svijesti o potencijalnim prilikama te poziciji onih koji koriste javni prostor biblioteke. "Pošto ne možete ljude naučiti ničemu osim ako nisu voljni da uče, to znači da moraju biti voljni da učestvuju" (Lankes 2016, 53). Spoznaja o pravu na participaciju uslov je za njeno sprovođenje, ali bez obzira na to, pogrešno bi bilo misliti da biblioteke ne trebaju pomoći korisnicima da javni prostor unutar nje percipiraju kao potencijalnu javnu sferu i zbog toga raditi na promociji vlastitih usluga i razvoja sistema koji praktično, a ne samo teorijski, pružaju mogućnost za participaciju. Tako se pitanje sudjelovanja građanstva – kao nužne pretpostavke demokratskog poretka, pojavljuje neodvojivo i od demokratskih odgovornosti javne biblioteke za uključivanje građana u javnu sferu. U tom kontekstu, proizvodnja znanja i participacija, neminovno, svoju vezu prelamaju preko demokratije s jedne strane, te težnje za uživanjem ljudskih prava s druge strane.

Bez obzira u kojoj mjeri biblioteka promiče nove oblike suradnje s članovima, te kako se postavlja spram njihovih potreba, gledište bibliotekara služi kao katalizator ili inhibitor mogućih promjena ovisno o tome da li će ignorirati nužnost novih praksi ili će ih osvijestiti i prihvatiti. Iako prema Evropskoj konvenciji o ljudskim pravima (2010) među te-

of library members, this model does not focus on the rights of all groups, people with vices, which today could be interpreted as marginalized and minority, are excluded, and the legitimacy of the social structure of Yugoslavia was based on the concept of socialist self-management. However, in participatory librarianship, a change in perception cannot be binding, and participation must not be the result of coercion or obligation imposed by governmental system. Instead of such approach, the current BIH social situation requires the work on systemic changes towards professionalization and education and the practice of continuity to promote the participatory aspect of democratization, to be considered from a position that would promote inclusion as part of modern democratic practices, which would then provide a basis for changing awareness of the importance of perceiving librarians, but also the users as members.

Anthony Molaro (2012) in the article "Just Whom Do We Serve?: Patrons? Users? Clients? The name foreshadows the interaction" clarifies further, partner implication of the term *member*: "To me this means partnership – equal members of the same team. I like the idea that membership is social and active. That is why I boldly declare: these people in the library are members of the library with all the rights and privileges that belong to them." In cases when the library user participates passively in contact with the library staff or its other members, such a relationship results only in a platitude understanding of the public space of the library because the user does not feel obliged, responsible participant of public space in the library. In order for the public space to function as a place of meeting and debate, it is impossible to omit the share that library members should take on. In addition to the attitude of librarians and institutional views, it is necessary to include awareness of potential opportunities and the position of those who use the public space of the library. "Since you can't teach people something unless they are willing to learn, that means they have to be willing to participate" (Lankes 2016, 53). Cognition of the right to participate is a condition for its implementation, but regardless, it would be wrong to think that libraries should not help users to perceive public space within it as a potential public sphere and therefore work to promote their own services and develop systems that practically and not just theoretically provide an opportunity for participation. Thus, the issue of citizen participation – as a necessary assumption of the democratic order, arises inseparably from the democratic responsibilities of the public library for the inclusion of citizens in

meljna ljudska prava, između ostalih, spada “pravo na primanje i prenošenje informacija”, potrebno je dodatno objasniti vezu ljudskih prava i viđenja bibliotekara spram misije informiranja. Primijećeno je u praksi da se ovoj sprezi ne posvećuje onoliko pažnje koliko je potrebno za poštivanje svih njenih osobenosti i pojedinačnih sprovođenja. U slučajevima kada je bibliotekar detaljno upoznat s ljudskim pravima i njihovim ogledanjem u vlastitoj profesiji, primijećen je nedostatak njihove “apstrakcije u aktualne realnosti” (Samek 2007, 34) zbog čega se ostaje na teoretiziranju i diskutiranju o njihovom odnosu, ali ne i na teorijskoj praksi upražnjavanja i prilagođavanja lokalnom kontekstu.

Ako se u bh. kontekstu pokuša promisliti o čvršćoj konekciji između Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima (1948) i bibliotečke profesije, često se dolazi u ćorsokak nedovoljno jasnih poveznica jer “skoro bez iznimke polje ljudskih prava se veže za pravnu profesiju” (Madacki 2007, 1). Čak ukoliko u sklopu institucijskih praksi nisu dokraja određene ili sprovedene pravne obaveze profesije, promjena kreće od bibliotekara okrenutog k poštivanju ljudskih prava. U Univerzalnoj deklaraciji o ljudskim pravima u Članu 19 stoji: “Svako ima pravo na slobodu mišljenja i izražavanja, što obuhvata i pravo da ne bude uznemiravan zbog svog mišljenja, kao i pravo da traži, prima i širi informacije i ideje bilo kojim sredstvima i bez obzira na granice.” Tako, primjerice, održavanje prava na intelektualne slobode, koje spada među osnovne vrijednosti i krovne zadaće bibliotekara, struka u praksi često ne samo da ne podrazumijeva već i ne sprovodi ovakav princip, pa se na njemu možda i najreprezentativnije provlači i pitanje odnosa između participacije i ljudskih prava.

3.2. Participativnost, univerzalnost i neutralnost

Iako zalaganje za intelektualne slobode u okviru bibliotekarstva nije dovedeno u pitanje uopće kao početni princip društveno odgovornog djelovanja profesije, to ne znači da u samom odnosu između ovog tipa ljudskih prava i zahtjeva koje postavlja participacija ne dolazi do prijepora: “Kako je vrijednost intelektualne slobode bibliotekarstva i informacijskih nauka utemeljena u eri koja je cijenila individualizam, stoga nije iznenađujuće da se intelektualna sloboda ne slaže s kolektivističkim vrijednostima poput društvene odgovornosti. Praktikanti iz bibliotekarstva i informacijskih nauka moraju pronaći način da primijene ove sukobljene vrijednosti, svaku opterećenu istorijskim značajem, u kontekstu naše današnje kulture” (Ratcliffe 2020, 21). Druš-

the public sphere. In this context, knowledge production and participation inevitably break their connection through democracy on the one hand, and the pursuit of human rights on the other.

Regardless of the extent to which the library promotes new forms of collaboration with members, and how it responds to their needs, the librarian's view serves as a catalyst or inhibitor of possible change depending on whether they ignore the necessity of new practices or if they will become aware of practices and accept them. Although, according to the European Convention on Human Rights (2010), fundamental human rights include, among others, the “right to receive and transmit information”, the connection between human rights and librarians' views towards mission of information needs to be further explained. It has been noticed in practice that this connection is not given as much attention as is necessary to respect all its peculiarities and individual implementations. In cases when the librarian is thoroughly acquainted with human rights and their reflection in its own profession, the lack of their “abstraction in current realities” was noticed (Samek 2007, 34) which is why it remains on theorizing and discussing their relationship, but not on the theoretical practice of practicing and adapting to the local context.

If in the BIH context one tries to think about a stronger connection between the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the library profession, one often comes to a dead end with insufficiently clear connections because “almost without exception the field of human rights is linked to the legal profession”. (Madacki 2007, 1) Even if the legal obligations of the profession have not been fully defined or implemented as part of institutional practices, the change starts from a librarian faced towards respecting human rights. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, including the right not to be harassed because of their own opinion, as well as the right to seek, receive and transmit information and ideas by any means and regardless of borders.” Thus, for example, maintaining the right to intellectual freedoms, which is one of the basic values and general tasks of librarians, the profession in practice often does not only imply but also does not implement this principle, so in it, the question of the relationship between participation and human rights perhaps pulls through the most representatively.

tvena odgovornost u kontekstu ovog rada uvjetuje participaciju i uključivanje članova/ica biblioteke u kreiranje bibliotekskih kolekcija kako bi se radilo na sprovođenju društvene pravde. Međutim, kako tvrdi Caitlin Ratcliffe, društvena odgovornost razlikuje se od pojma intelektualnih sloboda jer je “intelektualna sloboda liberalna vrijednost dok je socijalna pravda progresivna vrijednost” (Knox 2020, 3). Bibliotekarstvo, ustoličeno u doba težnje za posmatranjem ličnosti koja se izdvaja iz kolektiva jer se tu gubi njena pojedinačnost te se zbog toga zajednica treba podrediti individualnim interesima, nužno i poimanje intelektualnih sloboda veže uz slobodu pojedinca. S druge strane, društvena pravda nije na ovakav način ustoličena u individualizmu jer pravda kao progresivna vrijednost pažnju usmjerava na članove/ice različitih društvenih skupina.

Zbog razlikovanja s intelektualnim slobodama, može se pomisliti da društveno odgovorno djelovanje bibliotekara/ki nema slične implikacije kao ovaj segment ljudskih prava jer se ne tiče prevage pojedinca nad kolektivom. Individualizam razvijen u XVIII stoljeću vremenom postaje uvučen u koncepciju kapitalističkog poretka temeljenog na individualističkom materijalizmu “u kojem su pokretačke snage posjedovanje, pristup ‘informacijama’ i zabavi kako bi se pojedinac učinio fizički ugodnim u društvu koje, iako propovijedava individualizam, zahtijeva cijena usklađenosti za ove željene stvari” (Gorman 2015, 15). Društvena odgovornost profesije ne isključuje individualističke zahtjeve, ali im pristupa na temeljitiji i svrsishodniji način tako što, počevši od omogućavanja pristupa znanju pojedinaca, ima veći, društveni cilj u sklopu kojeg ne zanemaruje međudjelovanje pojedinca i zajednice, individualnih prava i sloboda i općeg socijalnog stanja, te razvoja subjekta kao fundamenta za demokratizaciju društva. Podrška pravima različitih identitarnih skupina uslov je izgradnje civilnog društva. Pri tome, marginalizirane grupe zahtijevaju poseban tretman u smislu potenciranja učešća i jednakosti zbog problema njihovog odnosa spram dominirajućih grupa.

Nakon sloma real-socijalizma '90-ih godina, između modernističkih naracija o kraju historije, trijumfa liberalnog kapitalizma i postmodernističkih fantazija o kraju velikih naracija – *multikulturalizam* u novom okruženju iznova dobija na društvenoj atraktivnosti, kao globalni politički projekat – bilo da se sve intenzivnije ispoljavajuće raznolikosti afirmiraju u formi novog građanstva (Kymlicka 1995) ili da ih se, pak, gleda s nepovjerenjem (Huntington 1993). Multikulturalizam postaje credo globalizir-

3.2. Participation, universality and neutrality

Although advocacy for intellectual freedom in librarianship has not been questioned at all as an initial principle of socially responsible profession, this does not mean that there is no dispute in the very relationship between this type of human rights and the demands of participation: “As the value of intellectual freedom in librarianship and information science is founded in an era that valued individualism, it is therefore not surprising that intellectual freedom does not agree with collectivist values such as social responsibility. Practitioners from librarianship and information science must find a way to apply these conflicting values, each burdened with historical significance, in the context of our culture today.” (Ratcliffe 2020, 21) Social responsibility in the context of this paper conditions the participation and involvement of library members in the creation of library collections in order to work on the implementation of social justice. However, as Caitlin Ratcliffe argues, social responsibility differs from the notion of intellectual freedom because “intellectual freedom is a liberal value while social justice is a progressive value” (Knox 2020, 3). Librarianship, established in the age of striving to observe a person who stands out from the collective because it loses its individuality and therefore the community should be subordinated to individual interests, necessarily links the notion of intellectual freedom to the freedom of the individual. On the other hand, social justice is not established in this way in individualism because justice as a progressive value directs attention to members of different social groups.

Due to the differences with intellectual freedom, it can be thought that socially responsible actions of librarians do not have similar implications as this segment of human rights because it is not about the superiority of the individual over the collective. Individualism developed in the 18th century eventually became involved in the concept of a capitalist order based on individualistic materialism “in which the driving forces are possession, access to ‘information’ and entertainment to make the individual physically comfortable in a society that, although preaches individualism, demands the price of conformity for these desired things” (Gorman 2015, 15). The social responsibility of the profession does not exclude individualistic demands, but approaches them in a more thorough and practical way by starting from providing access to knowledge to individuals. It has a larger, social goal within which it does not neglect the interaction of individual and community, individual rights and freedom and gen-

ranog svijeta – u njega se najbolje upisuje logika novog vremena fluidnosti, brzine i rasplinjavanja prostora i vremena – u susretima različitih kultura, upoznavanju drugog i prevazilaženju granica. Uskoro su se u javnim bibliotekama police počele puniti literaturom o multikulturalizmu, bibliotekari su iščitavali priručnike, a on je postao neodvojiv fenomen ne samo za politiku i demokratsko društvo već i za biblioteke – s migrantima, LGBT+ pokretom, zahtjevima za prava crnaca, vjerskih manjina i sl., čini se kako on nikad nije bio aktuelniji i življi – a istovremeno, samo mrtvo slovo na papiru.

Bez preciznijeg određenja pojma kulture suženo je razumijevanje pozicije biblioteka i obaveza bibliotekara u multikulturalnom okruženju. Značenje kulture u savremenom okruženju znatno je otežano tim prije jer su joj se povijesno gledano mijenjala, dodavala i usložnjavala određenja, a Raymond Williams smatra da je kultura jedna od dvije ili tri najkompleksnije riječi u engleskom jeziku (Williams 1985). Kontinuirano širenje opsega pojma *kultura* dovelo je do zanemarivanja izvornog značenja latinske riječi *colere* kao rasta u agrikulturnom smislu, a istovremeno do potenciranja modernih konotacija ideje ljudskog progresa. Ne postoji konsenzus oko toga da li svi materijalni i duhovni proizvodi spadaju pod kulturu, a baveći se upravo tim pitanjem, ideja kulture koncem dvadeset i prvog stoljeća postaje kompleksnija nego ikada prije jer je postmoderna naglasila okrenutost aktualizaciji marginaliziranih perspektiva.

Biblioteka ne mora eksplicitno provoditi hegemonijske odnose, primjerice, nad marginaliziranom populacijom, jasnim politikama i misijama u kojima nema pomena njihovoj podršci, već upravo onako kako to čine i pojedine druge institucije – ne dozvoljavajući pristup ili služenje javnim dobrima, kao ni jednakopravne mogućnosti učestvovanja u društvenom životu. Kako bi se unutar vlastitog javnog prostora otvorio procjep u koji upadaju sve mogućnosti osnaživanja marginaliziranih, dovoljno je da biblioteka ograniči participaciju i poticanje prava nedominantnih grupa korisnika/ica. Pitanje participacije uslovljeno je društvenom pravdom, a specifično u slučaju biblioteka, informacijskom pravdom koja podrazumijevajući tri aspekta i uloge u kojima se mogu pronaći korisnici/ce – kao *tragači, izvori i subjekti informacija* – naglašava potrebu i podupire uključivanje članova/ica.

Da bi se tretirali pravedno kao tragači informacija, osobe bi trebale imati jednak pristup informacijama: to se naziva distributivna

eral social status and development of the subject as a foundation for the democratization of society. Support for the rights of different identity groups is a condition for building civil society. In doing so, marginalized groups require special treatment in terms of emphasizing participation and equality due to the problem of their relationship towards the dominant groups.

After the collapse of real socialism in the 1990s, between modernist narratives about the end of history, the triumph of liberal capitalism and post modernist fantasies about the end of great narratives – *multiculturalism* in the new environment has regained its social attractiveness, as a global political project – whether the more intensely expressed manifestations of diversity are established in the form of a new citizenship (Kymlicka 1995) or they are looked at with distrust (Huntington 1993). Multiculturalism is becoming the credo of a globalized world – it best inscribes the logic of a new time of fluidity, velocity and dissolving of space and time – in meeting of different cultures, getting to know each other and overcoming the borders. Soon, shelves of public libraries began to fill with literature on multiculturalism, librarians were reading manuals, and it became an inseparable phenomenon not only for politics and a democratic society, but also for libraries – with migrants, LGBT+ movement, requests for rights of black people, religious minorities, etc., it seems that it has never been more current and alive – and at the same time, just a dead letter on paper.

Without a more precise definition of the concept of culture, the understanding of the position of libraries and the obligations of librarians in a multicultural environment is narrowed. The definition of culture in the modern environment is much more hampered, because, looking historically, its designation was changing, adding and becoming complicated, and Raymond Williams (1985) considers culture to be one of the two or three most complex words in the English language. The continuous expansion of the scope of the term *culture* has led to the neglect of the original meaning of the Latin word *colere* as growth in the agricultural sense, and at the same time to emphasize the modern connotations of the idea of human progress. There is no consensus on whether all material and spiritual products fall under culture, and dealing with this very question, the idea of culture in the late twenty-first century becomes more complex than ever before because post modernism has emphasized turning to actualizations of marginalized perspectives.

pravda. Da bi se tretirali pravedno kao izvori informacija, osobe bi trebale imati jednake šanse da doprinesu proizvodnji i pružanju znanja: to se naziva učesnička pravda. Da bi se tretirali pravedno kao subjekti informacija, osobe bi trebale biti pošteno prikazane u cjelokupnom nizu informacija: to se naziva pravda prepoznavanja. (Mathiesen 2015, 207).

Iako se baziraju na različitim segmentima profesionalnog djelovanja, tri aspekta informacijske pravde imaju zajedničku nit i međusobno su uslovljena jer proizilaze jedan iz drugog na način da pristup, participacija i prepoznavanje zajedno čine objedinjen koncept društveno odgovornog djelovanja podrške kulturnoj raznolikosti. Tako, nastavlja Mathiesen, distributivna pravda “pridonosi pravdi prepoznavanja stvaranjem informacijskog okruženja koje je dobrodošlo svim ljudima i pružanjem informacija potrebnih za ispravljanje lažnih podataka i stereotipa. Informacijske usluge mogu podržati participativnu pravdu pružajući mogućnosti marginaliziranim pojedincima i skupinama da se izraze. Pravo sudjelovanja može pridonijeti distributivnoj pravdi pružanjem više izvora relevantnih informacija za zajednicu i davanjem svih članova zajednice – posebno onih čiji su interesi često zanemareni – glas u dizajniranju i provedbi informacijskih usluga kako bi se osigurala relevantnost i djelotvornost tih usluga.” (Mathiesen 2015, 207–208).

Kako bi distributivna pravda bila ostvarena kroz mogućnost pristupa informacijama svim članovima/icama tako da ruši stereotipe o drugom i drugačijem, potrebno je da u procesu iznošenja participativne pravde marginalizirane skupine uzmu učešće u procesu podrške informacijskoj pravdi kroz vlastite izvore, ali i participiraju u procesima izgradnje kolekcije.

Dominantni diskursi sredstva ne usmjeravaju k podršci društvene različitosti i njima sljedbene jednakosti, jer su oblici univerzalnosti uvijek hegemonijski nastrojeni (Laclau 1999). Tezu koju Ernesto Laclau i Chantal Mouffe razvijaju u svom fundamentalnom djelu “Hegemonija i socijalističkoj strategiji” jeste ideja o tzv. agonističkoj demokratiji kao obliku radikalne demokratske politike. Za razliku od liberalnog poimanja demokratije koja je u svojoj osnovi zasnovana na univerzalnom konsenzusu koji počiva na razumu, agonistički shvaćena demokratija dovodi u pitanje mogućnost racionalno utemeljenog konsenzusa u ime imanentnosti sukoba unutar društvenih odnosa na kojima političko počiva. Na taj način, agonistička demokratija, pre-

The library does not have to explicitly conduct hegemonic relations, for example, over marginalized populations, clear policies and missions in which there is no mention to their support, but just as some other institutions do – not allowing access to or service of public goods, nor equal opportunities to participate in social life. In order to open a gap within its own public space, which includes all the possibilities of empowering the marginalized, it is enough for the library to limit the participation and encourage the rights of non-dominant groups of users. The question of participation is conditioned by social justice, and specifically in the case of libraries, information justice, which includes three aspects and roles in which users can be found; as *seekers*, *sources* and *subjects of information*, emphasizes the need and supports the involvement of members.

To be treated fairly as information seekers, persons should have equal access to information: this is called distributive justice. To be treated fairly as sources of information, individuals should have an equal chance to contribute to the production and provision of knowledge: this is called participatory justice. To be treated fairly as subjects of information, persons should be fairly represented in the full range of information: this is called justice of recognition. (Mathiesen 2015, 207).

Although based on different segments of professional activity, the three aspects of information justice have a common thread and are mutually conditioned because they arise from each other in such a way that access, participation and recognition together form a unified concept of socially responsible action in support of cultural diversity. Thus, Mathiesen continues, distributive justice “contributes to the justice of recognition by creating an information environment that is welcome to all people and by providing the information needed to correct false data and stereotypes. Information services can support participatory justice by providing opportunities for marginalized individuals and groups to express themselves. The right to participate can contribute to distributive justice by providing more sources of relevant information for the community and providing all members of the community – especially those whose interests are often neglected – voice in the designing and implementation of information services to ensure the relevance and effectiveness of those services.” (Mathiesen 2015, 207–208).

In order for distributive justice to be achieved through the possibility of access to information for

ma Mouffe, priznaje “permanentnost antagonističke dimenzije sukoba” (Mouffe 2016, 27), pa je i polje politike prije polje moći i antagonizma nego deliberacije. Stoga, kako je konfiguracija “odnosa moći oko kojih je struktuirano društvo (...) borba između suprotstavljenih hegemonijskih projekata koji nikada ne mogu biti racionalno izmireni” (Mouffe 2016, 28), potreban je institucionalni, demokratski okvir koji će omogućiti da takav pluralizam nikad ne završi u dihotomiji prijatelj/neprijatelj, već kompatibilan s demokratijom samom.

Ako bismo prihvatili tezu kako/da demokratija “izražava širok raspon vrijednosti koje se tiču socijalne pravednosti, dostojanstva i vrijednosti svakog ljudskog bića, egalitarizma i poštovanja različitih ideja” (Gorman 2015, 196), bibliotekari, kao aktivni sudionici demokratskih procesa, daju doprinos promicanju ljudskih prava na vlastiti način usredotočujući se na “aspekte vrijednosti nad kojima možemo imati određenu kontrolu: pristup bibliotečkim resursima i uslugama.” (Gorman 2015, 161). Usluge pri tome nisu shvaćene jednostrano, već ih čine različiti segmenti aktivnog profesionalnog djelovanja kako bi se biblioteke približile idealu društvene pravde. Naglašavanjem zajedničkih vrijednosti na kojima počivaju bibliotekarstvo i demokratija želi se demitologizirati gledište o načelu neutralnosti profesije jer ona, umjesto da u konačnici omogući jednakopravnost, paradoksalno, u krajnjem ishodu ima upravo isključivanje. Candise Branum (2008) će u tekstu “The Myth of Library Neutrality” navesti neke od mogućih razloga zbog kojih je mit o neutralnosti zaživio među bibliotečkom profesijom, a glavni se tiče “transformacije bibliotekarstva u naučnu i akademsku disciplinu” koja je potisnula samu njenu pragmatičnu sprovedbu (1). Bibliotekarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, bez obzira na različite kurseve za bibliotečke radnike i razvijen samoupravni model, nastavlja se suočavati s problemima nedostatka kvalifikovanog kadra. “Polovinom 1972. godine Savjet Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, na inicijativu Odsjeka za opštu književnost, razmatrao je mogućnost školovanja bibliotečkog kadra u okvirima svojih postojećih odsjeka. (...) Statutom Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, iz 1972. godine, formiran je Odsjek za opštu književnost, scenske umjetnosti i bibliotekarstvo...” (Bašović 1977, 29–30). Uvođenjem studija bibliotekarstva rješava se problem manjka kvalifikovanog kadra, ali se istovremeno transformacijom u akademsku disciplinu naglašava jenjavanje učesničkog modela koji je zbog društvenog konteksta i mišljenja da je samoupravno društvo postiglo svoj

all members by breaking down stereotypes about the other and different, it is necessary for marginalized groups to take part in the process of supporting information justice through their own sources, but also to participate in building processes of collection.

The dominant discourses of the means are not directed towards the support of social diversity and their consequent equality, because the forms of universality are always hegemonic (Laclau 1999). The thesis that Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe develop in their fundamental work, “Hegemonija i socijalistička strategija” (Hegemony and Socialist Strategy) is the idea of the so-called agonistic democracy as a form of radical democratic politics. Contrary to the liberal conception of democracy which is basically based on a universal consensus that rests on reason, agonistically understood democracy calls into question the possibility of a rationally grounded consensus in the name of the immanence of conflict within the social relations on which the political rests. In this way, agonist democracy, according to Mouffe, admits “the permanence of the antagonistic dimension of conflict” (Mouffe 2016, 27), so the field of politics is more a field of power and antagonism than deliberation. Therefore, as the configuration of “power relations around which society is structured (...) is a struggle between opposing hegemonic projects that can never be rationally reconciled” (Mouffe 2016, 28), an institutional, democratic framework is needed that will allow such pluralism never to end in a friend / enemy dichotomy, already compatible with democracy itself.

If we were to accept the thesis that democracy “expresses a wide range of values concerning the social justice, dignity and worth of every human being, egalitarianism and respect for different ideas” (Gorman 2015, 196), librarians, as active participants in democratic processes, contribute to the promotion of human rights in their own way by focusing on “aspects of values over which we can have some control: access to library resources and services” (Gorman 2015, 161). Services are not understood one-sidedly, but are made up of different segments of active professional activity in order to bring libraries closer to the ideal of social justice. By emphasizing the common values on which librarianship and democracy are based, the aim is to demythologize the view of the principle of neutrality of the profession, because instead of ultimately enabling equality, paradoxically, in the end result, it exactly has exclusion. Candise Branum (2008) will state in the text “The Myth of Library Neutrality” some of the possible reasons why the myth of neutrality came to life among the

cilj, dosegao tačku opadanja. Posmatrajući stanje u bh. kontekstu bibliotečke profesije u periodu od završetka rata, potrebno je poraditi na istraživanju i demitologizaciji neutralnost bibliotekara posebno iz ugla društvenih i profesionalno odgovornih akcija koje bi se suprotstavile konzervativnom načinu obavljanja bibliotečkih poslova. Taj pristup, podjednako kao i učesnički model u bibliotekama samoupravnog socijalizma, ipak potpada pod tradicionalno bibliotekarstvo, jer participacija kao demokratska praksa podrazumijeva aktivno djelovanje, promicanje jednakopravnosti i istovremeno borbu protiv univerzalizma.

S druge strane, kontrakturni pravci, koji su često vezani za participativni model, odupiru se superiornim klasama, njihovoj težnji za univerzalizmom i neutralnosti u "društvu spektakla". Prema Guyu Debordu, ideološki aparat u neposrednoj je vezi s težnjama k univerzalizmu: "Čim ideologija – ta apstraktna pretenzija ka univerzalnom i sve iluzije vezane za nju – stekne priznanje u uslovima univerzalne apstrakcije i delotvorne diktature iluzija koji preovlađuju u modernom društvu, ona više nije voluntaristička borba fragmentarnog, već njegov trijumf" (Debord 2006, 55).

Zaključak

U ovom radu nastojala se ispitati hipoteza da učesničko djelovanje u prijeratnim bh. bibliotekama može poslužiti kao polazna tačka za razvijanje trenutnog modela uključivanja korisnika/ca biblioteke u svojstvu njenih članova/ca. Na početku rada bilo je potrebno pojasniti širi društveni kontekst, zahtjeve i polazišta participatorne kulture općenito. Nakon toga pokušale su se objasniti postavke učesničkog djelovanja u bh. bibliotekama od '20-ih do početka '90-ih godina dvadesetog stoljeća kroz koncept samoupravnog shvatanja učesništva u socijalističkim državama. Potom su teorijske postavke i ideje novog, savremenog participatornog bibliotekarstva komparativnom analizom dovedene u vezu s prijašnjim modelom, pri čemu se došlo do nekoliko zaključaka.

Iako oba modela polaze od naglašenog koncepta članstva, među njima se uočavaju određene razlike. Dok učesnički samoupravni model polazi od zahtjeva državnog uređenja i njemu sljedbenog kulturnog aparata, participatorno bibliotekarstvo počiva na pojmu participacije kao jednom od osnovnih načela demokratskog uređenja. Naime, oviseći o socijalističkom uređenju, koncept članstva u prijeratnim bh. bibliotekama imao je za cilj legitimaciju postojećeg društvenog uređenja samoupravnog socijalizma,

library profession, and the main one concerns the "transformation of librarianship into a scientific and academic discipline" which has suppressed its very pragmatic implementation (1). Librarianship in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Second World War, despite various courses for librarians and a developed self-management model, continues to face problems of lack of qualified staff. "In mid-1972, the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, at the initiative of the Department of Literary Studies, considered the possibility of educating library staff within its existing departments. (...) By the Statute of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, from 1972, the Department of Literary Studies, Theatre Studies and Library Sciences was established..." (Bašović 1977, 29–30). The introduction of library sciences studies solves the problem of lack of qualified staff, but at the same time the transformation into an academic discipline emphasizes the weakening of the participatory model which, due to the social context and the opinion that self-managing society has achieved its goal, has reached a point of decline. Observing the situation in the BIH context of the library profession in the period since the end of the war, it is necessary to work on researching and demythologizing the neutrality of librarians, especially from the angle of social and professionally responsible actions that would oppose the conservative way of doing library work. This approach, as well as the participatory model in the libraries of self-managing socialism, still falls under traditional librarianship, because participation as a democratic practice implies active action, promotion of equality and at the same time the fight against universalism.

On the other hand, counter-cultural directions which are often tied to the participatory model resist to superior classes, their pursuit of universalism, and neutrality in a "society of spectacles". According to Guy Debord, the ideological apparatus is directly related to the aspirations towards universalism: "As soon as ideology – that abstract pretence towards the universal and all illusions related to it – gains recognition in the conditions of universal abstraction and effective dictatorship of illusions that prevail in modern society, it is no longer a voluntaristic struggle of the fragmentary, but it is its triumph." (Debord 2006, 55).

Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt was made to test the hypothesis that participatory action in pre-war BIH libraries can serve as a starting point for developing the current model of inclusion of library users in its capacity as its members was. At the beginning

gdje su biblioteke predstavljale samo jedan od tipova institucija u kojima se sprovodio širi politički i idejni projekat, gdje zajednica upravlja društvenim dobrima postavljajući određena ograničenja o tome ko, zaista, može postati članom ili članicom biblioteke, *filtrirajući* nepoželjne, skrajnute i socijalno neprihvaćene skupine. Participatorno bibliotekarstvo, s druge strane, imajući u vidu težnje k demokratizaciji koja počiva i na uključivanju manjinskih, marginaliziranih i zanemarivanih skupina, promiče multikulturalizam kroz koncept informacijske pravde. Kako bi se poduzeli konkretni koraci u praksi za participaciju članova/ica u biblioteci, potrebno je promisliti o utjecaju neutralne pozicije i ideje univerzalizma kao zamke kada se promišlja o jednakosti.

Stoga je ideja participatornog bibliotekarstva u savremenom bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu, što se ovim radom nastojalo i pokazati, značajan segment njegove dalje demokratizacije naspram konzerviranja u samodovoljne i monolitne zajednice identiteta. Participatorni pristup, koji je, za razliku od učesničkog samoupravljanja – povijesne činjenice, odsutan iz prakse tekućeg bh. bibliotekarstva, u ovome slučaju poslužio je kao obrazloženje potrebne prakse kojoj se treba težiti u savremenom bh. društvu, gradeći aktivnije građanstvo kao inkluzivno društvo znanja, uvažavajući njegovu internu i lokalnu specifičnost, heterogenost i pluralnost.

of the paper, it was necessary to clarify the broader social context, requirements and starting points of participatory culture in general. After that, attempts were made to explain the settings of participatory activity in BIH libraries from the '20s to the early '90s of the twentieth century through the concept of self-management understanding of participation in socialist countries. Then, the theoretical assumptions and ideas of the new, contemporary participatory librarianship were brought into comparison with the previous model by comparative analysis, where several conclusions were made.

Although both models start from the emphasized concept of membership, certain differences can be noticed between them. While the participatory self-management model starts from the requirements of state organization and the cultural apparatus that follows it, participatory librarianship is based on the notion of participation as one of the basic principles of democratic organization. In fact, depending on the socialist system, the concept of membership in pre-war BIH libraries aimed to legitimize the existing social system of self-management socialism, where libraries represented only one of the types of institutions in which the wider, political and ideological project was implemented where the community manages social goods adding specific restrictions on who, indeed, can become a member of the library by *filtering* out undesirable, marginalized and socially unacceptable groups. Participatory librarianship, on the other hand, bearing in mind the aspirations for democratization based on the inclusion of minority, marginalized and neglected groups, promotes multiculturalism through the concept of information justice. In order to take concrete steps in practice for the participation of members in the library, it is necessary to consider the impact of the neutral position and the idea of universalism as a trap when contemplating about equality.

Therefore, the idea of participatory librarianship in the contemporary context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which this paper endeavoured to show, is a significant segment of its further democratization versus conservation into self-sufficient and monolithic communities of identity. The participatory approach, which, unlike participatory self-management – a historical fact – is absent from the practice of current BIH librarianship, in this case served as an explanation of the necessary practice to be pursued in modern BIH society, building a more active citizenship as an inclusive knowledge society, respecting its internal and local specificity, heterogeneity and plurality.

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The Readers of the National Library of Russia in XIX – Beginning of XXI Century

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Abstract / Sažetak

This article explores the evolution of the audience of the National Library of Russia (NLR) from the beginning of the XIX century until the present day. The author demonstrates how political and economic factors influenced social and gender characteristics of readers of the NLR, increase in the amount of readers, strengthening of the role of the library as one of the largest cultural and information centers in the world.

Ovaj članak istražuje razvoj publike Nacionalne biblioteke Rusije (NBR) od početka 19. stoljeća do danas. Autori pokazuju kako su politički i ekonomski činioci utjecali na socijalne i rodne karakteristike čitalačke publike NBR-a, povećanje broja čitatelja, jačanje uloge biblioteke kao jednog od najvećih kulturnih i informacijskih centara na svijetu.

The history of any national library cannot be fully objective without information about its readers at different periods of time. Studying who were the readers of the library gives an opportunity to better understand the impact the library had on the development of the country.

The Imperial Public Library – now the National Library of Russia (NLR) was founded in 1795 and opened for general public in 1814 in the building specially constructed for these purposes in the centre of St. Petersburg – at the time, the capital of Russia. The Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Arts, as well as several higher education institutions, ministries and government departments have been situated in the city. There was a need for a free library with a universal collection of documents, formed by the legal deposit of all publications printed in the country – that is why the NLR has been created. No other library that existed in St. Petersburg at the time has met these requirements. The library of the Academy of Sciences was open only two days a week from 2 to 4 p.m., and only teachers and students could borrow books from libraries of educational institutions, and it was too expensive to use the private libraries at the bookstores¹.

During the early years of the Library's work there were not only academicians among the readers, but

Historija bilo koje nacionalne biblioteke ne može biti potpuno objektivna bez podataka o svojoj čitalačkoj publici u različitim vremenskim razdobljima. Proučavanje, ko su bili čitatelji biblioteke, daje priliku da se bolje razumije utjecaj koji je biblioteka imala na razvoj zemlje.

Carska javna biblioteka - danas Nacionalna biblioteka Rusije (NBR) osnovana je 1795. godine, a otvorena je za širu javnost 1814. godine u zgradi posebno izgrađenoj za te svrhe u središtu Sankt-Peterburga - u to vrijeme glavnog grada Rusije. U gradu su bile smještene Akademija nauka, Akademija umjetnosti, kao i nekoliko visokoškolskih ustanova, ministarstava i vladinih odjela. Postojala je potreba za besplatnom bibliotekom s univerzalnom zbirkom dokumenata, formiranom obaveznim primjerkom svih publikacija štampanih u zemlji - te je zato i stvorena NBR. Nijedna druga biblioteka koja je postojala u to vrijeme u Sankt Peterburgu nije ispunjavala ove uslove. Biblioteka Akademije nauka bila je otvorena samo dva dana u sedmici od 14 do 16 sati, i samo su učitelji i studenti mogli posuđivati knjige iz biblioteka obrazovnih institucija, a bilo je preskupo koristiti privatne biblioteke u knjižarama.¹

Tokom ranih godina rada Biblioteke među čitateljima nisu bili samo akademici, već i drugi obrazovani ljudi toga doba koji su trebali knjige u akademske,

¹ Efimova N.A. 1958. "Čitateli Publičnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizacija ih obsluživaniya v 1814-1917 gg." in *Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publičnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. Vol.6(9)*. (Leningrad, 1958, 13)

¹ Efimova N.A. 1958. "Čitateli Publičnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizacija ih obsluživaniya v 1814-1917 gg." u *Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publičnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Šedrina. T.6(9)*. (Leningrad, 1958, 13)

also other educated people of that time who needed books for academic, professional or educational purposes. In the report for the year 1816 it was mentioned, that in the reading room one could see “people of all estates”.²

The information on categories of readers according to estates and professions during the early years of the library’s work (specifically 1816-1819) has been preserved the best:³

	1816		1817		1818		1819	
	Amount / Broj	%	Amount / Broj	%	Amount / Broj	%	Amount / Broj	%
Civilians / Civili	225	43,9	252	41,6	184	44,1	266	44,1
Military officials / Vojni zvaničnici	118	23,0	117	19,3	63	15,1	118	19,8
Students and pupils / Studenti i učenici	69	13,4	121	20,0	102	24,5	113	18,9
Merchants and bourgeois / Trgovci i buržui	22	4,2	23	3,8	13	3,1	13	2,1
Scholars (doctors, professors, masters) / Učenjaci (doktori, profesori, magistri)	10	2,0	22	3,6	7	1,7	9	1,5
Artists / Umjetnici	-	-	8	1,3	2	0,5	5	0,8
Peasants / Seljaci	-	-	-	-	1	0,2	-	-
Clergy / Kler	8	1,5	4	0,7	3	0,7	3	0,5
Other / Ostali	60	12,0	59	9,7	42	10,1	73	12,3
In total / Ukupno	512	100	606	100	417	100	600	100

It is important to mention that there were no access limitations in the rules of the Library: anyone who wanted to work in the Library could register at the desk of the librarian, who gave tickets for free entry. Footmen in uniforms were supposed to wait for their masters in the hall.⁴

During the summertime the Library was open for visits on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m., and in winter – from 10 a.m. till sunset (taking into account that St. Petersburg is a Northern city it could happen at 5, 4 or 3 p.m.). Also every Tuesday from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. people could visit the Library to look around and order literature for the next few days. It was not permitted to borrow books from the Library.⁵

Note that there were no recommendations needed to register in the Imperial Public Library (unlike, for example, the British Library).

Soon after the opening of the Library there were several rules established on how to work with the col-

profesionalne ili obrazovne svrhe. U izvještaju za 1816. godinu spomenuto je da se u čitaonici mogu vidjeti „ljudi svih staleža”.²

Podaci o kategorijama čitatelja prema staležima i zanimanjima tokom ranih godina rada Biblioteke (konkretno 1816. - 1819.) najbolje su očuvani:³

Važno je napomenuti da u pravilima Biblioteke nisu postojala ograničenja pristupa: svako ko je želio raditi u Biblioteci mogao se prijaviti na stolu bibliotekara koji je davao ulaznice za besplatan ulaz. Lakaji u uniformama su trebali čekati svoje gospodare u dvorani.⁴

Tokom ljeta Biblioteka je bila otvorena za posjet srijedom, četvrtkom i petkom od 10 sati do 21 sat, a zimi - od 10 sati do zalaska sunca (uzimajući u obzir da je Sankt-Peterburg sjeverni grad, to bi se moglo dogoditi u 17, 16 ili 15 sati). Također svakog utorka od 11 sati do 14 sati ljudi bi mogli posjetiti Biblioteku kako bi razgledali i naručili literaturu za sljedećih nekoliko dana. Nije bilo dopušteno posuđivati knjige iz Biblioteke.⁵

Imajte na umu da nisu bile potrebne preporuke za prijavljivanje u Carsku javnu biblioteku (za razliku od, primjerice, Britanske biblioteke).

² Ibid, 17

³ Ibid, 17

⁴ Grin C.I., Tret'yak A.M. 1998. Publchnaya biblioteka glazami sovremennikov (1795-1917). (Saint Petersburg, 1998, 79-84)

⁵ Ibid, 82

² Ibid, 17

³ Ibid, 17

⁴ Grin C.I., Tret'yak A.M. 1998. Publchnaya biblioteka glazami sovremennikov (1795-1917). (Sankt-Peterburg.1998., 79-84)

⁵ Ibid, 82

lection: readers no longer had access to fiction, fairytales, periodicals, political editions, as well as editions “harmful for morality”. The officials believed that the readers should come to the Library only for academic work and to gain “useful knowledge”.⁶

This rule along with the inconvenient work hours negatively influenced the attendance of the Library. Only in 1848 reading rooms started to work every day (on Sundays and holidays – from 12 p.m. to 3 p.m.). In 1846 entrance to the library was forbidden for lower military officers; also the students of secondary educational institutions had to get a special permission.

The majority of visitors of the Library in the first half of XIX century were civilians.⁷

The data on the work of the reading room in 1814-1850:⁸

Years Godine	Amount of issued tickets Zbir izdatih ulaznica	Issuance of literature Izdavanje literature
	On average annually / Godišnji prosjek	
1814	969	1341
1815-1832	458	2280
1833-1834	The Library is closed because of construction works Biblioteka je zatvorena zbog građevinskih radova	
1835	651	3275
1836-1840	813	6540
1841-1845	887	7087
1846-1850	848	10716

In general, the audience of the Library in the first half of XIX century demonstrates that the level of education in the country was rather low at the time, and therefore – there was small demand for qualified specialists.

There was a noticeable change in that regard in the second half of XIX century. It was a period of economic growth in Russia, as well as important social changes: in 1861 serfdom was abolished, in 1860-70s the trial by jury was introduced, and the new system of public authorities and conscript army. The national economy required much more educated people who possessed professional skills than before. That

Ubrzo nakon otvaranja Biblioteke uspostavljeno je nekoliko pravila o radu s zbirkom: čitatelji više nisu imali pristup fikciji, bajkama, periodici, političkim izdanjima, kao ni izdanjima “štetnim za moral”. Službenici su vjerovali da bi čitatelji trebali dolaziti u biblioteku samo radi akademskog rada i sticanja “korisnog znanja”.⁶

Ovo je pravilo, zajedno s nezgodnim radnim vremenom, negativno utjecalo na posjećenost Biblioteke. Tek 1848. čitaonice su počele raditi svaki dan (nedjeljom i praznicima - od 12 do 15 sati). 1846. godine ulaz u biblioteku bio je zabranjen nižim vojnim časnicima; također su učenici drugostepenih obrazovnih ustanova morali dobiti posebno dopuštenje. Većina posjetitelja Biblioteke u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća bili su civili.⁷

Podaci o radu čitaonice u 1814-1850:⁸

Općenito, korisnici Biblioteke u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća pokazuju da je u to vrijeme razina obrazovanja u zemlji bila prilično niska, a samim time - postojala je mala potražnja za kvalificiranim stručnjacima.

U tom pogledu došlo je do primjetne promjene u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća. Bilo je to razdoblje gospodarskog rasta u Rusiji, kao i važnih društvenih promjena: 1861. godine ukinuto je kmetstvo, u 1860-70im uvedeno je suđenje porote i novi sistem javnih vlasti i obveznika. Nacionalno gospodarstvo zahtijevalo je mnogo obrazovanije ljude koji su posjedovali profesionalne vještine nego prije. To je dovelo do povećanja broja studenata - budućih in-

⁶ Efimova N.A. 1958. “Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizaciya ih obsluzhivaniya v 1814-1917 gg.” in *Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*. Vol.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 14-15)

⁷ Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 41-42)

⁸ Ibid, 41

⁶ Efimova N.A. 1958. “Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizaciya ih obsluzhivaniya v 1814-1917 gg.” u *Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*. T.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 14-15)

⁷ Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. Saltykova-Shchedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 41-42)

⁸ Ibid, 41

led to the increase in the amount of students – the future engineers, lawyers, economists, teachers etc. The major tendency among the audience of the Library was increase in the number of students and decrease in some other categories of visitors, mainly, civilians. While in 1853-1861 the rate of civilians was on average at 25%, in 1862-1895 it was only 9,8%. At the same time during this period the amount of students was higher than 26%, most of them – the students of the universities of St. Petersburg. Simultaneously, the amount of teachers increased as well: whereas in 1853 only 22 professors and teachers had been registered in the Library, in 1867 their number grew to 225, and in 1895 – to 646 people.

Talking about the social aspect, only 20-30% of readers indicated their social category. It is important to remember, that at the time the Russian Empire was a class-divided society, with nobility as the upper class.

The following table shows the increase in the number of readers from under-privileged social classes:⁹

	1855-1859	1860-1864	1865-1869	1870-1874	1875-1879	1880-1884	1885-1889	1890-1894
Merchants, bourgeois and peasants Trgovci, buržuji i seljaci	1067	2100	4681	5754	6673	7556	7130	6823

An important event in the life of the Library was that female readers were allowed to visit it. In 1856 the first open education institutions for women were created in Russia, and in 1878 the first higher education institution for women has been opened – Higher (Bestuzhev) Courses in St. Petersburg. In 1870 the per cent of women among the readers was 5,4%, in 1895 – 17,8%. They were teachers, students, doctors, medical attendants, nurses, pharmacists, artists and performers.¹⁰ The reasons for their visits were the professional interests, studying, work. As the newspaper “Peterburgskiy listok” put it: “It is pleasant to see that women dedicate their free time to reading in the room that was specially made for that purpose, and that they are predominantly interested in serious books and foreign publications, as for many of them translation is the only source of livelihood”.¹¹

Due to the increase in acquisition in the second half of XIX century, construction of two new reading

ženjera, pravnika, ekonomista, nastavnika itd.

Glavna tendencija korisnika u biblioteci bila je povećanje broja učenika i smanjenje nekih drugih kategorija posjetitelja, uglavnom civila. Dok je u razdoblju 1853.-1861. stopa civila bila u prosjeku 25%, u razdoblju 1862.-1895. bila je samo 9,8%. Istodobno je u tom razdoblju broj studenata bio veći od 26%, većina njih - studenata sveučilišta u Sankt Peterburgu. Istodobno se povećavao i broj učitelja: dok su 1853. godine u Biblioteci bila prijavljena samo 22 profesora i učitelja, 1867. njihov je broj narastao na 225, a 1895. na 646 ljudi.

Govoreći o socijalnom aspektu, samo je 20-30% čitatelja naznačilo svoju socijalnu kategoriju. Važno je zapamtiti da je u to vrijeme Rusko Carstvo bilo klasno podijeljeno društvo, s plemstvom kao gornjom klasom.

Sljedeća tablica prikazuje porast broja čitatelja iz siromašnih društvenih slojeva:⁹

Važan događaj u životu Biblioteke bio je taj da su je čitateljice smjele posjetiti. 1856. godine u Rusiji su stvorene prve otvorene ženske obrazovne ustanove, a 1878. godine otvorena je prva ženska visokoškolska institucija - Viši (Bestužev) kursevi u Sankt Peterburgu. 1870. godine postotak žena među čitateljskoj publici iznosio je 5,4%, a 1895. - 17,8%. Bile su to učiteljice, studentice, doktorice, medicinske djelatnice, medicinske sestre, farmaceutkinje, umjetnice i izvođačice.¹⁰ Razlozi njihovih posjeta bili su profesionalni interesi, studiranje, posao. Kao što su napisale novine „Peterburgskij listok“: „Ugodno je vidjeti da žene svoje slobodno vrijeme posvećuju čitanju u sobi koja je bila posebno stvorena za tu svrhu i da su pretežno zainteresirane za ozbiljne knjige i strane publikacije, pogotovo što je za mnoge od njih prevođenje jedini izvor sredstava za život“.¹¹

Zbog porasta nabavke u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća, izgradnje dviju novih čitaonica kao i modernih

⁹ Efimova N.A. 1958. “Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizacija ih obsluživaniya v 1814-1917 gg.” in Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. Vol.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 40-44)

¹⁰ Ibid, 45-46

¹¹ Grin C.I., Tret'yak A.M. 1998. Publichnaya biblioteka glazami sovremennikov (1795-1917). (Saint Petersburg, 1998, 411)

⁹ Efimova N.A. 1958. “Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizacija ih obsluživaniya v 1814-1917 gg.” u Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. T.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 40-44)

¹⁰ Ibid, 45-46

¹¹ Grin C.I., Tret'yak A.M. 1998. Publichnaya biblioteka glazami sovremennikov (1795-1917). (Sankt-Peterburg, 1998., 411)

rooms as well as modern stacks and allowing the readers to get fiction and some other types of publications the NLR managed to increase the attendance and consequently – the circulation from 15 110 of visits and 27 587 loans in 1852 to 145 366 visits and 461 968 loans in 1900.¹² All of that led to the enhancement of the Library's role in the academic, cultural and public life of Russia.

In the second half of XIX century Russian revolutionaries as Vladimir Lenin and Georgiy Plekhanov, outstanding Russian scientists, artists and composers were among the readers of the Library.

In the beginning of the XX century the following tendencies continued developing: in 1896-1916 the amount of students among the readers of the Library was 33,8%. The number of students decreased only in 1916 when many of them have been called up for military service during the World War I.

In 1896-1916 the amount of civilians among the readers decreased from 9,8% to 6,8%, military officers – from 6,9% to 2,8%. At the same time the number of medical workers, teachers, as well as engineers and technical specialists grew. The number of female readers was also increasing.¹³

The Revolution of 1917 and the Civil War of 1918-1920 that followed caused significant changes in all spheres of life in Russia. One of the goals of the Communist party that came to power was the Cultural Revolution that implied the liquidation of illiteracy, preparing the qualified professionals for manufacturing industry and agricultural sector as well as the development of science and technology. The NLR that was given the new name in 1917 – the Russian Public Library – was supposed to serve these purposes as well.

It is interesting to mention, that in November of 1917 the Head of the Soviet government Vladimir Lenin wrote a note "On the objectives of the Public Library in Petrograd" (Petrograd was the name of St. Petersburg in 1914-1924) in which he planned several measures in order to improve its work, including the establishment of the fixed work hours from 8 a.m. till 11 p.m., developing international book exchange and some others.¹⁴

magacina i omogućavanja čitateljima da dobiju beletristiku i neke druge vrste publikacija, NBR je uspjela povećati posjećenost i posljedično - opticaj od 15 110 posjeta i 27 587 posudbi 1852. do 145 366 posjeta i 461 968 posudbi 1900.¹² Sve je to dovelo do povećanja uloge Biblioteke u akademskom, kulturnom i javnom životu Rusije.

U drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća ruski revolucionari kao Vladimir Lenjin i Georgij Plehanov, izvanredni ruski naučnici, umjetnici i kompozitori bili su među čitateljima Biblioteke.

Početkom 20. stoljeća nastavile su se razvijati sljedeće tendencije: 1896. - 1916. godine broj studenata među čitateljima Biblioteke bio je 33,8%. Broj studenata smanjio se tek 1916. godine kada su mnogi od njih pozvani na služenje vojnog roka tokom Prvog svjetskog rata.

U razdoblju od 1896. do 1916. broj civila među čitateljima smanjio se s 9,8% na 6,8%, vojni časnici - sa 6,9% na 2,8%. Istodobno je rastao broj medicinskih radnika, učitelja, kao i inženjera i tehničkih specijalista. Povećavao se i broj čitateljica.¹³

Revolucija 1917. i Građanski rat 1918. - 1920. koji su uslijedili uzrokovali su značajne promjene u svim sferama života u Rusiji. Jedan od ciljeva Komunističke partije koja je došla na vlast bila je Kulturna revolucija koja je podrazumijevala likvidaciju nepismenosti, pripremu kvalificiranih stručnjaka za prerađivačku industriju i poljoprivredni sektor, kao i razvoj znanosti i tehnologije. NBR je dobila novo ime 1917. godine - Ruska javna knjižnica - trebala je služiti i u ove svrhe.

Zanimljivo je spomenuti da je u novembru 1917. šef sovjetske vlade Vladimir Lenjin napisao bilješku "O ciljevima Javne knjižnice u Petrogradu" (Petrograd je bio ime Sankt Peterburga 1914.-1924.) u kojoj je planirao nekoliko mjera kako bi poboljšali rad, uključujući uspostavljanje fiksnog radnog vremena od 8 do 23 sata, razvoj međunarodne razmjene knjiga i neke druge aktivnosti.¹⁴

Od 1918. publika se Biblioteke počela mijenjati. Vojnici Crvene armije i radnici postali su aktivni korisnici biblioteke zajedno sa naučnicima, stručnjacima i studentima. Uprkos mnogim poteškoćama i nedostatku obučenog osoblja 1921. NBR je

¹² Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 429-430)

¹³ Efimova N.A. "Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizaciya ih obsluzhivaniya v 1814-1917 gg." in Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. Vol.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 108-110)

¹⁴ Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 160-161)

¹² Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. Saltykova-Šedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 429-430)

¹³ Efimova N.A. 1958. "Čitateli Publichnoj biblioteki v Peterburge i organizaciya ih obsluzhivaniya v 1814-1917 gg." u Trudy Gosudarstvennoj publichnoj biblioteki im. M.E. Saltykova-Šedrina. T.6(9). (Leningrad, 1958, 108-110)

¹⁴ Istorija Gosudarstvennoj Publichnoj biblioteki im. Saltykova-Šedrina. 1963. Leningrad. (Lenizdat, 1963, 160-161)

Since 1918 the audience of the Library started to change. Red Army soldiers and workers became active library users along with the scientists, professionals and students. Despite many difficulties and lack of trained personnel in 1921 the NLR already accepted the rules, according to which all the previously existing limitations have been abolished so that any citizen of 14 years and older could become the Library user.¹⁵ Soon the Library's reading rooms became crowded: people used to sit on the stairs, in the passages between the tables, on the floors. Many of the readers were students of different schools and courses. It was at that time, in the beginning of 1920s, when the discussion started in the NLR, on who should such big academic library serve and if there should be school pupils among its readers. In particular, there was an opinion that this category should either not be allowed to have access to the NLR, or get literature only from certain collections which would include textbooks and some other literature for studying. This discussion was interrupted by war of 1941-1945. Later a different solution for this problem has been found.

Changes in the work of the Library were caused by the serious changes in social and professional characteristics of its audience and widening of the readers' interests.

Whereas before the Soviet period there were almost no workers among the readers, by the middle of the 1920s dozens and hundreds of working class men were coming to the Library. In 1927 821 workers registered in the NLR, in 1928 – 1592. In 1929 it was already 2806 people (6,1%), and in 1930 – 3833 people (8,2%). By the end of the 1920s metal workers and textile workers prevailed among the readers of the Library who belonged to the working class. Most of them came there for self-education. Social composition of studentship has also changed a lot, especially by the end of the 1920s. New representatives of the intelligentsia were also coming mainly from the working class or peasantry. Outstanding American writer Theodore Dreiser, who visited Public Library in 1927 wrote: "Now Russian proletarians come here to read, when previously they had been arrested for thirst for knowledge".¹⁶

Industrialization that was happening in the end of the 1920s and 1930s seriously influenced the audience of the Library and the service. There was an academic reading room for academic workers and specialists where the comfortable conditions were created – a

već prihvatila pravila prema kojima su ukinuta sva prethodno postojeća ograničenja kako bi svaki građanin stariji od 14 godina mogao postati korisnik Biblioteke.¹⁵ Ubrzo su čitaonice Biblioteke postale pretrpane: ljudi su znali sjediti na stepenicama, u prolazima između stolova i na podovima. Mnogi su čitatelji bili učenici različitih škola i tečajeva. Bilo je to početkom 1920tih, kada je u NBR-u započela rasprava o tome kome treba služiti tako velika akademska biblioteka i treba li među njezinim čitateljima biti učenika škole. Konkretno, postojalo je mišljenje da se ovoj kategoriji ili ne smije dopustiti pristup NBR-u, ili se može dobiti literatura samo iz određenih zbirki koje uključuju udžbenike i neku drugu literaturu za učenje. Ova je rasprava prekinuta ratom 1941.-1945. Kasnije je pronađeno drugačije rješenje za ovaj problem.

Promjene u radu Biblioteke uzrokovane su ozbiljnim promjenama u socijalnim i profesionalnim karakteristikama njezine publike i širenjem interesa čitatelja.

Prije sovjetskog perioda među čitateljima gotovo da nije bilo radnika, sredinom 1920-ih desetine i stotine radnika iz radničke klase dolazili su u Biblioteku. 1927. u NBR-u se upisao 821 radnik, 1928. - 1592. U 1929. već je bilo 2806 ljudi (6,1%), a 1930. - 3833 ljudi (8,2%). Do kraja 1920-ih među čitateljima Biblioteka koji su pripadali radničkoj klasi prevladavali su metalski i tekstilni radnici. Većina ih je tamo došla radi samoobrazovanja. Socijalni sastav studentskog staža također se mnogo promijenio, posebno krajem 1920-ih. Novi predstavnici intelektualaca također su dolazili uglavnom iz radničke klase ili seljaštva. Izvrsni američki književnik Theodore Dreiser, koji je posjetio Javnu knjižnicu 1927. godine, napisao je: "Sada ruski proleter dolaze ovamo čitati, a prije su bili hapšeni zbog žeđi za znanjem".¹⁶

Industrijalizacija koja se događala krajem 1920-ih i 1930-ih ozbiljno je utjecala na korisnike Biblioteke i službe. Postojala je akademska čitaonica za akademske radnike i stručnjake u kojoj su stvoreni ugodni uslovi - mogućnost brzog dobijanja savremenih stranih časopisa, četiri mjesta za specijaliziranu tematsku literaturu, itd. Sredinom 1930-ih ova je kategorija činila 30% svih čitatelja. Svi ostali čitatelji - uglavnom studenti - radili su u javnoj čitaonici.

Budući da je bilo nemoguće uslužiti sve čitatelje u glavnoj zgradi, odlučeno je organizirati podružnice

¹⁵ Ibid, 185

¹⁶ Ibid, 186

¹⁵ Ibid, 185

¹⁶ Ibid, 186

possibility to quickly receive modern foreign periodicals, four specialized subject-matter literature issue points etc. In the middle of the 1930s this category was 30% of all readers. All other readers – mainly, students – worked in the public reading room.

As it was impossible to serve all the readers in the main building, it was decided to organize the NLR's branch offices in relatively close proximity from it. Thus, a branch office "Library of Local Economies" was formed, with an audience of policy planners, economists, diploma students. Another branch office – "Library of the Youth" had a well-selected collection of fiction and study materials, and the branch office for teenagers, situated in the Palace of the Pioneers, was very popular among the 6 to 10-year school pupils. An office branch "World Literature Library" provided engineers and workers from more than 25 factories with foreign technical literature and organized the courses of foreign languages. There was also a branch office in the Central Park of Culture and Recreation, as well as in one of the further rural areas of Leningrad region. In general, in 1930s non-stationary service covered 25% of the Library audience.¹⁷

Overall, by the 1940s the attendance of the Library counted 1 024 161 visits, twice as much as in 1927, and the amount of loans increased to 3 264 781 volumes, 58% more than in 1927.

In 1941 the Great Patriotic War started (1941-1945); from September of 1941 till January of 1944 Leningrad (name of the city in 1924-1991) was under siege. The most valuable part of the collection was evacuated, but the NLR didn't stop serving the readers even amidst cold, famine and practically daily artillery attacks and bombings. During the war the Library served 42 597 people who visited it 463 846 times and received 1 474 408 documents. People of different occupations turned to the Library: engineers, technical specialists and workers, doctors and nurses, officers and soldiers, teachers and students, scientists, journalists and writers, performers, artists, architects. Amount of military specialists, doctors, and nurses among the readers increased drastically (in 1942 they were the 40% of the readers). Library was also popular among the lecturers and the radio and cinema specialists.

Materials on issues of the defense of the city were often needed: books about urban combat, building defensive constructions, arrangement, equipment and exploitation of hospitals, garages, asylums,

NBR-a u relativno neposrednoj blizini od nje. Tako je osnovana podružnica "Biblioteka lokalnih gospodarstava", sa korisnicima - političkim planerima, ekonomistima, diplomantima. Druga podružnica - „Biblioteka mladih“ imala je dobro odabranu zbirku beletristike i studijskog materijala, a podružnica za tinejdžere, smještena u Palači pionira, bila je vrlo popularna među učenicima od 6 do 10 godina. Uredski ogranak "Svjetska književna biblioteka" opskrbio je inženjere i radnike iz više od 25 tvornica stranom tehničkom literaturom i organizirao kurseve stranih jezika. Također je postojala podružnica u Centralnom parku kulture i rekreacije, kao i u jednom od daljnjih ruralnih područja Lenjingradske regije. Općenito, 1930-ih nestacionarna služba pokrivala je 25% korisnika Biblioteke.¹⁷

Sveukupno, do 1940-ih posjećenost Biblioteke brojila je 1 024 161 posjeta, dvostruko više nego 1927. godine, a iznos posudbi povećao se na 3 264 781 knjiga, 58% više nego 1927. godine.

1941. započeo je Veliki patriotski rat (1941.-1945.); od septembra 1941. do januara 1944. Lenjingrad (ime grada 1924. - 1991.) bio je pod opsadom. Najvrjedniji dio zbirke evakuiran je, ali NBR nije prestala služiti čitateljima ni usred hladnoće, gladi i praktički svakodnevnih topničkih napada i bombardiranja. Tokom rata Biblioteka je opsluživala 42 597 ljudi koji su je posjetili 463 846 puta i primili 1 474 408 dokumenata. Biblioteci su se obraćali ljudi različitih zanimanja: inženjeri, tehnički stručnjaci i radnici, doktori i medicinske sestre, časnici i vojnici, učitelji i studenti, naučnici, novinari i književnici, izvođači, umjetnici, arhitekti. Broj vojnih specijalista, doktora i medicinskih sestara među čitateljima drastično se povećao (1942. oni su činili 40% čitatelja). Biblioteka je bila popularna i među predavačima te radijskim i kino stručnjacima.

Često su bili potrebni materijali o pitanjima odbrane grada: knjige o urbanim borbama, gradnji odbrambenih konstrukcija, uređenju, opremi i eksploataciji bolnica, garaža, azila, skladišta itd. Sudionici partizanskog pokreta bili su i čitatelji Biblioteke. Primjerice, 1942. godine zapovjednik jedne od partizanskih jedinica koristio je ilustrativni materijal o Pskovu, potreban za borbenu misiju.

Medicinske radnike zanimala je literatura o borbi protiv gladi, divljih jestivih biljaka i kalorijske sposobnosti glukoze. U proljeće 1942. godine, kada su se parkovi i trgovi Lenjingrada počeli pretvarati u povrtnjake, povećala se potražnja za literaturom o

¹⁷ Ibid, 238-246

¹⁷ Ibid, 238-246

warehouses etc. Participants of the partisan movement also were the readers of the Library. For example, in 1942 the commanding officer of one of the partisan units used the illustrative material about Pskov, needed for the combat mission.

Medical workers were interested in literature on fight against hunger, wild edible plants, and calorific capacity of glucose. In the spring of 1942, when the parks and squares of Leningrad started to turn into vegetable gardens, demand for literature on gardening and growing mushrooms increased.¹⁸ Heroic work of the Library's staff on saving the unique treasures and serving the readers made it into the history of USSR's fight against fascism.

After the war the USSR started to repair the damage that Germany caused to its economy; enterprises, academic institutions and higher education institutions that had been evacuated inland came back to Leningrad. By the end of the war the main reading rooms have been opened and their supplementary collections have been put into order. In 1946 the amount of readers and the circulation increased one-and-a-half times comparing to 1945, and the amount of visits was almost twice as many. In 1948 the amount of readers reached the pre-war level – 74 thousand people. In 1950 Children-and-Youth Hall was organized for the schoolchildren from 13 to 17 years of age. A good supplementary collection and experienced librarians offered their help in the search of the literature and working with it.

In the following years a steady growth of all performance indicators has been registered in the NLR.

It was during the post-war period when the tendency of prevalence of readers with higher education occurred. This tendency existed until the 1990s.

Next table demonstrates the correlation between the main groups of readers and the dynamic of their growth in 1950 – 1962:¹⁹

Categories of readers Kategorije čitatelja	1950		1955		1960		1962	
	1000 people / ljudi	%	1000 people / ljudi	%	1000 people / ljudi	%	1000 people / ljudi	%
Students and pupils / Studenti i učenici	45,2	62,0	46,2	51,6	39,8	38,2	38,1	33,8
Specialists with higher education / Stručnjaci s visokim obrazovanjem	22,1	30,4	31,7	35,5	43,3	40,6	47,1	42,0
Workers and employees without higher education / Radnici i zaposlenici bez visokog obrazovanja	5,5	7,6	11,6	12,9	22,1	21,2	27	24,2

vrtnarstvu i uzgoju gljiva.¹⁸ Herojsko djelo osoblja Biblioteke na spašavanju jedinstvenog blaga i opsluživanju čitatelja ušlo je u historiju borbe SSSR-a protiv fašizma.

Nakon rata SSSR je počeo popravljati štetu koju je Njemačka nanijela gospodarstvu; preduzeća, akademske institucije i visokoškolske ustanove koje su evakuirane u unutrašnjost vratile su se u Lenjingrad. Krajem rata otvorene su glavne čitaonice i dovedene u red njihove dopunske zbirke. 1946. broj čitatelja i pozajmice povećao se jedan i po put u odnosu na 1945., a posjeta je bila gotovo dvostruko veća. 1948. godine broj čitatelja dosegao je predratnu razinu - 74 hiljade ljudi. 1950. godine organizovana je Dječja i omladinska dvorana za školarce od 13 do 17 godina. Dobra dopunska zbirka i iskusni bibliotekari su ponudili pomoć u pretraživanju literature i radu s njom.

Sljedećih godina u NBR-u je zabilježen stalni rast svih pokazatelja uspješnosti.

Tokom poslijeratnog razdoblja dogodila se tendencija porasta visoko obrazovanih čitatelja. Ta je tendencija postojala sve do 1990-ih.

Sljedeća tablica prikazuje povezanost glavnih skupina čitatelja i dinamiku njihovog rasta u 1950. – 1962.:¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid, 297

¹⁹ Ibid, 318

¹⁸ Ibid, 297

¹⁹ Ibid, 318

Also, before the 1990 the majority of specialists with higher education among the readers were engineers and technicians working for research centres, technical institutions, manufacturing enterprises. For instance, from 171 251 readers with higher education who registered in the Library in 1985 – 1990 about 70% represented such fields as industry, transport, communications, construction, design and scientific organizations.

The dissolution of the USSR led to closing of many factories and plants, design and scientific organizations, increase in the number of students – that was in turn caused by increase in the number of education institutions including non-state ones. This table demonstrates this tendency:

Registration of readers in 1985 – 1995.²⁰

	1985 - 1990	% of the total number / od ukupnog broja	1991 - 1995	% of the total number / od ukupnog broja
Readers with higher education / Visoko obrazovani čitatelji	171251	59,9	125300	47,2
Students and readers without higher education / Studenti i čitatelji bez visokog obrazovanja	95248	33,3	123014	46,4
Readers aged / Čitatelji dobi 14 – 18	14607	5,1	14863	5,6

In 1995-2000 this tendency continued to develop. Also, a slight increase in the amount of readers with higher education took place, generally because of the engineers, who studied for other specialties, such as accountant or economist. The readers who needed literature on humanities prevailed among the students.²¹

Of course, in XXI century the work conditions improved: automated working stations were available, as well as digital library and catalogue, virtual enquiry service and databases etc. Nevertheless, the demand for hard copies of books is still rather high. Talking about the readers of the NLR in XXI century, the majority of them were students and post-graduates. Among the reasons are not convenient working hours of university libraries and lack of needed literature there, and also the need to check graduation qualification works using the system “Antiplagiat” and to work with the original sources. For example, in 2016 the NLR registered 29,7 new library cards (a library card is valid for 5 years), from which 29% have been issued to people with

Također, prije 1990. većinu stručnjaka s visokim obrazovanjem među čitateljima su činili inženjeri i tehničari koji su radili za istraživačke centre, tehničke institucije i proizvodna preduzeća. Na primjer, od 171 251 čitatelja s visokim obrazovanjem koji su se učlanili u Biblioteku od 1985. do 1990. godine, oko 70% predstavljalo je područja poput industrije, prometa, veza, građevine, dizajna i naučnih organizacija.

Raspad SSSR-a doveo je do zatvaranja mnogih fabrika i industrija, dizajnerskih i naučnih organizacija, povećanja broja studenata - što je zauzvrat uzrokovano povećanjem broja obrazovnih institucija, uključujući i nedržavnih. Ova tablica pokazuje ovu tendenciju:

Upis čitatelja 1985. - 1995.²⁰

1995.-2000. ova se tendencija nastavila razvijati. Također, dogodio se lagani porast broja čitatelja s visokim obrazovanjem, općenito zbog inženjera koji su studirali za druge specijalnosti, npr. za računovođu ili ekonomistu. Među studentima su prevladavali čitatelji kojima je bila potrebna literatura humanističkih nauka.²¹

Naravno, u 19. stoljeću poboljšali su se uslovi rada: bile su dostupne automatizirane radne stanice, digitalna biblioteka i katalog, virtualna služba upita, baze podataka itd. Ipak, potražnja za štampanim primjercima knjiga još je uvijek velika.

Govoreći o čitateljima NBR-a u 21. stoljeću, većina njih bili su studenti i postdiplomci. Među razlozima su neprikladno radno vrijeme univerzitetskih biblioteka i nedostatak potrebne literature, kao i potreba za provjerom diplomskih radova pomoću sistema “Antiplagiat” i rada s izvornim izvorima. Primjerice, 2016. godine NBR je izdao 29,7 novih članskih karti (članska karta vrijedi 5 godina), od čega je 29% izdano osobama s visokim obrazovanjem, 68% - studentima i osobama sa srednjim obrazova-

²⁰ Rossijskaya nacional'naya biblioteka. 1918-1995 gg. 2002. (Saint Petersburg, 2002, 158)

²¹ Rossijskaya nacional'naya biblioteka. 1996-2000 gg. 2003. (Saint Petersburg, 2003, 43-45)

²⁰ Rossijskaya nacional'naya biblioteka. 1918-1995 gg. 2002. (Sankt-Peterburg, 2002, 158)

²¹ Rossijskaya nacional'naya biblioteka. 1996-2000 gg. 2003. (Sankt-Peterburg, 2003, 43-45)

higher education, 68% - to students and people with secondary education, 3% to school pupils younger than 17 years old. Nowadays the majority of readers of the NLR work with materials on humanitarian studies. The highest demand is for literature on philology, history, economics, culture studies, law studies, medicine etc. and only 20% of the inquiries are for technical literature.²²

This is what the audience of the NLR used to be and is today, and that is how the Library has actively been supporting the development of science, culture and education in Russia throughout its existence.

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njem, 3 % učenima mlađim od 17 godina. Danas većina čitatelja NBR-a radi s materijalima o humanitarnim studijama. Najviše se potražuje literatura iz filologije, historije, ekonomije, studija kultura, pravnih studija, medicine itd., A samo 20% upita odnosi se na tehničku literaturu.²²

Ovo je ono što je čitateljska publika NBR-a bila i što je i danas, i tako je Biblioteka aktivno podržavala razvoj nauke, kulture i obrazovanja u Rusiji kroz svoje postojanje.

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²² Rossiyskaya nacional'naya biblioteka v 2016 g. Publichnyj otchet. 2017. (Saint Petersburg, 2017, 20-21)

²² Rossiyskaya nacional'naya biblioteka v 2016 g. Publichnyj otchet. 2017. (Sankt-Peterburg, 2017, 20-21)

(Pre)štampa(va)nje djela i autorska prava početkom 20. stoljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini (Re)Printing and Copyright in the Beginning of the 20th Century in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Sažetak / Abstract

Ovaj rad na primjeru slučaja Walny protiv Kajona zbog autorskih prava prikazuje stanje u Bosni i Hercegovini na ovom polju u periodu austrougarske uprave. Kako je regulisano zakonski pravo autora i kako se to pravo moglo otuđiti, autorica kroz (pre)štampa(va)nje djela *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung – Plan Sarajeva i okolice* jasno oslikava. Akteri ove parnice su poznati javnosti kao književnici, vlasnici i urednici uglednih časopisa i štamparija, zbog čega ovaj slučaj zavrjeđuje posebnu pažnju.

This work focuses on the Walny vs. Kajon copyright infringement case, showing the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina within this field during the Austro-Hungarian rule. The author shows how copyright was legally regulated and how it could have led to infringement, through methods of (re)printing of *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung*. Participants of this legal case are well known to public, as writers, owners and editors of respectable journals and printing houses. For this reason, this case deserves some special attention.

Uvod

Izdavačka djelatnost, pored izdavanja novih djela, podrazumijeva i štampanje i preštampavanje već objavljenih publikacija. Pokušaj uređenja u ovom segmentu napravila je prvo Velika Britanija, još početkom 18. stoljeća. Godine 1709. kraljica Anne donijela je Statut kojim su zaštićena autorska prava (Turan i Yilmaz 2014, 56). Na samom kraju istog stoljeća nakon Francuske revolucije i u toj zemlji su zakonski regulirana prava autora. Francuski zakon o zaštiti autorskih prava proklamovan 1791. godine pružao je zaštitu autoru tokom 10 godina nakon štampanja njegovog djela (Turan i Yilmaz 2014, 56). Skoro cijelo stoljeće nakon toga počeli su pregovori između više zemalja o zaštiti autorskih prava. Švicarska Konfederacija izradila je nacrt o zaštiti književnih i umjetničkih djela i uputila ga 1883. godine "svim civiliziranim zemljama" (Bogsch 1986, 19). Konkretni pregovori vođeni su u Švicarskoj, u Bernu, u periodu od septembra 1884. do septembra 1886. godine. Najvažniji rezultati ovog ugovora trebali su biti ujednačenost kriterija za priznavanje autorskih prava i opće priznavanje prava autorima bez obzira na njihovu nacionalnost. Iako

Introduction

Publishing activity, in addition to publishing new works, also includes printing and reprinting of already published publications. An attempt to arrange this segment was first made by Great Britain, as early as the beginning of the 18th century. In 1709, Queen Anne entered into force a Statute of copyright protection (Turan and Yilmaz 2014, 56). At the very end of the same century, after the French Revolution, copyright was legally regulated in that country as well. The French copyright law proclaimed in 1791. provided protection to the author for 10 years after publishing of his work (Turan and Yilmaz 2014, 56). Almost a century after that, negotiations between several countries on copyright protection began. The Swiss Confederation drafted a paper on the protection of literary and artistic works and sent it in 1883 to "all civilized countries" (Bogsch 1986, 19). Concrete negotiations were held in Switzerland, in Bern, in the period from September 1884 to September 1886. The most important results of this agreement should have been the uniformity of the criteria for the recognition of copyright and the general recognition of the rights to

je u prvoj fazi predstavnik Austro-Ugarske monarhije prisustvovao konferenciji, u konačnici su deklaraciju potpisale Belgija, Francuska, Njemačka, Velika Britanija, Italija, Španija, Švicarska, Tunis, Liberija i Haiti. Ova konvencija je revidirana više puta, prvi put 1896. godine, kada je dokument potpisala između ostalih i Crna Gora (Bogsch 1986, 19, 29).

Austro-Ugarska monarhija pridružila se zemljama potpisnicama Konvencije 1908. godine. Međutim, realna slika zaštite autorskih prava unutar monarhije, a posebno njenih priključenih zemalja, bila je dosta složena.

Ako analiziramo područje Hrvatske, koje je kao i Bosna i Hercegovina u sklopu Austro-Ugarske monarhije u tom periodu, uvidjet ćemo da se Zakon za zaštitu književnog i umjetničkog vlasništva, objavljen godine 1846, smatra “prvim učinkovitim zakonom o pravima autora na hrvatskim područjima” (Velagić i Hocenski 2014, 232). Zakon je revidiran i dopunjen 1884. godine, a u decembru 1895. proklamovan je zakon o autorskom pravu u pogledu književnih, umjetničkih i fotografskih djela (Velagić i Hocenski 2014, 232).

U Bosni i Hercegovini su se počele otvarati prve štamparije još dok je bila u sklopu Osmanskog carstva. Međutim, na zaštitu autorskog rada čekala je dosta duže od Osmanskog carstva kao i Austro-Ugarske monarhije (Turan i Yilmaz 214, 59). Zakonski okvir na koji su se autori mogli pozvati u Bosni i Hercegovini tokom austrougarske uprave bio je član 428 kaznenog zakona. Ovaj član je konkretno spominjao prava književnog i umjetničkog izražaja, ali to nije značilo da su autori imali određena prava, bez obzira dolaze li van granica BiH ili su zemaljski pripadnici. Pitanje preštampavanja je bilo ključno za zaštitu autorskog rada, ali i korištenje pseudonima koji su u tom periodu bili dosta popularni.

Cilj nam je ovim radom ukazati na pisano i realno stanje autorskih prava u Bosni i Hercegovini na početku 20. stoljeća, u periodu ekspanzije štamparija i štamparskih djela. Kroz konkretan primjer štamparije djela *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung – Plan Sarajeva i okolice* pokazat ćemo kako je u praksi prvih štamparskih kuća bilo moguće zaštititi ili zloupotrijebiti autorska prava. U isto vrijeme analizom ovog slučaja indirektno će se oslikati zakonska regulativa o zaštiti autorskih radova u Bosni i Hercegovini i njeno tumačenje u praksi.¹

authors regardless of their nationality. Although a representative of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy attended the conference in the first phase, the declaration was ultimately signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia, Liberia and Haiti. This convention was revised several times, for the first time in 1896 when, among others, Montenegro signed the document (Bogsch 1986, 19, 29).

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy joined the signatory countries of the Convention in 1908. However, the real picture of copyright protection within the Monarchy, and especially its annexed countries, was quite complex.

If we analyse the territory of Croatia which, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in that period, we will see that the Law on the Protection of Literary and Artistic Property, published in 1846, is considered as “the first effective law on copyright in Croatian territories” (Velagić and Hocenski 2014, 232). The law was revised and amended in 1884, and in December 1895 a copyright law was proclaimed with regard of literary, artistic and photographic works (Velagić and Hocenski 2014, 232).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, first printing houses were established while the country was part of the Ottoman Empire. However, on the protection of the author’s work, Bosnia and Herzegovina waited more than the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as well. (Turan and Yilmaz 214, 59). The legal framework which the authors could refer to in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian administration was Article 428 of the Criminal Law. This article specifically mentioned the rights of literary and artistic expression, but that did not mean that the authors had certain rights, regardless of whether they came from outside BIH or were members of the country. The issue of reprinting was crucial for the protection of the author’s work, but also for the use of pseudonyms, which were quite popular at that time.

The aim of this paper is to point out the written and real state of copyright in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century, in the period of expansion of printing houses and printing works. Through a concrete example of publishing of work *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung – Plan for Sarajevo and vicinity*, we will show how in the practice of the first printing houses it was possible to protect or abuse copyright. At the same time, the analysis of this case will indirectly reflect the legislation on

¹ Kada su u pitanju autorska prava, pored preštampavanja, u građi možemo naći i problem korištenja pseudonima, koji su u tom periodu bili dosta popularni. Tako je Aleksa Popović tužio izdavačku

Nužno je naglasiti da parnice za autorska prava nisu bile česte u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu austro-ugarske uprave. Nismo sigurni da li je to zato što zakon nije detaljno regulisao ovo pitanje ili nije bilo potrebe za sporovima takvog tipa. U svakom slučaju ova parnica predstavlja važan izvor prvog reda za sagledavanje ovog problema, koji je bio ključni za zakoniti rad kako izdavača, tako i autora i knjižara (Sarajevski list XXX (33), 2) (Nada VII (16), 254).²

Ovaj primjer smo odabrali iz više razloga, a prvenstveno zbog činjenice da su se pred sudom našla dva poznata imena, Walny i Kajon. Štamparija Daniela Kajona jedna je od prvih i izuzetno važnih štamparija u Sarajevu, a djela koja su ostavili u naslijeđe nezaobilazna su za proučavanje historije.

Trgovina knjigama vlasnika Daniela A. Kajona registrovana je u novembru 1893. godine, a već naredni mjesec obavijest o tome je štampana u službenim novinama *Sarajevski list* (Pejanović 1952, 29; *Sarajevski list* XVI (142), 4).³ Iako se iz ove registracije može učiniti da je Kajon otvorio nešto poput današnje knjižare gdje su se mogle samo kupiti knjige, zapravo je trgovina knjigama podrazumijevala mnogo širi opus poslova, poput štampanja i preštampanja raznih djela, ali i prodaje karata za koncerte (*Sarajevski list* XXX (133), 2; XXXIII (286), 8; XXVI (72), 3).⁴ Godine 1900. Kajona prilikom jedne zahvale u štampi opisuju kao "posjednika štamparije", a ne trgovine knjigama (*Sarajevski list* XXIII (20), 3). Očito je da se pod knjižarom

the protection of copyrighted works in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its interpretation in practice.¹

It is necessary to emphasize that copyright lawsuits were not frequent in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule. We are not sure whether it is because the law did not regulate this issue in detail or there was no need for such disputes of this type. In any case, this lawsuit is an important first-rate source for understanding this problem, which was crucial for the legal work of both publishers and authors and booksellers (*Sarajevski list* XXX (33), 2; Nada VII (16), 254).²

We chose this example for several reasons, primarily due to the fact that two well-known names, Walny and Kajon, appeared before the court. Publishing house of Daniel Kajon is one of the first and remarkably important printing houses in Sarajevo, and the works they left as a legacy are indispensable for the study of history.

The bookstore owned by Daniel A. Kajon was registered in November 1893, and the following month a news was published in the official newspaper *Sarajevski list* (Pejanović 1952, 29; *Sarajevski list* XVI (142), 4).³ Although from this registration can be seen that Kajon opened something like today's bookstore where you could only buy books, in fact the book trade implied a much wider range of businesses such as printing and reprinting various works, but also selling concert tickets (*Sarajevski*

kuću Mihajla Milanovića između ostalog i zbog toga što je na više brošura potpisao kao autora "Perteve", pseudonim koji je on koristio. Međutim, Milanović je te optužbe jednostavno pobio činjenicom da je navedene brošure za njegovu izdavačku kuću napisao Izet Perteve pa je logično da ih je tako i potpisao. Postupak je proglašen neutemeljenim "pošto izdavanje jedne brošure pod istim književnim pseudonimom pod kojim je već prije jedna druga brošura izdana bila nikako se ne može smatrati kao preštampanje jednog književnog proizvoda, a posebnog zakona kao u Austriji, koji bi izričito zabranio bio svoj vlastiti književni proizvod pod pravnim imenom drugoga i još manje pod književnim pseudonimom drugoga izdati, u Bosni i Hercegovini neimade." Vidi: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (dalje ABIH), Vrhovni sud za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (dalje VSBiH), Krivično odjeljenje (dalje KO), kutija br. 138, IV-913/16.

² Ni novinarski tekstovi nisu bili imuni od zloupotrebe. Godine 1907. *Sarajevski list* se žalio na praksu *Hrvatskog dnevnika* iz Sarajeva koji je zloupotrijebio "U novinarstvu je uvriježen običaj, da listovi ponekad megjusobno pozajmljuju jedan od drugoga razno gradivo: priče, bilješke, vijesti i.t.d." Navodeći da je to uredu ukoliko se "kolegijalna pristojnost propisuje, da se uz pozajmljeno tugje originalno gradivo ujedno i svakad reče, iz čijeg je vrela uzeto". *Sarajevski list* navodi da *Hrvatski dnevnik* nije pisao odakle preuzima tekst "dok ga nijesmo privatno podsjetili, da to kolegijalnost i pristojnost traži". Međutim, ni to nije bilo redovno što je uredništvo lista pokušavalo spriječiti barem javnim objavama.

³ Pejanović piše da je Kajonova štamparija otvorena 1892. godine i da je bila "srednjeg kapaciteta".

⁴ Godine 1907. prilikom organizovanja koncerta s igrankom Hrvatskog pjevačkog društva Trebević, upravo "knjižara D. Kajon" je "blagonaklono" prodavala karte. Tri godine poslije u istim novinama Kajonova firma se potpisuje kao izdavačka kuća.

¹ When it comes to the copyright, in addition to reprinting, in the materials, we can also find the problem of pseudonym use, which were quite popular at that time. That is how Aleksa Popović sued the publishing house of Mihajlo Milanović, and among other things, he sued because they have the name "Perteve", pseudonym he used, signed as the author on several brochures. However, Milanović simply refuted those accusations with the fact that the mentioned brochures for his publishing house were written by Izet Perteve, so it is logical that he signed them that way. Process was declared unfounded "since publishing of a brochure with the same literary pseudonym under which another brochure was published before cannot in any way be considered as a reprint of a literary product, and a special law as in Austria, which would explicitly prohibit publishing of one's own literary product under the legal name of the other and even less under the literary pseudonym of the other, is law that Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have." See: The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (onwards ABIH), Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (onwards SCBIH), Criminal Division (onwards CD), box No. 138, IV-913/16.

² Journalistic texts were not immune from misuse either. In 1907, *Sarajevski list* complained about the practice of *Hrvatski dnevnik* from Sarajevo, which misused: "It is a common custom in journalism, that journals sometimes borrow various materials from each other: stories, notes, news, etc." Stating that it is all right if "collegial decency prescribes that in addition to borrowed someone else's original material, it is also always said from whose well it was taken", *Sarajevski list* states that *Hrvatski dnevnik* did not write from where they took the text "until we reminded them privately, that collegiality and decency demand it". However, it was not common for the newspaper's editorial board either to attempt to prevent them at least by public announcements.

³ Pejanović writes that Kajon's printing house was opened in 1892 and that it was "of medium capacity".

podrazumijevalo i štampanje, preštampanje, zapravo sve što se odnosi na izdavačku politiku. Godine 1908. pitanje prava preštampanja i izdavanja bit će od ključne važnosti u radu trgovine knjigama Daniela A. Kajona.

Poput Daniela A. Kajona i Adolf Walny je važna ličnost u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiji štamparstva, a posebno arhitekture. On je bio dugogodišnji izdavač i redaktor godišnjaka *Bosnischer Bote – Bosanski glasnik*, a članke je objavljivao i u *Sarajevskom listu* i časopisu *Nada* (Sarajevski list XIX (24), 1; Nada II (4), 68–69). Godine 1898. bio je zvanični zastupnik za Bosnu i Hercegovinu na međunarodnoj izložbi za obrt i hranu u Pragu (Sarajevski list XXI (20), 1–2). Njegov nacrt urađen kao detaljna karta pod nazivom *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung* i danas se koristi kao izvor za sagledavanje razvoja grada (Fejzić i Fejzić 2018).

Upravo je Walnyjeva karta *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* bila razlog pokretanja sudskog spora između Adolfa Walnya i Daniela A. Kajona 1907. godine. Kada je ova tužba pokrenuta, izdavačka kuća Daniel Kajon bavila se izdavanjem i štampanjem već punih 15 godina. To nam govori da je njen vlasnik bio potpuno upoznat sa zakonskom regulativom vezanom za prava štampanja i preštampanja djela. Upravo na tu “rupu u zakonu” se Kajon u jednom trenutku odbrane i pozvao, tako da ovaj slučaj u potpunosti oslikava (ne)postojanje i (ne)poštivanje zakonskih regulativa.

Sudski spor Walny protiv Kajona

Djelo pod naslovom *Kajon's Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung* dobilo je svoje mjesto u izlogu knjižare Daniela A. Kajona krajem 1907. godine. I možda bi sve prošlo bez ikakvog problema i ovaj *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* štampan u 2100 primjeraka ubrzo bio rasprodan da ga u aprilu 1908. godine Adolf Walny nije ugledao. Posumnjavši da se radi o kopiji njegovog djela, on je odmah pokrenuo sudsku parnicu protiv izdavačke kuće Daniel A. Kajon zbog krađe autorskih prava, tj. preštampanja njegovog djela pod drugim naslovom.

Walnyjeva karta objavljena je kao prilog u godišnjaku *Bosnischer Bote* pod naslovom “Walny's Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung”, dok je karta koju je objavio Kajon samo umjesto Walnyjevog imena nosila Kajonovo i zvala se “Kajon's Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung”. Već po naslovu jasno se vidi da je pravo štampanja i preštampanja upitno. Cijeli proces počeo je tako što je Walny nakon saznanja o štampanju ove karte pokrenuo privatnu

list XXX (133), 2; XXXIII (286), 8; XXVI (72), 3).⁴ In 1900, during a letter of thanks in the press, Kajon was described as “the owner of a printing house,” not a bookstore (Sarajevski list XXIII (20), 3). It is obvious that the bookstore also implied printing, reprinting, in fact everything related to the publishing policies. In 1908, the question of the right to reprint and publish will be crucial in the work of the Daniel A. Kajon's book trade.

Also, as Daniel A. Kajon, Adolf Walny is an important figure in the history of printing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but especially in architecture. He was a long-time publisher and editor of the yearbook *Bosnischer Bote – Bosanski glasnik* (Bosnian Herald), and he also published articles in *Sarajevski list* and journal *Nada* (Sarajevski list XIX (24), 1; Nada II (4), 68–69). In 1898 he was the official representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina at the International Exhibition of Crafts and Food in Prague (Sarajevski list XXI (20), 1–2). His plan was done as a detailed map under the name *Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung* that is still used today as a source for overviewing the development of the city (Fejzić and Fejzić 2018).

Walny's map *Plan for Sarajevo and vicinity* was precisely the reason for the initiation of litigation between Adolf Walny and Daniel A. Kajon in 1907. When this lawsuit was filed, the publishing house Daniel Kajon had been engaged in publishing and printing for 15 years. This tells us that its owner was fully acquainted with the legal regulations related to the rights of printing and reprinting of works. To this “legal loophole” Kajon has referred at one moment of defence, so that this case fully reflects the (non)existence and (non)abiding legal regulations.

Litigation Walny vs. Kajon

A work entitled *Kajon's Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung* got its place in the window of Daniel A. Kajon's bookstore in late 1907. And maybe everything would have gone without any problems and this Plan of Sarajevo and vicinity printed in 2100 copies would have been sold out soon if Adolf Walny had not seen it in April 1908.

Suspecting that it was a copy of his work, he immediately initiated a lawsuit against the publishing house Daniel A. Kajon for theft of copyright, i.e. reprinting of his work under another title. Walny's

⁴ In 1907, during the organization of a concert with a dance of the Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Trebević (Croatian Singing Society Trebević), “D. Kajon bookstore” was “favourably” selling the tickets. Three years later, in the same newspaper, Kajon's company was signed as a publishing house.

tužbu protiv Kajonove izdavačke kuće. Kao ličnog zastupnika u tužbi imenovao je privatnog advokata dr. Halida Hrasnicu. Izdavačka kuća Kajon nije imenovala zastupnika nego se optuženi Daniel Kajon branio lično. Sud je prvo detaljno ispitao da li postoje osnove za podizanje optužnice, nakon čega je u junu 1908. godine ona i zvanično podignuta. U optužnici je pisalo da se tuženom sudi zbog prestupa po članu 428 kaznenog zakona. Ovaj član kaznenog zakona bio je jedini na koji su se autori u Bosni i Hercegovini mogli pozvati na zaštitu “književnog i umjetničkog vlasništva” (Kazneni zakon 1897, 129).⁵

S obzirom na veoma šturu zakonsku zaštitu, Walny je punu godinu dana pokušavao dokazati da Kajon nije imao pravo štampati *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* te da se ne radi o novom nego već objavljenom, samo preštampanom djelu.

Adolf Walny je u tužbi jasno naveo da je Kajon “bez njegove dozvole, daklen neovlašteno, kopirao njegov nacrt, koji je prije 4–5 godina na svoj račun u c. i kr. Vojničko-geografskom institutu u Beču dao izraditi i izdao kao prilog knjigu ‘Bosnischer Bote’ i u posebnom izdanju pod naslovom ‘Walny’s plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung’” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422). Svjestan mogućih zloupotreba na koricama karte, Adolf je napisao da sva prava štampanja i umnožavanja ima samo autor, ali to očito nije bilo dovoljno (Sarajevski list XXVII (103), 1; ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).⁶

⁵ Član 428 kaznenog zakona je glasio: “Prestupak protiv književnog i umjetničkog vlasništva. Kazna. Svako neovlašteno preštampanje i svako s njim u zakonima izjednačeno umnožavanje ili ponicanje kakvog književnog i umjetničkog proizvoda valja kazniti na zahtjev oštećenika kao prestupak, pa valja pokraj gragjansko-pravne odštete, koju zakon ustanovljuje, kazniti onog, ko to učini, ili je pri izvedenju toga znalce sudjelovao, ili ko s proizvodima toga znalce trguje, ne samo gubitkom (konfiskacijom) zatečenih primjeraka, otisaka, saljeva i t.d., razloženjem štamarskog sloga, a kod umjetnih djela, u koliko kakva pogodba među ponaciteljem i oštećenikom što drugo ne opredjeljuje, i razorenjem ploča, kamenova, oblika i drugih predmeta, koji su isključivo za izvedenje toga umnožavanja služili, nego takogjer i novčanom kaznom (globom) od dvadeset i pet do hiljadu forinti, ili u slučaju da krivac nije kadar platiti, zatvorom od pet dana do šest mjeseci, a u slučajevima ponovljanja ili ako je krivac prije toga barem već dva puta kažnjen bio, i gubitkom obrta. Takogjer valja zaplijenjene primjerke uništiti, u koliko se po pogodbi s onim, koji je tim prestupkom oštećen, ne upotrebe na njegovu odštetu. Isto tako, ako se povredom isključivog prava sačinitelja (autora) ili njegovih pravnih nasljednika priredi javna predstava nekog dramatičnog ili muzikalnog djela u cijelosti, ili sa skraćenjima i neznatnim promjenama valja i to kazniti kao prestupak, ne samo gubitkom (zaplijenjenjem) protiv pravno upotrebljenih rukopisa (knjižica o sadržaju, partitura, uloga), nego i globom od deset do dvjesto forinti, ili, ako krivac nije kadar platiti, razmjernim zatvorom.”

⁶ Oznaka “Alle Rechte vorbehalten i vervielfeltigung vorbehalten” nedvojbeno je ukazivala na to “da je vlasnik Adolf Walny sebi pridržao pravo pomnožavanja ove karte kao i sva druga prava, a tim drugim zabranio umnožavanje karte i sve druga prava na tu kartu”, stajalo je u presudi. Sličnu opasku stavio je i Martin Gjurgjević na tekst “O vjerskim odnošajima u Japanskoj” objavljen 1904. godine, u četiri nastavka u *Sarajevskom listu*.

map was published as supplement to the yearbook *Bosnischer Bote* entitled “Walny’s Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung”, while the map published by Kajon only had Kajon’s name instead of Walny’s and was called “Kajon’s Plan von Sarajevo und Umgebung”. The title clearly shows that the right to print and reprint is questionable.

The whole process started when Walny, after learning about the printing of this map, filed a private lawsuit against Kajon’s publishing house. He appointed a private lawyer, Dr Halid Hrasnica, as his personal representative in the lawsuit. The Kajon publishing house did not appoint a representative, but the accused Daniel Kajon defended himself personally. The court first examined in detail whether there were grounds for filing an indictment, after which it was officially filed in June 1908. The indictment stated that the defendant was being tried for an offence under Article 428 of the Criminal Law. This article of the criminal law was the only one that authors in Bosnia and Herzegovina could invoke to protect “literary and artistic property” (Kazneni zakon 1897, 129).⁵

Given the very strict legal protection, Walny spent a whole year trying to prove that Kajon did not have the right to print the *Plan of Sarajevo and vicinity* and that it was not a new work but an already published one, only reprinted.

Adolf Walny clearly stated in the lawsuit that Kajon “without his permission, therefore unauthorized, copied his plan, which was 4–5 years ago on his account in k. u k. Military Geographic Institute in Vienna commissioned and published as a supplement in the book ‘Bosnischer Bote’ and in a special edition entitled ‘Walny’s plan von Sarajevo

⁵ Article 428 of the Criminal Law read: “Offense against literary and artistic property. Penalty. Any unauthorized reprinting and any equal reproduction or counterfeiting of any literary and artistic product within the law should be punished at the request of the injured party as offence, so, in addition to the civil-legal compensation, which is established by law, it is necessary to punish the one who does that, or participate willingly in the execution, or who knowingly trades with the products, not only by losing (confiscating) the found copies, prints, type casting moulds, etc., also by disassembling the printing press, and in the case of works of art, if settlement between the culprit and the injured party is not resolved, by destroying plates, stones, shapes and other objects which were used exclusively for the derivation of that reproduction, but also by a fine (penalty) from twenty-five to one thousand forints, or in case the culprit is unable to pay, imprisonment from five days to six months, and in cases of repetition or if the culprit has been punished at least twice before, with the loss of trade as well. The confiscated copies must also be destroyed, if they are not used in the settlement for the compensation of injured party. Likewise, if the exclusive right of the compiler (author) or his legal successors is violated by the public performance of a dramatic or musical work in full, or with reduction and minor changes, it should be also punished as offense, not just with the loss (confiscation) of illegally used manuscripts (booklets on the content, music sheets, roles), but also with the fine of ten to two hundred forints, or, if the culprit is unable to pay, proportional imprisonment.”

Upotreba ovakvog natpisa jasno ukazuje na koji su se način pokušavala zaštititi autorska prava, s obzirom na to da zakon nije bio precizan u tom pitanju.

Dok je Walny tvrdio da je njegova karta samo preštampana pod drugim imenom, Kajon se branio da njegov plan nije kopija karte tužitelja, već da je to “originalna radnja”. Naime, Kajon je na saslušanju ispričao kako je plan za njega napravio “gradski mjernik” Vladislav Walichnowski, da je on taj *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* od Vladislava naručio te da mu je za taj posao platio iznos od 180 kruna. Također je naveo da je Vladislavu trebalo 7 do 8 mjeseci da taj posao uradi i gotov plan njemu donese. Smatrao je da plan nije “ni književni ni umjetnički proizvod, te u opće ne može biti objektom prestupka u § 428 kz” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).

Podatak da je Kajon platio 180 kruna za izradu tako komplikovanog plana jasno je ukazivala prema tvrdnji Adolfa da se radi o kopiji, a nikako o novom planu. Kako bi se to dokazalo, na sud je pozvan Vladislav lično. Međutim, on je u međuvremenu napustio Sarajevo, tako da nije mogao pristupiti sudu na glavnoj raspravi (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).⁷

Kako bi se ustanovilo da li se radi o originalu ili kopiji Adolfovog plana, sud je odlučio da se Kajonov plan provjeri od strane sudskih vještaka. Za taj posao odabrana su dva vještaka: prof. Ferdinand Welz i “mjernik” Karlo Konečny.⁸ Zadatak im je bio da “sravne dvije karte i pronadju jeli koja od njih kopirana”. U uputama dostavljenim vještacima napomenuto je da “ne bi smetalo originalnost rada” ukoliko se Vladislav praveći Kajonov *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* “poslužio (se) bio Walnyevim planom kao izvorom ili da se je drugima radnjama poslužio, te na temelju više radnja da je napravio novu samostalnu radnju pri čemu bi imao upotrebljene izvore navesti” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k.138, IV-913/16).⁹

⁷ Iako se Vladislav W. nije pojavio na saslušanju, Sud je smatrao da njegov iskaz nikako ne bi mogao biti “pouzdan” s obzirom na to da je bio saučesnik u pravljenju spornog plana. Napomenuvši da je on imao pravo prema § 161 k. p. “uskratiti svjedočanstvo” jer “je imao razloge bojati se da bi morao odgovarati makar civilno pravno za to što je radnju Walnyevu kopirao dočim je po navodu optuženog imao izraditi samostalno radnju”.

⁸ Mjernik – geometar

⁹ Pitanje navoda odakle je preuzet tekst nije bilo ključno u odluci da li je tekst originalan ili preuzet. To se jasno vidi na primjeru Alekse Popovića koji je tužio Mihajla Milovanovića da je njegovu brošuru “Sarajevska revolucija 1878.” kopirao i objavio kao svoje autorsko djelo. Vještaci su u tom slučaju utvrdili “da inkriminirana brošura optuženog neodgovara u cjelosti brošuri privatnog tužitelja” jer se pojedine rečenice iz Popovićeve brosure ne nalaze u Milovanovićevoj. Sud je zaključio da se ne može “inkriminirana brošura optuženoga smatrati u smislu propisa § 428 k.z. pretiskom brosure privatnog tužitelja jer ista neodgovara u cijelosti brošuri privatnog tužitelja već sadržava mnoge promjene”, iako je umnogome bila potpuno slična, a Milovanović nije nigdje kao izvor naveo Popovićevu brošuru.

und Umgebung” (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422). Aware of possible abuses, on the cover of the map, Adolf wrote that only the author has all the rights to print and reproduce, but this was clearly not enough (Sarajevski list XXVII (103), 1; ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).⁶ The use of such inscription clearly indicates how copyright was sought to be protected, as the law was not precise on that issue.

While Walny claimed that his map was only reprinted under a different name, Kajon defended himself that his plan was not a copy of the plaintiff’s map, but that it was “the original work.” In fact, Kajon said at the hearing that the plan for him was made by the “city surveyor” Vladislav Walichnowski, that he has ordered from Vladislav the *Plan for Sarajevo and vicinity* and that he paid him 180 Kronen for the work. He also stated that it took Vladislav 7 to 8 months to do the job and bring him the finished plan. He considered that the plan was “neither a literary nor an artistic product, and in general could not be the object of an offense in the § 428 of Criminal law” (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).

The fact that Kajon paid 180 Kronen for making such a complicated plan clearly indicated according to Adolf’s claim that it was a copy, and not a new plan. In order to prove that, Vladislav was summoned to come to court in person. However, he left Sarajevo in the meantime so he could not testify in court at the main hearing (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).⁷

In order to determine whether it was the original or a copy of Adolf’s plan, the court decided to have Kajon’s plan checked by court experts. Two experts were selected for the job, professor Ferdinand Welz and “surveyor” Karlo Konečny.⁸ Their task was to “compare two maps and find which of them was copied.” The instructions submitted to the experts stated that “the originality of the work would not matter” if Vladislav, while making Kajon’s *Plan*

⁶ Marking “Alle Rechte vorbehalten und vervielvältigung vorbehalten” undeniably indicated that “the owner, Adolf Walny, reserved to himself the right to reproduce this map as well as all other rights, and thus prohibited the others from reproducing the map and all other rights to that map” stood in the verdict. Martin Gjurgjević made a similar remark on the text “O vjerskim odnosajima u Japanskoj” (About Religious Relations in Japan) published in 1904, in four sequels in *Sarajevski list*.

⁷ Although Vladislav W. did not appear at the hearing, the Court considered that his statement could in no way be “reliable” given that he had been accomplice in drawing up the debatable plan. Making a remark that he was entitled under the § 161 of Criminal trials “to deny the testimony” because “he had reason to fear that he would have to answer by civil law for copying Walny’s work, especially since he had to make his own work, according to the accused.”

⁸ Surveyor – geometer

Welz i Konečny su dostavili sudu detaljan izvještaj u kojem su naveli da “Kajonov plan je po mnijenju vještaka tako sličan na prvi pogled planu Walnyjevom da se oba mogu lako zamijeniti”. To ipak nije bilo ključno na što su se ovi vještaci pozvali kada su zaključili da je Kajonov plan samo kopija Walnyjevoga. Mnogobrojne greške koje je sam Walny napravio bile su ponovljene u Kajonovom planu, dok su građevine koje su nakon štampanja Walnyjevog plana izgrađene ili srušene ostale nacrtane i u Kajonovom planu kao da se ništa nije promijenilo (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).¹⁰ Konture oba plana bile su potpuno jednake “a napose t.zv. Schichten-linien kojima su visina terena označene su tako napadno kongruentne kako nikad ne bi mogle biti da je svaka od njih samostalno radnja. Obadvije karte predstavljaju sasvim isti teren skroz na skroz i predstavljaju ga na istim načinom. I jedna i druga karta počima i svršava na istoku i zapadu sjeveru i jugu baš sasvim točno na istom mjestu, što bi pri originalnoj radnji obih nemoguće bilo.” Nakon toga je slijedio logičan zaključak da je “plan Kajonov samo kopija Walnyeva plana” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).

Kajon je nakon toga odlučio promijeniti strategiju odbrane pozivajući se na nepostojanje zakonske regulative. Svjestan da “između Bosne i Hercegovine i Austro-ugarske monarhije ne postoji državni ugovor, kojim bi bio zajamčen reciprocitet autorskog prava”, Kajon je smatrao da se njegov čin ne može smatrati zakonskim prekršajem na koji se misli u kaznenom zakonu u § 428. (<http://www.dziv.hr>),¹¹ ustvrdivši, ako i jeste to djelo kažnjivo, da je on bio “u takovoj bludnji koja ga ispričava jer je držao da je njegov čin u pomanjkanju posebnih propisa o au-

of Sarajevo and vicinity, “used Walny’s plan as a source or used other work, and based on several works have made a new independent work where he would have noted used sources” (ABiH, SCBIH, CD, b. 138, IV-913/16).⁹

Welz and Konečny provided the court with a detailed report stating that “Kajon’s plan is, in the expert’s opinion, so similar at first glance to Walny’s plan that both can be mixed up easily.” This, however, was not crucial to what these experts referred when they concluded that Kajon’s plan was only a copy of Walny’s. Numerous mistakes made by Walny himself were repeated in the Kajon’s plan, while the buildings that were built or demolished after the printing of the Walny’s plan remained drawn in the Kajon’s plan as if nothing had changed (ABiH, SCBIH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).¹⁰ The contours of both plans were exactly the same “and especially so called Schichten-linien which indicate the height of the terrain are so strikingly congruent that each of them could never be independent work.” Both maps represent exactly the same terrain all the way through and represent it in the same way. Both maps begin and end in the east and west north and south in exactly the same place, which would be impossible in the original work of both. “It was followed by the logical conclusion that ‘Kajon’s plan is just a copy of Walny’s plan’” (ABiH, SCBIH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).

Kajon then decided to change his defence strategy, invoking the lack of legislation. Aware that “between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Austro-Hungar-

⁹ The question of citation where the text was taken from was not crucial in deciding whether the text was original or taken. This is clearly seen in the example of Aleksa Popović, who sued Mihajlo Milovanović for copying and publishing his brochure “Sarajevo Revolution 1878” as his own work. In that case, the experts determined “that the incriminated brochure of the accused did not correspond in its entirety to the brochure of the private plaintiff” because certain sentences from Popović’s brochure were not in Milovanović’s. The Court concluded that “the incriminated brochure of the accused cannot be considered in terms of the regulation of § 428 of Criminal law as reprint of the private plaintiff’s brochure because it does not fully correspond to the private plaintiff’s brochure, but already contains many changes.” Although in many ways it was completely similar, Milovanović did not cite Popović’s brochure as a source.

¹⁰ The report said: “Both maps under E and F-8 have Zlatistija instead Zlatište, both maps under E-6 have note Städtischer bauhof that has never been there, because the fairground is in that place. At point B-6, both maps incorrectly noted Viehmarkt (Cattle market) that has never been there. Many more similar mistakes have been pointed out. In Walny’s plan, third building of the National Government is missing in E-5 because it didn’t exist, and in Kajon’s plan it is also missing, although it has existed in 1906/7. In H-5, according to Walny’s plan, a whole group of houses from 1904 existed, group in 1906/7 was gone, and yet, it was charted in Kajon’s plan. In H-3 in both plans KOvaci was written instead Kovači. In B-5, both plans military barracks are marked incorrectly with Lager-kasare instead k. u k. Defensions lager. Elevation point 768 in both plans is marked incorrectly and it had to be 827 meters. It is the same with I-7, in both plans indicated height of Čolina kapa is 909 instead 960 meters....”

¹⁰ U izvještaju je pisalo: “U obadvije karte imaju pod E i F-8 Zlatistija mjesto Zlatište obadvije karte imaju pod E-6 zamišljeno Städtischer bauhof koji tamo nikad bio nije, jer je na tom mjestu sajmište. Na mjestu B-6 je u obadvije karte zabilježeno pogriješno Viehmarkt koji tamo nikad bio nije. Sličnih pogriješaka istaknuto je još mnogo. U Walnyevom planu nema treće zgrade Zemaljske vlade u E-5 ucrtane jer tada postojala nije, a ni u Kajonovom planu je nema premda je godine 1906/7 postojala. U H-5 ima po Walnyevom planu čitava grupa kuća koja je 1904 postojala te grupe 1906/7 više nije bilo, a ipak je ucrtana u Kajonovom planu. U H-3 je napisano u obadva plana KOvaci mjesto Kovači. U B-5 su u obadva plana označene vojničke kasarne pogriješno sa Lager-kasarne mjesto k. u k. Defensions lager. Kota 768 je u obadva plana pogriješno zabilježena te je u obadva morala biti 827 metara. Isto tako je kod I-7 u obadva plana naznačena visina Čoline kape sa 909 umjesto 960 metara...”

¹¹ Ako uporedimo Zakon o autorskom pravu u pogledu književnih, umjetničkih i fotografskih djela iz 1895. objavljenog za “kraljevine i zemlje, zastupane u carevinskom vijeću”, uvidjet ćemo da se u članu 2 prava daju “za djela inostranaca, ako su izašla u Njemačkom carstvu, i za djela njemačkih državljana, koja nijesu izašla, ovaj zakon vrijedi”, ali samo u slučaju “dokle je data uzajamnost”. Bosna i Hercegovina nije sudjelovala u uzajamnom potpisivanju sporazuma o autorskom pravu, koje je Hrvatsko-ugarski sabor nostrifikovao još 1884. godine.

torskom pravu dozvoljen” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422). Ovo je bilo izuzetno važno jer Bosna i Hercegovina zaista nije imala regulisan zakon o autorskim pravima niti potpisan sporazum o važenju austrijskog zakona po tom pitanju. Stoga je sud morao ustanoviti da li se zaista radi o književnom ili umjetničkom djelu koje je bilo zaštićeno kaznenim zakonom, i to striktno famoznim članom 428.

Nakon detaljnog ispitivanja sud je zaključio da zabrana preštampavanja bez dozvole autora “postoji svagdje gdje je zakonom zaštićena ali i svugdje gdje zakonom nije isključena”. Pojasnivši da u § 428 k. z. “nije zaštićeno književno i umjetničko vlasništvo samo ono koje je stečeno u Bosni i Hercegovini, nego je zaštićeno bez obzira svačije književno i umjetničko vlasništvo te zakon ne pravi razlike, gdje je ovo stečeno” sud je dalje pojasnio da po “općem značenju u § 428 kz. upotrebljena riječ preštampavanje predpostavlja da je najprije postojao jedan proizvod štampe, po drugi put drugim pločama ili formama, što služi za umnožavanje, štampan akar i po istom stamparu” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).

Sud je u ovom slučaju odlučio da nema potrebe “više ispitivati da li izvan odredbe kaznenog zakona postoje kakovi drugi propisi bilo u posebnim zakonima bilo u temelju državnih ugovora, po kojim bi se navedeni pojmovi imali prosudjivati, a napose da li je kakvim državnim ugovorom zajamčena zaštita autorskog prava koje valja u Austro-ugarskoj monarhiji, da bude zaštićeno i u Bosni i Hercegovini”, navodeći da je za crtanje tako komplikovanih karti “potrebna (je) velika vještina u crtanju, a osim toga znanje svih propisa, kako se imadu na karti predstaviti faktična stanja ustanovljena izmjerama, i sasvim maleni prostori opseg je teško sasvim točno nacrtom predstaviti” i zaključivši da se ona zbog toga smatra “umjetničkim” djelom koje je zaštićeno članom zakona 428.

Sudskom vijeću nije promakla ni činjenica da je *Plan Sarajeva i okolice* Kajon štampao u štampariji Eduarda Strechea, ali da on nije svoje ime stavio na korice. Štamparije su koristile svaku priliku za reklamiranje i nisu propuštale mogućnost pisanja svog imena na sve što bi izašlo iz njihove štamparije. Sud je smatrao da je taj Eduardov potez trebao biti znak Kajonu, čak iako nije znao da se radi o kopiji Walnyjevog plana, da nešto nije uredu s planom na koji stavlja svoje ime (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).¹²

¹² “Napadno je da na Kajonovom planu nema bilješke da je izradjen u Warnsdorfu kod Eduarda Strechea. Očevidno se ustručavao Eduard

ian Monarchy government contract which would guarantee the reciprocity of copyright doesn’t exist”, Kajon considered that his act could not be considered as a legal offense referred to the Criminal Code in the § 428. (<http://www.dziv.hr>),¹¹ arguing that if it is a criminal offense, he was “in such misapprehension, it excuses him because he thought that his act in the absence of special copyright regulations is permissible” (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422). This was extremely important because Bosnia and Herzegovina really did not have a regulated copyright law or signed agreement on the validity of Austrian law on this issue. Therefore, the court had to establish whether it was really a literary or artistic work that was protected by criminal law and by a strictly famous article 428.

After a detailed examination, the Court concluded that the ban on reprinting without the author’s permission “it exists everywhere where it is protected by law but also wherever it is not excluded by law.” Explaining that in the § 428 of the Criminal law, “literary and artistic property acquired in Bosnia and Herzegovina are not the only one protected, everyone’s literary and artistic property is protected regardless of the place of property acquiring, the law makes no distinction.” The court further clarified that by “general meaning in the § 428 of the Criminal law, used word reprinting assumes that first there was one printing product, and secondly, other plates or forms which serve for reproducing and printed sheets are from the same printer” (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).

The court decided in this case that there was no need “to examine more whether there are any other regulations outside the regulations of the Criminal law, either in special laws or on the basis of government contracts, according to which these terms should be judged, and especially whether any government contract guarantees copyright protection in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will be protected in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.” Stating that for drawing such complicated maps “great skill in drawing is required, as well as knowledge of all regulations as to be able to represent the factual conditions on the map provided by measurements.” And for very

¹¹ If we compare the Copyright Law with regard to literary, artistic and photographic works from 1895 published for “kingdoms and lands, represented in the imperial council”, we will see that in the article 2 rights are given “for the works of foreigners, if they came out in the German Empire, and for the works of German citizens, which did not come out, this law applies” but only in case “as long as reciprocity is given.” Bosnia and Herzegovina did not participate in the mutual signing of the copyright agreement, which was already validated by the Croatian-Hungarian Parliament in 1884.

Nakon svih pokušaja, na samom kraju Kajon je pokušao tužbu poništiti i tvrdnjom da je sama optužnica pokrenuta prekasno. Međutim, činjenica da Walny živi u Beču, te da je u Sarajevo stigao tek 19 dana prije nego što je podnio prijavu, bila je dovoljna da se slučaj ne može proglasiti zastarjelim.

Punu godinu dana nakon pokretanja tužbe, sud je donio konačnu odluku u kojoj je Kajon A. Daniel proglašen krivim za “neovlašteno preštampavanje” Walnyjevog *Plana Sarajeva i okolice*, te da je “znalice učinio odnosno sudjelovao kod toga da bude Walnyev plan preštampan i izdan pod naslovom Kajonov plan i da je znalci tim proizvodom trgovao”. Također je naglašeno da “Optuženi kao knjižar i nakladnik znade sasvim dobro da je zakon propisao da na svakom štampano spisu mora biti naznačeno mjesto gdje je štampan i ime štamparije”, kao i da “Nijedan štampar koji korektno postupa ne će propustiti da ovom propisu udovolji, a ako imade razloga da se sa svojom radnjom ponudi, udovoljiti će ovim prepisima u vlastitom interesu, jer će na taj način sam za se reklamu činiti”, zaključivši da je “u objektivnom i u subjektivnom pravcu dokazana krivnja optuženoga” (ABiH, VSBiH, KO, k. 73, IV-908/422).

Olakšavajuća okolnost za Kajona bila je ta što mu je to bio prvi prekršaj, a otežavajuća da je prekršaj bio kažnjiv po dva osnova. U trenutku presude Daniel A. Kajon je imao 51 godinu i imovinu u vrijednosti od 50.000 kruna, a kažnjen je novčanom kaznom od 200 kruna. Kazna se mogla iz materijalne pretvoriti u zatvorsku, tako što je umjesto 200 kruna u zatvoru trebao provesti 20 dana. Kompletan tiraž mu je oduzet, a morao je platiti i sudske troškove.

Zaključak

Ovaj slučaj pokazatelj je problema s kojima su se susretali ne samo autori nego i štamparske kuće u nedostatku jasnog zakonskog okvira o autorskim pravima u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu austrougarske uprave. Dokazati da je neko djelo umjetnički ili književni originalno nije bilo jednostavno. Mnogi autori poput Alekse Popovića nisu uspijevali svoje radove zaštititi. Parnica Walny protiv Kajona možda bi imala i drugačiji epilog samo da je sud odlučio da djelo nije niti umjetnički niti književni izražaj, što nije bila rijetkost. Svjesni da ih zakon neće zaštititi, autori su često na korice štampali upozorenje

na Kajonov plan svoju firmu staviti jer je vidio da je ovo samo kopija Walnyjevog plana... Ako li on nije odredio da se ispusti ime štamparije i mjesto štampanja morala je u njemu nastati dvojba iz kojeg li razloga se štampar usuđava dati svoje ime”, pisalo je u zapisniku.

small spaces, it is difficult to accurately represent on the plan range of perimeters. Concluding that map is therefore considered as “artistic” work protected by Article 428.

The Trial Chamber did not miss the fact that the *Plan of Sarajevo and vicinity* was printed by Kajon in the printing house of Eduard Strche, but that he did not put his name on the cover. The printing houses used every opportunity for advertising and did not miss the opportunity to write their name on everything that would come out of their printing house. The court held that Eduard’s act should have been a sign to Kajon, even though he did not know that it was a copy of Walny’s plan, that something was wrong with the plan on which he is adding his name (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).¹²

After all attempts, at the very end, Kajon tried to nullify the lawsuit by claiming that the charge itself was initiated too late. However, the fact that Walny lives in Vienna, and that he arrived in Sarajevo only 19 days before he filed an appeal, was sufficient that the case could not be declared as time-barred.

A full year after the lawsuit was filed, the Court issued a final decision finding Kajon A. Daniel guilty of Walny’s *Plan for Sarajevo and vicinity* “unauthorized reprinting” and that he “knowingly did i.e. participated in the reprinting and publishing the Walny’s plan under the title Kajon’s plan and that he has traded with that product.” It was also emphasized that “The Accused, as a bookseller and publisher, knows quite well that the law prescribes that on every printed text must be indicated the place of publishing and the name of the printing house.” Also, “No printer who acts correctly will fail to comply to this regulation, and if he has a reason to recommend himself with the work, he will comply to these regulations in his own interest, because in that way he will make an advertisement for himself” concluding that “the guilt of the accused has been proven in an objective and subjective way” (ABiH, SCBiH, CD, b. 73, IV-908/422).

Mitigating circumstance for Kajon was that it was his first offense, and the aggravating circumstance was that the offense was punishable on two grounds. At the time of the verdict, Daniel A. Kajon was 51 years old and had assets worth 50,000 Kronen and

¹² “It is striking that there is no note on Kajon’s plan that it was made in Warnsdorf by Eduard Streche. Obviously, Eduard was hesitant to put his company on Kajon’s plan because he saw that this was just a copy of Walny’s plan ... If he did not order for the name of the printing house and the place of printing to be omitted, there must have been doubt as to why the printer was reluctant to give his name” – it was written in the transcript.

da je preštampanje zabranjeno bez dozvole autora, što je bar djelimično osiguravalo da će prije preštampavanja drugi izdavač dobro razmisliti.

Da zakon nije precizan te da austrougarski zakoni nisu važeći i na teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine bili su svjesni i autori i štamparije. U toku samog suđenja optuženi kao olakšavajuću okolnost jasno navodi da zakon nije regulisao pitanje preštampavanja. Walny protiv Kajona je parnica koja ukazuje na više važnih činjenica iz historije štampanja i izdavačke djelatnosti, oslikavši realno stanje u ovom segmentu.

Kroz ovaj primjer pokazano je kako su štampanje, preštampanje i zaštita autorskih prava izgledali s druge strane, iz ugla aktera i vremena prvih godina ekspanzije štamparija u Sarajevu, a zaštita autorskih prava bila tek u povoju.

Više od jednog stoljeća nakon ove parnice u kojoj je jasno dokazano da je Kajon bez dozvole kopirao djelo Walnya i objavio ga pod svojim imenom, nekoliko kopija koje su u tom trenutku već bile prodane danas služe, isto kao i originalno djelo, kao izvor za sliku Sarajeva i razvoja grada u tom periodu.

was fined with 200 Kronen. The sentence could be changed from material to imprisonment, so that instead of 200 Kronen he had to spend 20 days in prison. The entire circulation was taken away from him, and he had to pay court costs as well.

Conclusion

This case is an indicator of the problems faced not only by the authors but also by the printing houses in the absence of a clear legal framework on copyright in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule. Proving that artistic or literary work is original was not easy. Many authors, such as Aleksa Popović, failed to protect their work. The Walny vs. Kajon lawsuit might have had a different epilogue only if the court had ruled that the work was neither an artistic nor a literary expression, which was not uncommon. Aware that the law would not protect them, the authors often printed on the cover a warning that reprinting was prohibited without the author's permission, which at least partially ensured that another publisher would think twice before reprinting.

The authors and printing houses were aware that the law was not precise and that the Austro-Hungarian laws were not valid on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the trial itself, the Accused clearly stated as a mitigating circumstance that the law did not regulate the issue of reprinting. Walny vs. Kajon is a lawsuit that points to several important facts from the history of printing and publishing, depicting the real situation in this segment.

This example shows how printing, reprinting and copyright protection looked from the other side, from the point of view of participants and the time of the first years of expansion of printing houses in Sarajevo, when copyright protection was still in the beginning.

More than a century after this lawsuit in which it was clearly proven that Kajon copied Walny's work without permission and published it under his own name, several copies already sold at the time, serve today, just like the original work, as a source for the picture of Sarajevo and the development of the city in that period.

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Kartografija Crne Gore s naglaskom na prve domaće karte Crne Gore Cartography of Montenegro With the Emphasis on Its Earliest Domestic Maps

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Sažetak / Abstract

Radi se o kartografskoj interesantnosti i zastupljenosti “istorijskog prostora” Crne Gore u kontekstu sfera velikih sila i njihovog prikazivanja. Prati se kartografija od IV do XX vijeka, s naglaskom na prve domaće karte Crne Gore u XIX vijeku.

This work discusses cartographic attractiveness and representation of the Montenegrin “historic spaces” in the context of the Great Powers spheres of influence and their imperial assessment of the cartographic material. It gives an overview of the “historic space” of Montenegro between the 4th and 20th century, esp. in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Ages, placing special emphasis on the earliest and subsequent domestic/local maps.

Uvod. Kritički pristup, autentičnost i mjesto izvora u istoriji kartografije

Posmatrano u prostorno-vremenskoj, odnosno istorijskoj dimenziji, kao jedinstveni “istorijski prostor”, na pitanje saznanje vrijednosti i autentičnosti, vjerodostojnosti *kartografskih izvora* primjenjuje se istorijski kritički pristup ili istorijska kritika kao i na narativne, tekstualne izvore, poduprte opažajnošću prostorne predmetnosti. Zato je preduslov kritičke upotrebe karte poznavanje njenog mjesta u kartografskoj tradiciji, odnos prema ranijim kartama i nastojanje da se podaci dopunjavaju. (Ćirković 1991b; Škalamera 1991, 136–138)

Kartografska interesantnost “istorijskog prostora” Crne Gore od IV do XIX vijeka

Prostor Crne Gore je zastupljen na najstarijim poznatim kartografskim djelima u razdoblju od IV do XX vijeka. Razlog takve zastupljenosti je u njenom geografskom položaju koji je uvijek bio strateški važan, a time i interesantan za kartografska djela (Pejović 2009a). O strateškoj važnosti geografskog položaja Crne Gore svjedoči i zamišljena “Teodosijeva linija” koja je označavala granicu između (razdvojenog) Zapadnog i Istočnog rimskog carstva (koja se od 395. g. nijesu ujedinila), a povučena je preko Crne Gore.

Introduction. Critical approach, authenticity and place of source in the history of cartography

Observed in spatio-temporal, i.e. historical dimension, as a unique “historical space”, to the question of cognitive value and authenticity, credibility of *cartographic resources*, a historical critical approach or historical critique is applied as well as to narrative, textual resources, supported by the perception of spatial objectivity. Therefore, the precondition for the critical use of a map is the understanding of its place in the cartographic tradition, relation to earlier maps and efforts to supplement the data. (Ćirković 1991b; Škalamera 1991, 136–138)

Cartographic curiosities of the “historical space” of Montenegro from the 4th to the 19th century

The area of Montenegro is represented on the oldest known cartographic works in the period from the 4th to the 20th century. The reason for such presence is in its geographical position which has always been strategically important, and thus interesting for cartographic works (Pejović 2009a). The strategic importance of the geographical position of Montenegro is evidenced by the imaginary “Theodosius line” which marked the border between the (partitioned) Western and Eastern Roman Empires (which have

U antičkom i feudalnom dobu, Balkansko poluostrvo bilo je poprište stalnih borbi, nemira i naglih političkih promjena i nestajanja pojedinih država, u sjenci sukoba Zapada i Istoka. Upadom Osmanlija u 14. vijeku Balkansko poluostrvo i šira okolina većim dijelom postaje teritorija Otomanskog carstva.

Interesni strateški i geopolitički položaj Crne Gore zadržan je i u novovjekovnoj Crnoj Gori, u trajnim aspiracijama i teritorijalnim pretenzijama većih i manjih imperijalnih sila. To je uslovljavalo i određivalo i kartografske prikaze uopšte, naročito “istorijski prostor” Crne Gore sve do početaka domaće kartografije početkom, sredinom i u drugoj polovini XIX vijeka. To je Njegoš, iako poetski, sasvim tačno istorijski konstatovao “zemlja mala otvud stiješnjena”,¹ u trajnim teritorijalnim aspiracijama imperijalnih sila.

Ovo je tipičan model činjenice da je kartografija, kao materijalno-predmetna naučna disciplina, naročito primjenjivana na crnogorski “istorijski prostor”, bila stalno opterećena imperijalno-istorijskom vrijednosnom komponentom, odnosno osnovom. To je uslovljavalo i određivalo dominantni imperijalni karakter odnosnih karata, kartografske prikaze i uopšte njihovo tumačenje, naročito “istorijskog prostora” Crne Gore sve do početaka domaće, samostalne i državne kartografije u prvoj i drugoj polovini XIX vijeka.

Kartografski “istorijski prostor” Crne Gore

U antici i srednjem vijeku

Ptolemejove karte iz II vijeka n. e. čine predstavu o svijetu tadašnje rimske kartografije. Preko Vizantije dospjele su u Evropu gdje su proučavane i štampane u vremenu renesanse. U izdanju iz 1513. godine, između 27 karata, na petoj i devetoj mapi predstavljene su i oblasti današnje Crne Gore. Takođe su predjeli Crne Gore prikazani na rimskoj putnoj karti (itinerar) iz IV vijeka, u obliku svitka od pergamenta, pod nazivom Tabula Peutingeriana, a otkriven je u XIII vijeku (Pejović 2009a). Istoričar Ferdo Šišić (1925) je u svojoj knjizi *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* kao prilog stavio tri karte na kojima je prikazan prostor Crne Gore sa rimskom toponimatom.

U srednjem vijeku kartografija je dvojno usmjerena. Uglavnom dominira sholastičko-crkvena predstava

not been united since A.D. 395), and it was drawn across Montenegro. In ancient and feudal times, the Balkan Peninsula was the scene of constant battles, turmoil and sudden political changes and the disappearance of individual states, in the shadow of conflict between West and East. With the incursions of the Ottomans in the 14th century, the Balkan Peninsula and its wider surroundings became for the most part the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The interesting strategic and geo-political position of Montenegro was maintained in modern Montenegro as well, in the lasting aspirations and territorial pretensions of larger and smaller imperial powers. This will condition and determine the cartographic representations in general, especially the “historical space” of Montenegro until the beginnings of domestic cartography in the early, middle and second half of the 19th century. Njegoš, although poetically, but quite accurately historically, states: “a small country squeezed from everywhere”,¹ in the lasting territorial aspirations of the imperial powers.

This is a typical model that cartography, as a materially subject scientific discipline, especially applied to the Montenegrin “historical space”, is constantly burdened with the imperial-historical value component, i.e., with the basis. This will condition and determine the dominant imperial character of the respective maps, cartographic representations and their interpretation in general, especially the “historical space” of Montenegro, until the beginnings of domestic, independent and state cartography in the first and second half of the 19th century.

Cartographic “historical space” of Montenegro

In Ancient Times and the Medieval Ages

Ptolemy's 2nd A.D. century maps form an idea of the world in Roman cartography at the time. Through Byzantium they reached Europe, where they were studied and printed during the Renaissance. In the edition from 1513, between 27 maps, on the fifth and ninth map, parts of today's Montenegro are also presented. The region of Montenegro was also shown on the Roman road map (itinerarium) from 4th century, in the form of a parchment scroll, under the title Tabula Peutingeriana, and was discovered in the 13th century (Pejović 2009a). Historian Ferdo Šišić (1925) in his book *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme*

¹ Njegoš: “Zemlja mala, otvud stiješnjena kakve sile put nje zijevaju”, pa kategorički zaključuje: “Za dvostrukost ni mislit ne treba”. Ovaj njegov zaključak bitno i prije svega se odnosi upravo na imperijalnu teritorijalnu podjelu Crne Gore, na njene osvojene krajeve i “stiješnjenu” slobodnu podlovcensku Crnu Goru (podvojenu na “Donju Zetu” i uglavnom “Gornju Zetu”), netačno nazivanu “Stara Crna Gora”.

¹ Njegoš: “A small country squeezed from everywhere, what forces yawn at her way”, and then he categorically concludes: “There is no need to think about duality”. His conclusion essentially and above all refers precisely to the imperial territorial division of Montenegro, to its conquered lands and “squeezed” free Montenegro under Lovćen (divided to “Donja Zeta” and mainly “Gornja Zeta”), incorrectly called “Old Montenegro”.

svijeta sa geocentričnim prikazom zemlje, zvane sa dva grčka slova *T-O karte*. U njima je svijet prikazan u krugu, opkoljen okeanom, a kopno je podijeljeno na tri dijela: Aziju, Evropu i Afriku. Osim u zapadno-hrišćanskom svijetu, postojale su i u istočno-arapskom. Na drugoj strani, iz praktičnih potreba trgovine i pomorstva, javljaju se i svjetovne karte. Krajem XIII vijeka pojavljuje se kartografsko djelo *Insulle Archipelagi* (Arhipelagska ostrva) iz 1420. godine od C. Buondelmontija. U njegovom djelu je i sadržajno uobličena ova vrsta karata u kojima su pored kartografskog predstavljanja ostrva uključeni i priobalni dijelovi i pisani tekst o trgovačkim i ekonomskim prilikama te istorijat odnosnog kraja. I pored rečenog edukativnog karaktera, izolari su bitni kartografski prikazi.

Novovjekovni kartografski "istorijski prostor" **Crne Gore**

Kartografski prikazi Crnogorskog primorja (obale) od najstarijih vremena su razmatrani kao dio istočne jadranske obale (Muljačić 1971; Marković 1974). Crnogorska obala bila je u svim istorijskim razdobljima značajna za talasokratije u strateškom i navigacionom smislu, kao što je Venecija, pa je prisutna u posebnoj produkciji venecijanskih portulana, izolara ili atlasa od XIV do XVIII vijeka. O crnogorskoj obali i njenoj važnosti za Mletačku Republiku iz tog razdoblja postoje brojna svjedočanstva među kojima su djela Giuseppea Rosaccia i Vincenza Marije Coronellija. Djela Coronellija sabrana u djelu i širem opusu i u obimnijem djelu sa dugim naslovom, poznata su i kao *mali izolar*. To je period iz druge polovine XVII i prvih decenija XVIII vijeka koji se dobrim dijelom poklapa sa periodom Morejskog rata, dobrim dijelom vođenog na Crnogorskom primorju. Iz tog vremena datira njegovo djelo *mali izolar* (prvo izdanje 1688. godine) (Sindik 1927; 1931; Škrivanić 1959; Kisić 1988). U tom djelu je Crnogorska obala predstavljena sa 22 karte, plana i veduta. U karti 1 jasno se uočava Bokotorski zaliv. Sljedeća karta prezentira crnogorsku obalu u cjelini i u sklopu šireg regiona. U karti 3 uz dijelove Dalmacije i Dubrovačke Republike prikazano je čitavo današnje Crnogorsko primorje. I u drugim Coronellijevim djelima je *Topografski prikaz Boke Kotorske* (K-3) koja se "odlikuje velikom minucioznošću i preciznošću" (Pavić 2007). Na tragu ove karte su i prikazi Boke Kotorske (K-5 i K-6) u kojima se može jasno pročitati njen naziv: *Kotorski kanal s Herceg Novim i ostalim mjestima*. U ostalim kartama su prikazi ostalih gradova Crnogorskog primorja, izvan Boke Kotorske, sve do

narodnih vladara (History of Croats in the time of the national rulers) has added as supplement three maps that show the region of Montenegro with Roman toponymics.

In the Medieval Ages, cartography was doubly oriented. It is mainly dominated by the scholastic and church representation of the world with a geocentric representation of the Earth, called by two Greek letters, *T-O maps*. In them, the world is shown in a circle, surrounded by the ocean, and the land is divided into three parts: Asia, Europe and Africa. Apart from the Western Christian world, they also existed in the Eastern Arab world. On the other hand, for the practical needs of trade and shipping, secular maps also emerge. At the end of the 13th century, from 1420, the cartographic work *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (Book of Islands) by C. Buondelmonti appears. In his work this type of map is also substantially shaped and, in addition to the cartographic representation of the island, its coastal parts are included with the written text on trade and economic opportunities and the history of the concerned area. Despite the stated educational character, Isolarios (Books of Islands) are important cartographic representations.

Modern cartographic "historical space" of Montenegro

Cartographic representations of the Montenegrin seaside (coast) from the earliest time have been considered as part of the eastern Adriatic coast (Muljačić 1971; Marković 1974). The Montenegrin coast has been important in all historical periods for thalassocracies in strategic and navigational sense, such as Venice, so it is present in a special production of Venetian portolan charts, Isolarios or atlases from the 14th to the 18th century. From that period numerous testimonies about the Montenegrin coast and its importance for the Venetian Republic exists, including the works of Giuseppe Rosaccio and Vincenzo Maria Coronelli. Works of Coronelli are collected in a work and in a wider opus and in a more voluminous work with a long title, also known as *Small Isolario*. It is a period from the second half of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century, which largely coincides with the period of the Morean War, which was led largely on the Montenegrin coast. His work, *Small Isolario* dates from that period (first issue in 1688) (Sindik 1927; 1931; Škrivanić 1959; Kisić 1988). In this work, the Montenegrin coast is presented with 22 maps, plans and vedute. Map 1 clearly shows the Bay of Kotor. The following map presents the Montenegrin coast as a whole and within

Bara i Ulcinja. Na kraju, dr Milorad Pavić zaključuje da je Coronellijevim radovima na području kartografiranja učinjen značajan *doprinos u vjerodostojnom prikazivanju prostora*, ali i da taj fond ostaje za mnogo veće istraživanje u kartografiji. U stilu dr Milorada Pavića i njegove instrukcije za dalje kartografsko istraživanje Boke Kotorske i Crnogorske obale objavljivalo je radove više autora (Milojević 1953; Radivović 1994, 13; Milošević 1974; 2000; 2003), među kojima je i rad mr Marije Mihaliček (2006; 2016).

Zbog prethodno navedenih razloga Crna Gora i u onom okupiranom i onom slobodnom dijelu bila je višestruko interesantna i za kartografsko prikazivanje od strane evropskih sila, ali i iz istih razloga nije bila još u moći da stvara sopstvenu i državnu kartografiju.

Još o sistematizaciji karata Crne Gore strane provenijencije

Janko Senderdi prvo ističe da Crna Gora do ujedinjenja 1918. godine nije imala sopstvenu i službenu kartografiju svoje teritorije, a zatim u razvoju kartografskih prikaza Crne Gore razlikuje dvije globalne faze: 1. kada je obrađivana u sklopu susjednih oblasti i zemalja ili u "cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Osmanske imperije" i 2. kada je kartografski obrađivana kao zasebna cjelina. Zatim ih je podijelio na 6 epoha (Senderdi 1955). Iako je nabijena i pokrivena iscrpnim bibliografskim i kartografskim izvorima, u osnovi ove studije je jedan imperijalni ideološko-vrijednosni stav koji se čini da ne odgovara stvarnom stanju, a takođe njegov kartografski pristup da okupiranu teritoriju Crne Gore ne smatra kartografskim prikazom Crne Gore.

Iako je rečena podjela J. Senderdija u načelu opravdana, dosta je šematizovana i nepotpuna, jer se u tu šemu ne uklapa stvarno stanje. U prvoj podijeljenoj grupi nije odgovarajuća formulacija "u cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Turske imperije", jer je izostavio i da pomene da su na izložbi Istorijskog muzeja Beča (iz Bečkog arhiva) od 5. 5. do 30. 10. 1983. godine izložene dvije karte pod nazivom "Turci pred Bečom". Jedna karta prikazuje Osmansko carstvo pri kraju 15. vijeka, a drugom iz 1699. godine je označeno da je u moru Turskog carstva Crna Gora bila ograničena kao slobodna država (Karadag). Legendarna karta je: "Nr ¼ Das Osmanisch Reich von der Mitte des 14. (kraj XV v.) i 15. Jahrhunderis bis 1699". U njoj je Osmansko carstvo obilježeno zelenom bojom čitavom svojom širinom, a Montenegro je kao "ostrvce" izdvojeno istom bojom kao i ostale

the wider region. Map 3, along with parts of Dalmatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik, shows the entire Montenegrin coast as is today. In other Coronelli's works there is a *Topografski prikaz Boke Kotorske* (Topographical presentation of the Bay of Kotor) (K-3) which is "characterized by great meticulousness and precision" (Pavić 2007). On the trail of this map are also depictions of the Bay of Kotor (K-5 i K-6) where its name can be clearly read: *Kotorski kanal s Herceg Novim i ostalim mjestima* (Kotor Canal with Herceg Novi and other places). Other maps show other cities of the Montenegrin coast, outside the Bay of Kotor, all the way to Bar and Ulcinj. At the end, Dr. Milorad Pavić concludes that Coronelli's work in the field of mapping has made a significant *contribution to the authentic presentation of space*, but also that fund remains for much greater research in cartography. In the Dr. Milorad Pavić's style and his instructions for further cartographic research of the Bay of Kotor and the Montenegrin coast, works by several authors were published (Milojević 1953; Radivović 1994, 13; Milošević 1974; 2000; 2003), including the work of Marija Mihaliček, MA (2006; 2016).

Due to the aforementioned reasons, Montenegro, in both parts, occupied and free, was in many ways interesting for cartographic presentation by the European powers, but for the same reasons it was not yet able to create its own and state's cartography.

More about the systematization of maps of Montenegro of foreign provenance

Janko Senderdi first points out that Montenegro did not have its own and official cartography of its territory until the unification in 1918, and then distinguishes two global phases in the development of cartographic representations of Montenegro: 1. when it was elaborated within neighbouring regions and countries or in the Balkan Peninsula as whole *within the Ottoman Empire* and 2. when it was cartographically elaborated as a separate unit. Then he divided them into 6 epochs (Senderdi 1955). Although charged and covered with exhaustive bibliographic and cartographic resources, at the core of this study is opinion of imperial ideological-value that does not seem to correspond to the real situation, and also its cartographic approach not to consider the occupied territory of Montenegro as a cartographic representation of Montenegro.

Although mentioned division of J. Senderdi is generally reasoned, it is quite schematic and incomplete, because the real situation does not fit into this scheme. In the first divided group, the formulation

samostalne evropske države. Prema tome, nije Crna Gora prikazana “u cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Turske imperije”. Ovo je izuzetno značajna mapa Crne Gore za njenu samostalnost. Prikazuje stanje turskih osvajanja i izložena je na Bečkoj izložbi *Die Turken vor Wiene* (1983).²

U njegovom kartografskom prikazu nema ni karte Crne Gore Petra I Petrovića ni Jana Vaclika, koja bi trebala da je navedena u “trećoj epohi od 1856. do Berlinskog kongresa 1878. godine”. Nema je ni u bibliografiji kartografije tog perioda u “Prva Epoha = konac XVIII. vijek, t.j. prvi ozbiljniji pokušaji za teritorije Crne Gore”.

Ostale karte Crne Gore strane provenijencije

Međutim, sa sve većom samostalnošću i izdvojenosti Crne Gore u odnosu na Osmansko carstvo već tokom XVII, XVIII i XIX vijeka na kartama je često Crna Gora prikazivana zasebno, čak i na turskim (Pejović 2009a). Već od početka XIX vijeka na većini karata različite provenijencije Crna Gora biva prikazana kao zasebna cjelina. U prvoj polovini XIX vijeka nastalo je nekoliko karata Crne Gore počevši od one Napoleonovog pukovnika Vijale de Somijera, preko ruskog inženjera Jegora Kovaljevskog, zapovjednika Kotora grofa Teodora Karačaja do karte egiptologa Džona Gardenera Vilksona.

Prema Crnoj Gori bile su usmjerene francuska, ruska i austrijska, a u jednom periodu i engleska kartografija. Osamostaljivanje i teritorijalno širenje granica Crne Gore bilo je praćeno radom međunarodnih komisija za razgraničenje i utvrđenje granica. To je bila prilika da stručna lica i topografski oficiri doprinesu tome. Njihovim radom nastalo je više karata Crne Gore. Među prvim takvim samostalnim kartama je *Maps of Montenegro*, štampana u Londonu 1836. godine. Autor te mape je inženjerski oficir (inače iz Crne Gore) Nikola Milošev od Vasojevića, a u London je došla posredstvom engleskog funkcionera sa Jonskih ostrva, pod suverenitetom Velike Britanije. Već 1836. godine izdata je i karta grofa F. F. Karaczaua *Karta zemlje Crne Gore* (razmjor 1 : 288.000). Iz 1853. godine su i dvije rukopisne karte u Ratnom arhivu u Beču.³

Akademik CANU i DANU Branko Pavićević posebno naglašava značaj i važnost karte o državnom razgraničenju Habzburške monarhije i Crne Gore (1837–1841) iz 1841. godine, koja je ovjerena Njegoševim i Šalerovim potpisom. Ovim dokumentom

“Balkan Peninsula as whole within the Turkish Empire” is not appropriate because he also neglected to mention that at the exhibition of the Historical Museum of Vienna (from the Vienna Archives) from 5th May to 30th October 1983, two maps entitled “Turks in front of Vienna” were exhibited. One map shows the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 15th century, and the second from 1699 marked that in the sea of the Turkish Empire, Montenegro was identified as a free state (Karadağ). Legendary map is: “Nr ¼ Das Osmanisch Reich von der Mitte des 14. (end of 15th century) and 15. Jahrhundert bis 1699”, where the Ottoman Empire is marked in green colour with its entire width, and Montenegro is singled out as an “island” in the same colour as other independent European states. Therefore, Montenegro is not shown in the “Balkan Peninsula as whole within the Turkish Empire”. This is an exceptionally important map of Montenegro for its independence. It shows the state of Turkish conquests and was exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition *Die Turken vor Wiene* (1983).²

In his cartographic presentation, there is neither a map of Montenegro by Petar I Petrović nor Jan Vaclík, which should be listed in “the third epoch from 1856 to the Congress of Berlin in 1878”. It is not even in the bibliography of the cartography of that period in “First epoch = end of 18th century, i.e. the first serious attempt for the territories of Montenegro”.

Other maps of Montenegro of foreign provenance

However, with the increasing independence and separation of Montenegro in relation to the Ottoman Empire, already during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, Montenegro was often shown separately on the maps, even on the Turkish ones (Pejović 2009a). Since the beginning of the 19th century, Montenegro has been shown as a separate entity on most maps of different provenances. In the first half of the 19th century, several maps of Montenegro were created, starting with the map of the Napoléon’s Colonel Vialla de Sommières, Russian engineer Yegor Kovalovsky, maps of the Commander of Kotor, Count Teodor Karačaj, to the Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson.

French, Russian and Austrian cartography were directed towards Montenegro, and at one time English cartography too. Independence and territorial expansion of the borders of Montenegro was accompanied by the work of international commissions for demarcation and establishment of borders.

² Objavio je kod nas dr Radoslav Rotković (1966, 69).

³ Vrijedno bi bilo provjeriti je li riječ o primjerku karte Petra I i austrijske komisije koje je slao u Beč, a kasnije i u Njegoševo doba.

² Published by Dr. Radoslav Rotković (1966, 69).

je snažno potvrđen državno-pravni identitet Crne Gore i legitimnost njenih organa vlasti, zaključuje B. Pavićević (1993, 7).

Iz ovoga razdoblja značajne su još dvije geografske karte Crne Gore. Prvu je izradio 1838. godine poznati ruski geograf, učenjak, putopisac i diplomata Jegor Petrovič Kovaljevski. To je bilo prilikom njegovog dolaska u Crnu Goru kao kapetana po preporuci Štaba korpusa rudarskih inženjera i po naredbi Nikolaja I da četiri mjeseca provede u Crnoj Gori sa zadatkom da ispita mineralna bogatstva ove zemlje. Na Njegošev zahtjev je izradio kartu Crne Gore. Austrijski pukovnik Karačaj izradio je drugu geografsku kartu, koja je u kartografskom pogledu nešto preciznija od one Kovaljevskog. Kao značajni državno-politički i drugi reformator Crne Gore, Njegoš je poklanjao posebnu pažnju i naporima da se Crna Gora što potpunije kartografski obradi. Pod imenom Filip Vuković, došao je sredinom 1840. godine u Crnu Goru Danilo Kokotović, koji je postao Njegošev učitelj njemačkog jezika. Pored toga, Vuković se “pri crnogorskom praviteljstvu” bavio i crtanjem “topografskih karata”. Jednu takvu njegovu kartu objavio je Jevto M. Milović (Pavićević 1993, 7). Značajna je i geografska karta koju je usvojila međunarodna komisija za crnogorsko-tursko razgraničenje 1859. godine, naročito zato što je Turska imperija uporno po svaku cijenu osporavala međunarodni suverenitet Crne Gore sa pozivom na svoje, turske kartografe, među kojima je najistaknutiji Hadži Kalfa, koji su Crnu Goru (Karadag) prikazivali kao sastavni dio Osmanskog carstva, naravno, samo na osnovu njegove *jednostrane* imperijalne volje. Na crnogorskoj strani su bili predstavnici Rusije, Austrije i Velike Britanije koji su se pozivali na faktičku slobodu i nezavisnost Crne Gore i u odnosu na tursku vlast. Ovo je tipičan primjer da je kartografija, naročito primjenjivana na crnogorski “istorijski prostor”, kao materijalno predmetna objektivna i precizna nauka, ipak stalno bila opterećena imperijalno-istorijskom vrijednosnom komponentom, odnosno osnovom.

Član Komisije za razgraničenje Crne Gore (1859–1860) britanski poručnik Sittwell izdao je u Londonu *Map of Montenegro* (1 : 200.000). Njemački geograf Heinrich Kiepert objavio je 1852. godine u Berlinu kartu *Das Fürstentum Montenegro* (1 : 500.000), Bečka kuća Artario izdala je 1861. godine Paulinijevu *Carta di Montenegro* (1 : 300.000). Ruski kapetan P. Bikov, na osnovu sopstvenih topografskih radova, izdao je u Petrogradu 1868. g.

It was an opportunity for experts and topographic officers to contribute. Their work created several maps of Montenegro. Among such first stand-alone maps is *Maps of Montenegro*, printed in London in 1836. The author of that map is an engineering officer (otherwise from Montenegro), Nikola Milošev from family Vasojević. The map came to London through an English official from the Ionian Islands, under the sovereignty of Great Britain. Already in 1836, a map of the Count F. F. Karaczay, *Karta zemlje Crne Gore (Map of the country of Montenegro)* (scale 1 : 288.000) was published. There are also two manuscript maps from 1853 in the Austrian War Archives in Vienna.³

Academician of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts and Doclean Academy of Sciences and Arts, Branko Pavićević, emphasizes in particular the significance and importance of the map on the state demarcation of the Habsburg Monarchy and Montenegro (1837–1841) from 1841, which were authenticated by Njegoš's and Schaller's signatures. This document strongly confirms the state-legal identity of Montenegro and the legitimacy of its authorities, concludes B. Pavićević (1993, 7).

From this period two more geographical maps of Montenegro are significant. The first was made in 1838 by the famous Russian geographer, scholar, travel writer and diplomat Yegor Petrovich Kovalevsky, during his arrival in Montenegro as a captain on the recommendation of the Colonel Corps of Mining Engineers and on the orders of Nicholas I to spend four months in Montenegro with the task of examining the mineral resources of this country. At Njegoš's request, he made a map of Montenegro. The second map was made by an Austrian colonel Karačaj, which is cartographically somewhat more precise than Kovalevsky's. As a significant state-political and second reformer of Montenegro, Njegoš paid special attention to the efforts to cartographically process Montenegro as more as possible. Under the name Filip Vuković, Danilo Kokotović came to Montenegro in the middle of 1840 and became Njegoš's teacher of German language. In addition, Vuković was drawing “topographic maps” “under the Montenegrin government”. One of such Vuković's maps was published by Jevto M. Milović (Pavićević 1993, 7). The geographical map adopted by the International Commission for Montenegrin-Turkish Demarcation in 1859 is also significant,

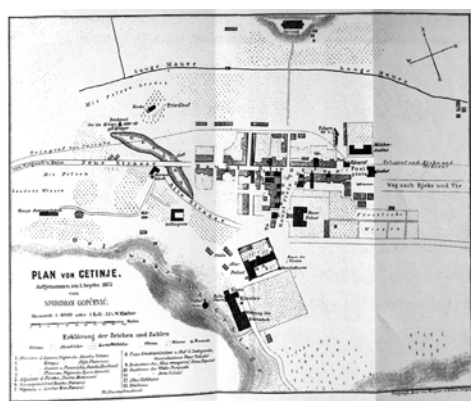
³ It would be worth checking whether this is a copy of the map of Petar I and the Austrian commission that he sent to Vienna, and later in Njegoš's time.

Kartu knjaževstva Černogorskog.⁴ Na osnovu topografske građe koju su prikupili austrijski oficiri i građe iz Komisije za razgraničenje 1856–1860. izradio je i izdao bečki Vojnogeografski institut specijalnu kartu Crne Gore. Topografski biro ruskog generalštaba izradio je u Petrogradu 1878. *Kartu Černogoriju*, ali nije objavljena, već je kasnije upotrijebljena pri izradi karte P. Rovinskog 1889. godine.



Carta du Montenegro / Giacomo Paulini. Wien [1860]

Nićifor Dučić (1874) priložio je u svojoj studiji *Crna Gora* jednu preglednu kartu sa označenim državnim granicama iz 1500, 1796, 1820. i 1860. godine,⁵ a Spiridon Gopčević u svojoj knjizi *Montenegro und Montenegrinen* (izdate u Beču 1877. godine) priložio plan Cetinja sa istaknutim javnim zgradama (1 : 4000).



Plan von Cetinje / Spiridon Gopčević. Wien, 1877.

Objavljeno je više karata nastalih kompilacijom starijeg kartografskog materijala u kojima je zajedno prikazivana Bosna, Hercegovina, Srbija i Crna Gora, a u nekima dodata i Albanija.

especially because the Turkish Empire persistently challenged the international sovereignty of Montenegro at all costs, referring to their own, Turkish cartographers, among whom the most prominent was Hājī Khalīfa (Kâtip Çelebi), who portrayed Montenegro (Karadağ) as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, of course, only on the basis of his *one-sided* imperial will. On the Montenegrin side were representatives of Russia, Austria and Great Britain, who called on the real freedom and independence of Montenegro and in relation to the Turkish government. This is a typical example that cartography, especially applicable to the Montenegrin “historical space”, as a material subject, objective and precise science, was constantly burdened with the imperial-historical value component, i.e., with the basis.

Member of the Commission for Demarcations of Montenegro (1859–1860) British Lieutenant Sitwell published in London *Map of Montenegro* (1 : 200.000). The German geographer Heinrich Kiepert published in Berlin in 1852 a map *Das Fürstentum Montenegro* (1 : 500.000), and Vienna Publishing House Artaria in 1861 published Paulini's *Carta di Montenegro* (1 : 300.000). Russian Captain P. Bikov, on the basis of his own topographic works, published in St. Petersburg in 1868 *Karta knjaževstva Černogorskog* (Map of the Principality of Montenegro).⁴ Based on topographic materials collected by Austrian officers and materials from the Demarcation commission 1856–1860, Vienna Military Geographic Institute made and published special map of Montenegro. The Topographic Bureau of the Russian General Staff made a *Karta Černogoria* (Map of Montenegro) in St. Petersburg in 1878. It was not published, but later was used in the making of a map of P. Rovinsky in 1889.



Carta du Montenegro / Giacomo Paulini. Wien [1860]

⁴ Ta je karta korišćena u Crnoj Gori kao školska zidna karta.

⁵ Ova karta iz 1820. moguće je da ima vezu sa onom Petra I Petrovića Njegoša, o kojoj će biti kasnije riječi u poglavlju *Prve domaće karte Crne Gore*.

⁴ This map was used in Montenegro as a school wall map.

Poslije Berlinskog kongresa, austrijska i ruska zvanica kartografija organizovano određuju astronomske tačke, postavljaju trigonometrijske mreže i više geodetskih snimanja Crne Gore. Sve je to doprinijelo da Crna Gora tada dobije savremeniju, tačniju i naučno utvrđenu osnovu za topografske karte. Iz njih se u Petrogradu i Beču sastavljaju razne specijalne, pregledne i tematske karte. Osnovne ruske i austrijske radove koriste i drugi, tako da je do kraja vijeka izašlo mnogo karata Crne Gore u Berlinu, Glogou, Rimu, Beogradu i u drugim mjestima. Krajem vijeka, pridružuju im se njemački, italijanski i srpski naučnici. (Škalamer 1991, 136–138)

Prve domaće karte Crne Gore

U sklopu mnoštva stranih karata Crne Gore (velikih imperijalnih sila) i njihovog kartografskog proučavanja, ignorisane i zanemarivane su domaće (“sopstvene i državne”) karte: Petra I, Njegoševa narudžba od Filipa Vukovića, imenovanog i kao Vukasović (alijas Danila Kokotovića) i narudžba knjaza Danila od Jana Vaclika, te i karta Nikole Miloševa od Vasojevića.

Petar I Petrović (1747/1784–1830) kao kartograf

Karta Petra I Svetog – prva domaća karta sa toponimima, etnonimima i paronimima ćirilicom na narodnom jeziku



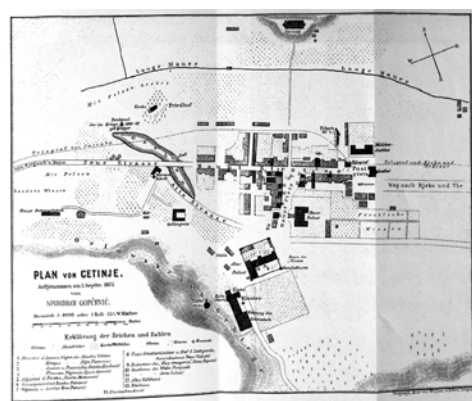
Karta Petra I Petrovića Njegoša (još uvijek nedovoljno istraženo (definisan) porijeklo karte), 1828.

Prvi izvor o njegovoj karti

Prvi poznati zapis o svojeručnoj karti ondašnje Crne Gore Petra I Svetog učinio je Andra Gavrilović⁶ u kolumni “Književnost, umjetnost, prosvjeta” pod naslovom “Vladika Petar I kao kartograf” u službenom Glasu Crnogorca br. 20. od 12. IV 1914. godine, strana 5. On piše o karti Crne Gore Petra I gotovo sa punom sigurnošću, bez hipotetičnosti

⁶ Iako se u originalu potpisuje Andra Gavrilović, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) ga imenuje Andrija Gavrilović.

Nićifor Dučić in his study *Crna Gora* (Montenegro) (Dučić 1874) enclosed one General Map with marked state borders from 1500, 1796, 1820 and 1860⁵ and Spiridon Gopčević in his book *Montenegro und Montenegrinen* (Montenegro and Montenegrins) (published in Vienna in 1877) submitted a plan of Cetinje with prominent public buildings (1 : 4000).



Plan von Cetinje / Spiridon Gopčević. Wien, 1877.

Several maps created by compiling older cartographic materials were published, where Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro were shown together, and in some of them Albania was added.

After the Congress of Berlin, Austrian and Russian official cartography organized identify astronomical points, set up trigonometric networks and several land surveying of Montenegro. All this contributed to Montenegro getting a more modern, more accurate and scientifically established basis for topographic maps. From them various special, general and thematic maps are compiled in St. Petersburg and Vienna. Basic Russian and Austrian works were also used by others, so by the end of the century many maps of Montenegro were published in Berlin, Glogów, Rome, Belgrade and in other places. At the turn of the century, they were joined by German, Italian and Serbian scientists. (Škalamer 1991, 136–138)

First domestic maps of Montenegro

As part of many foreign maps of Montenegro (of great imperial powers) and their cartographic studies, domestic (“own and state”) maps were ignored and neglected: maps of Petar I, Njegoš’s order from Filip Vuković, also named as Vukasović (alias of Danilo Kokotović) and order of Prince Danilo from

⁵ It is possible that this map from 1820 has a connection with the map of Petar I Petrović Njegoš which will be discussed later in the chapter of the First Domestic Maps of Montenegro.

i problema, iako je jedini ostali primjerak te karte vladika-gospodar Petar I 1829. godine na Cetinju poklonio poznatom poljskom slavisti Andžeu (Andriji) Kuharskom.⁷ Ipak, na kraju svog teksta A. Gavrilović navodi: “Možda će se pri naknadnom pregledu svih haratija i relacija Kuharskog naći i primjerak kartografske radnje vladicine, a u Beču su i kasnije, za vremena vladike Rada, dolazile karte koje su bile kopija izrade Petra Prvog...”. Time se otvaraju neka bitna pitanja i znatno usmjeravaju dalja istraživanja. No, i pored toga, ovaj članak naglašava ono što je najznačajnije u karti Petra I. To je samouka, iskustvena realističnost, tačnost, vjerodostojnost, pluralizam kartografskih podataka, toponima, etnonima, hidronima, nahija. Ovo obilježje karte je rezultat neposredne i životne terenske kartografske spoznaje, bitno “tačnije i vjernije od kartografskih poslova učenih crtača koji ‘kamena ovoga videli nijesu’”. Zaključuje da se Kuharski “uvjerio da je vladicina karta kud i kamo tačnija od svih tuđinskih izrada” (Gavrilović 1914, 5).

Na vladiku-gospodara Petra I pali su svi poslovi oko razgraničenja Crne Gore i Austrije. U najstarijim godinama svog života morao je sam da odredi da ne ošteti granice svoje države pored velikog broja austrijskih stručnjaka za premjeravanje i razgraničenje, topografa, kartografa, oficira svih struka. Petar I Sveti morao je noću, nakon svih ostalih svojih poslova, da radi na svojoj karti slobodne Crne Gore. Radio je svoju kartu iz noći u noć, premjeravao povučene poteze hartijom i prisjećanjem koliko je koje mjesto vremenski udaljeno od drugog (“Uru, dvije ure, pola ure”, Gavrilović 1914, 5). Gotovu kartu je sam umnožavao, onoliko koliko je smatrao da mu je potrebno. Svaki primjerak te karte je bilo njegovo djelo, znači izvornik i original.

S primjerkom takve karte, Vladika Petar je išao na nove sastanke sa austrijskim izaslanicima koji su bili snabdjeveni mnogim kartama kartografskih zavoda. A. Gavrilović (1914, 5) kaže da je “vladika dobro znao što sve stoji u tim kartama koje su radili tuđinski stručnjaci”. Bio je ubijeđen da je njegova karta tačnija i vjernija od njihovih karata. Navodi da je Vladika bez sustezanja davao primjerke svojih karata austrijskim članovima komisije, dao im slobodu da ih mogu precrtati, dostaviti nadležnim u Beču i da ih mogu zadržati. Sve to da se uvjere u vjerodostojnost njegove karte.

Dalje se navodi tačna istorijska činjenica da je 1829. godine poljski naučnik slavista Andžej

Jan Vaclík, including the map of Nikola Milošev from family Vasojević.

Petar I Petrović (1747/1784–1830) as a cartographer

Map of Saint Petar I the first domestic map with toponyms, ethnonyms and paronyms in Cyrillic in the vernacular language



Map of Petar I Petrović Njegoš (still insufficiently researched (defined) origin of the map), 1828.

The first source about his map

The first known record of the handwritten map of back then Montenegro of Saint Petar I was made by Andra Gavrilović⁶ in the column “Književnost, umjetnost, prosvjeta” (Literature, art, education) under the title “Vladika Petar I kao kartograf” (Prince-Bishop Petar I as a cartographer) in the official newspaper Glas Crnogorca (La voix de Montenegro), No. 20 from 12 April 1914, page 5. He writes about the map of Montenegro by Petar I almost with complete certainty, without hypotheses and problems, although in 1829 in Cetinje Prince-Bishop-sovereign Petar I has gifted the only remaining copy of that map to the famous Polish Slavist Andrzej (Andrija) Kucharski.⁷ However, at the end of his text, A. Gavrilović states: “Perhaps after subsequent review of all the papers and relations of Kucharski, a copy of the Prince-bishop’s cartographic work may be found, and even in Vienna later, during the time of Prince-Bishop Rade, the copies of the maps made by Petar the First were arriving...” This raises some important questions and significantly guides further research. Nevertheless, this article emphasises what is most significant in the map of Petar I. It is self-taught, experiential realism, accuracy, credibility, pluralism of cartographic data, toponyms, ethnonyms, hydronyms, nahiyahs (administrative units). This feature of the map is the re-

⁷ Andra Gavrilović *Andžej* prevodi kao *Andrija*, ali ga Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u navedenoj studiji ne prevodi.

⁶ Although the original is signed by Andra Gavrilović, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) calls him Andrija Gavrilović.

⁷ Andra Gavrilović *Andrzej* translates as *Andrija*, but in the stated study, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić does not translate the name.

(Andrija) Kuharski boravio na Cetinju šest dana kod Petra I, da je koristio mitropolitsku biblioteku i stare rukopise. Kada je kod Kuharskog vidio više karata crnogorske teritorije, koje su radili tuđinci, Vladika mu je, pri njegovom odlasku, darovao jedan primjerak svoje karte Crne Gore. Navodi se i to da je Kuharski izjavio da “na karti nije vladika označio samo granice državne, već je u kartu unio čega ima u Crnoj Gori” i “da je vladčina karta tačnija od svih tuđinskih izrada”.⁸

Međutim, A. Gavrilović nije se u svom tekstu pozivao na izvore njegovih tvrdnji, pa to ostaje otvoreni problem. Ostaje i sumnja da je iz mnoštva primjeraka karte Petru I ostao samo jedan primjerak i da je taj jedini poklonio A. Kuharskom. Drugi istraživači se pozivaju na njega čije bi tvrdnje tek trebalo dokazati. To su sofizmi (namjerne logičke greške): *traženje principa*,⁹ *obrtnje (vrćenje) u krugu*¹⁰ i *zamjena (ignorisanje) teze*.¹¹ To se znatno javlja u “nekritičkoj (tradicionalnoj, romantičarskoj) historiografiji u Crnoj Gori, pa evo i u kartografiji, što će se pojavljivati i u sljedećem, drugom izvoru o karti Petra I.

Drugi izvor o karti

Istoričar Dušan D. Vuksan 1939. godine piše da je na Cetinju boravio 1829. godine poljski slavista Andžej Kuharski i naglasio je: “Žao nam je, što je ponio i mapu Crne Gore, koju je izradio mitropolit Petar I. Danas bi ona bila za nas dragocjena kao jedan dokaz više bistrine i uma mitropolita Petra I.” (Vuksan 1939, 99). Ne kaže da mu je poklonjena, nego neodređeno “da je ponio mapu”, iako je u prvom navedenom izvoru o karti Petra I imao jasnu formulaciju. Ovo se iznosi samo kao neka konstatacija, a ne zna se na osnovu čega, kojeg izvora i svjedočanstva.

Treći izvor o karti

Dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) u kraćoj studiji “Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” traga za kartom Petra I Petrovića koju je poklonio A. Kuharskom. Povod i podstrek mu je bila gornja “konstatacija” Dušana D. Vuksana 1939. godine. Odmah zatim sa ushićenjem navodi: “Za kartom

sult of immediate and vital fieldwork of cartographic cognition, considerably “more accurate and realistically than the cartographic works of schooled drawers who ‘did not see an inch of this land’”. He concludes that Kucharski “has assured himself that the Prince-Bishop’s map was far more accurate than all foreign creations.” (Gavrilović 1914, 5)

Prince-Bishop-sovereign Petar I was responsible for all the affairs regarding the demarcation of Montenegro and Austria. In the senior years of his life, he had to set on his own not to damage the borders of his country, in addition to a great number of Austrian professionals for surveying and demarcation, topographers, cartographers and officers of all professions. Saint Petar I had to work on his map of free Montenegro at night, after all his other work. He was working on his map from night to night, measuring the drawn strokes with paper and remembering how far is one place was from another in real time (“An hour, two hours, half an hour”, Gavrilović 1914, 5). He copied the finished map himself, as much as he thought he needed. Each copy of that map was his work, that is, the source and the original.

With a copy of such a map, Prince-Bishop Petar went to the new meetings with Austrian emissaries who were equipped with many maps of cartographic institutes. A. Gavrilović (1914, 5) says that “Prince-Bishop knew well what was in those maps made by foreign experts”. He was convinced that his map was more accurate and more faithful than their maps. He states that the Prince-Bishop gave copies of his maps to the Austrian members of the commission without hesitation, with the freedom to cross them out, submit to the authorities in Vienna and that they can keep them. Just to persuade them in the authenticity of his map.

The exact historical fact is further stated that in 1829, the Polish Slavic scholar Andrzej (Andrija) Kucharski stayed at Petar I in Cetinje for six days, and that he used the Metropolitan Library and old manuscripts. When he saw several maps of Montenegrin territory in Kucharski possession, made by foreigners, on his departure, Prince-Bishop gave him a copy of his map of Montenegro. It is also noted that Kucharski exclaimed “on the map, the Prince-Bishop did not only mark the borders of the state, but he also included what Montenegro has” and “that the Prince-Bishop’s map is more accurate than all foreign creations”.⁸

⁸ Andra Gavrilović je uglavnom ponovio u članku iz 1922. (Gavrilović 1922, 664–666).

⁹ U dokazivanju jedne teze pozivamo se na neki stav kao na dovoljan razlog, iako on tek treba da bude dokazan.

¹⁰ Za dokazivanje teze navodimo jedan stav koji se sa svoje strane tek pomoću teze može dokazati.

¹¹ Umjesto teze koju treba dokazati, vrši se izvjesno pomjeravanje (ignorisanje), pa se dokazuje neka druga teza slična prvoj, tako da pritom prividno izgleda da se navedeni argumenti ipak odnose na prvu tezu.

⁸ Andra Gavrilović has mostly repeated in the article from 1922. (Gavrilović 1922, 664–666).

mitropolita Petra I tragao sam godinama i sada sam u mogućnosti da je prikazem”.

Prvo navodi kraću genezu izrade karata koje se odnose na Crnu Goru prije karte Svetog Petra. U Evropi se javljaju još u XVI vijeku, a na Balkanu, pod Turskom, ozbiljnije se radi tek u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka, u toku srpskih ustanaka. Sa preciznijom tačnošću granica, karte počinju tek za vrijeme od francuske revolucije. Navodi da su se u sporovima oko granica gospodari Crne Gore najradije pozivali na granice koje je odredio Ivan Crnojević i da se na te granice pozivao i mitropolit Petar I u pregovorima sa susjedima 1917. godine. Kaže da je pitanje granica Crne Gore možda glavni razlog da i mitropolit Petar I izradi kartu svoje zemlje. Zatim navodi pet grupa (najviše) stranih karata koje prikazuju Crnu Goru prije izrade karte Petra I. Smatra da je Petar I znao za neke od tih karata i da su mu neke poslužile kao uzor za njegovu kartu, naročito one koje je mogao dobiti od Filipa Vukasovića i Viale de Somijera, koje je dobro poznao. Ovo tvrdi bez utemeljenja i samo na osnovu navođenja rečenih postojećih karata. Dalje kaže da je za sudbinu karte koju je radio Petar I bilo interesovanje i ranije, naročito za onaj primjerak koji je on poklonio Kuharskom.

Dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) navodi da je Kuharski pokazivao Vladici neke njegove karte Crne Gore, da bi čuo njegovo mišljenje o njima. Mitropolit mu je ukazao na neke greške i nedostatke na tim kartama, naročito u obilježavanju Skadarskog jezera i toka rijeka. Ovo su samo njegove naracije, bez utemeljenja u izvorima i arhivalijama, kad nema nikakve pismene zabilješke o samom razgovoru i neposrednom kontaktu između Petra I i Kuharskog o kartama jednog i drugog. Durković-Jakšić nastavlja svoju priču. Tom prilikom mu je Petar I Sveti poklonio jednu kartu o kojoj je Kuharski zabilježio sljedeće: “Držim ja za znak osobitog blagovolenja naklonosti i povjerenja što me je najposlje obdario mapom od Crne Gore, koju je sam načinio. Zaista ovaj je gospodin u svakom prizreniju veliki muž, kao što će se u budušte iz njegovih djela viditi”. Ni ovdje ne navodi izvor ovog citata, što izaziva sumnju i nepovjerenje. Ovo tim prije što usput, sasvim iznenađujuće i nepoznato u istoriografiji, priča da je Mitropolit poklonio Kuharskom i jednu “rukopisnu knjigu”, a Simo Milutinović (koji je tada bio kod Petra I) dao mu je “ogroman zbornik” pjesama, pod uslovom da ih štampa. Ni za ove tvrdnje ne navodi nikakav izvor, nego sve djeluje kao njegova subjektivna priča. Umjesto obrazloženja i navođenja izvora za prethodne tvrdnje, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić navodi dalje putešestvije Kuharskog iz Crne Gore

However, A. Gavrilović did not refer to the sources of his claims in his text, so this remains an open problem. A doubt still remains that out of the many copies of the map, only one copy remained for Petar I and that he gifted his only copy to A. Kucharski. Other researchers refer to him whose claims have yet to be proven. These are sophisms (intentional logical errors): *search for principles*,⁹ *rotation (spinning) in a circle*¹⁰ and *replacement (ignoring) of the thesis*.¹¹ This appears significantly in “uncritical (traditional, romantic) historiography in Montenegro, and even in cartography, which will also appear in the next, second source of the map of Petar I.”

Second map source

The historian Dušan D. Vuksan wrote in 1939 that the Polish Slavist Andrzej Kucharski stayed in Cetinje in 1829 and emphasized: “We are sorry that he also took a map of Montenegro, made by Metropolitan Petar I. Today, it would be precious to us as one proof of the clarity and mind of Metropolitan Petar I.” (Vuksan 1939, 99). He does not say that it was gifted to him, but unspecified “that he took a map”, although in the first cited source on the map of Petar I it had a clear formulation. This is presented only as a statement, and it is not known on the basis of what, which source and testimony.

Third map source

Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) in shorter study “Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” (Map of Montenegro by Metropolitan Petar I Petrović) searches for a map of Petar I Petrović gifted to A. Kucharski. The reason and encouragement was upper “statement” of Dušan D. Vuksan in 1939. Immediately afterwards, he states with delight: “I have been searching for the map of Metropolitan Petar I for years and now I am able to show it.”

First he states a brief genesis of creating maps relating to Montenegro before the map of Saint Petar. They appeared in Europe already in the 16th century, and in the Balkans, under Turkey, in the first half of the 19th century more serious work was done, during the Serbian uprisings. With more precise accuracy of the borders, the maps have started in the time of the French Revolution. It is stated that in disputes over borders, the sovereigns of Montene-

⁹ In proving a thesis, we refer to an opinion as a sufficient reason, although it has yet to be proven.

¹⁰ To prove the thesis, we state one position which, in turn, can be proved only with the help of the thesis.

¹¹ Instead of proving the thesis, there is a certain shift (ignoring), then another thesis similar to the first is proved, in doing so, apparently seems that the stated arguments still refer to the first thesis.

preko Dubrovnika u Zagreb u novembru 1829. godine. Namjerno stvara “jezičku i logičku pometnju” da lakše provuče svoje tajanstvene tvrdnje za čije obrazloženje su potrebne vrlo ozbiljne i duge studije.¹² Odmah zatim se priča nastavlja: “Nije poznato kakva je zadesila sudbina kartu koju je Kuharski dobio na Cetinju. Nije isključeno da je dospjela u Biblioteku Odeskog univerziteta, gde je poslje njegove smrti dospio i jedan broj rukopisa iz njegove zaostavštine”. Umjesto objašnjenja, obrazloženja i pozivanja na izvor za ovaj navod, Lj. Durković Jakšić pod fusnotom 11. upućuje da će opširno pisati i o literaturi o boravku Kuharskog u Crnoj Gori u svom pripremanom radu *Jugoslovensko-poljska saradnja 1797–1852*, koji je spremao za proslavu hiljadugodišnjice osnivanja poljske države koja će se održati od 1961. do 1965. godine. U tom radu biće navedena i literatura o boravku Kuharskog u Crnoj Gori.

Kaže “zna se da je karta Mitropolita Petra I u prepisu slata u njegovo vreme u Beč, pa čak kasnije u vreme Njegoševo”. U fusnoti 12. za ovu tvrdnju poziva se na već navedeni članak Andra Gavrilovića za koji smo rekli da je bez određenih izvora i narativna impresija. Tako nas vrti u krug: upućuje nas na izvore koji traže svoje izvore. Kako zna da je “prepis slat” u Beč, kada A. Gavrilović u svom tekstu navodi da je Petar I sam, svojeručno umnožavao svoju kartu u broju koji mu je bio potreban i da ih je prilagao *ćesarskim* članovima komisije za nadležne organe i u Beču? Istakli smo već da su takve Vladičine mape sve njegovo djelo, znači izvornici, a ne prepisi.

Sada je u zaključku “jezička zbrka”. Kaže “ova karta poslata je 1828. godine i Pavlu Šafariku u Novi Sad”.¹³ Ona je sačuvana i nalazi se u Pragu, sada u Šafarikovoj zbirci karata (ŠSM 93 s. B 21) čiju su mu fotokopiju originalne veličine 65x45 cm dostavili poznati naučnici Čehoslovačke akademije nauka¹⁴ dr Karlo Kuhaža i dr Vaclav Začek, zašto im se zahvaljujem. O ovoj karti je nedavno pisano.¹⁵ Na donjem dijelu karte, na lijevoj strani, piše: *Mappam honc ipse Mitropolita Petr. Petrović Negoš manu sua cokfecit*;¹⁶ *qua serius skrta, partim a S*

gro preferred to refer to the borders determined by Ivan Crnojević, and that Metropolitan Petar I also referred to those borders in negotiations with his neighbours in 1917. He says that the issue of the borders of Montenegro might be the main reason for Metropolitan Petar I to create a map of his country. Then he specifies (mostly) five groups of foreign maps showing Montenegro before the creation of Petar I map. He believes that Petar I knew about some of these maps and that some of them served as a model for his map, especially the ones he could get from Filip Vukasović and Vialla de Sommières, which he knew well. He claims this without foundation and only on the basis of the referencing the existing maps. He goes on saying that before there has been interest in the fate of the map made by Petar I, especially in the copy he gifted to Kucharski.

Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) states that Kucharski showed the Prince-Bishop some of his maps of Montenegro, in order to hear his opinion about them. The Metropolitan pointed out to him some mistakes and shortcomings on these maps, especially in markings of Lake Skadar and the flow of rivers. These are just his narratives, without foundation in sources and archives, when there is no written note about the conversation itself and the direct contact between Petar I and Kucharski about their maps. Durković-Jakšić continues his story. On that occasion, Petar I the Saint gifted him a map, of which Kucharski noted the following: “I consider it a sign of special benevolence and trust that he finally bestowed me with a map of Montenegro, which he made himself. Truly this gentleman is a great man in every respect, as will be seen in the future from his deeds.” Here also he does not cite the source of this quote, which arouses suspicion and mistrust. All the more, which, by the way, is quite surprisingly and unknown in historiography, he says that the Metropolitan gifted a “manuscript book” to Kucharski, and Simo Milutinović (who was then staying at Petar I) gave him a “huge collection” of poems, under condition to print them. He does not cite any source for these claims either, but everything sounds as his subjective story. Instead of explaining and citing sources for previous claims, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić cites Kucharski’s further travels from Montenegro via Dubrovnik to Zagreb in November 1829. It deliberately creates a “linguistic and logical confusion” to make it easier to draw through his mysterious claims, which require very serious and long studies.¹² Immediately

¹² Uporediti u ovom radu sa posljednjim pasusom u *Prvom izvoru o karti*, sa fusnotom 3 i sa Pavićević 1993, 7.

¹³ Poziva se na *Osveta*, 1895, 880, a ne zna se ko, odakle i kada.

¹⁴ Nejasno je je li sačuvana mapa Kuharskog u Pragu ili (sada) u Šafarikovoj zbirci karata u Novom Sadu ili u Čehoslovačkoj akademiji nauka čiji su mu naučnici poslali kartu u “originalnoj veličini”, a ne u “istoj dimenziji” originala.

¹⁵ Da bi bilo što tajanstvenije, ne navodi ni u fusnoti potreban izvor.

¹⁶ Nije utvrđeno da je na originalu (originalnim primjercima) pisalo da je mapa Petra I, tim prije što se tvrdi da je njegova karta izuzeta što je pisana ćirilicom.

¹² Compare in this paper with the last paragraph in *The first source about his map*, with footnote 3, and with Pavićević 1993, 7.

Milutinović, partima a P. Šafarik adjecta sumt, na desnoj strani: *Ex Archivo Metrop. Petri Petro(viē – kraj oštećen) misum peer Symeon. Milutinović Ano 1828*, a na rubu: *Gu Magaraševiću da preda Gu Šafariku u Novom Sadu koi sočinjava ob (?) izu Landkartusviech' Slavjanskich arred (...?) ach*. Da bude još tajanstvenije i zbrkanije za čitaoca, nema prevoda ovog zaključnog dijela, a nema ni prevoda Durković-Jakšićevog rezimea ovog rada koji je dat na stranom jeziku (preveo Miroslav Luketić na ruski jezik).

Durković-Jakšić navodno, sažeto zaključno sve citirano prevodi: “Prema tome kartu je izradio Mitropolit Petar I, S. Milutinović dopisao je pojedine nazive mjesta i krajeva, a Šafarik je označio granice između Srba, Arbanasa i Turaka, počevši od utočka reke Bojane u pravcu Brda.¹⁷ Ovo je on mogao uraditi po svoj prilici negde oko četrdesetih godina prošlog veka.”

Durković-Jakšić nije našao i prezentovao *izvornik* karte Petra I koji je on darovao Kuharskom, niti neki drugi primjerak izvornika, nego neku kompilaciju više osoba. Neke objavljene karte Petra I su sasvim blijeđe, gotovo da se u njima ne vide znaci i bez navedenog teksta (a Vladika ih je mastilom udebljavao, kao i granice). Nije Ljubomir Jakšić u svom radu ni naveo da uz svoj objavljeni rad prilaže četiri druge karte i kartu Petra I, ali je to za njega učinio u istom *Glasniku Etnografskog muzeja* na Cetinju, odmah iza njegovog rada, prikazivač Gavro A. Škrivanić. Sam Lj. Durković-Jakšić na početku svog rada navodi “da je sada u mogućnosti da je *prikaže*”, a ne da objavi originalnu kartu Petra I Svetog.

Uz sve ovo, vrlo je važno uzeti u obzir činjenicu da poznati revnosni historičar, arhivista, historičar književnosti, poznavalac stranih arhiva, posebno Bečkog arhiva, autor više obimnih tomova arhivskih izdanja, najznačajnijih domaćih atlasa karata Crne Gore, član CANU, dr Jevto Milović nije u svoj Atlas karata uvrstio navedenu kartu Petra I koju je prvobitno objavio dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u svom radu *Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore*, u *Glasniku Etnografskog muzeja* na Cetinju 1962. godine, iako su mu taj rad i karta zasigurno bili poznati. Razlog toga samo je nezadovoljenje Milovićevih strogih arhivističkih mjerila. Ni drugi istraživači Bečkog arhiva nijesu se u njoj sreli sa kartom Petra I (npr. Đorđević 1913).

afterwards the story continues: “It is not known what happened to the map that Kucharski got in Cetinje. It is not excluded that it reached the Library of Odessa University, where a number of manuscripts from his legacy arrived after his death.” Instead of explaining, reasoning and citing the source for this statement, Lj. Durković Jakšić under footnote 11 refers that he will write extensively about the literature on Kucharski's stay in Montenegro in his prepared work *Jugoslovensko-poljska saradnja 1797–1852* (Yugoslav-Polish cooperation 1797–1852), which he was preparing to celebrate the millennium of the founding of the Polish state, which will take place from 1961 to 1965. In the paper also the literature on Kucharski's stay in Montenegro will be listed.

He says that “it is known that the map of Metropolitan Petar I in the transcript was sent in his time to Vienna, and even later in the time of Njegoš.” Under footnote 12 for this claim, he refers to the already mentioned article by Andra Gavrilović, which we said was narrative impression without certain sources. So, he *spins us in a circle*: directs us to sources that seek their own sources. How he knows that the “transcript was sent” to Vienna, when A. Gavrilović states in his text that Petar I himself copied his map in the number he needed and that he submitted them to the Imperial members of the commission for the authorities in Vienna? We have already pointed out that such maps of the Prince-Bishop are all his work, originals, not transcripts.

In the conclusion now is the “linguistic confusion”. He says that “this map was sent in 1828 to Pavle Šafarik in Novi Sad”.¹³ It has been preserved and is in Prague, now in Šafarik's collection of maps (ŠSM 93 s. B 21) whose photocopy of the original size 65x45 cm was delivered to him by famous scientists of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences¹⁴ Dr. Karlo Kuhaža and Dr. Václav Záček, why I thank them. This map was recently written about.¹⁵ At the bottom of the map, on the left, it says: *Mappam honc ipse Mitropolita Petr. Petrović Negoš manu sua confecit*;¹⁶ *qua serius skrta, partim a S Milutinović, partima a P. Šafarik adjecta sumt*, on the left side:

¹³ Refers to *Osveta*, 1895, 880. and it is not known who, where and when.

¹⁴ It is unclear whether the Kucharski's map in Prague or (now) in Šafarik's collection of maps in Novi Sad or in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, whose scientists sent him a map in “original size” and not in “the same dimension” of the original, has been preserved.

¹⁵ In order to be as mysterious as possible, he does not state the necessary source in the footnote.

¹⁶ It has not been established that the original (original copies) said that it is the map of Petar I, especially since it is claimed that his map was excluded because it was written in Cyrillic.

¹⁷ Poziva se na: Josef Hursky, Šafarikova historijska mapa Slavenska, *Kartografický přehled Československé Akademie Věd*, 4444, 1953, 176.

S obzirom na sve navedeno, ostaje opravdana metodološka sumnja i potreba za vrlo kritičkim odnosom prema ovom nepotpunom, nedovoljno neutemeljenom i verifikovanom izvoru, češće protivriječnom, tamnom, “jezički i logički zbrkanom” radu.¹⁸



Prikaz ove kraće Durković-Jakšićeve studije, takođe u istom *Glasniku etnografskog muzeja na Cetinju*, postaje ipak novi izvor o karti Petra I, iako se taj prikaz pohvalno odnosi na Jakšićev rad, ali i daje zaslužno ocjenu same karte Petra I.

Prikazivač Gavro A. Škrivanić ocjenjuje da Petar I Petrović Njegoš ovim svojim kartografskim “djelom ulazi u istoriju jugoslovenske kartografije početkom XIX vijeka” i da je “ova karta utoliko značajnija što predstavlja, koliko nam je to do danas poznato, jedinstveni primjerak karte na kojoj su toponimi pisani ćirilicom na narodnom jeziku”. Dopunjava i to da “karta sadrži podjelu ondašnje Crne Gore na nahije, navedena su plemena i bratstva pojedinih plemena, kao i susjedne teritorije, koje nisu bile u sklopu tadašnje Petrove države. Ovakvim prikazivanjem teritorije Crne Gore i susjednih oblasti dat je koristan doprinos toponomastičkom saznanju koje je za nas novo”. Škrivanić navodi da je Durković-Jakšić uz navedeni objavljeni rad dao kao prilog više karata i predmetnu Petra I Petrovića.



Dakle, karta Petra I Svetog je *prva domaća karta Crne Gore i prva u kojoj su toponimi pisani ćirilicom*. To ukazuje da je ovo u “istorijskoj geografiji”, “istoriografskom prikazu karata” i “kartografskoj istoriji” (*istoriji karte* kao kartografske discipline) propušteno ili ignorisano da se predstavi.

Ostale domaće karte

Karta Filipa Vukovića po zahtjevu Njegoša

I Njegoš je za potrebe razgraničenja i priznanja suvereniteta Crne Gore naručivao karte od Filipa Vukovića (alijas Danila Kokotovića). Pominje se u istorijskoj i kartografskoj literaturi i na stranom jeziku kao Filipo de Vukassović i u prevodu kao Filip Vukasović kao poznata ličnost. Ima dosta literature o njemu.¹⁹

Karta je iz 1788. godine “Neue topografisch von Montenegro, von Cataro und zum Theil von Albani-

Ex Archivo Metrop. Petri Petro(vić – end damaged) misum peer Symeon. Milutinović Ano 1828, and on the edge: *Gu Magaraševiću da preda Gu Šafariku u Novom Sadu koi sočinjava ob (?) izu Landkartusviech 'Slavjanskich arred (...?) ach*. To make it even more mysterious and confusing for readers, there is no translation of this concluding part, and there is no translation of Durković-Jakšić's summary of given paper in a foreign language (translated by Miroslav Luketić into Russian).

Durković-Jakšić supposedly translates all the quoted summaries: “Therefore, the map was made by Metropolitan Petar I, S. Milutinović wrote down the individual names of places and areas, and Šafarik marked the borders between Serbs, Albanians and Turks, starting from the confluence of the river Bojana in the direction of Brdo.¹⁷ He was probably able to do this around the 1940s of the last century”.

Durković-Jakšić did not find and present the *original* map of Petar I, which he gifted to Kucharski, or any other copy of the original, but a compilation of several people. Some published maps of Petar I are completely light, almost no characters can be seen in it even without the stated text (and the Prince-Bishop made them thicker with ink and borders too). Ljubomir Jakšić did not even state in his work that he is enclosing four other maps and a map of Petar I with his published work, but in the same *Herald of Ethnographic Museum (Glasnik etnografskog muzeja)* in Cetinje, after his paper, reviewer Gavro A. Škrivanić did it for him. Lj. Durković-Jakšić himself states at the beginning of his paper “that he is now able to show it”, and not to publish the original map of the Saint Petar I.

With all this, it is very important to take into account the fact that a well-known eager historian, archivist, literary historian, connoisseur of foreign Archives, especially the Vienna archives, author of several voluminous volumes of archival publications, the most important domestic atlases of maps of Montenegro, member of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr. Jevto Milović did not include in his Atlas of Maps mentioned map of Petar I in the *Herald of the Ethnographic Museum in Cetinje* from 1962, which was originally published by Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić in his work “Mitropolita Petre I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” (Map of Montenegro by Metropolitan Petar I Petrović), although that work and map were certainly known

¹⁸ Uporediti sa fusnotom 3 i sa Pavićević 1993, 7.

¹⁹ Pominje ga i dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u navedenom radu. O boravku Vukasovića u Crnoj Gori ima podataka u pojedinim istorijama Crne Gore, a i u sljedećim radovima: Đorđević 1914; Vuksan 1940a; 1940b; 1951; Vukasović i Pernet 1949. O njegovom boravku u Crnoj Gori ima građe i u Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu.

¹⁷ Refers to: Josef Hursky, Šafarikova historijska mapa Slavenska, *Kartografický přehled Československé Akademie Věd*, 4444, 1953, 176.

en”, poslije čega ima objašnjenja za granice nahija Crne Gore, granice sa Venecijom i Dubrovnikom, koje su u bojama. Ima na nacrtanoj kamenoj ploči natpis autora: “Filipo de Vukassovichis...” Primjerak ove karte nalazio se prije rata u Geografskom institutu u Beču, a nastala je za vrijeme Boravka Filipa Vukasovića u Crnoj Gori 1788. godine. Vjerovatno iz nekih opravdanih razloga, da se ne pozna u javno poznatom stranom imenu, Njegoš ga je imenovao Filip Vuković, a tako ga oslovljava i Jevto Milović.

Kao značajni državno-politički i drugi reformator Crne Gore, Njegoš je poklanjao posebnu pažnju i naporima da se Crna Gora što potpunije kartografski obradi. Pod imenom Filip Vuković, došao je sredinom 1840. godine u Crnu Goru (alijas Danilo Kokotović) te je postao Njegošev učitelj njemačkog jezika. Pored toga, Vuković se “pri crnogorskom praviteljstvu” bavio i crtanjem “topografskih karata”. Jednu takvu njegovu kartu objavio je Jevto M. Milović (1993).

Karta Jana Vaclika po narudžbi knjaza Danila 1859. godine

Kartografi su zanemarivali i posebno interesantnu kartu Crne Gore koju je za potrebu crnogorske države, kao i knjigu o nezavisnosti Crne Gore, naručio knjaz Danilo od Poljaka Jana Vaclika 1859. godine (štampana, a urađena prije) (Pejović 2009b). Ova karta je od većeg značaja, opštepoznata, štampana, nije uopšte sporna njena vjerodostojnost i postoji kao dokument u arhivi Narodnog muzeja na Cetinju. Stavljena je u Istorijsko-geografski atlas Crne Gore XVI–XX vijek (Milović 1993). Izrađena je i naručena za diplomatske potrebe Crne Gore da predstavi svoje granice, radi razgraničenja sa susjedima, i za potrebe Pariske konferencije. Za potrebu države Crne Gore knjaz Danilo je naručio i platio ovu kartu kao i knjigu o suverenitetu Crne Gore. Za istu potrebu je naručio kartu Crne Gore i od Kovaljevskog i drugih stručnjaka. Zbog toga je ova karta domaće provincijencije.

Pobjeda na Grahovcu je usloвила da velike sile nateraju Tursku carevinu da pristane na obrazovanje međunarodne komisije za razgraničenje Crne Gore od Osmanskog carstva. Komisija je utvrdila crnogorske granice 1859, u čemu je znatnog uticaja imala karta Jana Vaclika.

Jan Vaclik je napisao i knjigu o suverenosti Crne Gore u kojoj je razložno i dokumentovano dokazao suverenitet države Crne Gore. U njoj se poziva i na originalni Ferman sultana Selima III o suverenite-

to him. The reason for this is only the dissatisfaction of Milović’s strict archival criteria. Other researchers of the Vienna archives did not come across a map of Petar I (e.g. Dr. Vladan Đorđević, *Ispisi iz bečkih državnih arhiva* (Records from the Vienna State Archives)).

Considering all the above, there remains a justified methodological doubt and the need for a very critical attitude towards this incomplete, insufficiently unfounded in the verified source, more often contradictory, dark, “linguistically and logically confused” work.¹⁸



Review of this short Đurković-Jakšić study, also in the same *Herald of Ethnographic Museum* in Cetinje, becomes, however, a new source on the map of Petar I, although this review is commendable for Jakšić’s work, but however it gives evaluation for the map of Petar I.

Reviewer Gavro A. Škrivanić assesses that Petar I Petrović Njegoš with his cartographic “work enters the history of Yugoslav cartography at the beginning of the 19th century” and that “this map is all the more significant because it represents, as far as we know, a unique copy of a map on which toponyms are written in Cyrillic in the vernacular.” He also adds that “the map contains the division of the then Montenegro into nahiyah, the tribes and fraternities of certain tribes are listed, as well as the neighbouring territories, which were not part of the Petar’s state at that time. With this presentation of the Montenegro territory and its neighbouring areas it has made a useful contribution to toponymic knowledge which is new to us.” Škrivanić states that Đurković-Jakšić, in addition to the given published work, also provided several maps as well as concerned one of Petar I Petrović.



Therefore, the map of Saint Petar I is the first domestic map of Montenegro and the first one in which toponyms are written in Cyrillic. This indicates that this is in “historical geography”, “historiographical presentation of maps” and “cartographic history” (the history of the map as a cartographic discipline) missed or ignored to be present.

Other domestic maps

Map of Filip Vuković at the request of Njegoš

Njegoš also ordered maps from Filip Vuković (pseudonym of Danilo Kokotović) for the purpose

¹⁸ Compare with footnote 3, and with Pavićević 1993, 7.

tu Crne Gore iz 1799. godine za vrijeme vladavine Petra I Petrovića. Na isti dokument pozivao se i Njegoš dok je boravio u Beču 1836/7. u objavljenom pismu *Sa crnogorske granice* u bečkoj novini *Allgemeine Zeitung* (u vanrednom prilogu) od 7. 2. 1847. godine. U njemu čitaocima objašnjava da je država Crna Gora faktički samostalna i nezavisna i da je to “pravno obrazložio” sultan Selim III svojim fermanom od 1799. godine u kojem se navodi da *Crnogorci nijesu nikada bili podanici Visoke Porte...* Ferman o suverenitetu Crne Gore izdejstvovao je opunomoćenik Njegoševog strica Petra I, crmnički senator Sava Plamenac.²⁰ Ovaj Ferman je citirao i Jan Vaclik na francuskom jeziku za potrebe knjaza Danila Petrovića radi slanja u sve evropske i druge zemlje u cilju dobijanja i formalnog priznanja suvereniteta Crne Gore. Jan Vaclik u originalu navodi da je taj dokumenat – Ferman otkrio u tajnoj crnogorskoj (cetinjskoj) arhivi i citirao ga.²¹ Navedeni dokument – Ferman Selima III nestao je iz cetinjskih arhiva, kao što je crnogorska dokumentarna baština ostala bez mnogo izvornika i manuskripta.

Navedena karta Jana Vaclika je kartografska podloga rečene njegove knjige, koja je i tekstualno obrazlaganje njegove karte.

Karta Nikole Miloševa od (knez) Vasojevića

U navedenom radu Janka Senderdija (1955, 249), u njegovoj istorijskoj sistematizaciji, *II epoha*, pod kartom broj 6. Nikola Milošev, knez Vasojevički, navodi se karta Nikole Miloševa od Vasojevića, štampana u Londonu 1836. godine “Karta Crne Gore, izrađena u litografiji kod štampara L. Herberit-a u litografskom poduzeću Kvartirmajstora Glavnog Ureda”.

Nikola Milošev školovan je prvo u Rusiji za inženjerskog oficira. Kasnije je prešao u službu Turske imperije. U Crnoj Gori se bavio službenim poslom i tada se povezao sa engleskim funkcionerima Jonških ostrva, koji su bili pod suverenitetom Engleske. Tim putem je njegova, kako je naziva Janko Senderdi “kompilatorska karta”, dospjela u London, gdje je i izdata. Austrijski generalni konzul u Skadru Teodor Yppen iznosi u svom djelu da je ovu kartu vidio kod Nikole Miloševa kada se ovaj 1837–1838. godine zadržavao u Skadru i od Velike Britanije bio naznačen za vicekonzula u Novom Pazaru. U Skadru je sa te njegove karte bila učinjena

of demarcation and recognition of the sovereignty of Montenegro. He is mentioned in historical and cartographic literature and in a foreign language as Filippo de Vukassović and in translation as Filip Vukasović as a prominent person. There is a lot of literature about him.¹⁹

Map is from 1788 “Neue topografisch von Montenegro, von Cataro und zum Theil von Albanien”, after which there are explanations for the borders of the nahiyah of Montenegro, borders with Venice and Dubrovnik, which are in colours. There is an inscription of the author on the drawing stone slab: “Filipo de Vukassovichis...” A copy of this map was kept before the war at the Geographical Institute in Vienna, and was created during the stay of Filip Vukasović in Montenegro in 1788. Probably for some justified reasons, so that he does not become known in a publicly known foreign name, Njegoš named him Filip Vuković, and that is how Jevto Milović calls him.

As a significant state-political and second reformer of Montenegro, Njegoš paid special attention to the efforts to map Montenegro as fully as possible. Under the name Filip Vuković, he came to Montenegro in the middle of 1840 (pseudonym Danilo Kokotović) and became Njegoš's German teacher. In addition, Vuković “under the Montenegrin government” drew “topographic maps.” One such map was published by Jevto M. Milović (1993).

Map of Jan Vaclík by order of Prince Danilo in 1859

Cartographers also neglected a particularly interesting map of Montenegro that was ordered for the needs of the Montenegrin state, as well as the book on the independence of Montenegro by Prince Danilo from Polish man Jan Vaclík in 1859 (printed, but made before) (Pejović 2009b). This map is of *greater importance, well known*, printed, its authenticity is not disputed at all and exists as a document in the archives of the National Museum in Cetinje. It was added to the Historical-Geographical Atlas of Montenegro 16th–20th century (Milović 1993). It was drafted and commissioned for the diplomatic needs of Montenegro to present its borders, for demarcation with its neighbours, and for the needs of the Paris Conference. For the needs of the state of Montenegro, Prince Danilo ordered and paid

²⁰ Vidjeti o tome detaljnije u Milović 1954.

²¹ Objavljen je i u *Žurnalu* Ministarstva narodnog preosvještenja (Ferman sultana Selima III 1878, 234) te u *Spomeniku* Srpske kraljevske akademije (Ferman sultana Selima III 1891, 64). Navodi se i u CID-ovom prevodu knjige Jana Vaclika sa francuskog (Vaclik 1996, 165).

¹⁹ He is also mentioned by Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić in the referred paper. There is information about Vukasović's stay in Montenegro in some histories of Montenegro, and in the following works: Đorđević 1914; Vuksan 1940a; 1940b; 1951; Vukasović i Pernet 1949. There is material about his stay in Montenegro in the State Archives in Zagreb (Državni arhiv u Zagrebu).

jedna kopija, koja je kasnije bila dostavljena austrijskom namjesniku u Dalmaciji.

Zanemarivanje domaćih karata Crne Gore

Navedene domaće karte Crne Gore bile su ne samo zaobilažene, zaboravljane, zabačene i nedovoljno istraživane, nego i ideološko-politički potiskivane i ignorisane iz rečenih imperijalnih razloga u Uvodu ovog rada čiji se tragovi provlače u savremenosti i sve do danas. Karakterističan primjer toga je sasvim neosnovana tvrdnja Janka Senderdžija na početku i u zaključku njegove studije: "Crna Gora kao samostalna država na Balkanskom poluotoku, sve do njenog ujedinjenja 1918. godine sa ostalim južno-slovenskim zemljama u Jugoslaviji, *nije imala svoje vlastite, ni državne, ni privatne kartografije svoje teritorije*" (Senderdi 1955, 245, 248). Ovo je ne samo istoriografski netačna teza, jer su (kako smo već naveli) domaće karte Crne Gore zaista postojale prije 1918. godine, nego je i nastavljeni izraz i odraz opšteg ideološko-političkog odnosa 1918. godine prema Crnoj Gori. Nije mu odgovarajuća ni ostala formulacija ove sasvim kategoričke teze, jer prvo je samostalna Crna Gora 1918. godine bezuslovno prisajedinjena Srbiji koja je, sa takvom većim ulogom, ujedinjena u KSHS i Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju. Crna Gora je tada izgubila i svoje ime, teritoriju, istoriju, pa shodno tome, i svoju i tuđu kartografiju. I na kraju, navedena teza Janka Senderdžija izokrenuto skriva da je u tom smislu i znatno prije pripremana 1918. godina, a upravo od nje bila zvanična politika i zakonodavstvo brisanje Crne Gore i sa same karte Crne Gore i kartografije Srbije i Jugoslavije.

Politika brisanja Crne Gore sa karte

U osnovi ove studije Janka Senderdžija je jedan imperijalni ideološko-politički vrijednosni stav koji ne odgovara stvarnom stanju, a takođe njegov kartografski pristup da pripojenu teritoriju Crne Gore Srbiji ne smatra kartografskim prikazom Crne Gore. Ukazaćemo kratko samo na ideološko-političku vrijednosnu komponentu koja se krije u osnovi ove teze. Još od tajnog, trajnog, a zvaničnog, srpskog državnog spoljno-političkog nacionalnog programa *Načertanija* Ilije Garašanina (1844) za stvaranje Velike Srbije, vršena je uporna propaganda brisanja Crne Gore sa karte Crne Gore, Srbije, KSHS i Jugoslavije. Na tom putu proširenja granica Srbije, Dimitrije Davidović je u svojoj *Istoriji naroda serbskog* priložio mapu *Zemalja u kojima preobivaju Srblji*: "Crna Gora, Albanija do Kavaje, Makedonija, prugom od Ohrida do Skoplja, Banat do Lugoša

this map, as well as the book on the sovereignty of Montenegro. For the same need, he ordered a map of Montenegro from Kovalevsky and other experts. That is why *this map is of domestic provenance*.

The victory at Grahovac conditioned the Great Powers to force the Turkish Empire to agree to the formation of an international commission for the demarcation of Montenegro from the Turkey. The commission determined the Montenegrin borders in 1859, which was significantly influenced by the map of Jan VACLÍK.

Jan VACLÍK also wrote a book on the sovereignty of Montenegro where he reasonably and by documents proved the sovereignty of the state of Montenegro. He also refers to the original Firman of Sultan Selim III on the sovereignty of Montenegro from 1799 during the reign of Petar I Petrović. Njegoš referred to the same document while he was in Vienna in 1836/7 in a published letter *Sa crnogorske granice* (From the Montenegrin border) in a Viennese newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung* (in special edition) from 7 February 1847. There he explains to the readers that the state of Montenegro is in fact autonomous and independent and that Sultan Selim III "legally explained" it with his Firman (decree) from 1799, which states that *Montenegrins were never subjects of the Sublime Porte...* Firman on the sovereignty of Montenegro was obtained by the proxy of Njegoš's uncle Petar I, the senator of Crmnica, Sava Plamenac.²⁰ Jan VACLÍK also cited it in French for the needs of Prince Danilo Petrović for notification to all European and other countries in order to obtain also formal recognition of the sovereignty of Montenegro. Jan VACLÍK states in the original that this document – Firman he discovered in the secret Montenegrin (Cetinje) archives, and quoted it.²¹ The mentioned document – Firman of Selim III – disappeared from the Cetinje archives, just as the Montenegrin documentary heritage was left without many originals and manuscripts.

The mentioned map by Jan VACLÍK is the cartographic base of his mentioned book, which is also the textual explanation of his map.

Map of Nikola Milošev of (Prince) Vasojević

In the stated work of Janko Senderdi (1955, 249), in its historical systematization, *II epoha* (2nd epoch),

²⁰ See more: Milović 1954.

²¹ Published also in *Žurnal* Ministarstva narodnog preosvještenja (Ferman sultana Selima III 1878, 234) and in *Spomenik* Srpske kraljevske akademije (Ferman sultana Selima III 1891, 64). It is stated in CID's translation of the book by Jan VACLÍK from French (VACLÍK 1996, 165).

u Rumuniji i Segedina u Mađarskoj, zatim usjek od Budimpešte i odatle, pored Pečuja, Rovinja na jadranskoj obali.” (Davidović 1846). U *Prosvjetnom glasniku* za 1892. godinu objavljena je kao prilog mapa *Etnografska karta srpskih zemalja* koju je priredila školska omladina Velike škole u Beogradu. U njoj su ucrtane (kao) *srpske zemlje*: “istočna polovina Istre, Hrvatska, Slavonija, zapadna Bugarska”. Takve karte crtaju i đачka društva iz Graca, Beča, Petrograda, uz tvrdnju da je mapa “sačinjena na osnovu povijesti, jezika, običaja i narodne pesme” te i da “srpski narod znaćue već punih pet stoljeća krvlju svoje granice, od Senja do Iskre (u Bugarskoj odakle su tek pravi čisti Bugari), i od Soluna do Pešte” (Radojević 1995, 148). U istom smjeru je i Miloš S. Milojević sačinio *Istorijsko-etnografsko-geografsku mapu Srba i srpskih zemalja* 1871. godine koja je služila kao *nastavno sredstvo*. Na mapi je prikazana Velika Srbija u granicama druge Jugoslavije, proširena do Crnog mora i Grčkog mora. Na čitavom prostoru su Srbi: Srbo-Slovinci, Srbo-Hrvati, Srbo-Mačedonci, Srbo-Bugari i Beli Srbi (Rumuni, Besarabija). Crne Gore i Crnogoraca i nema!



Karta je iz istorijskog muzeja Beča “Turci pred Bečom”

Karta je iz istorijskog muzeja Beča “Turci pred Bečom” od 5. 5. do 30. 10. Crna (u originalu zelena boja) boja označava osvojene zemlje Osmanskog carstva, a bijela slobodne zemlje. Na obje karte Crna Gora (Montenegro) je označena bijelom bojom, što znači da je bila slobodna, odnosno nepokorena.

Crnogorac od 27. avgusta 1925. godine, strana 3, objavljuje: “Ujedinjenje je zateklo na Cetinju jednu reljefnu kartu Crne Gore, lijepo urađenu od Austrijanaca za okupacije Crne Gore. Ali nekog je Srbijanca smetalo što se to zvala *reljefna karta Crne Gore*, pa je ovakav natpis i stavio: *Reljefna karte Zetske Divizijske oblasti*.”

Smatrajući da politika centralizma i unitarizma prve Jugoslavije podrazumijeva *brisanje* političkih, eko-

under the *map* number 6. Nikola Milošev, Prince of Vasojević, the map of Nikola Milošev from Vasojević is stated, published in London in 1836 as “Map of Montenegro, made in lithography by the printer L. Herberit in the lithographic company of the Quartermaster of the Main Office”.

Nikola Milošev was first educated in Russia as an engineering officer. He later transferred to the service of the Turkish Empire. He was engaged in official business in Montenegro and then connected with the English officials of the Ionian Islands, which were under the sovereignty of England. This way, his, as Janko Senderdi calls it, “compiled map”, arrived in London, where it was published. Austrian Consul General in Shkoder, Theodor Ippen, states in his work that he saw this map in Nikola Milošev possession when he dawdled in Shkodra in 1837–1838 and was appointed vice-consul in Novi Pazar by Great Britain. In Shkodra, a copy of his map was made, which was later delivered to the Austrian governor in Dalmatia.

Neglect and ignoring of domestic maps of Montenegro

These domestic maps of Montenegro were not only overlooked, forgotten, lopsided and insufficiently researched, but also ideologically and politically suppressed and ignored for the stated imperial reasons in the Introduction of this paper, whose traces glide in modern times, and to this day. A characteristic example of this is the completely unfounded claim of Janko Senderdi at the beginning and conclusion of his study: “Montenegro, as an independent state on the Balkan Peninsula, until its unification in 1918 with other South Slavic countries in Yugoslavia, *did not have its own, neither state, nor private cartography of its territory*.” (Senderdi 1955, 245, 248). This is not only a historiographically incorrect thesis, because (as we have already stated) the domestic maps of Montenegro really existed before 1918, but also a continued expression and reflection of the general ideological-political attitude of 1918 towards Montenegro. Formulation of this quite categorical thesis did not remain appropriate, because first, in 1918, independent Montenegro was unconditionally annexed to Serbia, which, with such a larger role, was united into Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At that time, Montenegro lost its name, territory, history, and consequently, its own and foreign cartography. Finally, the above-mentioned thesis of Janko Senderdi invertedly hides that in that sense, the year 1918 was prepared much earlier, and

nomskih i kulturnih individualiteta, poznati narodni poslanik iz Crne Gore u Narodnoj skupštini kritički je isticao: “Žalim što moram konstatovati, da prema ni jednoj od naših zemalja ta politika *brisanja* nije sprovedena sa toliko bezobzirnosti sa kolikom je sprovedena prema Crnoj Gori. Politika brisanja Crne Gore i svega što je crnogorsko, inaugurisana 1918. godine, a uzdignuta do visine državnog sistema Vidovdanskim ustavom, *briše sve sa bezobzirnošću*, čije su pobude vrlo mutne, a čije posledice daleko izmiču krajnjem pogledu i najvrednijih umova. Ali ko mari za posledice! Glavno je da se *Crna Gora briše*. Ona se briše iz udžbenika istorije naših zemalja, briše se sa *istorijske karte*, *briše se i iz administracione strukture naših zemalja*. Na *administrativnoj karti* naše države zaludu ćete tražiti Crnu Goru, nje nema čak ni *kao oblasti...*!” (Stenografske bilješke... 1925, 492–493). Na ovo podsjećaju u našim aktuelnim uslovima i akademik CANU prof. dr Đorđe Borožan.

Kartografsko brisanje Crne Gore i njen korjeniti palimpsest

Politika kartografskog brisanja Crne Gore je samo ishod radikalnog, strukturalnog iskorjenjivanja ukupnog istorijskog, tradicionalnog bića Crne Gore. To se u stručnoj literaturi naziva i *palimpsest*²² ili brisanje istorije Crne Gore.

Puni palimpsest izvršio je Nemanja nad Dukljskom kraljevinom, kad je osvojio. Nemanjini biografi, sami njegovi sinovi Stefan Prvovjenčani i Rastko-Sava, pišu da je njihov otac “porušio do kraja temelja iskorijenio sve dukljanske gradove”. O tome piše Stefan Prvovjenčani: “Te gradove poruši i do kraja temelja ih iskorijeni, jer ne osta kamen na kamenu koji se ne poruši Ostale gradove poruši i razori slavu njihovu u *pustoš i obraz* napuštenija.” (Druga hilendarska povelja 1966, 29)

Dragica Živković naglašava da su se “geografski i kartografski podaci o *srpskim zemljama*, krajem 18. veka, mogli naći sasvim fragmentarno u spisima crkvenih velikodostojnika”. Ističe da je *Istorija* arhimandrita Jovana Rajića “prvi veliki i ozbiljan pokušaj da se prošlost Južnih Slovena prikaže u celini”. Njegova *Istorija* počinje “ranijom sudbinom Slovena” i “uz nju prilaže 2 karte: kartu Skitije, kao *pradomovine* Slovena i kartu Panonije i Ilirika, zbog Srba i uopšte Južnih Slovena”. Srbi su u toj *Istoriji* prvi put vidjeli “karte zemalja gde su Srbi nekada

from it was the official policy and legislation to delete Montenegro from the map of Montenegro and the cartography of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Politics of deleting Montenegro from the map

The basis of the study of Janko Senderdi is an imperial ideological-political value attitude that does not correspond to the real situation, and also his cartographic approach not to consider the annexed territory of Montenegro to Serbia as a cartographic representation of Montenegro. We will briefly point out only the ideological-political value component that lies in the basis of this thesis. Ever since the secret, permanent, and official Serbian state foreign policy national program *Načertanija* (Plan) by Ilija Garašanin (1844) for the creation of a Great Serbia, persistent propaganda was carried out to erase Montenegro from the map of Montenegro, Serbia, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Yugoslavia. On that path of expanding the borders of Serbia, in his *Istorija naroda serbskog* (History of the Serbian People), Dimitrije Davidović enclosed a map of the Countries where Serbs reside (*Zemalja u kojima preobivaju Srblji*): “Montenegro, Albania to Kavajë, Macedonia, by rail from Ohrid to Skopje, Banat from Lugoj in Romania and Szeged in Hungary, then cutting from Budapest and from there, beside Pécs, Rovinj on the Adriatic coast.” (Davidović 1846). In *Prosvjetni glasnik* for 1892 as an appendix was published the map *Etnografska karta srpskih zemalja* (Ethnographic map of Serbian lands) which was prepared by the school youth of the Velika škola (Great School) in Belgrade. In it are drawn (as) *Serbian lands*: “the eastern half of Istria, Croatia, Slavonia, western Bulgaria”. Such maps are also drawn by student societies from Graz, Vienna, Saint Petersburg, with the claim that the map is “made on the basis of history, language, customs and folk songs”, and that “the Serbian people have been marking their borders with blood for five centuries, from Senj to Iskra (in Bulgaria, from where only real pure Bulgarians are), and from Thessaloniki to Pest” (Radojević 1995, 148). In the same direction Miloš S. Milojević composed *Istorijsko-etnografsko-geografska mapa Srba i srpskih zemalja* (Historical-ethnographic-geographical map of Serbs and Serbian lands) in 1871, which served as a *teaching tool*. The map shows Great Serbia within the borders of the second Yugoslavia, extended to the Black Sea and the Greek Sea. There are Serbs in the whole area: Serbo-Slovenes, Serbo-Croats, Serbo-Macedonians, Serbo-Bulgarians and White Serbs (Romanians, Bessarabia). There are no Montenegro and Montenegrins!

²² Grč. *tablica* na kojoj se piše i kad se ispuni briše, da bi se ponovo pisalo dalje nešto drugo.

živeli i gde su se stalno naselili” (Živković 2012).²³ D. Živković, na uobičajen način, neodređeno i nejasno ne razdvaja Skite, Slovene, Južne Slovene, Srbe i stalno se ponavlja sintagma *srpske zemlje*, pa i kad navodi i tumači druge autoritete. Npr.: “Detaljan pregled geografskog poznavanja Srbije i srpskih zemalja od srednjeg do početka 19. veka... uradio je Nikola Radojčić (1927)” ili “Mirko Marković je u svom delu *Geografska bibliografija Jugoslavije od početka 16. veka do 1970. godine* (1978) dao najpotpuniju bibliografiju karata *srpskih zemalja*”. Takođe: “najobimnije i najtačnije podatke o Srbiji i *srpskim zemljama* imale su austrijske vojne vlasti” i “1805. godine Sava Popović Tekelija štampa prvu *srpsku kartu srpskih zemalja Zemljooobraženije Srpske, Bosne, Dubrovne, Crnegore i ograničenih predel*”. Nije izostao ni Jovan Cvijić: “Krajem 19. vijeka J. Cvijić je štampao kartu *Srbije i Crne Gore*, za školsku upotrebu. Ova karta označava veliki napredak u razvitku kartografije o *srpskoj zemlji* i nagoveštava početak novog perioda”. (Živković 2012, 1–4) Ovdje je Cvijićeva karta “Srbije i Crne Gore” karta “*srpske zemlje*”. Po tom imperijalnom obrascu manipulacije radi i Olivera Stefanović (2003, 100) koja za studiju Nikole Radojčića *Geografsko znanje o Srbiji početkom 19. veka* kaže da je “to u stvari pregled geografskog znanja Srbije i srpskih zemalja od srednjeg do tridesetih godina 19. veka”.

Zaključak

Puni palimpsest nad Crnom Gorom izvršen je od 1918. godine. Najizričitije je to javno i deklarativno-pobjednički iskazao potpredsjednik Podgoričke skupštine na sjednici od 27. 11. 1918. godine na kojoj je donijeta deklaracija o ukidanju crnogorske države i svega što ona podrazumijeva: “Ja ve molim, gospodo, da stavimo na stranu istoriju Crne Gore, što se pak tiče njene političke istorije ja je dijelim na dva dijela: na onu do juče i od juče. Mi više nijesmo Crnogorci, nego Srbi” (Stenografske bilješke... 1918).

Simbolički se to naziva i *vađenje korijenja* ili *iskorjenjivanje* Crne Gore. Odnosi se na iskorjenjivanje, doslovno vađenje sa korijenom istorijskog brijesta između Dvora i Biljarde na Cetinju 1918. godine gdje razoriše i guvno oko njega na kojem su se održavali službeni sastanci. Ovaj brijest je presječen i njegovo korijenje je izvađeno u toku jedne noći, kada je vojska opkolila grad i zabranila izlaženje iz



The map is from the Vienna Historical Museum “Turks in front of Vienna”

The map is from the Vienna Historical Museum “Turks in front of Vienna” from 5th May to 30th October. Black (in original green) colour signifies the conquered lands of the Ottoman Empire, and white is free land. On both maps Montenegro is marked in white, which means that it was free, that is, unconquered.

“Crnogorac” (Montenegrin) from 27th August 1925, page 3 publishes: “Unification has found in Cetinje a relief map of Montenegro, beautifully made by the Austrians during the occupation of Montenegro. But some Serbian person was bothered by the fact that it was called a *relief map of Montenegro*, so he added an inscription: “*Reljefna karta Zetske Divizijske oblasti* (Relief map of the Zeta Divisional area)”.

Considering that the politics of centralism and unitarism of the first Yugoslavia implies the *erasure* of political, economic and cultural identities, the well-known MP from Montenegro in the National Assembly critically emphasized: “I regret to state that towards none of our countries this politics of *erasure* hasn’t been implemented with as much recklessness as it has been pursued towards Montenegro. The politics of erasing Montenegro and everything that is Montenegrin was inaugurated in 1918, and elevated to the height of the state system by the Vidovdan Constitution, *erases everything with recklessness*, whose motives are very vague, and whose consequences are far beyond the ultimate view of even the most valuable minds. But who cares about the consequences! The main thing is to *delete Montenegro*. It is being deleted from the history textbooks of our countries, it is being erased *from the historical map, it is also being erased from the administrative structure of our countries*. On the *administrative map* of our country, you will look for Montenegro in vain; *it does not even exist as an area...!*” (Stenografske bilješke... 1925, 492–493). Academician of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences

²³ Rad pripada osnovnom naučnom projektu broj 176008, koje finansira Ministarstvo za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije.

kuća (policijski čas). Kasnije (1937) presječen je i mlađi brijest ispred Dvora, posađen 1882. godine, kada je onaj stari počeo da vene.

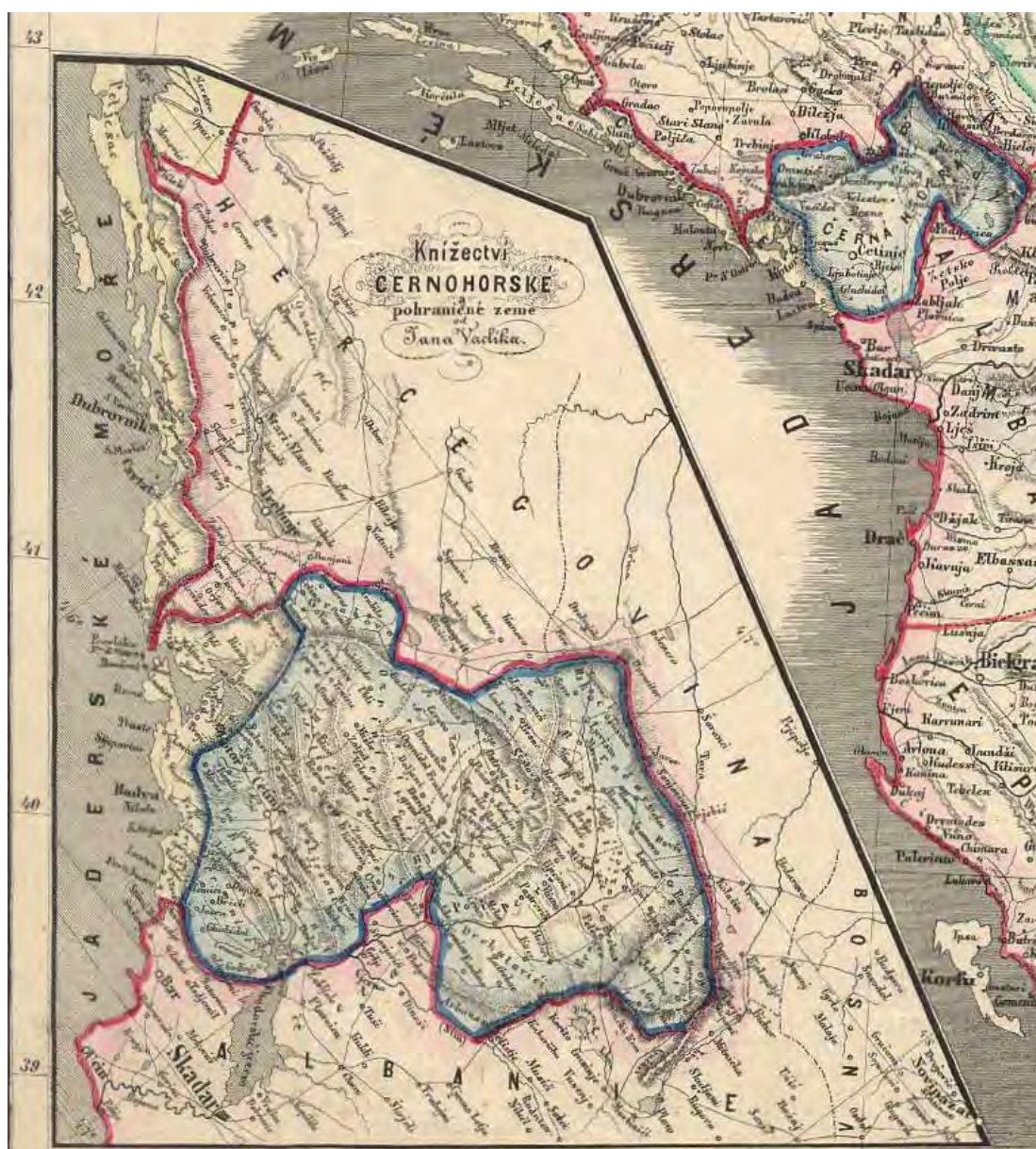
Vađenje korijena je i bukvalno i simbolično *iskorjenjivanje* istorije Crne Gore, njene slobodarske tradicije, kulture i nezavisnosti. O ovom problemu je poznati pjesnik Mirko Banjević napisao poemu *Brijest* (1939) u kojoj ovaj brijest shvata kao čeljade, odnosno kao živi crnogorski istorijski organizam. Zatim je i srpska pjesnikinja Isidora Sekulić (1961) pisala: “Ubiše brest!... Bolje da je ostao brest, nego oni koji su naredili da se poseče”.

and Arts, Dr. prof. Đorđe Borozan also reminds us of this in our current conditions.

Cartographic erasure of Montenegro and its profound palimpsest

The politics of cartographic erasure of Montenegro is only the outcome of the radical, structural eradication of the entire historical, traditional being of Montenegro. This is also called *palimpsest*²² in the professional literature or erasing of the history of Montenegro.

²² Greek *slate* where the text has been scraped from or washed off so that the page can be reused for another document.



Vaclík Jan. (1859) *Knížectví Černoohorské*. Retrieved from <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/Content/32264>

The full palimpsest was performed by Nemanja over the Kingdom of Duklja, when he conquered it. Nemanja's biographers, his sons Stefan the First-Crowned and Rastko-Sava, write that their father "demolished to the end eradicated foundations all the towns of Duklja". Stefan the First-Crowned writes about that: "He destroyed those cities and eradicated them to the foundations, because there is no stone left on the stone that was not destroyed. He overthrew the other cities, and destroyed their glory into emptiness, and the face of desolation." (*Druga hilendarska povelja* 1966, 29).

Dragica Živković emphasizes that "geographical and cartographic data on Serbian lands, at the end of the 18th century, could be found quite fragmentarily in the writings of church dignitaries." She points out that the History (*Istorija*) of Archimandrite Jovan Rajić is "the first great and serious attempt to show the past of the South Slavs in its entirety." His *Istorija* (History) begins with "the earlier fate of the Slavs" and "he gives 2 maps with it: map of Scythia, as the ancestral home of the Slavs and map of Pannonia and

Illyricum, because of the Serbs and the South Slavs in general." For the first time in that History, Serbs saw "maps of countries where Serbs once lived and where they settled permanently." (Živković 2012).²³ D. Živković, in the usual way, does not separate the Scythians, Slavs, South Slavs, and Serbs indefinitely and vaguely, and the phrase *Serbian land* is constantly repeated, even when it cites and interprets other authorities. Eg.: "A detailed review of the geographical knowledge of Serbia and Serbian countries from the Middle age to the beginning of the 19th century ... was done by Nikola Radojčić (1927)" or "Mirko Marković in his work *Geografska bibliografija Jugoslavije od početka 16. veka do 1970. godine* (Geographical bibliography of Yugoslavia from the beginning of the 16th century to 1970) (1978) gave the most complete bibliography of maps of Serbian countries." Also, "the Austrian military authorities had the most extensive and accurate data on Serbia

²³ The paper belongs to the basic scientific project number 176008, which is financed by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia



Karte von Montenegro Filipa Vukovića, alias Danilo Kokotović, 1838.

and Serbian countries” and “in 1805 Sava Popović Tekelija prints the first Serbian map of Serbian lands *Zemljopisna karta Srpske, Bosne, Dubrovne, Crne Gore i ograničenih predel’* (Map of Srpska, Bosnia, Dubrovno, Montenegro and limited areas)”. Jovan Cvijić hasn’t failed to miss: “At the end of the 19th century, J. Cvijić printed a map of Serbia and Montenegro, for school use. This map marks a great progress in the development of cartography about the Serbian land and indicates the beginning of a new period”. (Živković 2012, 1–4) Here is Cvijić’s map of “Serbia and Montenegro” map of “Serbian country”. According to that imperial pattern of manipulation Olivera Stefanović (2003, 100) also works, who for the study of Nikola Radojčić, *Geografsko znanje o Srbiji početkom 19. veka* (Geographical knowledge about Serbia at the beginning of the 19th century), says that “it is in fact an overview of the geographical knowledge of Serbia and Serbian countries from the middle age to the thirties of the 19th century.”

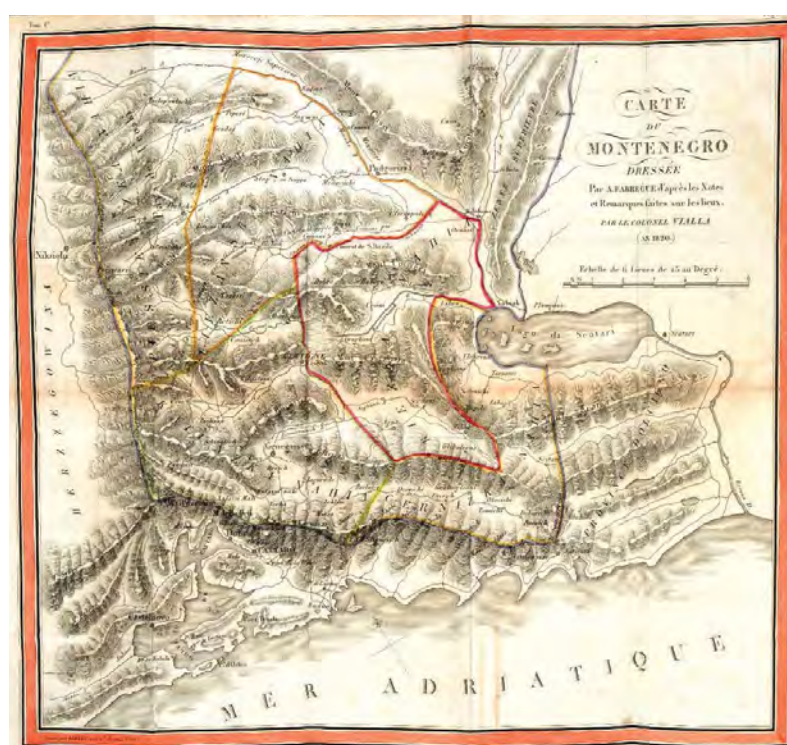
Conclusion

The full palimpsest over Montenegro has been carried out since 1918. This was most explicitly stated publicly and declaratively-victoriously by the Vice President of the Podgorica Assembly at the session of November 27, 1918, at which the declaration on the abolition of the Montenegrin state and everything that it implies was adopted: “I am asking

you, gentlemen, to put aside the history of Montenegro, as far as its political history is concerned, I divide it into two parts: the one until yesterday and the one from yesterday. We are no longer Montenegrins, but Serbs.” (Stenografske bilješke... 1918).

Symbolically, this is also called root extraction or eradication of Montenegro. It refers to the eradication, the literal extraction with the root of the historic *brijest* (elm) between Court and Biljarda in Cetinje in 1918, and destroys the threshing floor around which official meetings were held. This elm was cut down and its roots were taken out during one night, when the army surrounded the city and banned people from leaving the houses (curfew). Later (1937) the younger elm in front of the Palace, planted in 1882, when the old one began to wither, was cut.

Extracting the roots is both a literal and symbolic eradication of the history of Montenegro, its libertarian tradition, culture and independence. About this problem, the famous poet Mirko Banjević wrote the poem *Brijest* (Elm) (1939), in which he sees this elm as a person, that is, as a living Montenegrin historical organism. Then the Serbian poet Isidora Sekulić (1961) wrote: “Ubiše brest!... Bolje da je ostao brest, nego oni koji su naredili da se poseče” (They killed the elm! ... It would be better if elm has stayed, than those who ordered it to be cut down).



Iz / From: Vialla De Sommières, L. (1820). Voyage historique et politique au Montenegro. Retrieved from <https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2018/04/montenegro-in-19th-century-maps-and-history-books-.html>

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Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru: historijski pregled rada biblioteke od njenog nastanka 1928. do 1941.

Muslim National Library in Mostar: Historical Overview of the Library's Work Since Its Initiation in 1928 Until 1941

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Sažetak / Abstract

U radu se nudi historijski pregled nastanka i razvoja Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru sa posebnim fokusom na period od 1928. do 1941. godine, u kojem je ova institucija odigrala značajnu ulogu za građane Mostara. Jedna generacija maturanata mostarske Gimnazije 1928. godine imala je ne samo ambiciju nego i viziju masovnog opismenjavanja stanovništva Mostara i njegovog šireg područja. Svoju ideju pretvorili su u djelo čim su maturirali. Počeli su u nezavidnim uvjetima, ali vrlo samouvjereno i odlučno šireći ideju u krugovima svojih školskih kolega, prijatelja, komšija i naravno, rodbine. Proći će nekoliko godina prije no što Muslimanska narodna biblioteka dobije povjerenje građana i postane centar njihove emancipacije i opismenjavanja. Jednom nastala ideja postala je ideologija koja je ponijela jedan grad i njegov narod u revoluciju opismenjavanja, ali i u revoluciju za oslobođenje od osvajača. Ta ideja ih je približila knjizi do takvih blizina da su neki od njih rizikovali i svoje živote kako bi ih spasili prilikom uništavanja koje su sproveli funkcioneri NDH vlasti u proljeće 1941. U ovih prvih trinaest godina postojanja Muslimanska narodna biblioteka nekoliko je puta mijenjala ime, ali cilj njenog postojanja i rada je uvijek bio isti – pomoći i ubrzati prosvjećivanje širokih muslimanskih slojeva stanovništva u gradu Mostaru.

The article presents a historical overview of the initiation and development of the Muslim National Library in Mostar with a special focus on the period from 1928 to 1941, during which this institution played a significant role for the citizens of Mostar. One generation of high school graduates of the Mostar Gymnasium in 1928 had not only ambition, but also a vision of the mass literacy of the population of Mostar and its wider area. Once an idea became an act, as soon as they graduated. They started in unenviable conditions, but very confidently and decisively spreading the idea in the circles of their school colleagues, friends and neighbours and of course, relatives. It will pass several years before Muslim National Library in Mostar gets the trust of its citizens and becomes the center of their emancipation and literacy. Once formed an idea, it has become an ideology that has brought a city and its people into a literacy revolution as well as in a revolution for the liberation of the conquerors. That same idea brought them so close to books, that some of them risked their lives to save those books during the destruction that were carried out by officials of the NDH authorities in the spring of 1941. In these first thirteen years of existence, the Muslim National Library has changed its name several times, but the goal of its existence and work has always been the same – to help and speed up the enlightenment of the broad Muslim population of the city of Mostar.

Uvod

Ovaj rad ima za cilj prikazati razvoj Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru, odnosno predstaviti njen historijski razvoj od samog osnutka 1928. godine, pa sve do njenog prvog prinudnog zatvaranja od strane vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u aprilu 1941. godine. Istražujući dostupnu dokumentaciju i građu pohranjenu u Historijskom arhivu Sarajevo,

Introduction

This paper aims to show the development of the Muslim National Library in Mostar, i.e., to present its historical development since its inception in 1928, until its first forced shutdown by the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia in April 1941. Researching available documentation and materials stored in Sarajevo Historical Archives,

Arhivu BiH, Zemaljskom muzeju BiH i Historijskom muzeju BiH, autorice su se vodile knjigom "Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru", čiji je autor Fazlija Alikalfić, jedan od osnivača Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru. Upravo ova knjiga dokumentuje rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru u tada aktuelnom kulturno-političkom trenutku u zemlji i gradu Mostaru i jedan je od najpouzdanijih izvora.

Tokom svoga postojanja biblioteka je bila podložna mijenjanju naziva, ali u narodu je uvijek bila poznata kao muslimanska biblioteka. Od skromnih početaka i prikupljanja knjiga po kućama rodbine i prijatelja, tokom prvih trinaest godina rada, Muslimanska javna biblioteka u Mostaru stasala je u jednu od najboljih biblioteka u mjestu, po kvalitetu knjiga i po svojoj organizaciji. Do 1941. godine, tada već Muslimanska narodna biblioteka, raspolagala je s desetak hiljada djela vrijedne literature domaćih i stranih autora, tada dostupnih i vrijednih marksističkih knjiga, ali i beletristike i esejistike, te brojnim časopisima. I po broju stvarnih čitača ubrajala se u najaktivnije. Ipak, značaj rada ove biblioteke najvidljiviji je u organizaciji analfabetskih tečajeva za stanovništvo Mostara te razvijanju interesa kod šireg građanstva, prvenstveno omladine, školske i radničke, za dobru knjigu, a preko knjige i za izgrađivanje vlastite ličnosti. Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru je od 1936. godine postala i jako uporište Komunističke partije i mjesto širenja naprednih ideja za razvoj grada i njegovog stanovništva.

Koliki je bio značaj Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru govori i podatak da je dolaskom vlasti NDH, u aprilu 1941. godine, ova institucija zatvorena prije svih ostalih institucija – nacionalnih, kulturnih, klasnih, sportskih, te mnogih drugih društava i organizacija. Bilo je to vrijeme kada je Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru zatvorena prvi put, a doživjet će i zatvaranje, tačnije potpuno devastiranje, tokom agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu u periodu od 1992. do 1995. godine.

Kao što je svoj rad nastavila nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, pod nazivom Narodna Biblioteka Mostar, ova institucija je i 1995. godine, po završetku agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, obnovljena iz temelja te danas ima fond od oko 20.000 knjiga, koji koristi više od 2.000 čitalaca.

Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru

Mostar kao grad ima veoma dugu i značajnu bibliotечku tradiciju koja seže još iz 1570. godine. Te godine je osnovana prva i najpoznatija biblioteka u

The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authors were guided by the book *Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru* (Maturation of a youth: Remembrance of the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar), whose author is Fazlija Alikalfić, one of the founders of the Muslim National Library in Mostar. This book documents the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar, at that time, current cultural and political moment in the country and the city of Mostar, and is one of the most reliable resources.

During its existence, the Library was amenable to the name changing, but in the nation, it was always known as a Muslim library. From the humble beginnings and books collecting at the homes of relatives and friends, during the first thirteen years of work, the Muslim National Library in Mostar has grown into one of the best libraries in the town by the quality of the books and by its organization. By 1941, at that time already Muslim National Library, had at its disposal tens of thousands of works of valuable literature by domestic and foreign authors, then available and valuable Marxist books, but also fiction and essays, and numerous journals. And according to the number of real readers, it was ranked as one of the most active. However, the importance of the work of this Library is most visible in the organization of illiteracy courses for the population of Mostar, and developing the interest of the general public, primarily youth, school and workers youth, for a good book, and through the book, interest for upbuilding their own personalities. Since 1936, the Muslim National Library in Mostar has become a stronghold of the Communist Party and a place to spread advanced ideas for the development of the city and its population.

The importance of the Muslim National Library in Mostar is also shown by the fact that with the arrival of the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia, in April 1941, this institution was closed before all other institutions – national, cultural, class, sports, and many other societies and organizations.

It was the time when the Muslim National Library in Mostar was closed for the first time, and it will be closed, or more precisely, completely devastated, during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992 to 1995.

As it continued its work after the Second World War, under the name of the National Library of Mostar, this institution was completely renovated in

Mostaru pod imenom “Karadžobeg”, a osnivač je bio Hadži Mehmed-beg (Hasandedić 1983, 30).¹ Na početku svog razvoja bila je to skromna biblioteka koja je obuhvatala građu iz islamske teologije, ali ona prestaje s radom 1934. godine, dok se dio knjiga iz ove biblioteke poslije Drugog svjetskog rata pronalazi u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci. Na smjeni 19. i 20. stoljeća u Mostaru se osnivaju kulturno-prosvjetna društva (Kamberović 2003).² Neka od njih su bila matično samostalna društva, dok su ostala bila podružnice matica osnovanih u Sarajevu. Ono što je značajno za ova društva jest činjenica da je svako društvo za sebe imalo biblioteku koja je služila prvenstveno članstvu tih društvenih organizacija, ali su se njihovim knjižnim fondom, pod određenim uvjetima, mogli koristiti i drugi.

¹ “Hadži Mehmed-beg Karadžo najveći je vakif Mostara i cijele Hercegovine. Rođen je u Potocima u Bijelom Polju 12 km sjeverno od Mostara. U Mostaru je poznat pod imenom Karadžo-beg, a taj nadimak je kako kazuje predaja, dobio zbog svoje naočitosti. Karadžo-beg je 1557. godine sagradio u Mostaru džamiju pod kupolom i uz nju mekteb, medresu, biblioteku, imaret i musafirhanu. Pored ovih zadržbina on je podigao mesdžid u Potocima, dva mekteba u Konjicu i Potocima, četiri mosta: u Konjicu, na Buni i dva na Lištici, i po jedan han u Mostaru, Konjicu, Čičevu (općina Konjic) i Potocima. Iz sredstava ovog vakufa sagrađen je kasnije jedan hamam u Blagaju, mali kameni mostić kod džamije u Potocima i česma i šadrvan pred džamijom u Mostaru. Za izdržavanje navedenih ustanova zavještao je 42 trgovačka dućana u mostarskoj čaršiji, 16 tabhana blizu imareta u kojima posluju kožari (tabaci), šest mlinica i dvije stupe za valjanje sukna u selu Knešpolje u nahiji Blato, osam mlinica i dvije stupe na izvoru Bune, nešto zemlje u Mostaru i Knešpolju i 300.000 osmanlijskih dirhema u gotovom. Godine 1889. ovaj vakuf je imao u svome posjedu 27 1/2 dućana, 10 magaza, jednu pekaru i pet grobalja. Karadžo-beg je bio brat velikog vezira Rustem-paše i hercegovačkog namjesnika Sinan-paše koji je upravljao Hercegovinom od augusta 1547. do juna 1549. godine. Karadžo-beg je umro u Mostaru oko 1564. godine, gdje je, sigurno, i sahranjen u groblju kraj svoje džamije.” (Hasandedić 1983)

² Pojava kulturno-prosvjetnih društava u Bosni i Hercegovini krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća bila je rezultat i potreba novih društvenih snaga domaće građanske klase, koja ima sve značajniju ulogu u društvenom i nacionalno-političkom životu. Za ostvarivanje interesa nove građanske klase vezivalo se stvaranje sopstvene nezavisne inteligencije koja je vodila do vlastitog angažmana u pravcu školovanja omladine, te do osnivanja kulturno-prosvjetnih društava koje je bilo vezano za pjevačka društva i čitaonice ili kiraethane. Za pjevačka društva većinom su bili vezani Srbi, Hrvati i Jevreji, dok su s druge strane, tu funkciju kod Bošnjaka imale čitaonice unutar kojih su čuvali svoje tradicionalne oblike života. S pojavom čitaonica susrećemo se već u osmanskoj vladavini u Bosni i Hercegovini gdje su čitaonice bile odgojno-obrazovne institucije s veoma dugom tradicijom. Ta se njihova odgojno-prosvjetna misija sastojala u držanju “knjiga istočnog, zapadnog i moralnog sadržaja novih i raznih drugih listova”, čime su one izvršavale ne samo kulturno-prosvjetnu nego u izvjesnoj mjeri i kulturno-političku ulogu. Prva Muslimanska čitaonica osnovana je u Sarajevu 19. VII 1888. godine i postala je stjecište prve generacije muslimanskih književnika i prvih istaknutih muslimanskih političkih aktivista (Kamberović 2003). Sami značaj ovakve biblioteke ogledao se u daljem kulturno-prosvjetnom razvoju i političkom djelovanju. Javljanje potrebe za pjevačkim društvima, čitaonicama i đačkim domovima dovelo je do formiranja dobrotvornih i kulturno-prosvjetnih društava – kod Jevreja “La Benevolencija”, Srba “Prosvjeta”, Hrvata “Napredak” i Bošnjaka “Gajret”. Uloga u formiranju ovih društava ogledala se u suočavanju s novim vremenom koje je imalo za cilj da putem organizacije pomaže učenici i studentima u njihovom bržem usvajanju evropskog obrazovanja te približavanju zapadnoevropskoj civilizaciji.

1995, after the end of the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and today has a fund of about 20,000 books, which uses more than 2,000 readers.

Muslim National Library in Mostar

Mostar as a city has a very long and significant library tradition dating back to 1570. That year, the first and most famous library in Mostar was founded under the name “Karadžobeg” and the founder was Hadži Mehmed-bey (Hasandedić 1983, 30).¹ At the beginning of its making, it was a modest library that included materials from Islamic theology, but it stopped working in 1934 while part of the books from this library after the Second World War were found in Gazi Husrev-bey’s library. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, culture and education societies were founded in Mostar (Kamberović 2003).² Some of them were parent-independent so-

¹ “Hadži Mehmed-beg Karadžo is the biggest waqf of Mostar and entire Herzegovina. He was born in Potoci in Bijelo Polje, 12 km north of Mostar. In Mostar, he is known as Karadžo-bey, and according to legend, he got that nickname because of his appearance. In 1557, Karadžo-bey built a mosque in Mostar under a dome and a maktab next to it, madrasa, library, imaret and musafirhana (guest houses). In addition to these endowments, he built a masjid in Potoci, two mektebs in Konjic and Potoci, four bridges: in Konjic, on Buna, and two on Lištica, and one inn in Mostar, Konjic, Čičevo (Konjic municipality) and Potoci. From the funds of this waqf, a hamam later in Blagaj, a small stone bridge near the mosque in Potoci and a fountain and a Shadrvan in front of the mosque in Mostar were built. To support these institutions, he bequeathed 42 trade stores in the Mostar čaršija, 16 tabhanas (leather processing complex) near the imaret where tanners trade, six mills and two fullings for woollen clothmaking in the village Knešpolje in the Blato nahiyah, eight mills and two fullings for woollen clothmaking at the spring of Buna, some land in Mostar and Knešpolje and 300,000 Ottoman dirhams in cash. In 1889, this waqf owned 27 1/2 stores, 10 mağāzas (shops), one bakery and five cemeteries. Karadžo-bey was the brother of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha and the Herzegovinian governor Sinan Pasha, who ruled Herzegovina from August 1547 to June 1549. Karadžo-bey died in Mostar around 1564, where he was probably buried in a grave near his mosque.” (Hasandedić 1983).

² Occurrence of cultural and educational societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 19th and early 20th century was the result and need of new social forces of the domestic civic class, which has an increasingly important role in social and national-political life. The realization of the interests of the new civic class was linked to the creation of their own independent intellect, which led to their own engagement in the direction of educating the youth, and to the establishment of cultural and educational societies related to singing societies and reading rooms or kiraethana. To the singing societies were mostly connected Serbs, Croats and Jews, while on the other hand, function among Bosniaks had reading rooms within which they kept their traditional forms of life. With the occurrence of reading rooms we come across already in the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where reading rooms were training-educational institutions with a very long tradition. Their training-educational mission consisted of holding “books of Eastern, Western and moral content, new and various other newspapers”, whereby they performed not only a cultural-educational but to a certain extent also a cultural-political role.

The first Muslim reading room was founded in Sarajevo on July 19, 1888, which became the meeting point of the first generation of Muslim writers and the first prominent Muslim political activists (Kamberović 2003). The very significance of such library was reflected in further cultural and educational development and political activity. The emergence of the need for singing societies, reading rooms and dormitories, led to the formation of charitable and cultural-educational societies – Jews had “La Benevolencija”, Serbs

Najorganizovanija i najzapaženija biblioteka u Mostaru, međutim, bila je Muslimanska javna biblioteka, osnovana 1928. godine. U prvih trinaest godina postojanja Muslimanska javna biblioteka je više puta mijenjala ime. Ipak, cilj postojanja i rada ove institucije ostao je isti – pomoći i ubrzati prosvjećivanje širokih muslimanskih slojeva stanovništva u gradu Mostaru.

Muslimanska javna biblioteka – početak. Prosvjetiteljska vizija mostarskih maturanata

*Kulturu jednog naroda ne sačinjava
jedna grupa školovanih ljudi,
ma koliko oni bili umni, nego kulturni
nivo širih narodnih slojeva.
(Čišić 1937, 96)³*

Muslimanska javna biblioteka u Mostaru uspostavljena je kao samostalna institucija u ljeto 1928. godine, a mladići entuzijasti, maturanti mostarske gimnazije iz generacije 1927/1928, imali su tačno određenu viziju zadataka kojim se biblioteka trebala baviti. To je bio i osnovni razlog zašto je uspostavljena kao javna (samostalna) biblioteka, a ne odjeljenje nekog od već postojećih muslimanskih kulturno-prosvjetnih društava. Glavni osnivač bio je Fuad Slipičević⁴ (Jalimam 2004, 73–78) i još prije završetka školske godine maturanti su između sebe formirali Inicijativni odbor (predsjednik – Fuad Slipičević, sekretar Fazlija Alikalfić;⁵ Šarić 2017, 67–68). Namjera im

was to help and expedite the education of the broad classes of the Muslim population in the city of Mostar.

The Muslim Public Library – beginning. Educational vision of Mostar high school graduates

*The culture of a nation is not made up
of a group of educated people,
no matter how wise they are, but of the
cultural level of the masses.
(Čišić 1937,96)³*

The Muslim Public Library in Mostar was established as an independent institution in the summer of 1928, and young enthusiasts, graduates of the Mostar Gymnasium from the generation of 1927/1928, had a specific vision of tasks that library should deal with. That was the main reason why it was established as a public (independent) library and not a division of any of the already existing Muslim cultural and educational societies. The main founder was Fuad Slipičević⁴ (Jalimam 2004, 73–78) and even

³ Čišić, Hasan (1902–1938). Bio je talentovan matematičar već u gimnazijskim klupama. Studirao je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Svoj kratki životni vijek proveo je kao profesor matematike i fizike u Mostarskoj gimnaziji. Veoma ambiciozan i kreativan, gorljivo se bavio javnim kulturnim radom. Bio je naročito aktivan u radu “Gajreta”, no teška bolest zaustavila ga je u trideset i šestoj godini života. (Usp. Alikalfić 1985, 34)

⁴ Slipičević, Fuad (Mostar 9. 3. 1909. – 12. 6. 1980). Osnovno obrazovanje, kao i šerijatsku gimnaziju, završio je u Mostaru, dok je studij nacionalne historije s geografijom započeo na Filozofskom fakultetu u Skoplju, a završio na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu u periodu od 1928. do 1932. godine. Po završetku studija i odlasku u vojni rok, od 1934. godine zaposlio se u Medresi kralja Aleksandra u Skoplju, gdje je boravio sve do 1938. godine. Te godine premješten je po tadašnjim propisima u Mostarsku gimnaziju za profesora historije. Sve do 1948. godine bio je predavač i tumač složenih historijskih procesa u ovoj uglednoj srednjoškolskoj instituciji. Jedan je od njenih najuglednijih profesora. Profesor Fuad Slipičević djelovao je i izvan gimnazije kao javni radnik, predavač na brojnim tribinama i već tridesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća aktivan je suradnik tadašnjih časopisa i novina. Godine 1948. premješten je u Sarajevo za profesora novopokrenute Više pedagoške škole, gdje je na studijskom odsjeku historija-geografija predavao historiju. Tu je ostao sve do 1969. godine i jedno vrijeme bio je i direktor Više pedagoške škole u Sarajevu. Par godina pred penziju izabran je za profesora Pedagoške akademije koja je formirana u Mostaru. Tu je ostao do penzije. (Alikalfić 1985, 31)

⁵ Alikalfić, Fazlija (Mostar, 8. 9. 1910. – Sarajevo, 6. 11. 2004). Šumarski inženjer i društveno-politički radnik. Osnovnu školu i realnu gimnaziju završio je u Mostaru i maturirao 1928. godine. Kao stipendista Republike Čehoslovačke studirao je na Šumarskom fakultetu u Pragu i stekao zvanje inženjera šumarstva 1934. Po završetku studija radio je kao inženjer u Šumskoj upravi i Direkciji šuma u Mostaru. Bio je aktivan u kulturno-političkom životu Mostara. Naročito je bio angažiran u radu Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru,

“Prosvjeta”, Croats “Napredak” and Bosniaks “Gajret”. The role in the creation of these societies was reflected in the confrontation with the new times, which aimed to help pupils and students through the organization in the faster adoption of European education and approaching Western European civilization.

³ Čišić, Hasan. (1902–1938). He was a talented mathematician already in high school. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. He spent his short life as a professor of mathematics and physics at the Mostar Gymnasium. Very ambitious and creative, he was passionate about public cultural work. He was particularly active in the work of “Gajret”, but a severe illness stopped him at the age of thirty-six. (Cf. Alikalfić 1985, 34)

⁴ Slipičević, Fuad (Mostar 9th March 1909 – 12th June 1980). He completed his primary education as well as the Sharia Gymnasium in Mostar, then he began his studies of national history with geography at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and finished at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade in the period from 1928 to 1932. After completing his studies and military service, from 1934, he got a job at the King Alexander Madrasa in Skopje, where he stayed until 1938. That year, according to the regulations of the time, he was transferred to the Mostar Gymnasium for the history teacher. Until 1948, he was a lecturer and interpreter of complex historical processes in this prestigious high school institution. He is one of its most distinguished professors. Professor Fuad Slipičević also worked outside the Gymnasium as a public worker, a lecturer at numerous forums and already in the thirties of the twentieth century

je bila da pomognu i ubrzaju prosvjeđivanje širokih muslimanskih slojeva grada Mostara. Početak je, međutim, bio težak, navodi Fazlija Alikalfić u svom prisjećanju na prve dane rada Muslimanske javne biblioteke u Mostaru u svom djelu "Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru". Teškoće su se javljale uglavnom zbog pomanjkanja finansijskih sredstava, koja su prikupljana isključivo od članarina, a one su bile malobrojne. Muslimanska javna biblioteka nije imala svoje prostorije, već je bila smještena u jednoj sobi Muslimanskog kluba. Od opreme su imali samo dva ormara za pohranu knjiga. Tog prvog ljeta, knjige su skupljali sabirnom akcijom od prijatelja i članova biblioteke. Knjiga je bilo malo, svega par stotina, a kvalitet je bio nezadovoljavajući. Članovi Upravnog odbora donijeli su skoro sve knjige koje su imali kod svojih kuća, no nije skupljeno više od tri stotine. "U to vrijeme, u našim kućama, u privatnoj svojini uopšte, bilo je malo knjiga. Malo je bilo dobrih knjiga, dobrih edicija domaćih autora, a prevodi strane literature, ukoliko su i postojali, bili su, često, jeftine književne i male umjetničke vrijednosti. Među poklonjenim knjigama iz naših domova našlo se i nekoliko istovjetnih primjeraka, najviše edicija nekadašnje Muslimanske biblioteke (izdanje knjižare Muhameda Bekira Kalajdžića u Mostaru), Zabavne biblioteke, Srpske književne zadruge, Matice Hrvatske i sličnih edicija. Iako je u nakladi knjižare Paher i Kisić u Mostaru, još prije Prvog svjetskog rata (Mala biblioteka i dr.) štampano dosta poznatih djela domaće i strane literature, začudo, malo ih je darovano u našoj sabirnoj akciji". (Alikalfić 1985, 32)

Tako je ova mala i skromna institucija, s oskudnim materijalnim mogućnostima, malim knjižnim fondom i malobrojn timer članstvom, ipak zaživjela. Međutim, te jeseni 1928. godine, inicijatori osnivanja Muslimanske javne biblioteke u Mostaru razili su se na studije i postepeno, njihovo prisustvo u Upravnom odboru se ugasilo. Na mjestu sekretara Muslimanske javne biblioteke u Mostaru ostao je Fuad Slipičević još nekoliko godina, ali ga je nakon određenog vremena na toj poziciji zamijenio

before the end of the school year, the graduates formed an Initiative Committee among themselves (chairman – Fuad Slipičević, secretary Fazlija Alikalfić⁵) (Šarić 2017, 67–68). Their intention was to help and accelerate the education of the broad Muslim classes of the city Mostar. The beginning, however, was difficult, states Alikalfić Fazlija in his recollection of the first days of the work of the Muslim Public Library in Mostar in his work *Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru* (Maturation of a youth: Remembrance of the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar). Difficulties arose mainly due to the lack of financial resources, which were collected exclusively from membership fees, and they were meager. The Muslim Public Library did not have its own premises, but was housed in one room of the Muslim Club. Of the equipment, they had only two bookcases for storage of books. That first summer, books were raised through collections from friends and library members. There were a few books, just a few hundred, and the quality was unsatisfactory. Board members brought almost all the books they had at their homes, but no more than three hundred were collected. "At that time, in our houses, in private ownership in general, there were few books. There were few good books, good editions by domestic authors, and translations of foreign literature, if they existed, were often cheap literary and of little artistic value. Among the donated books from our homes, there were several identical cop-

he was an active contributor to the journals and newspapers of the time. In 1948, he was transferred to Sarajevo as a professor at the newly established Higher Pedagogical School, where he taught history at the Study department of history and geography. He remained there until 1969 and for a time was also the director of the Higher Pedagogical School in Sarajevo. A couple of years before his retirement, he was elected professor at the Pedagogical Academy, which was formed in Mostar. He stayed there until his retirement. (Alikalfić 1985, 31).

- ⁵ Alikalfić, Fazlija (Mostar, 8th September 1910 – Sarajevo, 6th November 2004). Forestry engineer and socio-political worker. He finished elementary school and Gymnasium in Mostar and graduated in 1928. As a scholarship holder of the Czechoslovak Republic, he studied at the Faculty of Forestry in Prague and acquired the title of forestry engineer in 1934. After graduating, he worked as an engineer in the Forest Administration and the Forest Directorate in Mostar. He was active in the cultural and political life of Mostar. He was especially engaged in the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar – he was one of its founders as a graduate of 1928. In 1936, he initiated its reorientation in the program and actions. From 1936 to 1938 he was the secretary of the library, and in 1938 he was appointed as its president. He remained in that position continuously until the ban on her work in 1941 by the Ustasha authorities. He held numerous political positions. From 1949 to 1972, when he retired, he was a professor at the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry in Sarajevo, where he was elected dean of the faculty for two terms, and in the period from 1965 to 1969 he was twice elected rector of the University in Sarajevo. He has published about fifty scientific and professional papers in the field of the profession in journals. He has won several awards and memorial posters in our country and in the world. (Šarić 2017)

čiji je bio i jedan od osnivača još kao maturant 1928. godine. Godine 1936. inicijator je njenog preusmjeravanja u programu i akcijama. Od 1936. do 1938. obnaša funkciju sekretara biblioteke, a 1938. postavljen je za njenog predsjednika. Na toj funkciji ostaje neprekidno do zabrane njenog rada 1941. od ustaških vlasti. Obnašao je brojne političke funkcije. Od 1949. do 1972. godine, kada je otišao u penziju, profesor je na Poljoprivredno-šumarskom fakultetu u Sarajevu, gdje je u dva mandata biran za dekana fakulteta, a u periodu od 1965. do 1969. dva puta je bio biran i za rektora Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Objavio je oko pedeset naučnih i stručnih radova iz domena struke u časopisima. Dobitnik je više priznanja i spomen-plakata kod nas i u svijetu. (Šarić 2017)

profesor Hasan Ćišić, koji je tu ostao sve do smrti. (Alikalčić 1985, 34)

Muslimanska javna biblioteka Mostar u okrilju "Gajreta"

U periodu od 1929. do 1935. godine Muslimanska javna biblioteka dospjela je pod okrilje Muslimanskog kulturnog i prosvjetnog društva "Gajret"⁶ (Škaljić 1985, 288) i promijenila naziv u Gajretova narodna biblioteka, ali je i dalje ostala samostalna, nije organizaciono ušla u rad ostalih institucija i organizacije "Gajret". (Dačić 2015, 14) U ovom njeznom periodu vodili su je istaknuti članovi "Gajreta", Mostarci, koji su se u svom kulturnom i javnom djelovanju zalagali za afirmaciju ideja i realizaciju programa "Gajreta". U fizionomiji biblioteke, njeznom programu, kulturnom značaju i praktičnom djelovanju, ovom promjenom imena nije se desilo ništa bitno. Njen knjižni fond je ipak porastao, međutim, članstvo se osipalo i Gajretova narodna biblioteka je gubila na značaju. Pa ipak, period od 1928. do 1935. godine obilježen je radom biblioteke, mada skromnim, na opismenjavanju i emancipaciji građana Mostara.

Povratak vizionara i entuzijasta

Kada su se neki od prvih osnivača Muslimanske javne biblioteke vratili u Mostar sa studija, iako zadovoljni što institucija i dalje radi, bili su ipak razočarani što njen rad nije još i širi, te što taj rad nije dao veće i bolje rezultate. Smatrali su da se u tako teškoj političkoj i ekonomskoj situaciji u gradu i zemlji moralo raditi i više i bolje. Njihov je poriv za osnivanjem biblioteke bio podići nivo obrazova-

ies, mostly editions of the former Muslim Library (bookstore edition of Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić in Mostar), Fun library (*Zabavna biblioteka*), Serbian Literary Guild (*Srpska književna zadruga*), Matrix Croatica (*Matica Hrvatska*) and similar editions. Although in the edition of the bookstore Paher and Kisić in Mostar, even before the First World War (Little library / *Mala biblioteka* and other) were published many well-known works of domestic and foreign literature, surprisingly, few were donated in our collection action." (Alikalčić 1985, 32)

That's how this small and modest institution, with meager financial possibilities, small book fund and few memberships, nevertheless came to life. However, that fall of 1928, initiators of the initiation of the Muslim Public Library in Mostar parted for their studies and gradually, their presence on the Governing Board ended. Fuad Slipičević remained secretary of the Muslim Public Library in Mostar a few more years, but after some time he was replaced by a professor Hasan Ćišić, who remained there until his death. (Alikalčić 1985, 34)

Muslim Public Library Mostar under the auspices of "Gajret"

In the period from 1929 to 1935, the Muslim Public Library came under the auspices of the Muslim Cultural and Educational Society "Gajret"⁶ (Škaljić 1985, 288) and changed its name to Gajret's National Library, but it still remained independent, has not entered organizationally in the work of other institutions and organizations of "Gajret". (Dačić 2015, 14) During this period, it was led by promi-

⁶ 1903. godine osnovan je "Gajret", bošnjačko društvo za pomaganje siromašnih đaka na srednjim i višim školama. Riječ *gajret* je arapskog porijekla (arapski: *gajra* – "nastojati, truditi se, ići naprijed"). Osnivanje "Gajreta" značilo je polet, nastojanje, srčanost, plemenitost, entuzijazam, pomaganje, snagu, potpora, trud i upornost (Škaljić 1985, 288). Nakon pokretanja prvog porodičnog muslimanskog lista *Behar*, bio je to važan korak u kulturnom i prosvjetnom životu muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine. Osnivači "Gajreta" su bili Safvet-beg Bašagić i Edhem Mulabdić, ranije već i osnivači časopisa *Behar*. Pravila društva napisana su koncem 1902. godine i dostavljena Zemaljskoj vladi i Zajedničkom ministarstvu finansija na usvajanje 12. januara 1903. godine, nakon čega je 20. februara sazvana skupština gdje su ta pravila prihvaćena i taj datum se zvanično smatra datumom osnivanja društva "Gajret". Od svoga nastajanja pa sve do 1941. godine društvo je mijenjalo nazive, da bi u konačnici bio zadržan naziv Kulturno-prosvjetno društvo "Gajret". Već po osnivanju 1903. godine, "Gajret" se suočava s prvim problemima. Ti problemi vezani su za samu politiku koja je vladala u tom periodu, ali je "Gajret" nastavio da djeluje kao isključivo muslimansko đачko potporno društvo kojem je jedini cilj bio da stvara što jači kadar inteligencije. Odnosno, cilj je bio da "Gajret" pomogne i omogućiti lakše školovanje muslimanske mladeži, gdje razvija svoju djelatnost sa kulturno-prosvjetnom misijom (Dačić 2015, 14). Razvijanje ovog društva dovelo je i do razvijanja Gajretove biblioteke koja je predstavljala novu epohu u kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine. Ova društva imala su veliku ulogu u razvijanju domaće inteligencije gdje se velika pažnja posvećivala bibliotekama i čitaonicama.

⁶ In 1903, "Gajret", the Bosniak Society for Helping Poor Students in Secondary and Higher Schools, was founded. The word *gajret* is of Arabic origin (Arabic: *gajra* – "to strive, to try, to move forward"). The founding of "Gajret" meant enthusiasm, effort, courage, nobility, enthusiasm, helping, strength, support, effort and perseverance (Škaljić 1985, 288). After the launch of the first family Muslim newspaper *Behar*, it was an important step in the cultural and educational life of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The founders of "Gajret" were Safvet-bey Bašagić and Edhem Mulabdić, already the founders of the journal *Behar*. The rules of the society were written at the end of 1902 and submitted to the National Government and the Joint Ministry of Finance for adoption on January 12, 1903, after which an assembly was convened on February 20, where those rules were accepted and that date is considered as a date of founding a society "Gajret". From its inception until 1941, the society was changing its name and eventually retain the name Cultural and Educational Society "Gajret". After its founding in 1903, "Gajret" faced the first problems. These problems were related to the politics that prevailed in that period, but "Gajret" continued to act as an exclusively Muslim student support society whose only goal was to create the strongest possible force of intelligence. That is, for "Gajret" the goal was to help and enable easier education of Muslim youth, where develops their activity with a cultural and educational mission (Dačić 2015, 14). The development of this society also led to the development of Gajret's library, which represented a new era in the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These societies played a major role in the development of domestic intelligence where they paid great attention to libraries and reading rooms.

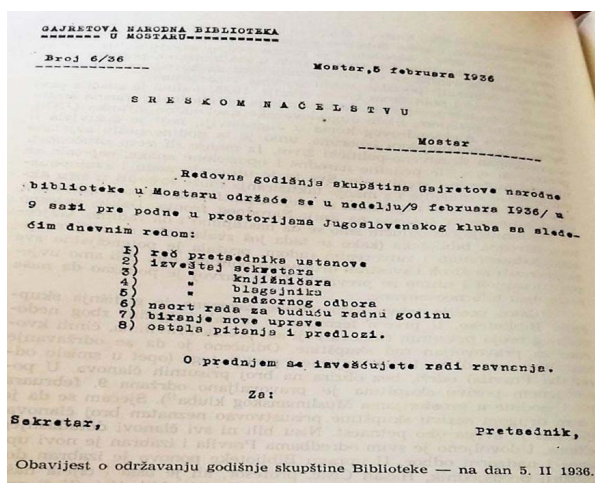
nja i kulture širokih narodnih masa. Ponovno su se okupili unutar, sada Gajretove narodne biblioteke i odlučili promijeniti dotadašnji princip rada. Nova skupština održana je 9. 2. 1936. godine, u prostorijama Muslimanskog kluba i obilježila je prelomni momenat u životu ove biblioteke. Bio je to početak jednog novog doba u njenom radu.

Za sekretara biblioteke izabran je Fazlija Alikalfić, a u odbor je ušao prof. Hasan Ćišić, uz još neke ugledne intelektualce i napredne ljude Mostara. Na skupštini su donijeli i zaključke o organizaciji i radu, još uvijek Gajretove narodne biblioteke, vrijedne spomena. Zaključci skupštine su bili sljedeći: "1. potrebno je što hitnije društvenu biblioteku organizovati na modernoj bazi stvaranjem kartoteke i sistema reversa;

2. potrebno je razviti plansku akciju za čitanje korisnih knjiga kod širih slojeva građanstva: trgovaca, zanatlija, radnika, uopšte malog čovjeka, a najviše kod naših žena.

3. potrebno je stvoriti u najkraćem vremenu 12-mjesečni tečaj za naše žene i to jedan od početka novembra 1936 do početka maja 1937 g., a drugi od početka novembra 1937 do početka maja 1938 god.;

4. potrebno je pokrenuti akciju za proučavanje prilika našega sela, kako bi se na osnovu stečenog iskustva što hitnije prišlo njegovom podizanju u svakom pogledu."



Slika 1. Obavijest o održavanju godišnje skupštine biblioteke, 5. 2. 1936.

Misija biblioteke

Zaključci ove sjednice odbora su i ispoštovani. Gajretova narodna biblioteka u Mostaru je uređena na najmoderniji način u to vrijeme s kartotekom i sistemom reversa, što je omogućilo brz pristup građi i bolji statistički uvid u cjelokupnu situaciju. Ćišić

and members of "Gajret", citizens of Mostar, who in their cultural and public activities advocated the affirmation of ideas and the realization of the "Gajret" program. In the physiognomy of the library, its program, cultural significance and practical activities, nothing significant happened with this change of name. Its fund grew, however, but its membership declined and Gajret's national library lost its importance. Nevertheless, the period from 1928 to 1935 was marked by the work of the library, although modest, on the literacy and emancipation of the citizens of Mostar.

The return of visionaries and enthusiasts

When some of the first founders of the Muslim Public Library returned to Mostar from their studies, although satisfied that the institution was still working, they were disappointed that its work was not even wider, and that this work did not yield greater and better results. They believed that in such a difficult political and economic situation in the city and the country, they had to work both more and better. Their drive to establish a library was to raise the level of education and culture of the broad masses. They reunited within, now Gajret's national library, and decided to change the former operating principle. The new assembly was held on February 9, 1936, in the premises of the Muslim Club, and marked a turning point in the life of this library. It was the beginning of a new era in its work.

Fazlija Alikalfić was elected secretary of the library, and professor Hasan Ćišić entered the board, along with some other prominent intellectuals and progressive people of Mostar. At the assembly, they also made conclusions about the organization and work, still, of Gajret's national library, worth mentioning. The conclusions of the assembly were as follows:

"1. it is necessary to organize the social library on a modern basis as soon as possible by creating a card index and a call card system;

2. it is necessary to develop a planned action for reading useful books among the wider classes of population: merchants, craftsmen, workers, the little man in general, and most of all among our women;

3. it is necessary to create a 12-month course for our women in the shortest possible time, one from the beginning of November 1936 to the beginning of May 1937, and the other from the beginning of November 1937 to the beginning of May 1938;

4. it is necessary to initiate an action to study the situation of our village, in order to, on the basis of the

navodi kako su “sve štetne knjige uklonjene, a da je nabavljen ogroman broj novih, aktuelnih knjiga i knjiga za narod”. Sva izdanja kvalitetnih domaćih i stranih autora koja su se u to vrijeme mogla nabaviti našla su se na policama ove biblioteke, a kako je bila pretplatnik svih edicija, to su nove knjige redovno pristizale.

Teško je bilo nabaviti knjige iz starijih izdanja, koje su već bile nestale iz redovne knjižarske prodaje. To su brojna djela *Nolita* i *Kosmosa* iz Beograda, *Epohe*, *Naučne biblioteke*, *Binože*, *Minerve* i drugih edicija iz Zagreba te druge. Za takvim knjigama je tragala čitava mreža prijatelja ove biblioteke, po antikvarnicama Sarajeva, Zagreba i Beograda. Jedan od prijatelja biblioteke bio je i Sadik Bučuk⁷ (Šehić 1986a, 130–132) iz Sarajeva, koji je uložio izuzetne napore da Gajretova narodna biblioteka u Mostaru dobije mnoga značajna izdanja koja su tada već bila iščezla iz prodaje. Nabavljene su i knjige koje su bile u školskom programu, i to u više primjeraka, lektire koje su bile potrebne učenicima srednjih škola. Neposredno pred rat Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru raspolagala je skoro svim izdanjima *Nolita*, *Kosmosa*, *Karijatida*, *Naučne biblioteke*, *Hrvatske naklade*, *Epohe*, *Minerve*, *Binože*, *Kulture*, *Džepne knjige*, *Popularne biblioteke*, *Nove pedagogije*, *Srpske književne zadruge* i drugih.



Slika 2. http://oshasankikic-gradacac.com.ba/dobrota_bivanja/Slike/Kikic/Putokaz/Putokaz39_br1_omot.jpg.

Prikupljani su i časopisi, mada je tek taj posao bio zahtjevan i teško ostvariv, jer su neki od njih davno bili nestali s tržišta, ali su vrijedni članovi bibliote-

acquired experience, approach to its raise in every way as soon as possible.”

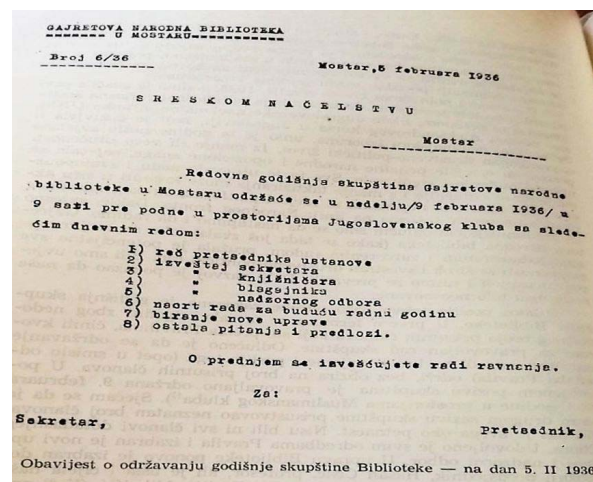


Figure 1. Notice of the annual assembly of the library, 02/05/1936

The mission of the Library

The conclusions of this board meeting were respected. Gajret's National library in Mostar was arranged in the most modern way at that time with a card index and a call card system, which enabled quick access to the materials and better statistical insight into the overall situation. Čišić states that “all harmful books were removed, and that a huge number of new, current books and books for the people were acquired.” All quality editions of domestic and foreign authors that could be acquired at that time were on the shelves of this library, and that library was a subscriber to all editions, and the new books were arriving regularly.

It was difficult to acquire books from older editions, which had already disappeared from regular bookstore sales. These are numerous works of *Nolit* and *Kosmos* from Belgrade, *Epohe*, *Naučna biblioteka*, *Binoža*, *Minerva* and other editions from Zagreb, and others. A whole network of friends of this library searched for such books in antique shops in Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade. One of the friends of the library was also Sadik Bučuk⁷ (Šehić 1986a, 130–132) from Sarajevo who made extraordinary efforts to get for Gajret's public library in Mostar many important editions that were already gone from sales. School program books in several copies, required reading books

⁷ Bučuk, Sadik (19. 11. 1907. – 1. 10. 1988). Rodom iz Trebinja. Pasionirani sakupljač antikviteta, dugo je radio kao upravnik sarajevske zadružne knjižare “Pogled”. Dobitnik je Šestoaprilске nagrade grada Sarajeva za izvanredne zasluge u razvoju savremenog knjižarstva i dugogodišnje učešće u kulturnom napretku Sarajeva. (Grad Sarajevo. Šestoaprilска nagrada...; Šehić 1986b)

⁷ Bučuk, Sadik (19th November 1907 – 1st October 1988). Originally from Trebinje. A passionate collector of antiques, he worked for a long time as the manager of the Sarajevo cooperative bookstore *Pogled*. He is the winner of The Sixth April Award of Sarajevo (*Šestoaprilска nagrada*) for outstanding merits in the development of modern book publishing and long-term participation in the cultural progress of Sarajevo. (Grad Sarajevo. Šestoaprilска nagrada...; Šehić 1986b)

ke, saradnici i prijatelji postepeno i taj zadatak obavili prilično uspješno.



Slika 3. <https://katalog.kgz.hr/pagesresults/cover.aspx?bibliografskiZapisId=155036278&thumb=0&pozivatelj=bibZapis>.

Na tekuće naslove i brojeve biblioteka je bila pretplaćena i oni su redovno stizali: *Književni savremenik*, *Putokaz*, *Izraz*, *Pregled* i drugi. Do 1941. Muslimanska narodna biblioteka je raspolagala s desetak hiljada djela vrijedne literature domaćih i stranih autora, riječ je o tada dostupnim i vrijednim marksističkim knjigama, ali i beletristici i esejistici, te brojnim časopisima aktuelnim, ali i već ugašenim.

Po kvalitetu knjiga i po svojoj organizaciji, institucija se ubrajala među najbolje u mjestu. Po broju stvarnih čitača bila je najaktivnija, a "knjige su članovima dijelili pedagozi i poznavaoči knjige prema stvarnoj potrebi i kulturnom nivou čitača" (Čišić 1937, 96). Vodio se, dakle, računa kome i koja knjiga se daje, što je bio svojevrsan blagi, ali promišljeni uticaj na čitaoca. Organizovani su i mnogi analfabetski tečajevi, ekskurzije u kojima su se članovi biblioteke upoznavali sa životnim prilikama u okolnim mjestima, ali i historijskim znamenitostima hercegovačkog kraja. Značaj takvog rada Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru vidjet će se tek u vremenu koje je dolazilo, kada njeni članovi pokažu veliki stepen svijesti o značaju spašavanja knjige zbog njene vrijednosti, ali i zbog vrijednosti znanja i vještina koje su u okrilju ove biblioteke, uz knjigu, stekli. Bila je to, dakle, prava odgojna institucija.

Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru

U narednom periodu, članovi odbora Gajretove narodne biblioteke u Mostaru dopunjavali su i proširivali sadržaj rada institucije. Naročito im je bilo važno zadobiti povjerenje roditelja, posebno očeva, i to onih konzervativnih. Osnovni zadatak bio je razviti

needed by high school students were also acquired. Immediately before the war, the Muslim National Library in Mostar had almost all editions of *Nolit*, *Kosmos*, *Karijatide*, *Naučna biblioteka*, *Hrvatska naklada*, *Epoha*, *Minerva*, *Binoza*, *Kultura*, *Džepna knjiga*, *Popularna biblioteka*, *Nova pedagogija*, *Srpska književna zadruga*, and others.



Figure 2. http://oshasankikic-gradacac.com.ba/dobrota_bivanja/Slike/Kikic/Putokaz/Putokaz39_br1_omot.jpg

Journals were also collected, although this work was demanding and difficult to accomplish, because some of them had disappeared from the market a long ago, but diligent members of the library, associates and friends gradually completed the task quite successfully.



Figure 3. <https://katalog.kgz.hr/pagesresults/cover.aspx?bibliografskiZapisId=155036278&thumb=0&pozivatelj=bibZapis>.

The library was subscribed to current titles and numbers and they arrived regularly: *Književni savremenik*, *Putokaz*, *Izraz*, *Pregled* and others. Until 1941, the Muslim National Library had tens of

kod šireg građanstva, prvenstveno omladine, školske i radničke, interes za dobru knjigu, za izgrađivanje vlastite ličnosti, programom mnogo širim no što je to škola nudila. Ustanovljen je i status čitača, prije svega zbog mogućnosti učlanjivanja učenika srednjih škola.

Na godišnjoj skupštini 8. maja 1938. biblioteka je dobila novo ime: Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru i zvanično je prestala biti Gajretova narodna biblioteka, uz obrazloženje da Muslimani nemaju dva tabora (misli se na muslimanska društva "Gajret" i "Narodnu uzdanicu") i da Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru treba da bude most preko kojeg će se ujediniti svi ljudi dobre volje. "U akciji postoji vanredno jedinstvo, a u nazorima jedinstvena harmonija... U svojim idejnim stremljenjima ona je progresivna, a prema svom zadatku demokratska." (Čišić 1937, 97).

Broj članova se povećao tokom 1939. godine, pa se povećao i broj članova odbora. Bili su to omladinci i omladinke koji su se istakli radom u zajednici. U narodu je bila poznata kao muslimanska, ali je zapravo svojim demokratskim i naprednim stavovima vremenom postala paravan prema vlastima i režimu Kraljevine Jugoslavije, čije su službe već pratile rad sa sumnjom i podozrenjem tražeći način da je zatvore. "Biblioteka je bila izraz svog vremena. Bilo bi pogrešno pretpostaviti da je moguće izdvojiti i nekako izolovano osvijetliti naprednu orijentaciju i revolucionarno raspoloženje mostarske omladine samo kroz rad i djelovanje Biblioteke. Ipak, određeno se može reći da je Biblioteka u posljednjim godinama svog djelovanja neosporno bila sektor rada naprednog revolucionarnog pokreta Mostara" (Alikalčić 1985, 44).

Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru tijesno je surađivala s Radničkim domom i organizacijom mostarskih studenata. U Domu su se okupljali mostarski komunisti, skojevci i drugi napredni radnici Mostara. Partijska organizacija Mostara u biblioteci je imala jako uporište kroz članove studente. Članova Partije bilo je i u upravi biblioteke, no nije postojala organizovana partijska ćelija. Više su članovi Partije, svaki za sebe, nosili svoju odgovornost za angažiranost u društvu. U prostorijama Muslimanske narodne biblioteke povremeno se sastajao aktiv intelektualaca formiran godinama prije rata. Tada su čitani proglassi Partije, marksistička štampa i druga zabranjena literatura. Biblioteka je imala i snažan oslonac u mostarskoj gimnaziji u grupi mladih, naprednih profesora. Bilo je to vrijeme kada su vršeni napori da se učenicima srednjih škola dozvo-

thousands of works of valuable literature by domestic and foreign authors, including then available and valuable Marxist books, but also fiction and essays, and numerous current and ceased journals.

In terms of the quality of books and its organization, the institution was among the best in the place. In terms of the number of actual readers, it was the most active, and "books were distributed to members by pedagogues and book connoisseurs according to the real needs and cultural level of the readers" (Čišić 1937, 96). Therefore, it was taken into account to whom and which book was given, which was a sort of mild but deliberate influence on the readers. Many literacy courses and excursions were organized in which members of the library got acquainted with the living conditions in the surrounding places, but also with the historical sights of the Herzegovina region. The significance of such work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar will be seen in the time to come, when its members will show a great level of awareness of the importance of saving the book because of its value, but also because of the value of knowledge and skills that they gained under the auspice of this library. It was, therefore, a real educational institution.

Muslim National Library in Mostar

In the following period, the members of the board of the Gajret National Library in Mostar complemented and expanded the content of the work of the institution. It was especially important for them to gain the trust of their parents, especially their fathers, especially the conservative ones. The basic task was to develop in the general public, primarily youth, pupils and workers, an interest in a good book, in building one's own personality, with a much broader program than offered by the school. Reader status has also been established, primarily due to the possibility of enrolling high school students.

At the annual assembly on May 8, 1938, the library was renamed to the Muslim National Library in Mostar and officially ceased to be the Gajret National Library, with the explanation that Muslims do not have two camps (it refers to Muslim societies "Gajret" and "Narodna uzdanica") and that the Muslim National Library in Mostar should be a bridge across which all people of goodwill will unite. "There is an extraordinary unity in the action, and a unique harmony in the views ... In its ideological aspirations, it is progressive, and according to its task, democratic." (Čišić 1937, 97).

The number of members increased during 1939, so did the number of board members. They were

li dolazak i članstvo u biblioteci. Rukovodstvo Gimnazije se oštro suprotstavljalo toj ideji, pravdajući se “odgovornošću za odgoj omladine”.

U Periodu od 1936. do 1941. godine Muslimanska narodna biblioteka prerasla je u pokret za napredak Mostara. Postala je baza omladine prepoznatljive po svojoj odlučnosti za rad i savjesnom izvršavanju zadataka. Imala je svoje brojne članove, simpatizere i prijatelje. U periodu neposredno pred zabranu njenog rada u aprilu 1941. godine Muslimanska narodna biblioteka imala je više od hiljadu čitača i članova. To je bilo daleko brojnije članstvo no u bilo kojem društvu, organizaciji ili biblioteci ikada u Mostaru. “Ozbiljna, odgovorna i potpuno drugarska atmosfera je stalno vladala u radu odbora. Osjećalo se međusobno povjerenje i oduševljenje u radu, a isto tako i svjesna disciplina u izvršavanju preuzetih zadataka” (Alikalfić 1985, 48).

Godišnje zabave održavale su se svake godine kao svojevrsna prezentacija svega što je biblioteka postigla te godine. Bile su to posebno pripremane predstave s najboljim i najpoznatijim glumcima i muzičarima iz Mostara. Često je bilo i gostovanja poznatih imena iz Jugoslavije, ali i van njenih granica. Članovi biblioteke su prema posjećenosti zabava procjenjivali svoj uticaj na građane Mostara. Bila su tu i druženja subotom i nedjeljom u prostorijama Muslimanske narodne biblioteke, koja je još uvijek bila smještena u prostorijama Muslimanskog kluba. Tu su održavane klupske večeri s kulturno-zabavnim programom. Posjećenost je bila velika pa su prostori kluba renovirani i prošireni dva puta. U svojim godinama rada (1936–1941) Muslimanska narodna biblioteka se razvila i stasala u široku bazu naprednog narodnog pokreta. Orijentaciju prvih osnivača, maturanata Mostarske gimnazije, zadržala je do zatvaranja 1941. godine. Sadržaj i metode rada znala je prilagoditi zahtjevu vremena. Svi okupljeni u Muslimanskoj narodnoj biblioteci i oko nje davali su svoj doprinos ideji i radu onako kako su najbolje znali i umjeli, svjedoči Alikalfić Fazlija u svome djelu “Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru”.

Zabrana rada Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru

Nedugo nakon što je Slavko Kvaternik putem radija u proljeće, tačnije 10. aprila 1941, proglasio uspostavu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Muslimanska narodna biblioteka je zatvorena. To nije predstavljalo veliku novost – banska vlast Cvetkovića i Mačeka još je dvije godine ranije bila odlučila zatvoriti biblioteku, no do realizacije je došlo tek dolaskom

young men and women who distinguished themselves through work in the community. Among the people it was popularly known as a Muslim, but in fact, with democratic and progressive attitudes, it has eventually become a cover toward the authorities and the regime of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whose services already followed the work with suspicion and distrust, looking for a way to close it down. “The library was an expression of its time. It would be wrong to assume that it is possible to single out and somehow in isolation illuminate the advanced orientation and revolutionary mood of the Mostar youth only through the work and activities of the Library. Nevertheless, it can be said that in the last years of its activities, the Library was indisputably a sector of the work of the progressive revolutionary movement in Mostar.” (Alikalfić 1985, 44).

The Muslim National Library in Mostar worked closely with *Radnički dom* (the Workers' Hall) and the Mostar Students' Organization. Mostar Communists, youth of Young Communist League of Yugoslavia and other progressive workers of Mostar gathered in the Hall. Organization of the Party of Mostar had a strong base in the library through student members. There were also members of the Party in the library management, but there was no organized Party Cell. Party members have more, individually, carried their responsibility for engaging in the society. An active group of intellectuals formed years before the war occasionally met in the premises of the Muslim National Library. That's when the proclamations of the Party, the Marxist press and other forbidden literature were read. The Library also had a strong support in the Mostar's Gymnasium in the group of young, progressive professors. It was a time when efforts were made to allow high school students to come and join the Library. The management of the Gymnasium strongly opposed this idea, justifying itself with “responsibility for the education of the youth”.

In the period from 1936 to 1941, the Muslim National Library grew into a movement for the progress of Mostar. It has become a base of youth recognizable for their determination to work and conscientious execution of tasks. It had its numerous members, sympathizers and friends. In the period immediately before the ban on its work in April 1941, the Muslim National Library had more than a thousand readers and members. It was a far more numerous memberships than in any society, organization or library ever in Mostar. “A serious, responsible and completely friendly atmosphere

NDH na vlast. Nekadašnji direktor Biblioteke Fazlija Alikalfić u knjizi "Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru" navodi kako je, vrativši se iz aprilskog rata u Mostar, 20. aprila 1941. godine zatekao biblioteku zatvorenu. Drugim riječima, novoj vlasti je trebalo svega nekoliko dana da je zatvori, tačnije prije svih drugih ustanova – nacionalnih, kulturnih, klasnih, sportskih, te mnogih drugih društava i organizacija. To implicira značaj koji je Muslimanska narodna biblioteka imala u tom vremenu, pri čemu je nova vlast bila upoznata s bogatim sadržajem aktivnosti koje su se na tom mjestu dešavale proteklih godina. Naime, čelni ljudi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske spoznali su da je Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru prepoznata kao ideološki nepoželjna ustanova, budući da je prikupljala knjige koje su potencijalno predstavljale prepreku u širenju njihove ideologije, odnosno predstavljala je ustanovu oko koje su se okupljali njihovi politički i ideološki nestomišljenici.

Simpatizeri rada Muslimanske narodne biblioteke, njeni uposlenici i članovi shvatili su ozbiljnost situacije i nedugo nakon njenog zatvaranja odlučili su organizirati akciju spašavanja vrijednih knjiga. Premda su željeli spasiti kompletnu biblioteku sa svim knjigama, shvatili su da bi takav potez bio isuviše rizičan i neizostavno primijećen, stoga su morali odabrati najvažnije knjige iz njene bogate zbirke. Bili su svjesni opasnosti takvog poduhvata, ali i činjenice da je to vjerovatno najviše što mogu uraditi zbog represivnih mjera koje su okupatori postavili. Istina, te mjere prisilnog zatvaranja kulturnih ustanova bile su samo uvertira za još agresivnije poduhvate na tom prostoru, stoga su članovi biblioteke spašavanje vrijednih knjiga shvatili kao nužnost i ubrzo dogovorili odgovoran, ali istovremeno i opasan plan. Otežavajuća okolnost bila je činjenica da se Muslimanska narodna biblioteka nalazila u samom centru grada, a uz ulaz se svakodnevno nalazila uniformisana policijska straža. Mjesni komitet Komunističke partije Jugoslavije u Mostaru organizaciju i strategiju izvršenja zadatka povjerio je članu Partije Mustafi Temimu Turki koji je održavao veze sa simpatizerima Partije, a koji su, ipak, bili uposlenici policije. Shodno tome, plan je trebalo izvesti u vremenu kada je na straži dežurao neko od policijskih službenika s kim postoji partijska saradnja, te naposljetku, izvesti ga za što kraće vrijeme. Da bi to bilo moguće, nužno je bilo angažirati nekoga ko odlično poznaje katalog biblioteke, njeno uređenje i raspored građe, a to je bio sekretar biblioteke Šefkija Puzić. Osim važnog pitanja na

constantly prevailed in the work of the committee. Mutual trust and enthusiasm in the work was felt, as well as conscious discipline in the execution of the undertaken tasks." (Alikalfić 1985, 48)

Annual parties were held every year as a kind of presentation of everything the library had achieved that year. They were specially prepared performances with the best and most famous actors and musicians from Mostar. There were often guest appearances of famous names from Yugoslavia, but also outside its borders. According to the attendance of the parties, the members of the library assessed their impact on the citizens of Mostar. There were also gatherings on Saturdays and Sundays in the premises of the Muslim National Library, which was still located in the premises of the Muslim Club. Club evenings with a cultural and entertainment program were held there. Attendance was high, so the club premises were renovated and expanded twice. In its years of work (1936–1941), the Muslim National Library developed and grew into a broad base of the advanced national movement. Library kept the orientation of the first founders, the graduates of the Mostar gymnasium, until its closure in 1941. They knew how to adapt the content and methods of work to the demands of the time. Everyone gathered in and around the Muslim National Library gave their contribution to the idea and work in the way they knew and could do the best, testifies Fazlija Alikalfić in his work *Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru* (Maturation of a youth: Remembrance of the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar).

Ban on the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar

Shortly after Slavko Kvaternik proclaimed the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) via radio in the spring, on April 10, 1941, the Muslim National Library was closed. This was not a big news – the Banate government of Cvetočić and Maček decided to close the library two years earlier, but the realization came only with the arrival of the NDH in power. Former director of the Library Fazlija Alikalfić in the book *Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru* (Maturation of a youth: Remembrance of the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar) states that, returning from the April war in Mostar, he found a closed library on April 20, 1941. In other words, it took the new government only a few days to close it, more precisely before all other institutions – national, cul-

koji način uzeti vrijednu građu iz biblioteke, nužno je bilo planirati gdje smjestiti građu nakon te akcije, a da je to mjesto bezbjedno i, u konačnici, nedostupno novim vlastima. Shodno strategiji, dogovoreno je da knjige budu prenesene u kuću Jusufa Čevre u Donjoj Mahali i u kuću Hajrudina Puzića u Zahumu, a sve to na prijedlog studentice Bisere Puzić. Ovom akcijom spašeno je više od hiljadu knjiga. Jedan dio knjiga koje su spašene otpremljen je partizanskim jedinicama, a ostatak fonda spašenih knjiga poslije je razdijeljen na manje mahalske ilegalne biblioteke (Donja mahala, Brankovac, Zahum, Carina i druge) u porodičnim kućama Mostaraca kao uspomena na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke i vrijeme u kojem je ona aktivno djelovala.

Alikalfić također navodi kako je većina knjiga bila zapravo marksistička literatura, beletristika i esejistika, dakle djela Marksa, Engelsa, Lenjina, Hegela, Frojda, Adlera, Londra, Barbisa, A. Fransa, R. Rolana, Gorkog, Sinklera, T. Mana, Drajzera, Silona, Travena, Dž. Londona, K. Čapeka, Krleže, A. Cesara, Filipovića i dr., pored brojnih klasičnih djela ruske literature, poput djela Tolstoja, Dostojevskog, Černiševskog, Gogolja, Čehova, Puškina, Ljermontova. Ipak, najveći dio njih je poslije oslobođenja predstavljao početni fond novoosnovane Narodne biblioteke u Mostaru (Alikalfić 1985, 96).

Knjige su, dakle, čuvane u kućama Jusufa Čevre i Hajrudina Puzića i mogli su ih preuzimati i koristiti samo povjerljivi članovi Saveza komunističke omladine Jugoslavije i Ujedinjenog saveza antifašističke omladine Jugoslavije. Za vrijeme rata i okupacije, knjige su se prikupljale i u kući rukovodioca Saveza komunističke omladine Jugoslavije Safeta Čišića. Jedne prilike je preneseno 482 knjige u nastojanju da ih se sačuva od uništavanja. Sakrivene su u skrovište ispod uglja, gdje su se mogle očuvati, a istovremeno i jednostavno preuzeti. Za njihovo raznošenje svim potencijalnim, ali pouzdanim korisnicima najviše je bila angažirana Ajša Udovčić. Ona je vrlo dobro poznavala ljude u okruženju, a osim toga bila je članica Saveza komunističke omladine Jugoslavije.

U mjesecu maju 1941. godine, članovi i simpatizeri biblioteke dogovorili su konkretniji poduhvat s težnjom očuvanja bibliotekskog fonda i nastavka rada ove ustanove te su formirali delegaciju koja bi trebala razgovarati s tadašnjom vlašću. Delegaciju su činili članovi Upravnog odbora – Fazlija Alikalfić, Hasan Mrkonjić i Šefika Resulbegović, te istaknuti govornik Smail ef. Dadić. U ustaškom Stožeru delegacija je razgovarala sa studentom

tural, class, sports, and many other societies and organizations. This implies the importance that the Muslim National Library had at that time, where the new government was acquainted with the rich content of the activities that took place at that place in the past years. Namely, the leaders of the Independent State of Croatia realized that the Muslim National Library in Mostar was recognized as an ideologically undesirable institution, as it collected books that potentially hindered the spread of their ideology, i.e. an institution which their political and ideological dissidents gathered around.

Supporters of the work of the Muslim National Library, its employees and members realized the seriousness of the situation and shortly after its closure they decided to organize an action to save valuable books. Although they wanted to save the entire library with all the books, they realized that such a move would be too risky and inevitably noticed, so they had to choose the most important books from its rich collection. They were aware of the dangers of such endeavour, but also of the fact that it was probably the most they could do because of the repressive measures imposed by the occupiers. True, these measures of forcible closure of cultural institutions were only a prelude to even more aggressive endeavours in the area, so library members saw the rescue of valuable books as a necessity and soon agreed on a responsible but dangerous plan. An aggravating circumstance was the fact that the Muslim National Library was located in the very centre of the city, and there was a uniformed police guard at the entrance every day. The Local Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Mostar entrusted the organization and strategy of carrying out the task to a member of the Party, Mustafa Temim Turki, who maintained ties with Party sympathizers, who were, nevertheless, police employees. Consequently, the plan for the books was to be carried out at a time when one of the police officers with whom the Party was cooperating was on duty, and finally, as soon as possible. In order for that to be possible, it was necessary to hire someone who knew the library's catalogue, its arrangement and layout, and that was the secretary of the library, Šefkija Puzić. Apart from the important question of how to take valuable materials from the library, it was necessary to plan where to place the material after that action, in the safe place and, ultimately, inaccessible to the new authorities. In accordance with the strategy, it was agreed that the books would be transferred to the house of Jusuf Čevra in Donja Mahala and to the house of Hajrudin Puzić in Za-

Stjepanom Barbarićem o zatvaranju biblioteke, a odgovori mladog funkcionera bili su prilično jasni i nedvosmisleni. Kazao im je kako je Muslimanska narodna biblioteka zatvorena te da će uskoro i njih zatvoriti, a Smail-efendiji je odgovorio: “Čudim se Vama, Smail-efendija, da ste mogli tako grubo nasjesti komunistima okupljenim oko Biblioteke. Biblioteka je od strane ustaških vlasti po programu zatvorena i zabranjena i nikada više, ni pod koju cijenu, neće biti otvorena, niti njen rad dozvoljen.” (Alikalfić 1985, 97).

Time je njihov razgovor završio i bilo je skoro jasno da je to formalni kraj legalnog postojanja i rada Biblioteke, budući da je funkcioner nove vlasti bio izrazito oštar i zajedljiv u svome obraćanju. Ipak, tu nije bio kraj za preostale knjige iz bogate zbirke Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru. U julu 1941. godine, funkcioneri nove vlasti iznijeli su preostale knjige iz biblioteke, prikupili ih na gomilu na jednom trgu u Mostaru i zajedno s velikom Staljinovom slikom javno na lomači spalili kao “simbol komunističke kuge”. Nakon zatvaranja Muslimanske narodne biblioteke, mnoštvo njenih članova priključuje se Narodnooslobodilačkom pokretu te kroz drugi vid borbe pokušava ostvariti ono što im je zatvaranjem biblioteke uskraćeno. Godine 1945. biblioteka nastavlja s radom pod imenom Narodna biblioteka u Mostaru, a kao takva predstavljala je centralnu biblioteku za područje Hercegovine, premda je čuvala i obrađivala građu s područja cijele teritorije Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Njen fond je bio vrlo bogat i raznolik, budući da je biblioteka posjedovala preko 218.000 knjiga i 14.000 svezaka periodike. Veliki značaj za Biblioteku u tom vremenu predstavljala je građa čiji su autori bili porijeklom iz Hercegovine, građa koja je štampana na području Hercegovine ili ona koja se tematski odnosila na nju.

Vrlo uspješan rad biblioteke, koji je obilježen korištenjem preko stotinu hiljada knjiga godišnje, prekinuo je rat u Bosni Hercegovini devedesetih godina prethodnog stoljeća, kada su odjeljenja Narodne biblioteke u potpunosti uništena. Naposljetku, u martu 1995. godine, Narodna biblioteka u Mostaru obnovila je svoj rad uz pomoć Administracije Evropske unije u Mostaru, pri čemu je osiguran smještaj i ponovno opremanje prostorija biblioteke, odnosno prikupljanje fonda. Danas, Narodna biblioteka u Mostaru broji nešto više od 57.000 knjiga raspoređenih u dvije zgrade i više od 2.000 čitalaca, ima uspješnu saradnju s mnogim kulturnim institucijama širom BiH te preuzima funkciju matične biblioteke u Hercegovačko-neretvanskom kantonu.

hum, all at the suggestion of student Bisera Puzić. This action saved more than a thousand books. A part of the books that were rescued were shipped to partisan units, and the rest of the salvage book fund was later distributed to smaller illegal libraries in mahallas (“neighborhoods”) (Donja mahala, Brankovac, Zahum, Carina and others) in the family houses of Mostar citizens as a memory of the work of the Muslim National Library and the time in which it was active.

Alikalfić also states that most of the books were in fact Marxist literature, fiction and essays, i.e. works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Hegel, Freud, Adler, Londres, Barbusse, A. France, R. Rolland, Gorky, Sinclair, T. Mann, Dreiser, Silhon, Traven, J. London, K. Čapek, Krleža, A. Cesar, Filipović etc., in addition to numerous classical works of Russian literature, such as works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chernyshevsky, Gogol, Chekhov, Pushkin, Lermontov. However, after liberation, most of them represented the initial fund of the newly established People's Library in Mostar (Alikalfić 1985, 96).

The books were kept in the houses of Jusuf Čevra and Hajrudin Puzić and could only be taken and used by confidential members of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and the United Union of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia. During the war and occupation, books were also collected from the house of the leader of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, Safet Ćišić. On one occasion, 482 books were transferred in an effort to save them from destruction. They were hidden in a hiding place under the coal, where they could be preserved and at the same time easily taken over. Ajša Udovčić was the most engaged in distributing them to all potential but reliable users. She knew the people in the area very well, and in addition she was a member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia.

In May 1941, members and sympathizers of the library agreed on a more concrete endeavour with the aim of preserving the library fund and the continuation of the work of this institution, so they formed a delegation that should talk to the authorities of that time. The delegation consisted of members of the Governing Board – Fazlija Alikalfić, Hasan Mrkonjić and Šefika Resulbegović, and a prominent speaker Smail ef. Dadić. At the Ustasha Headquarters, the delegation talked to student Stjepan Barbarić about closing the library, and the young official's answers were quite clear and unambiguous. He told them that the Muslim National Library

Zaključak

“Stasanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru” autora Alikalfić Fazlije je knjiga koja je velikim dijelom predstavljala temeljnu literaturu za ovaj članak. Cilj je bio pokazati entuzijazam nekoliko mladića, njihove ideje i put koji su prešli da bi te ideje prerasle u djela. U isto vrijeme cilj je bio i pokazati i/ili podsjetiti na značaj koji je Muslimanska narodna biblioteka imala za građane Mostara, ali i čitav hercegovački kraj u periodu između dva svjetska rata.

Ključna aktivnost Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru bila je rad na stalnom prosvjećivanju širih narodnih slojeva, naročito omladine (muške i ženske) putem knjige, predavanja, tribina, kurseva, te propagandom društvenih ideja. Biblioteka je priređivala i razna sijela i čajanke s predavanjima. Priređivani su i mevludi sa sabirnim akcijama za siromašnu školsku djecu, te godišnje zabave, kao svojevrsan rezime godišnjih aktivnosti Muslimanske narodne biblioteke. Rad muzičke i pozorišne sekcije te javne tribine dale su neizbrisiv pečat u oblikovanju kulturnog profila Mostara.

Rezultat je bio pojačan interes građana Mostara za zajednicu, njihovo aktivnije učešće u životu i radu zajednice kroz rad i aktivnosti biblioteke, veća aktivnost omladine na socijalno-privrednom programu, a najznačajnije od svih opismenjavanje mladih, ali i starijih, što je dodatno izgradilo inače napredne, samosvjesne i odlučne Mostarce.

Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru, u svojim prvim godinama rada, od 1928. godine do 1941. godine, mijenjala je naziv, usavršavala infrastrukturu i uređenje, ali nikada nije mijenjala svoj osnovni zadatak. Cilj njenih osnivača uvijek je prioritarno bio opismenjavanje građana i građanki Mostara. Vremenom je ova ustanova postala baza omladine odlučne za rad i savjesno izvršavanje zadataka.

Muslimanska narodna biblioteka u Mostaru imala je brojne članove, simpatizere i prijatelje. U periodu neposredno pred zabranu njenog rada u aprilu 1941. godine imala je više od hiljadu čitača i članova te desetak hiljada djela vrijedne literature domaćih i stranih autora, tada dostupnih i vrijednih marksističkih knjiga, ali i beletristiku i esejistiku, te brojne časopise, aktuelne, ali i već ugašene. Bilo je to daleko brojnije članstvo no u bilo kojem društvu, organizaciji ili biblioteci ikada u Mostaru.

Upornost prvih osnivača biblioteke zadržana je do današnjih dana. Za svojih devedeset jednu godinu rada i postojanja, Muslimanska narodna biblioteka je dva puta doživjela potpuna zatvaranja i razaranja.

was closed, and that they would be soon imprisoned as well, and he replied to Smail-effendi: “I am surprised with You, Smail-effendi, that you could have so roughly fell for the communists gathered around the Library. The library was closed and banned by the Ustasha authorities according to the program, and it will never be opened again, at any cost, nor will it work be allowed.” (Alikalfić 1985, 97).

With this, their conversation ended and it was almost clear that this was the formal end of the legal existence and work of the Library, since the official of the new government was extremely sharp and spiteful in his address. However, that was not the end of the remaining books from the rich collection of the Muslim National Library in Mostar. In July 1941, officials of the new government took the remaining books out of the library, collected them in a pile in a square in Mostar, and burned them together with a large painting of Stalin on a bonfire as a “symbol of the communist plague.” After the closure of the Muslim National Library, many of its members joined the People’s-liberation movement, and through another form of struggle tried to achieve what they were deprived of by closing of the library.

In 1945, the Library continued to operate under the name of the People’s Library in Mostar, and as such represented the central library for the territory of Herzegovina, although it kept and processed materials from the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its holdings were very rich and varied, as the library owned over 218,000 books and 14,000 volumes of periodicals. Of great importance for the Library at that time was the material whose authors were originally from Herzegovina, the material that was printed in the territory of Herzegovina or one which were thematically related to it.

The very successful work of the Library, marked by the use of over a hundred thousand books a year, ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, when the departments of the National Library were completely destroyed. Finally, in March 1995, the National Library in Mostar renewed its work with the help of the European Union Administration in Mostar, providing accommodation and re-equipment of the library premises, i.e. fund acquisition. Today, the National Library in Mostar has just over 57,000 books distributed in two buildings and more than 2,000 readers, has a successful cooperation with many cultural institutions throughout BIH, and takes over the function of the main library in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton.

Godine 1941. učinile su to vlasti NDH, koje su biblioteku prvo zatvorile, a potom i javno spalile knjige koje su pronašli na policama biblioteke. Ranije su članovi biblioteke uspjeli izvući jedan dio bibliotekskog fonda, onaj koji je u to vrijeme bio najznačajniji, i sakriti ga po kućama povjerljivih članova. Te su kuće postale male ilegalne biblioteke, a fond knjiga koji je preživio Drugi svjetski rat postao je, nakon rata, početni fond ponovno pokrenute biblioteke 1945. godine, tada pod nazivom Narodna biblioteka u Mostaru. Veoma bogat i raznovrstan fond s više od 218.000 knjiga i 14.000 svezaka periodike učinio je da postane centralnom bibliotekom čitave Hercegovine, mada je čuvala i obrađivala građu s područja cijele teritorije Socijalističke Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Od najvećeg značaja za Narodnu biblioteku u Mostaru u tom vremenu bila je građa čiji su autori bili porijeklom iz Hercegovine, građa koja je štampana na području Hercegovine ili ona koja se tematski odnosila na nju. Nažalost, drugo razaranje biblioteke za vrijeme agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu u periodu od 1992. do 1995. godine bilo je potpuno. Narodna biblioteka u Mostaru ponovno je obnovljena 1996. godine i danas ima oko 2.000 članova i fond od 57.000 knjiga koji je smješten u dvije zgrade.

Conclusion

Stasjanje jedne mladosti: Sjećanje na rad Muslimanske narodne biblioteke u Mostaru (Maturation of a youth: Remembrance of the work of the Muslim National Library in Mostar), by author Fazlija Alikalfić, is a book that largely represented the fundamental literature for this article. The aim was to show the enthusiasm of several young men, their ideas and the path they took to turn those ideas into deeds. At the same time, the goal was to show and / or remind of the importance that the Muslim National Library had for the citizens of Mostar, but also the entire Herzegovinian region in the period between the two world wars.

The key activity of the Muslim National Library in Mostar was to work on the constant education of the wider population, especially the youth (men and women) through books, lectures, forums, courses, and the promotion of social ideas. The library also organized various sittings and tea parties with lectures. Mawlid were also organized with fundraising actions for poor school children, and annual parties, as a kind of summary of the annual activities of the Muslim National Library. The works of the music and theatre section and public forums have left an indelible mark in shaping the cultural profile of Mostar.

The result was increased interest of the citizens of Mostar for the community, their more active participation in the life and work of the community through the work and activities of the library, greater youth activity in the socio-economic program, and most importantly literacy of young and old, which further built otherwise advanced, self-confident and determined Mostar citizens.

In its first years of operation, from 1928 to 1941, the Muslim National Library in Mostar changed its name, improved its infrastructure and system, but never changed its basic task. The priority goal of its founders has always been the literacy of the citizens of Mostar. Over time, this institution has become a base of youth determined to work and conscientiously perform tasks.

The Muslim National Library in Mostar had numerous members, sympathizers and friends. In the period immediately before the ban on its work in April 1941, it had more than a thousand readers and members, and tens of thousands of works of valuable literature by domestic and foreign authors, then available and valuable Marxist books, but also fiction and essays, and numerous current journals, but also journals already ceased. It was a far more

numerous membership than in any society, organization or library ever in Mostar.

The persistence of the first founders of the library has been maintained to this day. In its ninety-one years of work and existence, the Muslim National Library has twice experienced complete closures and destructions – in 1941 by the NDH authorities, who first closed the library and then publicly burned the books they found on the library shelves. Earlier, members of the library managed to extract one part of the library fund, the one that was the most important at the time, and hide it in the houses of trusted members. These houses became small illegal libraries, and the book fund that survived World War II became, after the war, the initial fund of the re-launched library in 1945, and then called the People's Library in Mostar. A very rich and diverse fund with more than 218,000 books and 14,000 volumes of periodicals made it the central library of the whole of Herzegovina, although it kept and

processed materials from the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of the greatest importance for the National Library in Mostar at that time were the materials whose authors were from Herzegovina, the materials that were printed in the territory of Herzegovina or one which was thematically related to it. Unfortunately, the second destruction of the library during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992 to 1995 was complete. The National Library in Mostar was rebuilt in 1996 and today has about 2,000 members and a fund of 57,000 books housed in two buildings.

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Mesto popularne muzike u sistemu zaštite kulturne baštine na primeru saradnje Narodne biblioteke Srbije i Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića

Place of the Popular Music in the System of Cultural Heritage Protection – The Example of Cooperation between National Library of Serbia and Milan Mladenović Endowment

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Sažetak / Abstract

Na primeru nedavno uspostavljene saradnje između Narodne biblioteke Srbije i Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića, jugoslovenskog muzičara i pesnika poslednjih decenija 20. veka, pokazan je model udruživanja tradicionalne baštinske ustanove i privatne institucije u oblasti zaštite kulturne baštine. Posvećena je pažnja načinima na koje se memorijalizuju i muzealizuju ličnosti i pojave iz nedavne prošlosti iz domena "popularne" kulture. Ukazuje se na neophodnost aktivnije uloge tradicionalnih ustanova u "otkrivanju" baštine, proširivanju na netradicionalne oblike stvaralaštva.

The Example of recently established cooperation between National Library of Serbia and Endowment of Milan Mladenović (Yugoslav poet and musician from the last decades of 20th century) shows a model of joining traditional heritage institution and a private endowment in the area of cultural heritage protection. Attention is paid to the ways of memorialisation and musealisation of personalities and phenomena of the past in the domain of "popular" culture. The more active role of traditional institutions in "discovering" heritage is needed, as well as action towards coverage of wider range of non-traditional cultural creations.

Kao jedna od centralnih baštinskih institucija u Republici Srbiji, Narodna biblioteka Srbije obavlja poslove od opšteg interesa u zaštiti stare i retke bibliotečke građe (Zakon o staroj i retkoj bibliotečkoj građi 2011, čl. 5). U tom smislu bavi se, pre svega, pronalaženjem, prikupljanjem, čuvanjem, zaštitom i korišćenjem građe, ali i pružanjem stručne pomoći sopstvenicima stare i retke bibliotečke građe. Na osnovu ugovora sa pojedincima i institucijama Narodna biblioteka Srbije ostvaruje saradnju na polju zaštite pokretnih kulturnih dobara – bilo da sa svojim stručnjacima deluje na polju fizičke zaštite kroz proces restauracije i konzervacije, da se angažuje u projektima digitalizacije određenih korpusa građe ili na druge načine.

Razgranata delatnost Narodne biblioteke Srbije u oblasti zaštite kulturne baštine proširena je u junu 2019. godine potpisivanjem Ugovora o saradnji Narodne biblioteke Srbije i Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića. "U znak poštovanja i sećanja na istaknutog jugoslovenskog muzičara, Zadužbina je Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije poverila na staranje vrednu građu koju čine lični predmeti i dokumenti, knjige, ruko-

As one of the central heritage institutions in the Republic of Serbia, the National Library of Serbia performs activities of general interest in the preservation of old and rare library materials (Zakon o staroj i retkoj bibliotečkoj građi (Law on old and rare library materials), § 5). For this purpose, it deals, first of all, with finding, collecting, holding, preserving and using materials, but also with providing professional assistance to owners of old and rare library materials. Based on agreements with individuals and institutions, the National Library of Serbia cooperates in the field of preservation of movable cultural property – whether it works with its experts in the field of physical preservation through the process of restoration and conservation, to engage in projects of digitization of certain corpus of materials, or in other ways.

The branched activity of the National Library of Serbia in the field of cultural heritage preservation was expanded in June 2019 with the signing of the Agreement on Cooperation between the National Library of Serbia and the Milan Mladenović Endowment. "As a sign of respect and memory of

pisi, plakati, fotografije, audio i video materijali i druge vrste građe iz zaostavštine umetnika. Ugovor su potpisali upravnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije, Laslo Blašković, i upraviteljka Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića, Aleksandra Čebić.” (Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2019b).

Ovim činom uobičajene prakse pravnog regulisanja saradnje napravljen je iskorak tradicionalne institucije zaštite, kakva je Narodna biblioteka Srbije, prema bavljenju stvaralaštvom koje se još uvek ne podrazumeva za kulturnu baštinu. To je tek prvi korak ulaska tzv. “popularne kulture” u ustanove zaštite.¹ Za određeni proizvod ili delo “popularne kulture” postoje vrlo velike razlike i potrebno je opisati, razvrstati, oceniti i doneti vrednosni sud za njih isto kao i za bilo koje delo tzv. “visoke” kulture.

Milan Mladenović, pesnik i muzičar, dobro je poznat generacijama koje su stasavale od početka osamdesetih godina prošlog veka u Jugoslaviji. Rođen u Zagrebu, prve akorde na gitari je naučio i prve stihove napisao u Sarajevu, a kao stvaralac stasao je i afirmisao se u Beogradu, u vreme kada je muzička scena bila vrlo živa. Sastav sa kojim je počeo da nastupa bio je “Limunovo drvo”, u muzičkom svetu postao je poznat sa najinventivnijom grupom novog talasa “Šarlo akrobata”, a vrhunac stvaralačke snage i popularnost stekao je kao vođa sastava “Katarina Druga”, tj. kasnije “Ekaterina Velika”. Pisao je muziku za pozorište, a ostvario se i u nekoliko igranih filmova. Ostao je upamćen i po izrazitom antiratnom angažmanu na početku jugoslovenskih ratova, sve do prerane smrti 1994. godine.

U tom smislu, stvaralaštvo Milana Mladenovića imaće važnu ulogu u razumevanju i tumačenju jugoslovenske kulturne scene s kraja 20. veka – njegova poezija i muzika nisu ostale samo u sećanju jedne generacije, već su ušle u javni diskurs. Stihovi pesme “Zemlja” čiji su autori Milan Mladenović i Margita Stefanović – “Ovo je zemlja za nas”, postali su referentni – naslov jedne emisije Radio Televizije Beograd glasi – “Mesto za nas”, a prati je i muzička tema ove kompozicije. U svakodnevnoj javnoj komunikaciji i obraćanju prepoznaje se upotreba upravo ovih stihova. Pisma “Šarla akrobate” “Mali čovek želi preko crte”, kao slika osamdesetih godina u Jugoslaviji, oživljena je u novom vremenu i prostoru kroz muzičko-scenski performans pozorišne trupe “Montažstroj” iz Zagreba, izveden

the prominent Yugoslav musician, the Endowment entrusted the National Library of Serbia with valuable material consisting of personal items and documents, books, manuscripts, posters, photographs, audio and video materials and other types of material from the artist's legacy. The agreement was signed by the Director of the National Library of Serbia, Laslo Blašković, and the Directress of the Milan Mladenović Endowment, Aleksandra Čebić.” (Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2019b).

With this act of the usual practice of legal regulation of cooperation, a step forward was made by the traditional institution of preservation, such is the National Library of Serbia, towards dealing with creativity that is still not considered as cultural heritage. This is only the first step in entering the so-called “Popular culture” in preservation institutions.¹ There are very big differences in a certain product or work of “popular culture”, and it is necessary to describe, classify, evaluate and make a value judgment just like for any work of the so-called “high” culture.

Milan Mladenović, a poet and musician, is well known to generations that have matured in Yugoslavia since the early 1980s. Born in Zagreb, he learned the first chords on the guitar, and wrote the first verses in Sarajevo, and as a creator he grew up and established himself in Belgrade, at a time when the music scene was very lively. The band which he started performing with was “Limunovo drvo” (Lemon tree), in the music world he became known with the most inventive group of the new wave “Šarlo akrobata” (Charlot the Acrobat), and gained the peak of creative power and popularity as the leader of the band “Katarina Druga” (Catherine II), i.e. later “Ekaterina Velika” (Catherine the Great). He wrote music for the theatre, and accomplished himself in several feature films too. He was also remembered for his strong anti-war engagement at the beginning of the Yugoslav wars, until his untimely death in 1994.

In that sense, Milan Mladenović's work will play an important role in understanding and interpreting the Yugoslav cultural scene from the end of the 20th century – his poetry and music have not only remained in the memory of one generation, but have entered into public discourse. Verses of the song “Zemlja” (Earth) whose authors are Milan Mladenović and Margita Stefanović – “Ovo je zemlja za nas” (This is the country for us), became a reference

¹ Termin “popularna kultura” ovde je upotrebljen sasvim uslovno, bez svih pozitivnih ili negativnih socio-kulturnih konotacija, već kao oznaka kulturnog sadržaja kao oličjenja jednog vremena i određene generacije, koji još uvek nije dobio mesto u institucijama kulture. O tome: Frit 2012, 362.

¹ The term “popular culture” is used here quite conditionally, without all the positive or negative socio-cultural connotations, but as a designation of cultural content as the embodiment of a one period and a certain generation, which has not yet gained a place in cultural institutions. About: Frit 2012, 362.

premijerno 2014. godine, a koji problematizuje norme i “crte društvenih zadatosti”. Ne treba posebno spominjati ni ponovljena muzička izdanja, štampanje zbirki pesama, biografija, brojne dokumentarne filmove i emisije posvećene Milanu Mladenoviću i grupama u kojima je stvarao, kao ni brojne muzičke sastave koji se bave koncertnim i klupskim izvođenjem ove muzike.

Ime Milana Mladenovića upisano je u sećanje na taj način što ga je ponelo nekoliko ulica u više gradova. Tako u Beogradu postoje Plato Milana Mladenovića, Ulica Milana Mladenovića u naselju Zemun-polje, u Zagrebu i Podgorici, Prolaz Milana Mladenovića u Novom Sadu. U mnogim gradovima bivše Jugoslavije sećanje na popularne muzičare formalizovano je odlukama o dodeli naziva ulica po pojedinim ličnostima. U Beogradu su to Čavketov pasaž,² Plato Neše Radulovića,³ u Novom Sadu – pasaž koji spaja ulice Poštansku i Jevrejsku nazvan je Prolazom Pekinške patke, u novosadskom Limanskom parku jedan plato nosi ime Mitra Subotić Sube.⁴ U Puli odnedavno postoje Poljana Serđa Blažića Đosera⁵ i Stube Branka Črnca Tuste.⁶ Ova vrsta memorijalizacije relativno brzo se sprovodi, jer je lokalnog karaktera. Ipak, ostaje dilema da li davanje naziva ulicama u zabačenim delovima grada na dobar način ispunjava funkciju memorijalizacije. U Sarajevu je imenovanje ulice po čuvenom pevaču i članu grupe “Indeksi” Davorinu Popoviću, u jednoj od centra grada udaljenoj i skrajnutoj ulici, izazvalo, prema pisanju štampe, dosta negativnih reakcija građana, a najpre same njegove porodice. Štampa beleži i neuspeli pokušaj davanja imena novosadskoj ulici po Džonu Lenonu (Vrzić 2002). Kritičke stavove o ovom pitanju imaju i pojedini antropolozi. Baveći se pojmom *arhitektura*, kojim označavaju ukupnost urbane arhitekture i teksta koji je označava, smatraju da su “nazivi gradskih ulica – specifičan tekst nacionalne naracije, mjesta gdje se strukture vladajuće ideologije susreću s praksom svakodnevnoga života” (Rihtman Augustin 2000, 51); “simbolični iskaz ideološko-političkoga programa; svaka promjena u njemu uvijek je borba za istiskivanje jednoga a nametanje drugoga sjećanja,

– the title of one show of Radio Televizija Beograd (Radio Television Belgrade) reads – “Mesto za nas” (A place for us), and is accompanied by the musical theme of this composition. In everyday public communication and addressing, the use of these verses is recognized. The song of “Šarlo akrobata” (Charlot the Acrobat) “Mali čovek želi preko crte” (The little man wants across the line), as a picture of the 1980s in Yugoslavia, was revived in a new time and space through the musical-scenic performance of the theatre troupe “Montažstroj” from Zagreb, premiered in 2014, which problematizes norms and “features of social tasks”. Not to mention repeated music releases, printing collections of songs, biographies, numerous documentaries and shows dedicated to Milan Mladenović and the groups in which he created, as well as numerous musical ensembles engaged in concert and club performances of this music.

The name of Milan Mladenović is inscribed in the memory in the manner that it was taken by several streets in several cities. Thus, in Belgrade there is Plato Milana Mladenovića (Plateau of Milan Mladenović), Ulica Milana Mladenovića (Street of Milan Mladenović) in community Zemun-polje, in Zagreb and Podgorica, Prolaz Milana Mladenovića (Passage of Milan Mladenović) in Novi Sad. In many cities of the former Yugoslavia, the memory of popular musicians has been formalized by decisions on naming streets after certain personalities. In Belgrade they are Čavketov pasaž² (Čavke's passage), Plato Neše Radulovića³ (Plateau of Nešo Radulović) in Novi Sad – a passage connecting the streets Poštanska ulica i Jevrejska ulica was named Prolaz Pekinške patke (Passage of Peking Duck), in Limanski park in Novi Sad, a plateau has the name Mitar Subotić Suba.⁴ In Pula recently exist Poljana Serđo Blažić Đoser⁵ (Plain of Sergio Blažić Đoser) and Stube Branka Črnca Tuste⁶ (Stairs of Branko Črnac Tusta). This type of memorialization is carried out relatively quickly, because it is of a local character. However, the dilemma remains whether naming streets in remote parts of the city fulfills the function of memorialization in a good way. In Sarajevo, the naming of the street after the famous singer and member of the

² Goran Čavajda Čavke (1962–1997), bubnjar i član beogradske grupe “Električni orgazam”

³ Nenad Radulović (1959–1990), muzičar, pesnik i vođa beogradske grupe “Poslednja igra leptira”

⁴ Mitar Subotić Suba (1961–1999), pseudonim Rex Ilusivii, muzičar, kompozitor i producent iz Novog Sada

⁵ Sergio Blažić (1951–1987), muzičar i pevač pulske grupe “Atomsko sklonište”

⁶ Branko Črnac Tusta (1955–2012), vođa pulske pank-grupe “KUD Idijoti”

² Goran Čavajda Čavke (1962–1997), drummer and member of the Belgrade band “Električni orgazam” (Electric Orgasm)

³ Nenad Radulović (1959–1990), musician, poet and leader of the Belgrade band “Poslednja igra leptira” (Last Dance of a Butterfly)

⁴ Mitar Subotić Suba (1961–1999), pseudonym Rex Ilusivii, musician, composer and producer from Novi Sad

⁵ Sergio Blažić (1951–1987), musician and singer of the Pula band “Atomsko sklonište” (Atomic Shelter)

⁶ Branko Črnac Tusta (1955–2012), leader of the Pula punk band “KUD Idijoti” (Cultural Artistic Society “Idiots”)

odnosno znak da je nova vlast ovladala prostorom” (Lovrenović 2016). U tom kontekstu, nije zanemarljiva ni geografska pozicija novoimenovane ulice.

Pored davanja naziva ulica, postoje i sporadični primeri kad je ime ličnosti iz sveta popularne kulture, pre svega muzike, dato i nekoj ustanovi – kao što u Beogradu nekadašnja Ustanova kulture Palilula odskora nosi naziv Centar za kulturu “Vlada Divljan”.⁷ U Kruševcu se nije odmaklo dalje od inicijative da srednjoškolski internat “Pane Đukić Limar” promeni ime u “Milan Mladenović”, u kojoj je značaj argument trebalo da bude i činjenica da je Milanov otac iz Kruševca (Rizinger 2020, 206). Korak dalje, sa heritološkog stanovišta, otišle su gradske vlasti u Rijeci, kada su pre nekoliko godina proglasile grafit prve riječke, a i jedne od prvih jugoslovenskih pank grupa “Paraf”, za kulturno dobro od lokalnog značaja, jer “svjedoči o počecima i razvoju riječkog, jugoslavenskog i istočnoevropskog pank, te slovi kao važan spomenik popularne kulture” (Grad Rijeka 2018).

Više je primera ideja koje su ostale neostvarene ili kratkog trajanja, kao što je bilo otvaranje *Audio-vizuelnog muzeja Laboratorije zvuka* na Petrovaradinskoj tvrđavi, u toku trajanja Egzit festivala 2013. godine. Povremeno se organizuju izložbe, koncerti i multimedijalni događaji, osmišljeni u svrhu (pod) sećanja na pojedinačne autore ili sastave, a u virtuelnom svetu postoji Rok muzej (2015). Muzej džeza (Matović 2020) za sada postoji samo kao ideja.

Sa sigurnošću možemo reći da je stav naslednika prema zaostavštini presudan za njenu dalju sudbinu. Autori (ali i njihovi naslednici) koji se bave određenom performativnom vrstom stvaralaštva nisu uvek svesni potrebe čuvanja svoga stvaralaštva. “Osim retkih primera, ljudi vezani za pank nisu ostavili arhivske zbirke koje sadrže tradicionalnu građu, kao što su prepiska ili dnevnic”.⁸

Ideja o osnivanju Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića potekla je od Milanove majke Danice, kao njegovog zakonskog naslednika, što je formulisano u njegovom testamentu (Zadužbina Milana Mladenovića. “O zadužbini”). To je bio presudan korak u integralnom očuvanju zaostavštine njenog sina. Podstaknuti testamentarnom željom Danice Mladenović, Milanovi prijatelji i kolege osnovali su Zadužbinu u skladu sa rečima Milanovog kolege i prijatelja, a

group “Indeksi” (Indexi), Davorin Popović, in one of the city's distant and remote street, caused, according to the press, a lot of negative reactions from citizens, especially from his family. The press also notes the failed attempt to name the street in Novi Sad after John Lennon (Vrzić 2002). Critical views on this issue also have some anthropologists. Dealing with the term of *architexture*, which denotes the totality of urban architecture and the text that denotes it, they consider that “the names of city streets – are a specific text of the national narrative, places where the structures of the ruling ideology meet the practice of everyday life” (Rihtman Auguštin 2000, 51); “a symbolic statement of the ideological-political program; every change in it is always a struggle to push out one memory and to impose another memory, that is, a sign that the new government has taken over the space.” (Lovrenović 2016). In that context, the geographical position of the newly named street is not negligible either.

In addition to naming the streets, there are sporadic examples when the name of a person from the world of popular culture, primarily music, is given to an institution – such as the former Ustanova kulture Palilula (Palilula Cultural Institution) in Belgrade was recently named as Centar za kulturu “Vlada Divljan” (the Cultural Center Vlada Divljan).⁷ In Kruševac, they did not move beyond the initiative to change a name of a high school boarding school “Pane Đukić Limar” to “Milan Mladenović”, in which the significant argument should have been the fact that Milan's father was from Kruševac (Rizinger 2020, 206). From a heritological point of view, the city authorities in Rijeka made a step further, when a few years ago they declared the graffiti of the first Rijeka's, and one of the first Yugoslav punk groups “Paraf” for a cultural property of local significance, because “it testifies to the beginnings and development of Rijeka, Yugoslav and Eastern European punk, and is known as an important monument of popular culture.” (Grad Rijeka 2018).

There are several examples of ideas that have remained unfulfilled or short-lived, such as the opening *Audio-vizuelni muzej Laboratorije zvuka* (Audio-visual museum of the Sound Laboratory) at Petrovaradinska tvrđava (Petrovaradin Fortress), during the Exit festival in 2013. Occasionally, exhibitions, concerts and multimedia events are organized, designed to remind / remember individual au-

⁷ Vlada Divljan (1958–2015), rok-muzičar i kompozitor, najpoznatiji kao član beogradske muzičke grupe “VIS Idoli”

⁸ Redak primer tradicionalne arhivske zbirke koja se tiče pank je Zbirka Ričarda Hela u jednoj od biblioteka Njujorškog univerziteta. Videti: Turrini 2013.

⁷ Vlada Divljan (1958–2015), rock musician and composer, best known as a member of the Belgrade music band “VIS Idols” (The Idols)

sad jednog od članova UO Zadužbine, Zorana Kostića Caneta: “Važna je jedna stvar – mi polako odlazimo, a mi smo jedna epoha” (Rigonat 2004, 156). Zadužbina je osnovana “na neodređeno vreme, sa ciljem da se umetnička, autorska i lična zaostavština Milana Mladenovića sačuva kao celina i da se, kao zadužbina, nameni za kulturne i humanitarne potrebe” (Zadužbina Milana Mladenovića 2018). Osnovnu imovinu Zadužbine čine Mladenovićevi lični predmeti, rukopisi, prepiska, knjige, notni zapisi, audio i video-snimci i fotografije. Narodna biblioteka Srbije, kao državna institucija, obezbeđuje stručno bavljenje ovom celinom (kataloška obrada, konzervacija), a garantuje i trajnost njene zaštite, za razliku od ustanova privatnog karaktera, sa ograničenim trajanjem ili izvorima finansiranja.

Prvi kontakt sa Narodnom bibliotekom Srbije i njenim Odeljenjem za konzervaciju Zadužbina je učinila tražeći mogućnosti da se zaštiti građa na papiru (rukopisi i fotografije). U susretu Zadužbine i Narodne biblioteke Srbije rodila se ideja da se sama građa trajno smesti u Biblioteku. Ovakav sticaj okolnosti potvrđuje mišljenje da ustanove zaštite treba da imaju aktivniju ulogu u *otkrivanju* baštine (Britta et al. 2013). Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije su predati rukopisi, dokumenti, knjige, audio i video-snimci, fotografije, plakati, lični predmeti, pisci sto i razna sitna štampana građa. Prema praksi Narodne biblioteke Srbije, celina je dobila svoju signaturu po inicijalima autora i započeta je stručna obrada. Knjige, audio i video-snimci, fotografije, plakati i sitna građa kataloški su obrađeni u CO-MARC formatu u Kooperativnom bibliografskom sistemu COBISS.SR. Rukopisna građa se obrađuje prema arhivističkim standardima u okviru Elektronskog kataloga rukopisa i arhivalija AtoM NBS (EKRAAN).⁹ Rukopisi su razvrstani na uobičajene celine – rukopise, prepisku, lična dokumenta i razno. Na ovaj način sistematizovana i stručno obrađena građa biće dostupna kroz pomenute kataloge i to predstavlja osnovu za dalje proučavanje i tumačenje Milanovog dela i vremena. Planira se digitalizacija kolekcije, čija će dostupnost na taj način biti proširena i u virtuelni svet. Formiranjem spomenkutka posvećenog Milanu, gde će biti izložen izbor obrađene građe, Narodna biblioteka Srbije proširiće svoj krug korisnika.

U okviru saradnje Zadužbine Milana Mladenovića i Narodne biblioteke Srbije održana je manifestacija dodele prve Nagrade “Milan Mladenović”, na dan

thors or ensembles, and in the virtual world there is a Museum of Rock (Rok muzej 2015). Jazz museum (Matović 2020) for now exists only as an idea.

We can say with certainty that the attitude of the successors towards the legacy is crucial for its further destiny. Authors (but also their successors), who deal with a certain performative type of creativity, are not always aware of the need to preserve their creativity. “Apart from rare examples, people related to punk have not left archival collections containing traditional material, such as correspondence or diaries.”⁸

The idea of founding the Milan Mladenović Endowment came from Milan's mother Danica, as of his legal successor, which was formulated in her will (Zadužbina Milana Mladenovića. “O zadužbini”). It was a crucial step in the integral preservation of her son's legacy. Encouraged by Danica Mladenović's testamentary wish, Milan's friends and colleagues founded the Endowment in accordance with the words of Milan's colleague and friend and now one of the members of the Board of the Endowment, Zoran Kostić Cane: “One thing is important – we are slowly leaving, and we are one epoch” (Rigonat 2004, 156). The Endowment was established “indefinitely, with the aim of preserving the artistic, authorial and personal legacy of Milan Mladenović as a whole and, as an endowment is intended for cultural and humanitarian needs.” (Zadužbina Milana Mladenovića 2018). The basic property of the Endowment consists of Mladenović's personal items, manuscripts, correspondence, books, music sheets, audio and video recordings and photographs. The National Library of Serbia, as a state institution, provides professional handling with this unity (cataloguing, conservation), and guarantees the permanence of its preservation, unlike private institutions, with limited duration or sources of funding.

The first contact with the National Library of Serbia and its Department for Conservation was made by the Endowment, looking for opportunities to protect the material on paper (manuscripts and photographs). In the meeting between the Endowment and the National Library of Serbia, the idea was born to permanently place the material in the Library. This combination of circumstances confirms the opinion that preservation institutions should play a more active role in *heritage discovery* (Britta et al. 2013). Manuscripts, documents, books, audio and video recordings, pho-

⁹ O ovom programu za obradu rukopisa i njegovom razvoju više u: Obradović 2018.

⁸ A rare example of a traditional archival collection concerning punk is the Collection of Richard Hell in one of the libraries of New York University. See: Turrini 2013.

Milanovog rođendana 21. 9. 2019. godine (Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2019b). Krajem avgusta 2020. godine održana je onlajn tribina “Poštenije nisam mogao da potrošim godine” o značaju rukopisne zaostavštine Milana Mladenovića.

Pre nešto više od petnaest godina Narodna biblioteka Srbije dobila je na čuvanje legat majstora fotografije i profesora Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu Branibora Debeljkovića (1916–2003). Glavni deo legata čini zbirka njegovih fotografija, tako da je to prvi legat u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije čiji sadržaj nisu knjige. Ta činjenica je bila podsticajna za naslednike fotografa Ive Eterovića (1935–2001) da njegovu zaostavštinu povere Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije. Slično je i sa kolekcijama ilustracija. Nadamo se da će na isti način saradnja sa Zaduzbinom Milana Mladenovića i činjenica da je njegova zaostavština smeštena u Narodnu biblioteku Srbije biti podsticajna za imaoce ili naslednike kolekcija slične provenijencije.

tographs, posters, personal items, writing desk and various small printed materials were handed over to the National Library of Serbia. According to the practice of the National Library of Serbia, unit has received its call number based on the initials of the author and the professional processing began. Books, audio and video recordings, photographs, posters and small materials are cataloged in COMARC format in Co-operative Online Bibliographic System CO-BISS.SR. Manuscripts are processed according to archival standards within the Electronic Catalogue of manuscripts and archival records AtoM NBS (EKRAAN).⁹ The manuscripts are arranged in the usual units – manuscripts, correspondence, personal documents and miscellaneous. In this way, systematized and professionally processed material will be available through the mentioned catalogues and this is the basis for further study and interpretation of Milan's work and time. The digitalization of the collection is planned, whose availability in this way will be extended to the virtual world. The National Library of Serbia will expand its circle of users by forming a memorial corner dedicated to Milan, where a selection of processed materials will be exhibited.

As part of the cooperation between the Milan Mladenović Endowment and the National Library of Serbia, a manifestation was held to award the first “Milan Mladenović” Award, on the day of Milan's birthday, September 21, 2019 (Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2019a). At the end of August 2020, an online public lecture was held “Poštenije nisam mogao da potrošim godine” (I couldn't spend all those years more honestly) on the significance of the manuscript legacy of Milan Mladenović.

A little more than fifteen years ago, the National Library of Serbia received the legacy of the master of photography and professor of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, Branibor Debeljković (1916–2003). The main part of the legacy is a collection of his photographs, so it is the first legacy in the National Library of Serbia, which content are not books. That fact was an incentive for the successors of photographer Ivo Eterović (1935–2001) to entrust his legacy to the National Library of Serbia. It is similar with the collections of illustrations. We hope that in the same way, the cooperation with the Milan Mladenović Endowment and the fact that his legacy is placed in the National Library of Serbia will be an incentive for the owners or successors of collections of similar provenance.

⁹ More about this program of manuscript processing and its development in: Obradović 2018.

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Ostavština Hamdije Kapidžića u fondovima Specijalnih zbirki Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine

Heritage of Hamdija Kapidžić in the Funds of Special Collections of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Sažetak / Abstract

Korisnici Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine u svrhu različitih istraživanja često traže građu koja sadrži podatke o nacionalnoj i lokalnoj historiji, politici, kulturi. Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine svoje fondove, pored obaveznog primjerka, popunjava razmjenom i poklonima. Jedan takav poklon jeste i zaostavština historičara Hamdije Kapidžića. Biblioteka je ovaj poklon zaprimila 2008. godine. Dio poklona, koji čine nekoliko predmeta, korespondencija, pisma, razglednice, stare knjige, karte, nalazi se na Odjeljenju Specijalnih zbirki. Građa već duže vrijeme stoji neobrađena pa smo odlučili kroz ovaj kratki pregled i popis javnosti predložiti arhivu ovog znamenitog bosanskohercegovačkog kulturnog i naučnog radnika. Nadamo se da će ovaj kratak osvrt na zaostavštinu historičara Hamdije Kapidžića donijeti nove poglede na njegov život i znanstveni rad i poslužiti kao izvor za nova istraživanja.

Users of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the purpose of various researches, often look for material that contains national, local heritage, history, material about politics and culture. In addition to the obligatory copy, NUBBIH replenishes its funds with exchanges and gifts. One such gift is the legacy of historian Prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić. The Library got this gift in 2008. Part of this gift – correspondence, letters, postcards, old books, maps, etc., are located in the Department of Special Collections. The material has been undocumented for a long time and we decided to present to the public the archives of this famous Bosnian cultural and scientific worker through this brief overview and list. We hope that this brief review of the legacy of the historian Hamdija Kapidžić will bring new views on his life and scientific work and serve as a source for new research.

Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić – život i djelo

Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić,¹ naučnik, istraživač, član Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, historičar, redaktor velikog opusa zbirki historijski značajne arhivske građe, rođen je u Bileći 1. 2. 1904. godine,² gdje završava osnovnu školu, a

Hamdija Kapidžić – life and work

Prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić,¹ scientist, researcher, member of The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, historian, editor of a large collection of historically significant archival material, was born in Bileća, on February 1st in 1904,²

¹ Dr. Enver Redžić u publikaciji "Hamdija Kapidžić – naučnik i pedagog" navodi kako je 1928. godine Kapidžić, na prijedlog Vasilja Popovića, u svom prezimenu sufiks "-čić" zamijenio u "-džić", pa se od tog perioda zove Kapidžić.

² U svom članku "Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić – znanstvenik i profesor", dr. Vera Katz napominje kako se u dostupnoj literaturi kao datumi rođenja dr. Kapidžića navode i 31. 1. te 2. 2. 1904. godine, dok dr. Enver Redžić ističe kako je Kapidžić rođen 1. 2. 1904. godine. Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine u svom fondu posjeduje originalni Izvod iz rođenja (*Auszug aus der Geburts*), izdat 6. marta 1916. godine, u kojem se navodi da je prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić (Kapičić) rođen 1. 2. 1904. godine, od oca Ibri i majke Hanife, rođene Hajdarhodžić. Istovremeno, navedeni akt ukazuje na to da je izvorno prezime dr. Hamdije Kapidžića zapravo Kapičić.

¹ In his publication "Hamdija Kapidžić: naučnik i pedagog", Dr. Enver Redžić states that in 1928, at the suggestion of Vasilj Popović, Kapidžić changed the suffix "-čić" to "-džić" in his surname, so from that period he was called Kapidžić.

² In the article "Prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić – scientific and professor", Dr. Vera Katz notes that in the available literature as dates of birth of Dr. Kapidžić are listed and January 31st and February 2nd, 1904, while Dr. Enver Redžić points out that Kapidžić was born on February 1st, 1904. The National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina has, in its funds, an original birth certificate (*Auszug aus der Geburts*), issued on March 6th, 1916, in which it is stated that prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić (Kapičić) was born on February 1st, 1904. His father was Ibri and mother Hanifa, born Hajdarhodžić. At the same time, a mentioned act indicates that the original surname of Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić is actually Kapičić.

zatim gimnaziju u Mostaru. Studij historije pohađa na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu te diplomira 1928. godine. U periodu od 1928. do 1942. godine radi kao profesor u Šerijatskoj gimnaziji u Sarajevu, od 1942. do 1948. godine u Drugoj muškoj gimnaziji, u kojoj je tri godine bio i direktor. Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić svoje profesionalno djelovanje nastavlja prvo kao inspektor Ministarstva prosvjete Narodne republike Bosne i Hercegovine, zatim kao profesor na Višoj pedagoškoj školi, da bi 1952. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu postao docent na predmetu Istorija naroda Jugoslavije – novi vijek.

Prekretnica akademskog i naučnog djelovanja prof. dr. Kapidžića bila je izrada i odbrana doktorske disertacije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu 1956. godine, “kod profesora Vase Čubrilovića na temu *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine*” (Katz 2016, 226). Ova disertacija, koja je nastala kao produkt preciznog i dugogodišnjeg istraživanja arhivske građe u Bosni i Hercegovini i regionu, 1958. godine objavljena je kao monografija, “za koju je autor dobio Dvadesetsedmojulsku nagradu, kao najviše priznanje koje je tada Republika Bosna i Hercegovina dodjeljivala istaknutim stvaraocima” (Katz 2016, 227), a sama je monografija postala temelj budućih istraživanja historije Hercegovine u 19. stoljeću.

Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić bio je vrlo plodonosan naučni radnik; prvobitne naučne radove počeo je objavljivati još 1930. godine, “sa kraćim prilogima iz istorije BiH 18. i 19. vijeka” (Redžić 2003, 7), potom je fokus djelovanja usmjerio k politici, ekonomiji, vojnoj, diplomatskoj, socijalnoj, kulturnoj problematici vladavine Austro-Ugarske monarhije u BiH. “U svojim radovima portretirao je oko dvadesetak ličnosti iz oblasti historiografije, a njegov moderan pristup znanosti ogleda se i u izučavanju starih gradova i tvrđava, načina života različitih socijalnih slojeva u njima.” (Katz 2016, 228).

Iz ovakvog vrlo svestranog, detaljnog naučnog pera proizašao je veliki broj članaka, prikaza koji su produkt temeljitih istraživanja pa je 1968. godine objavljena monografija *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine (članci i rasprave)*, koja je sakupila i objedinila sve radove nastale u proteklom periodu (Radušić 2018, 50). Prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić 1969. godine postaje dopisni član Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, voditelj “Potkomisije za izradu istorije Bosne i Hercegovine za dionice austrougarske uprave u BiH” (Katz 2016, 226), jedan je od osnivača

where he finished elementary school and then high school in Mostar. He studied history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, graduated in 1928. In the period from 1928 to 1942, Prof. Dr. Kapidžić worked as a professor at the Sharia Gymnasium in Sarajevo, from 1942 to 1948 at the Second Men’s Gymnasium, where he was a director for three years. Prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić continued his professional career first as an inspector of the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then as a professor at the Higher Pedagogical School, and in 1952 at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo he became an assistant professor of *History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia – New Age*.

A turning point in the academic and scientific work of Prof. Dr. Kapidžić was preparation and defense of doctoral dissertations at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1956, “mentored by professor Vaso Čubrilović on the topic of the Herzegovinian uprising in 1882” (Katz 2016, 226). This dissertation, created as a product of precise and long-term research of archival material in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, was published in 1958 as a monograph, “for which the author received the July 27 Award, as the highest recognition given by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to prominent creators” (Katz 2016, 227), and the monograph itself became the basis for future research of the history of Herzegovina in the 19th century.

Prof. Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić was a very prolific researcher; he started publishing his original scientific works in 1930, “with form – short contributions to the history of BiH in the 18th and 19th centuries” (Redžić 2003, 7), then he focused on politics, economics, military, diplomatic, social, cultural issues of the rule of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in BiH. “In his works, he portrayed about twenty figures, in the field of historiography, and his modern approach to science is reflected in the study of ancient cities and fortresses, the way of life of different social strata in them.” (Katz 2016, 228).

From this very versatile, detailed scientific pen came a large number of articles, reviews that are the product of basic research, so a monograph *Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule (members and debates)* was published in 1968. It contains and consolidates all [Kapidžić’s] works created in the past period. (Radušić 2018, 50).

In 1969, prof. dr. Hamdija Kapidžić became a corresponding member of The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Head of the “Subcommittee on the History of Bosnia and Her-

Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine, osnivač i stalni saradnik časopisa *Glasnik Arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, svojevremeno je predsjedavao Arhivskim savjetom SR BiH, a svoje djelovanje i naučni doprinos dao je pri izgradnji Instituta za istoriju radničkog pokreta, odnosno Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu.

Ovaj dobitnik velikog broja priznanja, profesor svjetskog naučnog kalibra, vrlo plodonosnog naučnoistraživačkog opusa,³ društveno angažiran humanista, intelektualac, umro je u Sarajevu 16. 1. 1974. godine.

Popis građa iz ostavštine Hamdije Kapidžića

Na Odjeljenju Specijalnih zbirki NUBBiH nalazi se građa iz privatne kolekcije Hamdije Kapidžića koja sadrži nekoliko predmeta, korespondenciju, pisma, razglednice, stare knjige, karte itd. Biblioteka je ovaj poklon zaprimila 2008. godine. S obzirom na to da građa već duže vrijeme stoji nedokumentirana, odlučili smo u kratkim crtama predočiti javnosti arhivu ovog znamenitog bosanskohercegovačkog kulturnog i naučnog radnika. U nastavku vam donosimo kratki popis ove građe.

Fascikla 1

1. SKARIĆ, Vladislav. Popis bosanskih spahija iz 1123. (1711.) god : sa 1 tablom, 4 karte i 2 slike u tekstu. - Sarajevo : Državna štamparija, 1930.
*Na nasl. str.: *Primarnom lekaru i gospodinu Hamdiji Karamehmedoviću iz poštovanja pisac.*
2. MUSIĆ, August. Gramatika grčkog jezika. - Zagreb : St. Kugli, 1926.
*Na prelim. str.: *potpis Muhameda Kreševljakovića. Na nasl. str.: potpis Fadile Kapidžić.*
3. KAPOR, Ambroz. Prerada duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini : od prvih početaka do 1923. godine. - Sarajevo : Naklada Fabrike duvana Sarajevo, 1954.

Fascikla 2

1. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, Hamdija. Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini. [Dio] 2. Mostar. - Zagreb : Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1951.
P. o.: Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena ; knj. 35, 1951.
*Na prelim. str. posveta autora: *Prijatelju dr. Hamdiji Karamehmedoviću na uspomenu, pisac. 14. 10. 1957.*

ze govina for the shares of the Austro-Hungarian administration in B&H” (Katz 2016, 226), also he was one of the founders of the Society of Historians of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a founder and permanent contributor to the journal *Gazette of the Archive* and the *Association of Archival Workers of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, was head of The Archives Council of Socialistic Republic BiH. Also, Kapidžić gave scientific contributions to the construction of the Institute for the History of the Workers’ Movement, i.e. the Institute for History in Sarajevo.

This winner of a large number of awards, a professor of world scientific caliber, a very fruitful scientific research opus,³ a socially engaged humanist, an intellectual, died in Sarajevo on January 16th, 1974.

List of materials from the legacy of H. Kapidžić

Part of the gift of Hamdija Kapidžić’s private collection, which contains several objects, correspondence, letters, postcards, old books, maps, etc., was delivered to the Department of Special Collections of NUBBiH in 2008. The library received this gift in 2008. Considering that the material has been undocumented for a long time, we decided to present to the public the archive of this famous Bosnian cultural and scientific worker. Below is a shortlist of this material.

Folder 1

1. SKARIĆ, Vladislav. Popis bosanskih spahija iz 1123. (1711.) god : sa 1 tablom, 4 karte i 2 slike u tekstu. - Sarajevo : Državna štamparija, 1930.
*On the front page: *To the primary doctor and Mr. Hamdija Karamehmedović, respectfully, writer.*
2. MUSIĆ, August. Gramatika grčkog jezika. - Zagreb : St. Kugli, 1926.
*Signature of Muhamed Kreševljaković on the prelims page of publication. On the front-page signature by Fadila Kapidžić.
3. KAPOR, Ambroz. Prerada duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini : od prvih početaka do 1923. godine. - Sarajevo : Naklada Fabrike duvana Sarajevo, 1954.

Folder 2

1. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, Hamdija. Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini. [Dio] 2. Mostar. - Zagreb : Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1951.

³ Katz (2016) ukazuje kako taj broj uključuje preko 130 bibliografskih jedinica.

³ Katz (2016) indicates that this number includes over 130 bibliographic items.

2. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. *Stolac u XVIII vijeku*. Sarajevo : Bosanska Pošta, 1940. 19 str. [CO-BISS.BH-ID 128567052]
3. HANDŽIĆ, Mehmed. Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana. - Sarajevo : Islamska dionička štamparija, 1940.
*Na vrhu nasl. str. bilješka : Datum 2. 3. 1940. i potpis Kapidžić
4. MARDEŠIĆ, Petar. Kako se čita karta. - Zagreb : Seljačka sloga, 1950.
5. PLANINARSKE kuće i domovi u Bosni i Hercegovini. - Sarajevo: Sarajevsko planinarsko društvo „Bjelašnica“, 1955.
6. BENAC, Alojz. Sarajevo : od najstarijih vremena do danas. - Sarajevo : Muzej grada, 1954.
*Na nasl. str. : Posveta autora Hamdiji Kapidžiću, 10. 09. 1954.
7. MANDIĆ, Mihovil. Vezirski grad Travnik : nekada i sada. Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1931.

Fascikla 3

SARAJEVO : Congressus Archeologorum 1894⁴ : Ilidže, - Sobunar, - Butmir, - Glasinac, - [17 tabli sa fotografijama].

Fotografije se nalaze u kutiji, numerisane rukom u sljedećem redoslijedu:

1. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Tri fotografije na tabli. Fotografije sa prikazom lokacije iskopavanja*.
2. Rusanović (Glasinac), 16. 8. 1894. - *Veća grupa ljudi na iskopinama*.
3. Rusanović (Glasinac), 20. 8. 1894. - *Tabla sa dvije fotografije, mještani u narodnim nošnjama*.

⁴ “15. augusta 1894. godine, u Bosni i Hercegovini, u Sarajevu počeo je Međunarodni kongres arheologa i antropologa. U našoj zemlji to je bilo vrijeme izuzetnih otkrića: neolitska stanica u Butmiru, tumuli na Glasincu, sojenice u Ripču i Donjoj Dolini, japodske nekropole u dolini Une i dr. Ova nalazišta postala su temelj prahistorijske arheologiji u Bosni i Hercegovini, a ogromna količina prikupljenog i obrađenog materijala postaje osnova fonda prahistorijske zbirke Zemaljskog muzeja BiH.

Ovakvo značajni rezultati postignuti u relativno kratkom vremenskom roku odjeknuli su u evropskoj kulturnoj i naučnoj javnosti. Putem Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja BiH i Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina, evropski i svjetski naučnici imali su priliku da se upoznaju sa radom stručnjaka Zemaljskog muzeja BiH. Zemaljska vlada, kako bi ova značajna otkrića na polju prahistorijske arheologije i antropologije podijelila sa što većim brojem ljudi, organizira Međunarodni kongres arheologa i antropologa u Sarajevu od 15. – 21. augusta 1894. godine.

Ovom skupu prisustvovali su stručnjaci arheolozi i antropolozi iz Engleske, Francuske, Italije, Švedske, Švicarske, Njemačke i Austro-Ugarske. Prisustvo naučnika iz cijele Europe, kao i pozitivne ocjene za rezultate istraživanja značilo je i definitivni ulazak Bosne i Hercegovine u krug evropske nauke i kulture.” (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine 2017)

P. o.: Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena ; knj. 35, 1951.

*On the prelim. p. dedication of the author: To a friend, dr. Hamdija Karamehmedović in memory, writer. October 14th, 1957.

2. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. *Stolac u XVIII vijeku*. Sarajevo : Bosanska Pošta, 1940. 19 str. [CO-BISS.BH-ID 128567052]
3. HANDŽIĆ, Mehmed. Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana. - Sarajevo : Islamska dionička štamparija, 1940.
*At the top of the title page: Date 2 March 1940 and signature Kapidžić.
4. MARDEŠIĆ, Petar. Kako se čita karta. - Zagreb : Seljačka sloga, 1950.
5. PLANINARSKE kuće i domovi u Bosni i Hercegovini. - Sarajevo: Sarajevsko planinarsko društvo “Bjelašnica”, 1955.
6. BENAC, Alojz. Sarajevo : od najstarijih vremena do danas. - Sarajevo : Muzej grada, 1954.
*On the title page: Author's dedication to Hamdija Kapidžić, September 10, 1954.
7. MANDIĆ, Mihovil. Vezirski grad Travnik : nekada i sada. Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1931.

Folder 3

SARAJEVO : Congressus Archeologorum 1894⁴: Ilidže, - Sobunar, - Butmir, - Glasinac, - [17 boards with photographs].

The photos are in the box, numbered by hand in the following order:

1. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th, 1894. - *Three photos on the board. Photos showing the location of the excavation*.

⁴ “The International Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists began in Sarajevo on the 15th of August 1894. In our country, it was a time of extraordinary discoveries: Neolithic station in Butmir, tumuli on Glasinac, pile dwelling in Ripče and Donja Dolina, Iapodian necropolises in the Una valley, etc. These sites became the basis of prehistoric archeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a huge amount of collected and processed materials become the basis of the fund of the prehistoric collection of the National Museum of BiH. Such significant results achieved in a relatively short period of time resonated with the European cultural and scientific public. Through the *Gazette of the National Museum of BiH* and the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, European and world scientists had the opportunity to get acquainted with the work of experts from the National Museum of BiH. The Provincial Government, in order to share these significant discoveries in the field of prehistoric archeology and anthropology with as many people as possible, organized the International Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists in Sarajevo from August 15th to 21st, in 1894. This gathering was attended by expert archaeologists and anthropologists from England, France, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. The presence of scientists from all over Europe, as well as positive evaluations of the research results, meant the definitive entry of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the circle of European science and culture.” (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine 2017)

4. Podromanja, Rusanović, 19.-20. 8. 1984. - *Tabla sa tri fotografije, na svakoj veća grupa ljudi na proplanku, smotra.*
5. Rusanović (Glasinac), 20. 8. 1894. - *Grupa ljudi koja prisustvuje iskopavanju na lokalitetu Rusanovići.*
6. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Na fotografiji je prikazan proces iskopavanja na Butmiru*
7. Megara – Crkvina (Glasinac), 19. 8. 1894. - *Na tabli se nalaze tri fotografije. Na prvoj se vidi ulaz u pećinu (Megara), dok su na druge dvije grupa ljudi kod nekropole sa stećcima.*
8. Hreljingrad (Glasinac), 19. 8. 1894. - *Manja grupa konjanika na proplanku.*
9. Rusanović (Glasinac), 20. 8. 1894. - *Tri djevojke u narodnoj nošnji.*
10. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Na fotografiji je prikazan proces iskopavanja na Butmiru.*
11. Rusanović (Glasinac), 20. 8. 1894. - *Veća grupa ljudi koja prisustvuje iskopavanju na lokalitetu Rusanovići.*
12. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Na fotografiji je prikazan proces iskopavanja na Butmiru.*
13. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Na fotografiji je prikazan proces iskopavanja na Butmiru.*
14. Hreljingrad (Glasinac), 19. 8. 1894. - *Velika grupa konjanika na proplanku.*
15. Rusanović (Glasinac), 20. 8. 1894. - *Fotografija prikazuje tri osobe u narodnoj nošnji.*
16. Mokro, 19. 8. 1894. - *Na tabli se nalaze dvije fotografije. Na prvoj je prikazana seoska kuća sa okućnicom, a na drugoj se nalazi čovjek u narodnoj nošnji koji sjedi ispred radnje i svira saz.*
17. Butmir (Ilidže), 16. 8. 1894. - *Na fotografiji je prikazan proces iskopavanja na Butmiru.*

**Na poleđini poklopca kartonske kutije u kojoj se nalaze fotografije: Poklon od Preuzvišenog gospodina barona Hugo Kutchera Mustafi Kalabi, Sarajevo, 1. maj 1904. 14 komada slika Ilidže Butmir Glasinac Njegova preuzvišenost ministar Burian i baron Kutcher odputovali su u zajednici iz Sarajeva u Beč u utorak 3. maja 1904.*

Fascikla 4 – razglednice, čestitke, dopisnice, pozivnice

- 82 razglednice, čestitke, dopisnice, pozivnice, pisma upućeni uglavnom Hamdiji Kapidžiću, a nekoliko naslovljeno i Nedžibu Kapidžiću, Mejri Kapidžić i Dili Kapidžić. Upućene su iz gradova Bosne i

2. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 16th, 1894. - *A larger group of people at the excavations.*
3. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 20th, 1894 - *Board with two photos, locals in folk costumes.*
4. Podromanja, Rusanović, August 19-20th, 1894. - *A board with three photos, in each larger group of people in the clearing, looks.*
5. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 20th, 1894. - *A group of people attending the excavation at the Rusanovići site.*
6. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th, 1894. - *The photo shows the excavation process on Butmir.*
7. Megara – Crkvina (Glasinac), August 19th, 1894. - *There are three photos on the board. The first one shows the entrance to the cave (Megara), while the other two groups of people near the necropolis of tombstones.*
8. Hreljingrad (Glasinac), August 19th, 1894. - *A small group of horsemen in the clearing.*
9. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 19th, 1894. - *Three girls in traditional costumes.*
10. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th, 1894. - *The photo shows the excavation process on Butmir.*
11. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 20th, 1894. - *A larger group of people attending the excavation at the Rusanovići site.*
12. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th, 1894. - *The photo shows the excavation process at Butmir.*
13. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th, 1894. - *The photo shows the excavation process at Butmir.*
14. Hreljingrad (Glasinac), August 19th, 1894. - *A large group of horsemen in the clearing.*
15. Rusanović (Glasinac), August 20th, 1894. - *The photo shows three people in traditional costumes.*
16. Mokro, August 19th 1894. - *There are two photos on the board. The first shows a village house with a garden, and the second shows a man in traditional costume sitting in front of the shop and playing saz.*
17. Butmir (Ilidže), August 16th 1894. - *The photo shows the excavation process on Butmir.*
**On the back of the lid is a cardboard box: Gift from His Eminence Baron Hugo Kutcher to Mustafa Kalaba, Sarajevo, May 1st, 1904. 14 pieces of paintings of Ilidža Butmir Glasinac His Excellency Minister Burian and Baron Kutcher traveled in a community from Sarajevo to Vienna. Tuesday, May 3rd, 1904.*

Hercegovine, bivše Jugoslavije (Slovenije, Srbije, Hrvatske, Kosova), te Austrije, Turske, Slovačke, Francuske, Njemačke i Rusije.

Fascikla 5 – privatne i porodične fotografije

- 17 fotografija na kojima se nalaze sin Nedžib i snaha Nada
- 4 fotografije na kojima je kćerka Fadila
- 3 fotografije na kojima je punac Salih
- 3 fotografije na kojima je Hamdija Kapidžić

Fascikla 6

1. Dvije (2) geografske karte:
 - FEDERATIVNA Narodna Republika Jugoslavija [Kartografsko gradivo] / priredili V. [Valter] Bohinec i Fr. [France] Planina ; izradio Ivan Selan. - 1:1.500.000. - Ljubljana : Državna založba Slovenije, 1960.
 - [BOSANSKO-hercegovački ustanak 1875-1877] [Kartografsko gradivo]. 1:1.000.000.
2. SARAJEVO 3 [Kartografsko gradivo] - 1:50.000. - [Sarajevo] : Geografski Institut JNA, [197-]. [COBISS.BH-ID 16682758]
3. BJELAŠNICA s okolicom. - 1:50.000. - Sarajevo : Planinarsko društvo Bjelašnica, [196-]. [COBISS.BH-ID 14664460]
4. Rodni list Hamdije Kapidžića [Izvod iz knjige rođenih za 1904. godinu] - *Auszug aus der (Geburts-), matrikel über die im Jahre 1904 geborenen Knaben.*
**Rodni list je izdat 06. marta 1916. godine u Bileći*
5. Jedna tabla sa fotografijom [Jakub bega Filipovića]
6. Odluka o nasljedstvu Zemljišno knjižnog ureda Sreskog suda u Bileći od 17. 11. 1956. godine. - 2 str.
**Raspodjela imovine Ahmeta Kapičića.*

Fascikla 7

- 6 sveski sa bilješkama koje je Hamdija Kapidžić prikupio tokom istraživanja u periodu od 1960. do 1966. godine. Bilješke su na bosanskom i njemačkom jeziku.

Fascikla 8

- 81 pismo upućeno uglavnom Hamdiji Kapidžiću, te Mejri Smailbegović, Salihi Smailbegović, Ahmedu Bijediću, Hanifi Kapidžić i Fadili Kapidžić. Pisma su upućena većinom iz gradova Bosne i Hercegovine i nekoliko iz Srbije, Hrvatske i Austrije.

Folder 4 – postcards, greeting cards, invitations

- 82 pieces of postcards, greeting cards, invitations, letters sent mainly to Hamdija Kapidžić, and several addressed to Nedžib Kapidžić, Mejra Kapidžić, and Dila Kapidžić. They were sent from the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo), Austria, Turkey, Slovakia, France, Germany, and Russia.

Folder 5 – private and family photos

- 17 photos of son Nedžib and daughter-in-law Nada.
- 4 photos of daughter Fadila.
- 3 photos showing Salih's father-in-law.
- 3 photos of Hamdija Kapidžić.

Folder 6

1. Two (2) geographical maps:
 - FEDERATIVNA Narodna Republika Jugoslavija [Kartografsko gradivo] / priredili V. [Valter] Bohinec i Fr. [France] Planina ; izradio Ivan Selan. - 1:1.500.000. - Ljubljana : Državna založba Slovenije, 1960.
 - [BOSANSKO-hercegovački ustanak 1875-1877]. 1:1.000.000
2. SARAJEVO 3 - 1:50.000. - [Sarajevo] : Geografski Institut JNA, [197-]. [COBISS.BH-ID 16682758]
3. BJELAŠNICA s okolicom. - 1:50.000. - Sarajevo : Planinarsko društvo "Bjelašnica", [196-]. [COBISS.BH-ID 14664460]
4. Birth certificate for Hamdija Kapidžić [Birth certificate for 1904] - *Auszug aus der (Geburts-), matrikel über die im Jahre 1904 geborenen Knaben.*
**The birth certificate was issued on March 6th, 1916 in Bileća.*
5. One board with a photo [of Jakub bey Filipović].
6. Resolution on the inheritance of the Land Registry Office of the District Court in Bileća of 17 November 1956. - 2 pages.
**Distribution of Ahmet Kapičić's property.*

Folder 7

- 6 notebooks with notes collected by Hamdija Kapidžić during the research in the period from 1960 to 1966. Notes are written in Bosnian and German language.

Folder 8

- 81 letters sent mainly to Hamdija Kapidžić, and Mejra Smailbegović, Saliha Smailbegović,

Fascikla 9 – Rukopisi:

1. Popis građe iz Bečkog arhiva koji sadrži podatke o odnosima balkanskih država i Austro-Ugarske prije 1912. godine i o prilikama na Balkanu i Bosni i Hercegovini. - 6 listova kucanog teksta.
2. Prikaz knjige: Novi prilozi proučavanju veza između Vojvodine i Bosne i Hercegovine / K. Milutinović. - 5 listova kucanog teksta.
**Prikaz objavljen u: Zbornik Matice srpske. Serija društvenih nauka ; sv. 6.*
3. Rad Hamdije Kapidžića: Veze Dubrovnika, Bosne i Hercegovine u 18. vijeku : kraći prilozi istorije naše medicine. - 5 listova kucanog teksta.
4. Razne bilješke o historiji Balkana (Osmanski period). - 15 listova.
5. Bilješke o: Seljački ustanci u slovenačkim zemljama; Etnički položaj i teritorijalne promjene od kraja 15. do 17. vijeka. - 21 list.
6. Bilješke o: Slovensko-hrvatski seljački ustanak. - 10 listova.
7. Bilješke o: Popović Aleksa – sarajevska revolucija. - 6 str.
8. Razne bilješke - 16 str.
9. 39 pisama i 13 dopisnica.

Fascikla 10

1. Pismo Hasan-bega Resulbegovića, zapovjednika trebinjskog, septembar 1842. godine [zapovjedniku okoliša Dubrovnika, Karlu baron(u) P?]
2. 7 pisama na italijanskom jeziku iz 1835. godine nepoznatog sadržaja; pisma su numerisana - 48, 58, 65, 80, 103.
3. Telegram na italijanskom jeziku, datiran 8. 8. 1863. godine.
4. Pismo na italijanskom jeziku, datiran 24. maj 1842. godina.
5. Pismo na italijanskom, datiran 30. 9. 18??.
6. 2 lista teksta na italijanskom o Hercegovini.
7. Pismo iz 1862. godine od Miloševića iz Trebinja.
8. 2 dokumenta na tursko-osmanskom jeziku iz 1840. godine.
9. Glavni izvršni odbor "Gajreta", Sarajevo, 13. januar 1934. godine. Okružnica: svim mjesnim odborima i povjerenicima "Gajreta" - 3 lista kucanog teksta.
**Obrazloženje povodom istupa g. H. Brkića iz Glavnog odbora "Gajreta".*

Ahmed Bijedić, Hanifa Kapidžić, and Fadila Kapidžić. These letters were sent mostly from the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a few from Serbia, Croatia, and Austria.

Folder 9 – manuscripts

1. List of material from the Vienna Archives, which contains data on the relations between the Balkan states and Austria-Hungary before 1912 and on the situation in the Balkans and Bosnia and Herzegovina. - 6 sheets of typed text.
2. Book review: New contributions to the study of relations between Vojvodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina / K. Milutinović - 5 sheets of typed text.
**Review published in: Zbornik Matice srpske. Serija društvenih nauka ; sv. 6.*
3. The work of Hamdija Kapidžić: Connections of Dubrovnik, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 18th century: short contributions to the history of our medicine. - 5 sheets of typed text.
4. Various notes on the history of the Balkans (Ottoman period). - 15 sheets.
5. Notes on: Peasant uprisings in Slovenian lands; Ethnic position and territorial changes from the end of the 15th to the 17th century. - 21 sheets.
6. Notes on: Slovenian-Croatian peasant uprising. - 10 sheets.
7. Notes on: Popović Aleksa – Sarajevo Revolution. - 6 pages.
8. Various notes - 16 pages.
9. 39 letters and 13 stationery.

Folder 10

1. Letter from Hasan-bey Resulbegović, Commander of Trebinje, September 1842 [to the Commander of the Environment of Dubrovnik, Karl Baron P?].
2. 7 letters in Italian from 1835 of unknown content; the letters are numbered – 48, 58, 65, 80, 103.
3. Telegram in Italian, dated 8th August 1863.
4. Letter in Italian, 24th May 1842 (Herzegovina).
5. Letter in Italian, 30th September 18??.
6. 2 sheets of text in Italian about Herzegovina.
7. A letter from 1862 from Milošević from Trebinje.
8. 2 documents in Turkish-Ottoman language from 1840.

Fascikla 11

- Razni privatni dokumenti, računi, kopije pisama, smrtovnice (3 komada).

U arhivu se u sklopu zaostavštine nalaze još i:

- Kopije bh. karata i planova na staklenim pločama (6 kutija)
- 1 kutija (13 x 18 cm) sa kopijama dokumenata iz Ratnog arhiva Beč (Kriegsarchiv)
- Lični pribor: olovka, držač za pero, nož za otvaranje pisma, novčanik, naočale.

Publikacije Hamdije Kapidžića koje se nalaze u Nacionalnoj biblioteci Austrije

Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić istraživao je i prikupljao građu u Austriji. Neke od njegovih publikacija nalaze se i u Nacionalnoj biblioteci Austrije, a to su:

1. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Bosna i Hercegovina pod austrougarskom upravom : (članci i rasprave). - Sarajevo : Svjetlost, 1968.
2. DER Aufstand in der Hercegovina, Süd-Bosnien und Süd-Dalmatien 1881-1882 : mit 3 Karten / nach authentischen Quellen dargestellt in der Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschicht des k. k. Kriegs-Archivs. - Wien : K. k. Generalstabes, 1883.
3. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XIX vijeku. - Sarajevo : Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1956.
4. AGRARNI odnosi u BiH : (1878-1918). I. Građa / redaktor Hamdija Kapidžić. - Sarajevo : Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1969.
5. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine. - Sarajevo : "Veselin Masleša", 1973.
6. NAUČNE ustanove u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske uprave / sabrao i uredio Hamdija Kapidžić ; tehnički urednik Kasim Isović. - Sarajevo : Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1973.
7. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, Hamdija; KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Vojno-geografski opis Bosne pred Dubički rat : od 1785. godine. - Sarajevo : Naučno društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1957.

9. Main Executive Board of *Gajret*, Sarajevo, January 13th, 1934. Circular: to all local committees and commissioners of "Gajret" - 3 sheets of typed text.

**Explanation on the withdrawal of Mr. H. Brkić from the Main Board of "Gajret".*

Folder 11

1. Various private documents, invoices, copies of letters, obituaries (3 pieces)

The archive also includes:

- Copies of maps and plans of BIH on glass plates (6 boxes)
- 1 box (13 x 18 cm) with copies of documents from the Vienna War Archives (*Kriegsarchiv*)
- Personal accessories: pen, pen holder, letter opener, wallet, glasses.

Publications written by Hamdija Kapidžić which are located in The National Library of Austria

Dr. Hamdija Kapidžić researched and collected material in Austria. Some of his publications are also in the National Library of Austria. We bring you a list of this material below as it is available in the catalog:

1. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Bosna i Hercegovina pod austrougarskom upravom : (članci i rasprave). - Sarajevo : Svjetlost, 1968.
2. DER Aufstand in der Hercegovina, Süd-Bosnien und Süd-Dalmatien 1881-1882 : mit 3 Karten / nach authentischen Quellen dargestellt in der Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschicht des k. k. Kriegs-Archivs. - Wien : K. k. Generalstabes, 1883.
3. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XIX vijeku. - Sarajevo : Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1956.
4. AGRARNI odnosi u BiH : (1878-1918). I. Građa / redaktor Hamdija Kapidžić. - Sarajevo : Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1969.
5. KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine. - Sarajevo : "Veselin Masleša", 1973.
6. NAUČNE ustanove u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske uprave / sabrao i uredio Hamdija Kapidžić ; tehnički urednik Kasim Isović. - Sarajevo : Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1973.
7. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, Hamdija; KAPIDŽIĆ, Hamdija. Vojno-geografski opis Bosne pred Dubički rat : od 1785. godine. - Sarajevo : Naučno društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1957.

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- Radušić, Minela. 2018. *Jugoslavenstvo ujedinjenje u djelu Hamdije Kapidžića: Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme Austrougarske vladavine (članci i rasprave): između povijesnih činjenica i ideološkog revizionizma*. Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju.
- Redžić, Enver. 2003. *Hamdija Kapidžić: naučnik i pedagog*. Sarajevo, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine.
- Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine. 2017. "15. augusta 1894. godine, u Bosni i Hercegovini, u Sarajevu počeo je Međunarodni kongres arheologa i antropologa" *Facebook*, 15 august 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/zemaljskimuzej/posts/10156539857889196>.

Ideja o osnivanju Univerziteta u Sarajevu početkom 20. stoljeća: austrougarska vlast u Bosni i Hercegovini između kulturne misije i političke realnosti

The Idea of Establishing the University of Sarajevo at the Beginning of 20th Century: Austro-Hungarian Authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina Between Cultural Mission and Political Reality

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university, Sarajevo, Austro-Hungarian rule, Joint Ministry of Finance, Provincial Government in Sarajevo

Sažetak / Abstract

Početkom 20. stoljeća brojne krize potresale su Balkan, a one poput Aneksione (1908–1909) i Balkanskih ratova (1912–1913) snažno su utjecale na gibanja u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu. Suočena s vrlo kompleksnom političkom situacijom na Balkanu, Austro-Ugarska je morala izgraditi strategiju jačanja svog utjecaja na ovom području. U tom smislu, Sarajevo je trebalo odigrati vrlo važnu ulogu. U ovom radu se želi pokazati kako je austrougarska vlast u Bosni i Hercegovini, plasirajući ideju da bi se u Sarajevu mogao osnovati univerzitet, lavirala između davno zacrtane kulturne misije u datom području i političkih mahinacija kojima se trebao anulirati rastući utjecaj Srbije. Reakcija javnosti, kako one u Bosni i Hercegovini, tako i one u Monarhiji, na ideju o osnivanju sarajevskog univerziteta, primorala je njene glavne zagovornike na propitivanje vlastitih političkih rezona.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Balkans was the epicentre of numerous crises and some of them (the Annexation Crisis 1908–1909 and the Balkan Wars 1912–1913) had a major effect on social activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, faced with a very complex political situation in the Balkans, Austro-Hungary was about to develop a strategy of increasing its own influence in the mentioned area. Consequently, Sarajevo was bound to play an important role in these plans. This paper argues that, by promoting the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo, the Austro-Hungarian authorities were actually oscillating between their previous plan of conducting a cultural mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and political machinations aimed at the annihilation of Serbian influence. The public reactions in Bosnia, as well as in the remainder of the Monarchy, forced the solicitors of this idea to re-examine their own political considerations.

Uvod

Prošle godine Univerzitet u Sarajevu slavio je 70 godina svoga postojanja. Da su u prošlosti društvene i političke okolnosti bile nešto drugačije, Univerzitet u Sarajevu bi danas možda imao stoljetnu tradiciju.

Prvi povjesničar koji je ukazao na iznimno važno pitanje mogućnosti osnivanja sarajevskog univerziteta, koje je bilo aktualno 1913. godine, bio je Hamdija Kapidžić. On je u kratkom članku, baziranom na tri dokumenta iz fonda Privatna registratura Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine, čije je izvode docnije i objavio (Kapidžić 1973, 427–428, 445–446), analizirao stavove koje su u prepisci iznosili zajednič-

Introduction

Last year, the University of Sarajevo celebrated 70 years of its existence. If the social and political circumstances had been somewhat different in the past, the University of Sarajevo would perhaps have a century-old tradition today.

The first historian to point out the exceptionally important question of the possibility of establishing a university in Sarajevo, which was current in 1913, was Hamdija Kapidžić. In a short article, based on three documents from *Privatna registratura Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine* (Private Registry of the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina), whose extracts he later published (Kapidžić 1973, 427–428,

ki ministar financija Biliński i poglavar Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu Potiorek, a ticali su se pitanja osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu (Kapidžić 1961, 293–295).

Cilj ovog rada je da, s jedne strane, pokaže da je ideja o osnivanju univerziteta u Sarajevu bila predmetom javne rasprave već krajem 19. stoljeća i da je povremeno aktualizirana sve do momenta koji je uočio Kapidžić, a koji je predstavljao već završnu fazu u promišljanjima o osnivanju jedne visokoškolske ustanove u okupiranom/anektiranom području. S druge strane, u radu se želi pokazati kako je ideja osnivanja sarajevskog univerziteta bila prihvaćena u javnom diskursu i tiskanim medijima,¹ kako u Bosni i Hercegovini, tako i u Monarhiji. Takav diskurs Kapidžić uopće nije problematizirao u svom radu, a trebao je, budući da je upravo javno mnijenje, između ostalog, utjecalo na odluku da se ideja o osnivanju univerziteta u Sarajevu ostavi za neka druga vremena.

Također, Kapidžić je problem sarajevskog univerziteta promatrao isključivo kroz prizmu kolonijalnog odnosa Austro-Ugarske prema Bosni i Hercegovini, koju je najprije okupirala 1878, a potom i anektirala 1908. godine (Kapidžić 1961, 293). Stoga je njegov fokus bio na kulturnoj misiji Monarhije, dok je kontekst Balkanskih ratova izostao. U radu se želi pokazati da je austrougarskom narativu o kulturnoj misiji u Bosni i Hercegovini bio suprotstavljen sve jači nacionalni narativ domaćeg stanovništva i politička realnost koja je primoravala Dvojnu monarhiju da pažljivo kreira svoje politike na periferiji.

Sarajevski univerzitet na novinskim stranicama 1899–1913.

Pitanje osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu bilo je aktualno za vrijeme tri zajednička ministra financija, koji su bili direktno odgovorni za upravu nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom. O ovom pitanju izjašnjavali su se redom Benjamin von Kállay (1882–1903), Stephan Burián von Rajecz (1903–1912) i Leon Biliński (1912–1915), zauzimajući jednak stav, ali nudeći različite odgovore, sukladno njihovoj viziji o tome što bi trebalo biti učinjeno s Bosnom i Hercegovinom.

Na stranicama dnevne štampe ideja o osnivanju visokoškolske institucije u Sarajevu spomenuta je prvi put 1899. godine. To je bio vrlo osjetljiv povijesni moment: radila se rekapitulacija dvadesetogodišnje

445–446), he has analyzed the views expressed in the correspondence by the Joint Minister of Finance Biliński and the Head of the National Government in Sarajevo Potiorek, concerning the establishing of a university in Sarajevo (Kapidžić 1961, 293–295).

The aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to show that the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo was the subject of public debate as early as the end of the 19th century and that it was occasionally actualized until the moment noticed by Kapidžić, which has already represented the final stage in the reflection on the establishing of a higher education institution in the occupied / annexed area. On the other hand, the paper seeks to show how the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo was accepted in public discourse and the print media,¹ both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Monarchy. Kapidžić did not problematize such a discourse in his work at all, and he should, because that public opinion, among other things, influenced the decision to leave the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo for some other time.

Also, Kapidžić looked at the problem of the university of Sarajevo solely through the prism of the colonial attitude of Austro-Hungary towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was first occupied in 1878, and then annexed in 1908 (Kapidžić 1961, 293). Therefore, his focus was on the cultural mission of the Monarchy, while the context of the Balkan wars was missing. The paper seeks to show that the Austro-Hungarian narrative of the cultural mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina was opposed by the growing national narrative of the local population and the political reality that forced the Dual Monarchy to carefully create its policies on the periphery.

University of Sarajevo on newspaper pages 1899–1913

The issue of establishing a university in Sarajevo was current during the time of the three Joint Finance Ministers, who were directly responsible for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On this issue in turn spoke Benjamin von Kállay (1882–1903), Stephan Burián von Rajecz (1903–1912) and Leon Biliński (1912–1915), taking the same position but offering different answers, according to their vision of what should be done with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The idea of establishing a higher education institu-

¹ Austrijska nacionalna biblioteka stoji iza projekta ANNO: digitalizacija periodike iz različitih razdoblja. Zahvaljujući tome, olakšano je istraživanje brojnim istraživačima.

¹ The Austrian National Library is behind the project ANNO: digitization of periodicals from different periods. Thanks to that, the research has been made easier for numerous researchers.

uprave Austro-Ugarske monarhije u Bosni i Hercegovini i valorizirao se pristup Benjamina von Kállaya pitanju tretmana okupiranog područja. Njegov prilično krut stav i težnja k apsolutističkoj upravi Bosne i Hercegovine, kao i težnja da uguši domaće nacionalne pokrete (Kraljačić 1987, 88–89), vodili su općem nezadovoljstvu jednog dijela bosansko-hercegovačkog stanovništva, posebno mladih koji su svoje obrazovanje nastavljali na univerzitetima u Monarhiji.

U jesen 1899. godine studenti južnoslavenskog porijekla protestirali su ispred zgrade Zajedničkog ministarstva finansija. Demonstracije su bile usmjerene protiv *Kállayevog režima* u Bosni i Hercegovini. List *Pester Lloyd*² iskoristio je navedeni trenutak kako bi svoje čitaoce upoznao sa stanjem u okupiranoj oblasti. Između ostalog, navedeno je da u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvijek, nakon dvadeset godina austrougarske uprave, nema *visoke škole* (*Pester Lloyd* 1899, 2).

Iako zvuči kao možebitna kritika, tekst članka uvodi pomirljiviji ton, jasno pokazujući težnju da opravda Monarhiju i njenu misiju na Balkanu, napose u zaposjednutom području. U tekstu se navodi da nije svrsishodno tumačiti razloge zbog čega nije došlo do osnivanja visoke škole u Sarajevu, nego da je dovoljna opaska kako osnivanje visoke škole mora biti rezultat stvarnih potreba, a ne imperijalnih želja. Time je (nepoznati) autor, najvjerovatnije urednik teksta, nastojao opravdati Zemaljsku vladu u Sarajevu, koja je za upravu nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom direktno odgovarala Zajedničkom ministarstvu finansija, pred javnošću u Monarhiji, a koja je očekivala rezultate dugogodišnjeg upravljanja *gotovo* kolonijom. Upravo se navedeni narativ suprotstavlja Kapidžićevom esencijalističkom poimanju odnosa Austro-Ugarske kao kolonijalne sile prema Bosni i Hercegovini, gdje je većina pitanja rješavana ne uzimajući u obzir potrebe okupiranog područja. Čak je i javnost u Monarhiji bila svjesna toga da se neprestano mora opipavati puls javnosti novostečene oblasti, kako bi se izradila adekvatna upravljačka strategija, a domaće stanovništvo umirilo. Osim toga, u tekstu je istaknuto da je Zemaljska vlada u Sarajevu brinula o dodjeli stipendija mladima iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji su školovanje željeli nastaviti na univerzitetima u Monarhiji. Taj dio analize autor je morao završiti s nešto malo, u to vrijeme vrlo popularnog, orijentalističkog diskursa tvrdeći da je dvadeset godina uprave zapravo malo da se *podigne* narod koji je više stoljeća bio pod

tion in Sarajevo was first mentioned on the pages of the daily press in 1899. It was a very sensitive historical moment: a recapitulation of the twenty-year administration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was carried out and Benjamin von Kállay's approach to the treatment of the occupied territory was valorised. His rather rigid attitude and aspiration to the absolutist administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as his aspiration to stifle domestic national movements (Kraljačić 1987, 88–89), led to the general dissatisfaction of one part of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially young people who continued their education at universities in the Monarchy.

In the fall of 1899, students of South Slavic descent protested in front of the building of Joint Ministry of Finance. Demonstrations were directed against the *Kállay's regime* in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Newspaper *Pester Lloyd*² used this moment to acquaint their readers with the situation in the occupied area. Among other things, it was stated that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after twenty years of Austro-Hungarian rule, there is still no *higher school* (*Pester Lloyd* 1899, 2).

Although it sounds like a possible critique, the text of the article introduces a more conciliatory tone, clearly showing the desire to justify the Monarchy and its mission in the Balkans, especially in the occupied territories. The text states that it is not appropriate to interpret the reasons why the higher school in Sarajevo was not established, rather, it is a sufficient remark that the establishing of a higher school must be the result of real needs, and not imperial wishes. Thereby, the (unknown) author, most likely the editor of the text, tried to justify the National Government in Sarajevo, which was directly responsible for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Joint Ministry of Finance, in front of the public in the Monarchy, and which expected the results of many years of management of the *almost* colony. This narrative precisely opposes Kapidžić's essentialist perception of Austro-Hungarian relations as a colonial power towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, where most issues were resolved without taking into account the needs of the occupied area. Even the public in the Monarchy was aware that the pulse of the public of the newfound region must be constantly felt, in order to develop an adequate management strategy, and calm the local population. In addition, the text points out that the National Government in Sarajevo took care of awarding scholarships to young people from Bos-

² Izlazio je u Budimpešti na njemačkom jeziku.

² It was published in Budapest in German language.

turskom vlašću. Takvo opravdanje bilo je više nego prihvaćeno u tadašnjem javnom prostoru ne samo Dvojne monarhije nego i Evrope općenito.

Čini se da je novinarsku radoznalost podržavala politička elita oba dijela Monarhije. Prilika da se sazna nešto više o rezultatima uprave nad Bosnom i Hercegovinom pružala se delegatima austrijske i ugarske delegacije svaki put kada je zajednički ministar finansija davao informaciju o već odobrenom budžetskom proračunu za okupiranu oblast (Izveštaj o upravi BiH 1906, 21). Sredinom 1900. godine postavio je Redner, član delegacije pri austrijskom carevinskom vijeću, pitanje Kállayu da li će biti podignut univerzitet u Sarajevu, o čemu je štampa već pisala (Wiener Zeitung 1900, 10; usp. Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1900, 3). Kállay je odgovorio očekivano, u orijentalističkom duhu (Kraljačić 1987, 74-88). Ustvrdio je da još nije dostignut *visoki duhovni nivo domaćeg stanovništva* za takav poduhvat.³ Time je Kállay potvrdio imperijalistički, tutorski pristup Bosni i Hercegovini i tadašnje općeprihvaćeno uvjerenje vodećih evropskih sila da postoje oblasti u svijetu koje je potrebno civilizirati i prosvjeteliti. Ujedno, opravdao je upravu u Bosni i Hercegovini u smislu njenih dometa i onoga što se postiglo za nešto više od dvadeset godina.

No očigledno je kod bosanskohercegovačke inteligencije sazrijevala ideja o potrebi osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu, jer je nedugo nakon Kállayeve izjave u jednom feljtonu najavljeno da se iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Beč sprema deputacija koja bi, između ostalog, pregovarala i o pitanju univerziteta. I autor feljtona se, u Kállayevu duhu, zapitao treba li takva ustanova jednom narodu, da li su to njegove stvarne potrebe s obzirom na njegov kulturni razvoj (Pester Lloyd 1900, 2).

Sve do početka 1901. godine pitanje sarajevskog univerziteta uglavnom je promatrano kroz prizmu kulturnog razvoja okupiranog područja. No izvjesni je Berger, član Zastupničkog doma, prvi put, koliko je meni poznato, uveo politički faktor u problematiku, u svom vrlo ironičnom govoru koji je trajao tri sata, a koji je završio njegovom konstatacijom da on, u principu, nema ništa protiv slavenskog univerziteta u Sarajevu, ali da on mora biti srpski. Na tu konstataciju nasmijali su se slavenski zastupnici. Ipak, njegov govor je sigurno bio zanimljiv jer su čak tri dnevna lista prenijela njegove najinteresantnije dijelove (Wiener

nia and Herzegovina who wanted to continue their education at universities in the Monarchy. That part of the analysis the author had to end with a little, at that time very popular, Orientalist discourse claiming those twenty years of rule were actually not enough to *raise* a people that had been under *Turkish* rule for centuries. Such justification was more than accepted in the then public space not only in the Dual Monarchy but in Europe in general.

Journalistic curiosity seems to have been supported by the political elite of both parts of the Monarchy. The opportunity to learn more about the results of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to the delegates of the Austrian and Hungarian delegations each time when the Joint Minister of Finance provided information on the already approved budget for the occupied area (Izveštaj o upravi BiH 1906, 21). In the middle of 1900, Redner, a member of the delegation of the Austrian Imperial Council, asked Kállay whether a university in Sarajevo would be built, which the press had already written about (Wiener Zeitung 1900, 10; cf. Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1900, 3). Kállay responded as expected, in a spirit of Orientalism (Kraljačić 1987, 74-88). He claimed that a *high spiritual level of the local population* had not yet been reached for such an endeavour.³ With this Kállay has confirmed the imperialist, tutoring approach to Bosnia and Herzegovina and the then generally accepted belief of the leading European powers that there are regions in the world that need to be civilized and educated. At the same time, he justified the administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of its scope and what has been achieved in just over twenty years.

But apparently the idea of the need to establish a university in Sarajevo was maturing in the BIH intelligence, because shortly after Kállay's statement, it was announced in one feuilleton that a deputation from Bosnia and Herzegovina was being prepared to Vienna, which would, among other things, negotiate the issue of the university. And the author of the feuilleton, in the spirit of Kállay, wondered whether a nation needed such institution, whether these were its real needs in view of its cultural development. (Pester Lloyd 1900, 2)

Until the beginning of 1901, the issue of the university of Sarajevo was mainly viewed through the prism of the cultural development of the occupied area. But a certain Berger, a member of the House of Representatives, is for the first time,

³ Čini se da se Kállay bavio idejom podizanja medicinskog fakulteta uz Vakufsku bolnicu u Sarajevu, no ideja je ubrzo napuštena (Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt 1913, 3).

³ Kállay seems to have been working on the idea of building a medical faculty next to the Waqf Hospital in Sarajevo, but the idea was soon abandoned (Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt 1913, 3).

Zeitung 1901, 21; usp. Grazer Tagblatt 1901, 14; Das Vaterland 1901, 4). Iako se stječe dojam da je govorio ironično, Berger je, zapravo otvorio Pandorinu kutiju, vrlo osjetljivo nacionalno pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini, te indirektno ukazao na vrlo kompleksan odnos Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu i srpskog stanovništva.

Kállayeva je smrt 1903. godine označila kraj jednog značajnog razdoblja u upravljanju Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Njegova se politika prema okupiranom području ocjenjivala kao politika *čvrste ruke* i posebno se osjećala na polju Kállayevog odnosa prema bosanskohercegovačkim nacionalnim elitama. Znatno liberalnija politika postepeno je postala prepoznatljiva kao izbor novog zajedničkog ministra finansija Buriána. Rezultirala je slobodnijim političkim životom u Bosni i Hercegovini i formiranjem prvih domaćih političkih stranaka. Bila je donekle uzburkana Aneksionom krizom (1908/1909), ali su se domaći politički krugovi nastojali umiriti donošenjem ustava i početkom rada bosanskohercegovačkog Sabora 1910. godine. U Buriánovo vrijeme privedeni su kraju pregovori sa srpskim i muslimanskim prvacima za vjersko-prosvjetnu autonomiju.

U takvim okolnostima pitanje sarajevskog univerziteta, koliko sam uspjela utvrditi, pojavilo se u tisku u dva navrata: 1906. godine i u vrijeme trajanja Aneksione krize. Nekoliko dnevnih listova pratilo je s velikim interesiranjem Buriánov govor pred ugarskom delegacijom u junu 1906. godine. Burián je govorio vrlo opširno o stanju u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kao i obično, delegati su mu postavljali pitanja. Delegat Krasojević je htio znati kani li Burián raditi na osnivanju univerziteta u Sarajevu, gdje bi nastava bila na domaćem jeziku (Agramer Zeitung 1906, 2). Zajednički ministar finansija je odgovorio da ni ne pomišlja na osnivanje univerziteta u Sarajevu, ali za razliku od Kállaya, koji je ovo pitanje nužno vezao s kulturnom elevacijom jednog naroda, Burián je ponudio dosta praktične razloge. Naime, u Bosni i Hercegovini je najprije trebalo napraviti mrežu osnovnih škola. Osim toga, nije bilo dovoljno ni potencijalnih polaznika, ali ni sredstava da se osnuje univerzitet. To je razlog koji je austro-ugarska vlast u Bosni često navodila kod spornih pitanja: ne mogu se riješiti zbog nedostatka finansija (sic!). Burián je nastavio s konstatacijom da su svi oni koji su htjeli nastaviti školovanje mogli to učiniti, zahvaljujući stipendijama, na nekom od univerziteta u Monarhiji. (Agramer Zeitung 1906, 2; usp. Grazer Tagblatt 1906, 21; Wiener Zeitung 1906, 10; Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1906, 5) Iako je

as far as I know, introduced the political factor into the issue, in his very ironic speech that lasted three hours, and which ended with his statement that he, in principle, has nothing against the Slavic University in Sarajevo, but it must be Serbian. Slavic representatives laughed at this statement. Still, his speech was certainly interesting because as many as three daily newspapers carried its most interesting parts (Wiener Zeitung 1901, 21; cf. Grazer Tagblatt 1901, 14; Das Vaterland 1901, 4). Although one gets the impression that he spoke ironically, Berger did actually opened a Pandora's Box, a very sensitive national question in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and indirectly pointed to the very complex relationship between the National Government in Sarajevo and the Serb population.

Kállay's death in 1903 marked the end of a significant period in the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His policy towards the occupied territory was assessed as a policy of a *firm hand* and was especially felt in the field of Kállay's attitude towards the BIH national elites. A much more liberal policy gradually became recognizable as the election of a new Joint Finance Minister Burián. It resulted in a more liberal political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the formation of the first domestic political parties. It was somewhat agitated by the Annexation Crisis (1908/1909), but they tried to calm down domestic political circles with the adoption of the Constitution and the beginning of the work of the BIH Parliament in 1910. In Burián's time, negotiations with Serbian and Muslim leaders for religious and educational autonomy were completed.

In such circumstances, the question of the university of Sarajevo, as far as I was able to determine, appeared in the press on two occasions: in 1906 and during the Annexation Crisis.

Several daily newspapers followed Burián's speech before the Hungarian delegation in June of 1906 with great interest. Burián spoke very extensively about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As usual, the delegates asked him questions. Delegate Krasojević wanted to know if Burián intended to work on the establishing of a university in Sarajevo, where classes would be in the local language (Agramer Zeitung 1906, 2). The Joint Finance Minister replied that he was not even considering establishing of a university in Sarajevo, but unlike Kállay, who necessarily linked this question to the cultural elevation of a nation, Burián offered quite practical reasons. In fact, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a network of primary schools had to be created first. In addition, there were not enough potential students or funds

tisak pokazao veliku zainteresiranost za Buriánov govor pred ugarskom delegacijom, njegov odgovor nije ostavio mjesta daljim debatama u javnom diskursu. Tako je ideja o univerzitetu u Sarajevu ponovo, nakratko, pala u zaborav.

Samo mjesec dana prije proglašenja aneksije Bosne i Hercegovine Austro-Ugarskoj, objavila je Muslimanska svijest⁴ program Muslimanske napredne stranke. Kako je ova stranka okupljala uglavnom “napredne muslimane” koji su bili orijentirani na kulturni preporod (Imamović 2007, 218–224), ne čudi da su njeni predstavnici bili posvećeni i pitanju univerzitetskog obrazovanja muslimana. U Programu posebnu pažnju privlače tačke pet i šest pod stavkom Prosvjetni rad. Tu je bilo navedeno da će se nova stranka zalagati za širenje visokog obrazovanja među muslimanima. U tom smislu, išlo bi se sa zahtjevom prema vlastima da se u zemlji formira moderan vjerski fakultet, kao i da se u Sarajevu osnuje univerzitet i time se što većem broju muslimana osigura visoka naobrazba. (Muslimanska svijest 1908, 1; usp. Imamović 2007, 225)

O navedenim težnjama Muslimanske napredne stranke telegramske putem je odmah obaviješten Neues Wiener Tagblatt. Iako je ovaj list prenio informaciju o programu stranke u kojem je mjesta našla i tačka koja se odnosi na univerzitet, komentari su izostali (Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1908, 4). Na sličan način isti časopis je pisao i nešto kasnije (Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1908b, 3). No popratni komentari su opet izostali i sve je ostalo na nivou informacije. Za pretpostaviti je da je intencija časopisa bila da javnosti Monarhije pokaže da ideja o univerzitetu, među domaćim stanovništvom u Bosni i Hercegovini, nije ugašena.

U vrijeme kada se smirivala Aneksiona kriza, u kojoj je Srbija imala posebnu ulogu, univerzitetski profesor Moritz Benedikt napisao je za novine Die Zeit članak u kojem je pitanje univerziteta u Sarajevu usko povezao s vrlo nezavidnom političkom situacijom na Balkanu. Naime, profesor Benedikt je smatrao da se u Bosni i Hercegovini moraju riješiti dva važna pitanja: prvo je bilo agrarno pitanje, a drugo se ticalo izgradnje Sarajeva kao kulturnog centra koji bi bio protuteža Beogradu (podvukla A. K.). U tom smislu, univerzitet u Sarajevu je trebao biti osnovan kako bi srpski element (u Bosni i Hercegovini) postao naklonjen Monarhiji. (Die Zeit 1909, 2)

to establish a university. This is the reason that the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia has often stated on disputable issues: they cannot be resolved due to lack of finances (sic!). Burián continued with statement that all those who wanted to continue their education could do so, thanks to scholarships, at one of the universities in the Monarchy. (Agramer Zeitung 1906, 2; cf. Grazer Tagblatt 1906, 21; Wiener Zeitung 1906, 10; Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1906, 5) Although the press showed great interest in Burián's speech before the Hungarian delegation, his response left no room for further debate in public discourse. Thus, the idea of a university in Sarajevo fell into oblivion again, for a short time.

Only a month before the proclamation of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, *Muslimanska svijest*⁴ (Muslim awareness) has published a programme of *Muslimanska napredna stranka* (Muslim Progressive Party). Because this party gathered mostly “progressive Muslims” who were oriented towards cultural revival (Imamović 2007, 218–224), it was not a surprise that its representatives were also committed to the issue of Muslim university education. In the Programme, special attention draw points five and six under the item Educational work. It was stated there that the new party will advocate for the spread of higher education among Muslims. In that sense, there would be a request to the authorities to establish a modern religious faculty in the country, as well as the establishment of a university in Sarajevo and thus providing higher education to as many Muslims as possible. (Muslimanska svijest 1908, 1; cf. Imamović 2007, 225)

Neues Wiener Tagblatt was immediately informed by telegram about the stated aspirations of the Muslim Progressive Party. Although this newspaper transferred information on the party's programme, which included a university-related item, comments were missing. (Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1908, 4) The same newspaper in a similar way wrote a little bit later (Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1908b, 3), but the accompanying comments were missing again and everything remained at the level of information. It is to be assumed that the intention of the newspaper was to show the public of the Monarchy that the idea of a university, among the local population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has not been extinguished. At a time when the Annexation crisis was calming down, in which Serbia had a special role, univer-

⁴ Muslimanska svijest bila je organ Muslimanske napredne stranke koja je okupljala hrvatski orijentirane muslimane (Kreševljaković 1991, 264).

⁴ *Muslimanska svijest* was apparatus of the Muslim Progressive Party that brought together Croat-oriented Muslims (Kreševljaković 1991, 264).

Buriánova reakcija na ove novinske napise nije mi poznata. Univerzitet u Sarajevu postat će ponovo vruća tema u vrijeme nove krize koja je potresala Balkan 1912/1913. godine: u vrijeme balkanskih ratova.

Prije i u toku zveckanja oružjem 1912. i 1913. godine pisali su Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta i Bosanska vila⁵ u nekoliko navrata o znanstvenom radu u Srbiji i o vodećim kulturnim i znanstvenim ustanovama u toj zemlji. Vrlo se afirmativno govorilo o Univerzitetu u Beogradu, koji je osnovan 1905. godine, i radu na polju različitih znanstvenih disciplina. (Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta 1912, 64–68; usp. Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta 1913, 209–214) Krajem 1913. godine napisao je Tin Ujević⁶ u časopisu Bosanska vila članak u kojem je zagovarao studiranje u Beogradu jer se tu moglo *okoristiti lekcijom energiskoga i praktičnoga nacionalizma*, dok na Zagrebačko sveučilište dolaze *štreberi i poklonici austriske nauke, svijetu nepoznate*. (Bosanska vila 1913, 246–247)

Svakako da su navedeni članci morali predstavljati znak za uzbunu Zemaljskoj vladi i Zajedničkom ministarstvu finansija. Nacionalno i konfesionalno podijeljeno bosanskohercegovačko društvo i vrlo kompleksna politička situacija na Balkanu uznemiravali su vladajuće krugove u Monarhiji. Bilo je to vrijeme Balkanskih ratova koji su dodatno usložnili situaciju na Balkanu, ali posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini. Srbija je tada, zahvaljujući vojnim uspjesima iz 1912. godine, uživala u prestižu, posebno tamo gdje je bila jaka južnoslavenska ideja (Donia 2000, 184). U to vrijeme zajednički ministar finansija bio je Biliński za kojeg se vjerovalo da je zagovarao naglašeniju kulturnu misiju u Bosni i Hercegovini (Kapidžić 1961, 293). Tačnije, Biliński je vjerovao da bi uspješan razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine svakako doprinio rješavanju južnoslavenskog pitanja unutar Dvojne monarhije (Matković 2004, 26).

Od sredine 1913. godine u tisku se ponovo javlja pitanje osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu. Iznesena je vijest kako Biliński pregovara s vladama u Beču i Budimpešti o osnivanju univerziteta u Sarajevu kao tačke koja bi privlačila mlade ljude koji žele studirati a porijeklom su s Balkana. Iako se u članku tvrdilo da Zagrebački univerzitet već predstavlja centar za Južne Slavene, zbog političkih se okolnosti nije nametnuo i kao kulturno središte uopće. Da je politički faktor u pitanju osnivanja sarajevskog

sity professor Moritz Benedikt wrote a newspaper article for Die Zeit in which he closely linked the issue of the university of Sarajevo to the very unenviable political situation in the Balkans. Thus, professor Benedikt believed that two important issues must be resolved in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the first was the agricultural question, and the other concerned the construction of Sarajevo as a cultural centre that would be a counterbalance to Belgrade (underlined by A. K.). In this sense, the university in Sarajevo was to be established in order for the Serbian element (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) to become inclined to the Monarchy. (Die Zeit 1909, 2)

Burián's reaction to these newspaper articles is not known to me. The university of Sarajevo will again become a very live topic during the new crisis that shook the Balkans in 1912/1913: during the Balkan wars.

Before and during the rattling of weapons in 1912 and 1913, Calendar of SPKD *Prosvjeta* (Serbian Cultural and Educational Society *Prosvjeta*) and *Bosanska vila*⁵ wrote on several occasions about scientific work in Serbia and about the leading cultural and scientific institutions in that country. The University of Belgrade, which was established in 1905, and the work in the field of various scientific disciplines were discussed very affirmatively. (Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta 1912, 64–68; cf. Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta 1913, 209–214) At the end of 1913, Tin Ujević⁶ wrote in the journal *Bosanska vila* article where he advocated studying in Belgrade because it *could benefit from a lesson in energetic and practical nationalism*, while to the University of Zagreb are coming *nerds and admirers of Austrian science, unknown to the world* (Bosanska vila 1913, 246–247).

Stated articles most certainly have been a wake-up call to the National Government and the Joint Ministry of Finance. Bosnia and Herzegovina's nationally and confessionally divided society and the very complex political situation in the Balkans have disturbed ruling circles in the Monarchy. It was the time of the Balkan Wars that further complicated the situation in the Balkans, but especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, thanks to the military successes in 1912, Serbia enjoyed prestige, especially where there was a strong South Slavic idea (Donia 2000, 184). At the time, the Joint Finance Minister was Biliński, who was believed to have advo-

⁵ Izdavač lista bilo je Srpsko prosvjetno-kulturno društvo Prosvjeta.

⁶ Augustin Josip "Tin" Ujević (1891–1955). Postao je dijelom nacionalnog omladinskog pokreta nakon 1912.

⁵ The publisher of the journal was the Serbian Educational and Cultural Society *Prosvjeta*.

⁶ Augustin Josip "Tin" Ujević (1891–1955). He became a part of the national youth movement after 1912.

univerziteta igrao značajnu ulogu, proizilazi iz nastavka teksta u kojem se tvrdi kako bi Sarajevo kao centar (Južnih Slavena) moglo biti opasno budući da bi se tu mogao okupljati slavenski nepodoban element, dok je Zagreb ipak privlačio one koji su bili odani (habsburškoj) dinastiji i carstvu. (*Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*, 1913, 3)

Ostale novine u Monarhiji pozivale su se na *Bosnische Korrespondenz*, uvodeći u narativ o sarajevskom univerzitetu ponovo koncept kulturne misije. Za autore članaka bilo je nesumnjivo da je Bosna i Hercegovina za vrijeme austrougarske uprave doživjela kulturni i privredni razvoj i zaista bi podizanje univerziteta predstavljalo krunu kulturnog rada Monarhije. Međutim, kalajevski pristup osjetan je i u ovom članku, jer se na kraju teksta navodi da bi bilo preuranjeno razmišljati o univerzitetu zbog političkih i društvenih razloga. (*Grazer Volksblatt* 1913, 2)

Nije se moglo ni bez političkog momenta: u jednom članku Biliński je optužen da je idejom o gradnji univerziteta u Sarajevu htio pridobiti Srbe u Bosni i Hercegovini koji su mu bili opozicija; tako bi sarajevska visoka škola imala karakter srpskog univerziteta. Za autora članka takav bi poduhvat mogao biti iznimno opasan jer bi novi univerzitet mogao postati stjecište srpskih iredentista. Budući da je sa sobom mogao vezati različite probleme, smatralo se da je najbolje odustati od ideje univerziteta u Sarajevu. (*Grazer Tagblatt* 1913, 2)

U drugom članku se donosi i informacija više: da je Biliński ozbiljan u naumu osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu, govori i podatak da ministar namjerava već u naredni budžetski proračun uvrstiti sumu koja bi poslužila za izobrazbu nastavnog kadra koji bi radio na univerzitetu. (*Grazer Tagblatt* 1913a, 14; usp. *Pester Lloyd* 1913, 18) Time se po posljednji put u javnom diskursu nametnulo pitanje sarajevskog univerziteta kao ozbiljan problem.

U Bosni i Hercegovini listovi nisu obraćali previše pažnje na univerzitetsko pitanje. Naime, smatrali su da to nije najvažniji problem i da bi se austrougarska vlast prvo trebala pozabaviti nekim drugim gorućim društvenim pitanjima (*Glas slobode* 1913, 2).

Stoga se na ideju osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu značajnije osvrnuo jedino Hrvatski dnevnik, prvobitno jednim kratkim člankom, a potom i dužom analizom. Naime, Hrvatski dnevnik je prihvatio stav da bi sarajevski univerzitet predstavljao uslugu Srbima koji su bili opozicija Bilińskom. Hrvati i muslimani su se tome jako protivili, iako ova tvrdnja ne može biti potpuno tačna, jer je ranije navedeno

cated a more prominent cultural mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kapidžić 1961, 293). Specifically, Biliński believed that the successful development of Bosnia and Herzegovina would certainly contribute to resolving the South Slavic issue within the Dual Monarchy (Matković 2004, 26).

From the middle of 1913, the issue of establishing a university in Sarajevo reappears in the press. The news was that Biliński was negotiating with the governments in Vienna and Budapest on the establishing of a university in Sarajevo as a point that would attract young people who want to study and are originally from the Balkans. Although the article claimed that the University of Zagreb was already a centre for the South Slavs, due to political circumstances it did not impose itself as a cultural centre at all. That the political factor in the issue of establishing a university in Sarajevo played a significant role, arises from the continuation of the text in which it is claimed that Sarajevo as the centre (of the South Slavs) could be dangerous since a Slavic unsuitable element could gather there, while Zagreb nevertheless attracted those who were loyal to the (Habsburg) dynasty and empire (*Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*, 1913, 3).

Other newspapers in the Monarchy referred to the *Bosnische Korrespondenz*, reintroducing the narrative of the university of Sarajevo into the concept of cultural mission. For the authors of the articles, there was no doubt that Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced cultural and economic development during the Austro-Hungarian rule and indeed the building of a university would be the crown of the cultural work of the Monarchy. However, the Kállay's approach is also perceived in this article, because at the end of the text it is stated that it would be premature to think about the university for political and social reasons. (*Grazer Volksblatt* 1913, 2)

It was not possible without a political moment: in one article, Biliński was accused of trying to win over Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina who were his opposition with the idea of building a university in Sarajevo; thus, Sarajevo higher school would have the character of a Serbian university. For the author of the article, such an endeavour could be extremely dangerous because the new university could become a meeting place for Serbian irredentists. Because it could tie different problems with itself, it was considered best to abandon the idea of a university in Sarajevo. (*Grazer Tagblatt* 1913, 2)

The second article also provides more information: that Biliński is serious about intending to establish a university in Sarajevo, the fact that the Minis-

da je Muslimanska napredna stranka, hrvatska po orijentaciji, u svoj program uvrstila i tačku o gradnji univerziteta. Dakle, samo je dio muslimana mogao stati uz proteste Hrvata. Oni su smatrali kako je Zagrebački univerzitet već prepoznat kao središte Južnih Slavena i kako mu se treba dati reciprocitet s austrijskim univerzitetima. Osim toga, ni sami bosanskohercegovački Hrvati nisu bili jedinstveni. Dio njih je podržavao *slavensku stvar*, dok je struja oko Hrvatskog dnevnika smatrana germanofilskom i tuđinskom. (Radulović 1988, 148–150)

Slovenici, iako nisu imali puno dodira s bosanskohercegovačkom kompleksnom društvenom situacijom, također su prosvjedovali protiv ideje osnivanja sarajevskog univerziteta, tvrdeći da su njihovi zahtjevi za univerzitetom stariji i da se prvo kod njih treba osnovati jedna takva institucija (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913, 3).

Naknadno je Hrvatski dnevnik problematizirao i tvrdnju da bi univerzitet u Sarajevu predstavljao krunu rada austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. U jednom cinizmom obojenom članku, koji je izašao na naslovnoj strani, konstatirano je *da razni ministri imaju razne ukuse*: tako se Kállay više posvećivao gospodarstvu,⁷ dok se Biliński okrenuo duhovnoj kulturi sada već anektirane oblasti. Autor članka se pitao da li Biliński zna da u Bosni i Hercegovini tek na 150 četvornih km dolazi jedna osnovna škola i da je u zemlji 90% nepismenog stanovništva? *Pa mu se eto sažalilo, i on je odlučio, da će nam dati univerzu*. (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913a, 1; usp. Besarović 1974, 174) Narod je već bio sit Kállayevih eksperimenata i nije im htio svjedočiti i na polju kulture. Jednostavno, autor je smatrao da univerzitet neće prosvijetliti narod i da je suvišan budući da jedan već ima u Zagrebu, te budući da bi lako moglo doći do hiperprodukcije akademskog kadra (zbog čega je nepotreban i univerzitet u Ljubljani).⁸ Za očekivati je bilo da jedan domaći časopis ne vjeruje u kulturnu misiju koju je zdušno zagovarao Biliński.⁹ Zato u članku i jeste istaknuto pitanje sarajevskog univerziteta kao čisto političko pitanje, koje je bilo direktno usmjereno protiv Hrvata, zbližavanja Bosne i Hercegovine s Banovinom, a koje bi išlo na ruku nekim autonomaškim tendencijama. (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913a, 1) Stav Hrvatskog dnevnika nimalo ne iznenađuje uzmu li

ter intends to include in the next estimated budget an amount that would be used for the training of teaching staff who would work at the university also speaks for itself (Grazer Tagblatt 1913a, 14; cf. Pester Lloyd 1913, 18). Thus, for the last time in public discourse, the issue of the university of Sarajevo was imposed as a serious problem.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, newspapers did not pay too much attention to the university issue. Thus, they believed that this was not the most important problem and that the Austro-Hungarian government should first address some other burning social issues (Glas slobode 1913, 2).

Therefore, only Hrvatski dnevnik significantly commented on the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo, originally by one short article, and then with a longer analysis. In fact, Hrvatski dnevnik accepted the view that the university of Sarajevo would be a service to Serbs who were in opposition to Biliński. Croats and Muslims have strongly opposed to this. Although this statement may not be completely true, because it was previously stated that the Muslim Progressive Party, Croatian in orientation, included in its program a point on the construction of university. So, only a part of the Muslims could stand with the protests of the Croats. They felt that the University of Zagreb was already recognized as the centre of the South Slavs and that it should be given the reciprocity with Austrian universities. In addition, the BIH Croats were not united. Part of them supported the *Slavic cause*, while the current around *Hrvatski dnevnik* was considered as Germanophile and foreign. (Radulović 1988, 148–150)

Slovenes, although they did not have much contact with the complex social situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also protested against the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo, arguing that their requests for university were older and that such institution should be established at them first (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913, 3). Subsequently, *Hrvatski dnevnik* also problematized the claim that the university of Sarajevo would be the crown of the work of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In one cynically coloured article, which came out on the front page, it was observed *that different ministers have different tastes*: so Kállay devoted himself more to the economy,⁷ while Biliński turned to the spiritual culture of the now already annexed area. The author of the article won-

⁷ No i za Kállaya se smatra da je od Bosne i Hercegovine htio stvoriti kulturno središte Balkana (Okey 2007, 222).

⁸ Ljubljana je univerzitet dobila 1919. godine.

⁹ Mogla su se čuti i mišljenja da bi univerzitet u Sarajevu trebao doprinijeti smirivanju uzavrele situacije na Balkanu (Volksfreund 1913, 3).

⁷ However, Kállay is also considered to have wanted to make Bosnia and Herzegovina the cultural center of the Balkans (Okey 2007, 222).

se u obzir vrlo delikatni konfesionalni i nacionalni odnosi u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu pred Prvi svjetski rat.

Upravo toga je bio svjestan autor članka koji je izašao u časopisu *Fremden-Blatt*. Pisanje Hrvatskog dnevnika protumačio je kao odraz nacionalnih i konfesionalnih proturječnosti koje su bile karakteristične za politički život u Bosni i Hercegovini početkom 20. stoljeća. Autor članka zamjera Hrvatskom dnevniku povezivanje pitanja osnivanja sarajevskog univerziteta s političkom situacijom u zemlji, smatrajući da se to pitanje može razmatrati samo u domenu kulture. U tom smislu, osnivanje univerziteta ne bi bilo proturječno težnji i da se izgradi mreža osnovnih škola. Svaka zemlja koja vodi računa o kulturi trebala bi imati svoj univerzitet, jer više inteligencije doprinosi njenom kulturnom razvoju (*Fremden-Blatt* 1913, 25).

Od drugih bosanskohercegovačkih listova na ideju osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu vrlo kratko su se osvrnuli *Glas slobode* i *Narod*. U *Glasi slobode* je preporučena suština članka koji je izašao u Hrvatskom dnevniku. Naglasak je stavljen na protivljenje hrvatskih i muslimanskih krugova navedenoj ideji te moguće nanošenje štete Zagrebačkom univerzitetu ako bi projekt bio realiziran. Navedeno je da je Biliński već odustao od ideje. No autor ovog kratkog priloga uopće nije iznosio vlastito mišljenje. (*Glas slobode* 1913, 2)

List *Narod* je također preuzeo informacije od drugih, ali je stavio naglasak na druga pitanja vezana s osnivanjem univerziteta: stavka za proračun za 1914. godinu (suma za izobrazbu univerzitetskog kadra), osnivanje filozofskog i potom pravnog fakulteta. Za razliku od *Glasa slobode*, kratki prilog završen je pitanjem "Čemu to?" te konstatacijom da je bolje osnivati više osnovnih škola jer je upravo sramota da državnih škola ima svega nešto preko tri stotine. (*Narod* 1913, 4)

Na koncu, prašina se slegla kada je objavljen zvaničan stav zajedničkog ministra finansija o ideji osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu. U službenom listu objavljena je informacija u kojoj je prvo objašnjeno kako je ponovo otvoreno ovo pitanje. Izgleda da je za sve bio zaslužan zastupnik Rosner, koji je govorio pred Carevinskim vijećem. Potom je navedeno da će se ministar Biliński baviti idejom osnivanja univerziteta kada se za to stvore potrebni preduvjeti kao što su kulturni napredak zemlje, smanjenje broja nepismenih, razvoj osnovnoškolskog i srednjoškolskog obrazovanja i izobrazba kadra koji bi mogao biti uposlen na univerzitetu. (Hrvatski

dered if Biliński knows that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is only one primary school per 150 square kilometres and that 90% of the country's population is illiterate? *So he became compassionate, and decided to give us a university* (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913a, 1; cf. Besarović 1974, 174). The people were already fed up with Kállay's experiments and did not want to witness them in the field of culture either. Simply put, the author believed that the university would not educate the people and that it was redundant since one is already in Zagreb, and since there could easily be an overproduction of academic staff (which is why the university of Ljubljana is also unnecessary).⁸ It was to be expected that one local newspaper did not believe in the cultural mission that Biliński wholeheartedly advocated.⁹ That is why the article highlights the issue of the university of Sarajevo as a purely political issue, which was directly concentrated against the Croats, the rapprochement of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Banovina, and which would go hand in hand with some autonomous tendencies. (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913a, 1) The stand of *Hrvatski dnevnik* is not at all surprising if the very delicate take into account the confessional and national relations in BIH society before the First World War.

This is exactly what the author of the article published in *Fremden-Blatt* newspaper was aware of. The writing of *Hrvatski dnevnik* was interpreted as a reflection of national and confessional contradictions that were characteristic of political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century. The author of the article criticizes *Hrvatski dnevnik* for linking the issue of establishing a university in Sarajevo with the political situation in the country, thinking that this issue can be considered only in the domain of culture. In this sense, the establishment of a university would not contradict the aspiration to build a network of primary schools. Every country that cares about culture should have its own university, because more intelligence contributes to its cultural development. (*Fremden-Blatt* 1913, 25)

Among other BIH newspapers, *Glas slobode* and *Narod* commented very briefly on the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo. *Glas slobode* summarized the essence of the article that was published in *Hrvatski dnevnik*. Emphasis was laid on the disagreement of Croatian and Muslim circles to this idea and the possible damage to the University

⁸ Ljubljana got the university in 1919.

⁹ Opinions could also be heard that the university of Sarajevo should contribute to calm down the heated situation in the Balkans (Volk-sfreund 1913, 3).

dnevnik 1913b, 3) Zvaničnim saopćenjem ministra okončana je priča o sarajevskom univerzitetu.

Biliński vs. Potiorek: Treba li Sarajevu univerzitet?

Zajednički ministar finansija Biliński i poglavar Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu Potiorek nisu dijelili jednake vizije o ulozi Austro-Ugarske monarhije na Balkanu, kao ni o tome u kojem bi pravcu trebalo ići po pitanju uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Biliński je povremeno stjecao dojam da mu se Potiorek opire i da nije spreman postupati po njegovim sugestijama. (Kamberović 2004, 76, 78)

Iako potraga za opširnijom prepiskom između Zajedničkog ministarstva finansija i Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu nije urodila plodom, na osnovu skromne arhivske građe može se doći do zaključka da se Biliński i Potiorek nisu slagali ni po pitanju osnivanja univerziteta u Sarajevu. Biliński je usitinu razmišljao o osnivanju jednog pravnog i filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, koji bi postali duhovni i znanstveni centar i protuteža Beogradu.¹⁰ Čak je razmišljao i o davanju stipendija za izobrazbu budućeg kadra, koji bi bio angažiran u radu na sarajevskom univerzitetu, a koji bi se školovao u Beču i Budimpešti. Ta svoja promišljanja iznio je u nacrtu jednog šireg programa koji je predstavio u pismu upućenom Potioreku 22. 12. 1912. godine. (Juzbašić i Šehić 2015, 297)

Potiorek se potrudio, u čak nekoliko navrata, budućći da mu je Biliński ponovo u maju 1913. spomenuo svoj program (Juzbašić 2002, 310), da uvjeri zajedničkog ministra finansija da je njegova ideja o osnivanju visokoškolskih institucija u Sarajevu preuranjena. On je jednostavno nije mogao podržati. Smatrao je da bi osnivanje navedenih ustanova vodilo hiperprodukciji kadra koji bi završavao u javnim službama. Osim toga, smatrao je da univerzitet u Sarajevu ne bi mogao doseći nivo univerziteta u Monarhiji, na prvom mjestu onih u Beču i Budimpešti, dok je, što je signifikantno, Zagrebački univerzitet spomenuo u zagradi. Stoga se zalagao za to da se bosanskohercegovački službenici i srednjoškolski profesori još dugu niz godina obrazuju upravo na univerzitetima u Monarhiji.¹¹ Potiorek je bio spreman vidjeti Sarajevo jedino kao centar za istraživanje Balkana. U tom smislu, smatrao je da bi se trebalo raditi na jačanju Zemaljskog muzeja i In-

of Zagreb if the project were realized. It is stated that Biliński has already given up on the idea. But the author of this short article did not express his own opinion at all. (Glas slobode 1913, 2)

Newspaper *Narod* also took information from others, but laid emphasis on other issues related to the establishing of a university: item for the 1914 budget (the amount for the training of university staff), establishing of the Faculty of Philosophy and then the Faculty of Law. Unlike *Glas slobode*, the short article ended with the question "For what?" and stating that it is better to establish more primary schools because it is a shame that there are only a little over three hundred state schools. (Narod 1913, 4)

Finally, the dust settled when the official position of the Joint Finance Minister on the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo was announced. The official newspaper published information where it was first explained how this issue was reopened. It seems that representative Rosner, who spoke before the Imperial Council, was responsible for everything. It was then stated that Minister Biliński would deal with the idea of establishing a university when the necessary preconditions were created such as the cultural progress of the country, reducing the number of illiterates, development of primary and secondary education and training of staff who could be employed at the university. (Hrvatski dnevnik 1913b, 3) The official statement of the Minister ended the story about the university of Sarajevo.

Biliński vs. Potiorek: Does Sarajevo need a university?

Joint Minister of Finance, Biliński, and Head of the National Government in Sarajevo, Potiorek, did not share the same visions of the role of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the Balkans, as well as in which direction it should go in terms of administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Biliński occasionally got the impression that Potiorek was resisting him and that he was not ready to act on his suggestions. (Kamberović 2004, 76, 78)

Although the search for more extensive correspondence between the Joint Ministry of Finance and the National Government in Sarajevo have been unsuccessful, based on modest archival material, it can be concluded that Biliński and Potiorek did not agree on the establishing of a university in Sarajevo. Biliński was really thinking about establishing a Law and Philosophy faculty in Sarajevo, which would become a spiritual and scientific centre and

¹⁰ Na polju prosvjete i kulture austrougarska uprava je najviše ulagala u Sarajevo (Kruševac 1960, 393).

¹¹ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Privat-Registratur, 1913, br. 20 (Potiorek-Bilinski, 4. 1. 1913.). Usp. Kapidžić 1973, 427; Juzbašić i Šehić, 2015, 305–306.

stituta za istraživanje Balkana.¹² Uza sve navedeno, očigledno se i Potiorek plašio da bi budući univerzitet u Sarajevu bio mjesto okupljanja *nepodobnog elementa*, odnosno, uz nediscipliniranu omladinu iz srednjih škola, pojavili bi se takvi slični studenti. (Juzbašić i Šehić 2015, 376)

Budući da su se navedeni Potiorekovi rezoni preklapali s pisanjima u tisku, Biliński je shvatio da se od ideje o osnivanju univerziteta u Sarajevu, kao duhovne i znanstvene protuteže Beogradu i krune kulturne misije Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini, mora odustati. Njegova ideja pojavila se u vrlo nezgodnom momentu koji su obilježili Balkanski ratovi (1912–1913) i nacionalna vrenja u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Juzbašić 2002, 459) Sagledavši navedenu situaciju, a duboko svjestan vrlo osjetljivog političkog trenutka, zajednički ministar finansija Biliński poslao je instrukcije Zemaljskoj vladi o potrebi demantiranja navoda koji su se pojavljivali u pojedinim listovima, a koji su problematizirali navedeno pitanje.¹³ Nakon objavljenog demanta u novinama, pitanje sarajevskog univerziteta stavljeno je po strani i posve zaboravljeno izbijanjem Prvog svjetskog rata.

Zaključak

Još od okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine, austrougarska uprava zanosila se idejom kulturne misije u ovoj zemlji. Vremenom je formiran narativ da se domaće stanovništvo treba europeizirati i uklopiti u moderne društvene tokove. Smatralo se da je potrebno uložiti ogromne napore kako bi se kulturni nivo naroda u Bosni i Hercegovini podigao. U tom smislu, trebalo je djelovati na više frontova, od kojih je onaj obrazovni svakako bio najbitniji. Kruna tog “civilizatorskog rada” bila bi realizacija ideje o podizanju univerziteta u Sarajevu.

S druge strane, Austro-Ugarska je u Bosni i Hercegovini zatekla konfesionalno podijeljeno društvo, s različitim nacionalnim pokretima u povoju. Predstavници domaće političke i intelektualne elite teško su mogli dopustiti stranoj upravi da potpuno ovlada svim segmentima života. Stoga su se već krajem 19. stoljeća mogli čuti zahtjevi za osnivanjem univerziteta u Sarajevu na kojem bi se obrazovali mladi južnoslavenskog porijekla. Želja za nacionalnom afirmacijom domaćeg elementa i težnje austrougarske uprave da nametne vlastite političke pozicije sudarile su se na pitanju sarajevskog univerziteta.

a counterweight to Belgrade.¹⁰ He even considered giving scholarships to train future staff, who would be engaged in work at the university of Sarajevo, and who would be educated in Vienna and Budapest. He presented his thoughts in a draft of a broader program, which he presented in a letter sent to Potiorek on December 22, 1912. (Juzbašić i Šehić 2015, 297)

Potiorek made an effort, on several occasions, as Biliński mentioned his program to him again in May 1913 (Juzbašić 2002, 310), to convince the Joint Finance Minister that his idea of establishing higher education institutions in Sarajevo was premature. He simply couldn't support the idea. He believed that the establishing of these institutions would lead to overproduction of staff that would end up in public services. In addition, he considered that the university of Sarajevo could not reach the level of a university in the Monarchy, in the first place the ones in Vienna and Budapest, while, which is significant, University of Zagreb was mentioned between parentheses. Therefore, he advocated that BIH officials and high school professors should be educated at universities in the Monarchy for many years to come.¹¹ Potiorek was ready to see Sarajevo only as a centre for the Balkans exploring. With that in mind, he felt that work should be done on strengthening the National Museum and the Institute for Balkan Studies.¹² In addition to all the above, Potiorek was obviously afraid that the future university in Sarajevo would be a gathering place for an *unsuitable element*, that is, with undisciplined high school youth, such similar students would appear. (Juzbašić and Šehić 2015, 376)

Because Potiorek's stated reasons overlapped with writings in the press, Biliński realized that the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo, as spiritual and scientific counterweights to Belgrade and the crown of the Austro-Hungarian cultural mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has to be given up. His idea occurred at a very awkward moment marked by the Balkan wars (1912–1913) and national sizzling in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Juzbašić 2002, 459) Considering the stated situation, and deeply aware of a very sensitive political moment, Joint Minister of Finance Biliński sent instructions to the National Government on the need to refute the allegations that appeared in certain newspapers,

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ ABiH, Privat-Registratur, 1913, br. 718 i 754. Usp. Kapidžić 1973, 445–446.

¹⁰ In the field of education and culture, the Austro-Hungarian administration invested the most in Sarajevo (Kruševac 1960, 393).

¹¹ Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Privat-Registratur, 1913, No. 20 (Potiorek-Bilinski, 4. 1. 1913.). Cf. Kapidžić 1973, 427; Juzbašić and Šehić, 2015, 305–306.

¹² Ibidem.

Situacija se dodatno usložnila izbijanjem Balkanskih ratova u kojima se Srbija, zahvaljujući vojnim uspjesima, počela nametati kao prestižna sila na Balkanu, Pijemont Južnih Slavena.

Određeni krugovi u Beču smatrali su da se Sarajevo treba nametnuti kao protuteža Beogradu. No ideja o sarajevskom univerzitetu izazvala je takve reakcije javnosti da se od nje, na koncu, moralo odustati. Strah od toga da bosanskohercegovačko stanovništvo nije postiglo toliko željeni kulturni stupanj s jedne, te opasnost da bi univerzitet u Sarajevu postao centar revolucionarne omladine, s druge strane, kao i disonantni tonovi koji su se mogli čuti o pitanju sarajevskoga univerziteta u javnom diskursu Monarhije, a koje je oblikovao tisak, natjerali su austrougarsku upravu da odustane od razmišljanja o univerzitetu.

and which problematized the stated question.¹³ After published denial in the newspaper, the issue of Sarajevo university was put aside and completely forgotten with the outbreak of the First World War.

Conclusion

Since the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the Austro-Hungarian administration was fascinated by the idea of a cultural mission in this country. Over time, a narrative was formed that the local population should be Europeanized and fit into modern social trends. It was considered necessary to make enormous efforts in order to raise the cultural level of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that sense, it was necessary to act on several fronts, of which the educational front was certainly the most important. The crown of that “civilizing work” would be the realization of the idea of building a university in Sarajevo.

On the other hand, Austro-Hungary found a confessionally divided society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with various national movements in their early stage. Representatives of the domestic political and intellectual elite could hardly allow the foreign administration to fully dominate all segments of life. Therefore, as early as the end of the 19th century could hear demands for the establishment of a university in Sarajevo to educate young people of South Slavic origin. The desire for national affirmation of the domestic element and the aspirations of the Austro-Hungarian administration to impose its own political positions collided on the issue of the university of Sarajevo. The situation was further complicated by the outbreak of the Balkan wars, in which Serbia, due to military successes, began to impose itself as a prestigious power in the Balkans, the South Slav Piedmont.

Certain circles in Vienna believed that Sarajevo should be imposed as a counterweight to Belgrade. But the idea of a Sarajevo university provoked such reactions from the public that in the end had to be given up. Fear that the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not achieved the much desired cultural level on the one hand, and the danger that the university of Sarajevo would become a center of revolutionary youth, on the other hand, as well as the dissonant tones that could be heard on the issue of the university of Sarajevo in the public discourse of the Monarchy, and which was shaped by the press, forced the Austro-Hungarian administration to give up thinking about the university.

¹³ ABIH, Privat-Registratur, 1913, No. 718 and 754. Cf. Kapidžić 1973, 445–446.

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Културне лиге – претече јавних библиотека у Србији

Cultural Leagues – Forerunners of Public Libraries in Serbia

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Сажетак / Abstract

Оснивање културних друштава и институција широм Србије након Балканских ратова, било је један од приоритета Краљевине Србије. Осим Културне лиге, деловале су и српске земљорадничке задруге, радничка и партијска удружења, обједињени у важној мисији – образовању, просвећивању и културном уздизању свог народа. Ауторке рада настоје да прате историјски развој Културне лиге, чијим развојем и деловањем су се створили услови за настанак јавних библиотека у Србији.

The establishment of cultural societies and institutions throughout Serbia after the Balkan wars were one of the priorities of the Kingdom of Serbia. In addition to the Cultural League, there were also Serbian agricultural cooperatives, workers' and party associations, united in an important mission – education, enlightenment and cultural uplifting of their people. The authors of the paper try to follow the historical development of the Cultural League, whose development and activities have created the conditions for the emergence of public libraries in Serbia.

Увод

Од настанка света није било значајнијег изума од хартије и пера. Када је човек нашао начин да записује и преноси сазнања и знања, даље је све било неминовно надограђивање, развијање и усавршавање ка данашњем времену. Описмењавање и образовање су, од најранијих времена, постали један од најважнијих задатака и развијених и оних мање развијених друштава, а све у тежњи за бољим условима свеопштег живљења. Ако се сложимо да је појединац, личност, индивидуа, као нуклеус друштва, синоним за почетни импулс и снагу на путу развоја, онда она, у спрези са институцијама друштва и системом, мора дати пожељне резултате.

Говорећи о српском друштву, где је потлачени положај народа кроз историју био чест, улога појединца била је посебно наглашена. Имућни појединци који су били у прилици да се школују у иностранству, свештена лица, студенти, надарени млади људи, интелектуалци визионари и патриоте, међу првима су увидели значај

Introduction

Since the creation of the world, there has been no more significant invention than paper and quill. When man found a way to write down and transmit discoveries and knowledge, then everything was, inevitably, upgrading, developing and improving to to the present time. Literacy and education have, since the earliest times, become one of the most important tasks of both developed and less developed societies, all in the pursuit of better conditions for universal living. If we agree that the someone, person, individual, as the nucleus of society, is a synonym for the initial impulse and strength on the path of development, then, in conjunction with the institutions of society and the system, it must give the desired results.

Speaking of Serbian society, where the oppressed position of the people has been common throughout history, the role of the individual was especially emphasized. Wealthy individuals who had the opportunity to study abroad, clergy, students, talented young people, visionary intellectuals and patri-

писане речи и ширења знања за даљи напредак Србије. Од стицања самосталности Кнежевине и Краљевине Србије (1830–1878) до краја Првог светског рата услови за оснивање школа и образовање наставног кадра били су више него скромни, али временом опште друштвене прилике су омогућавале улагање у образовање. Скупљајући књиге, часописе, приручнике и учебнике које су сами користили, полако су формирали своје кућне библиотеке.

Осврт на културно-историјска дешавања

Историјске прилике на Балкану и у Србији су биле сложене, а у временима да ли под турском, хабзбуршком и аустроугарском влашћу, култура и образовање су били међу првима на удару, у културу и образовање није довољно улагано. Знало се да, ако се буде гушио образовни напредак и развој просвете, ако се буде урушавао школски систем, доћи ће у питање очување националног идентитета и материјалне и духовне баштине. Већи део становништва (90%) у Србији у 19. веку бавио се земљорадњом и сточарством, удео градског становништва је варирао од 11 до 14%, што јасно указује и на проценат неписмених, али и на недовољан број писмених, тј. кадра који би могао да описмењава и образује. Најзначајнији догађај у таквим околностима за српски народ била су три највиша царска акта, хатишерифи, (1829, 1830, 1833) којима је Кнежевини Србији била гарантована: слобода вероисповести, оснивања школа, болница, штампарија, самостални судски органи, право на слободу кретања и бављење трговином. Од велике важности за државно уређење било је и доношење Сретењског устава (1835), којим је забрањен кулук, прокламована једнакости свих грађана пред судом и загарантована слобода вероисповести, чиме су се стекли повољни услови за даљи напредак и у области школства и просвете. Јован Стерија Поповић је сачинио “Устројеније јавног училишног наставленија” (1844) које предвиђа оснивање основних, трговачких школа, гимназија и лицеја. Следећи значајан документ је “Закон о обавезном основном школовању” (1882) који предвиђа да држава финансира, организује и врши надзор над просветним системом у Србији.

Културне лиге

Иницијативом групе интелектуалаца, чланова српске културне елите, а по угледу на неке европске градове у којима су већ заживела таква

ots, were among the first to see the importance of the written word and the spread of knowledge for the further progress of Serbia. From the independence of the Principality and the Kingdom of Serbia (1830–1878) until the end of the First World War, the conditions for the establishment of schools and the education of teachers were more than modest, but over time the general social circumstances enabled investment in education. By collecting books, journals, manuals, and textbooks that they used themselves, they have slowly formed their home libraries.

A review of cultural and historical events

The historical situation in the Balkans and in Serbia was complex, and in the times under Turkish, Habsburg or Austro-Hungarian rule, culture and education were among the first on the line, not enough was invested in culture and education. It was known that if educational progress and the development of education is stifling, if the school system collapses, the preservation of national identity and material and spiritual heritage would come in question. Most of the population (90%) in Serbia in the 19th century was working in agriculture and animal husbandry, the share of urban population varied from 11 to 14%, which clearly indicate the percentage of illiterate, but also the insufficient number of literate, i.e. staff that could literate and educate. The most significant event, in such circumstances, for the Serbian people were the three highest imperial acts, hatt-i sharifs (1829, 1830, 1833) which guaranteed the Principality of Serbia: freedom of religion, establishment of schools, hospitals, printing houses, independent judicial authorities, the right to freedom of movement and trading. Of great importance for the state system was the adoption of the Sretenje Constitution (1835), which banned corvée (statute labour), proclaimed the equality of all citizens before the court and guaranteed freedom of religion, which provided favorable conditions for further progress in the field of education. Jovan Sterija Popović composed “Ustrojenije javnog učilišnog nastavljenija” (Organization of public school education) (1844) which foresees the establishment of primary and trade schools, gymnasiums and lyceums. The next important document is “Zakon o obaveznom osnovnom školovanju” (the Law on Compulsory Primary Education) (1882), which provides that the state finances, organizes and supervises the education system in Serbia.

или слична удружења и покрети, историјски извори бележе настанак Културне лиге у Србији током 1908. године. У најширем смислу речи, то је био покрет за културни препород земље. Носиоци “културног кода” у то време били су универзитетски професори, првенствено са Београдског универзитета, који су, као умни људи оног времена, осим свог основног позива на факултетима, сагледали неопходност ширења знања и образовања међу широким народним масама. Своју замисао прокламовали су низом културно-просветних активности. Један од челних људи овог покрета био је тадашњи ректор београдског универзитета Сава Урошевић¹ који је, говорећи о значају просвећивања народа, истакао да су темељи једне напредне и устројене државе “висока просвећеност, висока култура, јака морална снага и опште благостање једног народа”.² Руководећи се овим начелима, покрет Културна лига имао је вишеструку улогу. Једна од важних активности била је обезбеђивање и пружање материјалне помоћи сиромашним ђацима и студентима, који су, потпомогнути финансијски, били у могућности да наставе своје школовање. У ту сврху је Културна лига формирала и свој фонд (1910. године), а први прилог је дао краљ Петар I Карађорђевић. Новац из фонда служио је за помоћ у раду локалних одбора Лиге, а подразумевао је, осим финансијске помоћи приликом школовања и набавке књига, и обезбеђивање одеће и обуће за угрожено становништво. Од велике важности је и податак да се покрет Културна лига залагао за школовање тзв. “женске омладине”, што је представљало прави изазов традиционалној друштвеној улози жена и свести за потребом школовања женске деце у патријархалном окружењу. Важно је истаћи да су, поред покрета Културне лиге, значајну улогу у подизању просвете и културе међу народом имали и Друштво за народно просвећивање и школску хигијену, Коло српских сестара, Друштво студената природњака, Друштво за чување народног здравља и др.

Културно напредовање кроз описмењавање народа, стварање интелектуалног подмлатка, ширење писане речи и у градским и сеоским срединама, оснивање библиотека и земљорадничких

Cultural Leagues

At the initiative of a group of intellectuals, members of the Serbian cultural elite, by following the example of some European cities in which such or similar associations and movements have already taken root, historical sources record the creation of the Cultural League in Serbia during 1908. In the broadest sense of the word, it was a movement for the cultural revival of the country. The bearers of the “cultural code” at that time were university professors, primarily from the University of Belgrade, who, as intellectual people of that time, in addition to their basic vocation at faculties, saw the need to spread knowledge and education among the masses. They proclaimed their idea through a series of cultural and educational activities. One of the leading people of this movement was the then – rector of the University of Belgrade Sava Urošević,¹ who has, by speaking about the importance of education of people, pointed out that the foundations of an advanced and organized state are “high education, high culture, strong moral strength and general well-being of one nation”.² Guided by these principles, the Cultural League movement had a multiple role. One of the important activities was to ensure and provide material assistance to poor pupils and students, who were supported financially and were able to continue their education. For this purpose, the Cultural League formed its own fund (1910), and the first contribution was made by King Petar I Karađorđević. The money from the fund was used to help the work of the local boards of the League, and it included, in addition to financial assistance during schooling and the purchase of books, also provision of clothes and shoes for the endangered population. Of great importance is the fact that the Cultural League movement advocated for the education of the so-called “Female youth”, which posed a real challenge to the traditional social role of women and awareness of the need to educate female children in a patriarchal environment. It is important to point out that, in addition to the Cultural League movement, significant role in raising education and culture among the people also had Društvo za narodno prosvećivanje i školsku higijenu (Society for Public Education and School Hygiene), Kolo srpskih sestara (Circle of Serbian Sisters), Društvo

¹ Сава Урошевић (Врмца, Сокобања, 13. јануар 1863. – Београд, 14. септембар 1930) српски минеролог, ректор Универзитета у Београду, члан Српске академије наука

² Културна лига: говор Саве Урошевића, ректора универзитета, на Конференцијама за организовање Културне лиге у моравском округу, 3–17.

¹ Sava Urošević (Vrmdža, Sokobanja, 13 January 1863 – Belgrade, 14 September 1930) Serbian mineralogist, rector of the University of Belgrade, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences

² Cultural League: speech by Sava Urošević, Rector of the University at the Conferences for Organizing the Cultural League in the Moravian District. 3–17.

задруга, били су такође важни задаци челника Културне лиге. Замисао “лигаша” је била и организовање тзв. “вечерњих састанака” у школама или библиотекама, у којима би се кроз дружење, седељке, уз пригодне разговоре организовало читање књига. Чланови Културних лига, професори, наставници, културни радници, позивани су да држе предавања и у другим друштвима на разне теме. Садржаји састанака били су разноврсни, од читања лепе књижевности, преко дискусија о актуелним проблемима становништва, еманципацији жена, здравственим темама, до певања и свирања недељом. Значи, обухватили су све области друштвеног живота осим политичких дебата.

Надлежности Одбора и пододбора Културних лига, као и обавеза подношења извештаја о раду, биле су дефинисане Статутом Културне лиге, који је настао 1909. године, годину дана по њиховом оснивању. Радам Културних лига руководила је Управа централног одбора преко одбора у срезовима и окрузима са којима је одржавала везе, шаљући упутства и програме за почетни рад, и помагала сваку новоотворену библиотеку између осталог тако што се обрађала разним установама и појединцима за бесплатно уступање књига. Извештаји о раду бележе дародавце, државне установе: Српска краљевска академија наука, Управа друштва Светог Саве, Матица српска, Професорски савет Богословије из Београда, Српски књижевни гласник, Министарство просвете, које су помажући Лигу уткали себе у културно-историјски препород нације. Срески и окружни одбори били су у обавези да Централном одбору достављају програм рада за следећу годину. Према извештајима које су подносили председници сеоских одбора, а подразумевали су исцрпне и прецизне податке о свим активностима, покрет Културна лига свој највећи успех је постигао у прве три године постојања (1908–1911) када је имао снажан замајац у оснивању књижница, читаоница за народ, сеоских библиотека, разних друштава. Председници су, свако из свог окружења, извештај слали Главном одбору Лиге, статистичке податке колико има корисника у библиотеци, бројчано стање књига и часописа, водила се евиденција о поклонима за библиотеку и њеним дародавцима, о интересовањима и укусима читалачке публике и др. Заједнички “именитељ” у свим извештајима је био: почетак рада читаоница, формирање библиотека, од којих је део библиотека у градским срединама био смештен у гимназијским

студената природњака (Society of Natural Science Students), Друштво за чување народног здравља (Society for the Preservation of Public Health), etc.

Cultural progress through the literacy of the people, the creation of intellectual youth, the spread of the written word in urban and rural areas, the establishment of libraries and agricultural cooperatives were also important tasks of the leaders of the Cultural League. The idea of the “league people” was to organize the so-called “evening meetings” in schools or libraries, in which through get-togethers, sittings, with appropriate conversations, book readings would be organized. Members of Cultural Leagues, professors, teachers, cultural workers, were invited to give lectures in other societies on various topics. The contents of the meetings were various, from reading fiction, discussing current problems of the population, emancipation of women, health topics, to singing and music playing on Sundays. Meaning, they covered all areas of social life except political debates.

The competencies of the Boards and subcommittees of the Cultural Leagues, as well as the obligation to submit work reports, were defined by the Statute of the Cultural League, which was created in 1909, one year after their establishment. The work of the Cultural Leagues was managed by the Management of the Central Board through the boards in the counties and districts with which they maintained contacts by sending instructions and programs for initial work, and assisting each newly opened library, among other things, by contacting various institutions and individuals for granting the books free of charge. Reports on the work record donors, state institutions: *Srpska kraljevska akademija nauka* (Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences), *Uprava društva Svetog Save* (Administration of the Society of St. Sava), *Matica srpska*, *Profesorski savet Bogoslovije iz Beograda* (Professorial Council of the Theological Seminary from Belgrade), *Srpski književni glasnik* (Serbian Literary Herald), *Ministarstvo prosvete* (Ministry of Education), which have by helping the League weaved themselves into the cultural-historical rebirth of the nation. The district boards were obliged to submit the work program for the next year to the Central Board. According to the reports submitted by the presidents of the village committees, which included exhaustive and precise data on all activities, the Cultural League movement achieved its greatest success in the first three years of its existence (1908–1911) when it had a strong impetus for establishing libraries, reading rooms for the people, village libraries,

зградама, затим попуњавање њихових фондова чију основу су чиниле књиге добијене поклоном Управе Културне лиге из Београда, поклони институција или појединаца. Под њеним покровитељством биле су и трговачке школе, месна позоришта, певачка друштва, амбуланте и др. Такође су документовали велику заинтересованост становништва за читање, што је био важан моменат за подизање националне свести. Извештаји послати Министарству просвете и црквених послова бележе информацију да је током првих неколико година од почетка формирања и деловања Културних лига било основано 200 библиотека у Србији, од којих је 150 било у селским срединама.

По историјским подацима, почетак рада и деловања Културне лиге на овим просторима најпре је започео у Моравском округу, организовањем образовних одбора, па је тако крајем јула 1909. године најпре настао у Свилајнцу. За председника Одбора је био изабран образован и угледан човек заједнице, писац, политичар и министар просвете у Краљевини Србији, Лука Лазаревић,³ који је у то време обављао функцију директора ондашње приватне гимназије. Чињеница да је Свилајнац имао Читаоницу омладине ресавске,⁴ која је касније прерасла у Библиотеку, била је за “лигаше” олакшавајућа околност, јер су учени људи тог краја “имали слуха” за сарадњу, а то је био важан почетни импулс, помоћ и подстрек за даљи развој.

Лига за кратко време бележи велики замах и омасовљавање, по устаљеном протоколу, формирањем месних и среских одбора, настављајући свој просветитељски пут и у осталим срезевима у земљи реализујући значајан број васпитно-образовних активности. Образовни одбори су, свако у свом месту, уз првобитну идеју, описмењавање становништва, поспешили рад постојећих и оснивање нових друштава и удружења. Дobar одзив у народу су имале новоформиране певачке, стрељачке, као и позоришне дружине, гимнастичка друштва, затим разни курсеви за домаћице, отварање школа за неписмене девојке и др. У његовој надлежности су такође били: хигијена, сузбијање пијанства и неморала, оснивање

various societies. The presidents, each from their environment, sent a report to the Main Board of the League, statistical data on the number of users in the library, the number of books and journals, records on gifts for the library and its donors, interests and tastes of readers, etc. The common “denominator” in all reports was: the beginning of the work of reading rooms, the establishment of libraries, some of which were located in gymnasium buildings in urban areas, then the collection building based on books obtained as a gift from the Belgrade Cultural League, gifts of institutions or individuals. Under its patronage were also trade schools, local theaters, singing societies, dispensaries, etc. They also documented the great interest of the population in reading, which was an important moment for raising national awareness. Reports sent to the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs record information that during the first few years since the creation and operation of the Cultural Leagues, 200 libraries were established in Serbia, of which 150 were in rural areas.

According to historical data, the beginning of the work and activities of the Cultural League in this area first began in the Moravian district, by organizing educational boards, and so, at the end of July 1909, first was established in Svilajnac. An educated and respectable man of the community, writer, politician and Minister of Education in the Kingdom of Serbia, Luka Lazarević, was elected chairman of the board,³ who at that time was the director of the then private high gymnasium. The fact that Svilajnac had *Čitaonica omladine resavske*⁴ (Reading room of the Youth of Resava), which later evolved into the Library, was a mitigating circumstance for the “league people”, because the educated people of that area “had an understanding” for cooperation, and that was an important initial impulse, help and encouragement for further development.

In a short time, the League recorded a great momentum and popularization, according to the established protocol, with the establishing of local and district boards, continuing its educational path in other districts in the country, realizing a significant number of educational activities. The education boards, each in its own place, with the original idea, literacy of the

³ Лука Лазаревић (1857–1936) министар просвете и црквених дела у првој и другој влади Димитрија Цинцар-Марковића

⁴ Ресавска библиотека је основана 23. августа у Свилајнцу, као Читаоница омладине ресавске. Променила је име 1905. године у Библиотека омладине ресавске, а 1931. године добила свој данашњи назив – Ресавска библиотека.

³ Luka Lazarević (1857–1936) Minister of Education and Church Affairs in the First and Second Government of Dimitrij Cincar-Marковић

⁴ *Resavska biblioteka* (Resava Library) was founded on August 23 in Svilajnac, as *Čitaonica omladine resavske* (Reading Room of the Resava Youth). In 1905, it changed its name to *Biblioteka omladine resavske* (Youth Library of Resava), and in 1931 it got its current name – *Resavska biblioteka* (Resava Library).

фондова за потребе финансијске помоћи, као и остала друштвена питања корисна за заједницу. У ширењу покрета Културне лиге по окрузима и срезовима у земљи велику улогу је одиграла Главна управа Београдске лиге, која је изузетним напорима и ангажовањем, препознајући кључни моменат културно-образовног процеса нације, настојала да новоформираним библиотекама као почетни фонд пошље изванредан број књига. У селима се, иницијативом Лига, формирају школе у које се допремају књиге послате из Управе Културне лиге. Одабрани образовани чланови Лиге су, свако у свом срезу, просветитељску мисију обављали подучавајући неписмено сеоско становништво. Бележе се и бројне активности, које су се у виду предавања, отварања школа, вечерњих школа за неписмене младиће такође одвијале у сеоским срединама, те се талас покрета Културна лига ширио великом брзином, срез по срез (белички, ресавски, деспотовачки...), место по место (Свилајнац, Јагодина, Ћуприја, Крушевац, Врање...), као и у мањим местима и селима, захватајући све крајеве земље.

Развојни пут био је веома тежак. Уз скромна финансијска средства, локали књижница добијали су се бесплатно, у неким већ постојећим државним зградама. Чест пример је био да су књижничари радили без икакве надокнаде. Учени и виђенији људи, универзитетски професори, судије, лекари, учитељи, адвокати, директори школа и гимназија постали су челни људи лига свако у свом крају и својим ауторитетом и ангажованошћу знатно допринели њиховом развоју. Међу бројним интелектуалцима, запажену улогу на тадашњој културној сцени Србије у време настанка и развоја лига имао је и Јован Н. Томић,⁵ који је обављао улогу библиотекара у Крушевачкој библиотеци. Током свог стручног усавршавања једно време је живео у Француској и Италији од 1894. до 1896. године, студирајући библиотекарство, те су његова међународна искуства била добродошла где год је био радно ангажован, па је у његовој радној биографији забележено да је у периоду од 1903. до 1927. био и директор Народне библиотеке Србије.

Пратећи историјске токове библиотекарства на овим просторима, Владимир Ћоровић⁶ се пи-

population, encouraged the work of existing and the establishment of new societies and associations. A good response among the people had newly formed singing, firing, as well as theater companies, gymnastics societies, then various courses for housewives, opening of schools for illiterate girls, etc. In its responsibilities were also included: hygiene, inhibition of drunkenness and immorality, establishing funds for financial assistance, as well as other social issues useful to the community.

In the expansion of the Cultural League movement in the districts and counties in the country, a great role was played by the General administration of the Belgrade League, which, with exceptional efforts and engagement, recognizing the key moment of the cultural and educational process of the nation, tried to send a number of books to the newly formed libraries as a starting fund. In the villages, at the initiative of the League, schools are being formed to which books sent from the Cultural League Administration are delivered. Selected educated members of the League, each in their own district, performed an educational mission by teaching the illiterate rural population. Numerous activities are also recorded, which in the form of lectures, opening of schools, evening schools for illiterate young men also took place in rural areas, and the wave of the Cultural League movement spreaded with great speed, district by district (Belički, Resavski, Despotovački...), place by place (Svilajnac, Jagodina, Čuprija, Kruševac, Vranje...) as well as smaller places and villages, covering all parts of the country.

The development path was very difficult. With modest financial resources, library premises were provided free of charge, in some already existing state buildings. A common example was that librarians worked without any compensation. Scholars and prominent people, university professors, judges, doctors, teachers, lawyers, school and gymnasium principals have become the leading people of the Leagues, each in its own region, and with their authority and commitment have significantly contributed to their development. Among numerous intellectuals, a notable role on then cultural scene of Serbia, at the time of the formation and development of the League, had Jovan N. Tomić,⁵ who performed the role of librarian in the Kruševac library. During his professional training, he lived for

⁵ Јован Томић (Нова Варош, 9. мај 1869. – Београд, 22. јул 1932) српски историчар, академик и бивши директор Народне библиотеке Србије од 1903. до 1927.

⁶ Др Владимир Ћоровић (Мостар, 27. октобар 1885. – Еласона, 12. април 1941) српски историчар и редовни члан Српске краљевске академије

⁵ Jovan Tomić (Nova Varoš, May 9, 1869 – Belgrade, July 22, 1932) was a Serbian historian, academician and former director of the National Library of Serbia from 1903 to 1927.

шући “О градским књижицама у Србији” осврнуо на значајан допринос Лига. По његовим речима: “Културна лига, основана у крилу Универзитета, има обилан задатак ширења целокупне културе у најдубље слојеве, и према том задатку, оснива књижнице, ствара школе, организује културна друштва, одржава по многим крајевима Србије јавна популарна предавања, и ради уопште на подизању културних односа у земљи.”

Разматрајући развојни пут библиотекарства у Србији, више примера из историје нам је потврђивало да су управо мале, скромне, личне библиотеке прерастале у читалишта, а временом и у школске и локалне библиотеке. Поред прве и најстарије Српске читаонице у Иригу (1842), која је уједно представљала и најстарије грађанско читалиште у Срба, пример вредан пажње је и формирање библиотеке Православне богословије “Светих Кирила и Методија” у Призрену (1871),⁷ која је увек била отворена и као читалиште за све који су желели да је користе. Њен почетни фонд чиниле су књиге сина Симе Андрејевића Игуманова,⁸ трговца из Призрена, који је, после смрти, целокупан библиотечки фонд даривао Библиотеци призренске богословије.

Читалишта

У настојању да се што боље сагледа историјски ток развоја културних лига на овим просторима, неопходно је најпре осврнути се на читалишта, која су настала у Војводини, а затим заживела и у осталим деловима земље. Историјски подаци говоре да су читаонице или читалишта институције које оснивају приватно удружени грађани, финансирају се од прилога, уписнине, чланарине, претплата или донација. Набавка грађе била је усредсређена на периодичне публикације. У почетку, књиге се нису набављале, већ само дневне новине и часописи, јер су они доносили актуелне информације о грађанима и приликама у којима су живели. Слободан приступ штампаној грађи, културно-просветна активност, међусобна сарадња и издавачка делатност још су неке од карактеристика деловања поменутих читаоница. Тренд оснивања читалишта започет је у Европи и Америци. Иако су имали различите називе: чи-

a one period in France and Italy from 1894 to 1896, studying librarianship, and his international experiences were welcomed wherever he was employed, so in his work biography it is noted that in the period from 1903 until 1927, he was also the director of the National Library of Serbia.

Following the historical trends of librarianship in this area, Vladimir Ćorović⁶ by writing “O gradskim knjižnicama u Srbiji” (About city libraries in Serbia) reflected on the significant contribution of the League. According to him: “The Cultural League, founded within the University, has a rich task of spreading the entire culture to the deepest levels, and according to that task, it establishes libraries, creates schools, organizes cultural societies, holds popular public lectures in many parts of Serbia, and works in general on raising cultural relations in the country.”

Considering the development path of librarianship in Serbia, several examples from history confirmed to us that small, modest, personal libraries have grown into reading rooms, and over time into school and local libraries. In addition to the first and oldest Serbian reading room in Irig (1842), which was also the oldest civic reading room among Serbs, noteworthy example is the establishing of the library of Pravoslavna bogoslovija “Svetih Kirila i Metodija” (Orthodox Theological Seminary of Holy Cyril and Methodius) in Prizren (1871),⁷ which was always open as a reading room for all who wanted to use it. Its initial fund consisted of books by the son Simo Andrejević Igumanov,⁸ a merchant from Prizren, who, after his death, donated the entire library fund to the Library of the Prizren Theological Seminary.

Reading rooms

In an effort to better understand the historical course of development of Cultural Leagues in this area, it is necessary to first look at the reading rooms, which originated in Vojvodina, and then came to life in other parts of the country. Historical data show that reading rooms are institutions founded by privately associated citizens, financed by contributions,

⁶ Dr. Vladimir Ćorović (Mostar, October 27, 1885 – Ellassona, April 12, 1941) Serbian historian and full member of the Serbian Royal Academy.

⁷ Prizren Theological Seminary – The Theological Seminary of Holy Cyril and Methodius is the endowment of Sima Andrejević Igumanov. It started working in 1871 and was initially called the Theological-Teachers School, intended for Serbian teachers and priests from Old Serbia.

⁸ Sima Andrejević-Igumanov (Prizren, January 30, 1804 – Prizren, February 24, 1882) was a Serbian merchant, humanist and church-educational benefactor. He was one of the first donors of endowments in the field of schooling and public education.

⁷ Призренска богословија – Богословија Светог Кирила и Методија задужбина је Симе Андрејевића Игуманова. Почела је са радом 1871. године и у почетку се звала Богословско-учитељска школа, намењена српским учитељима и свештеницима из Старе Србије.

⁸ Симе Андрејевић-Игуманов (Призрен, 30. јануар 1804. – Призрен, 24. фебруар 1882) српски трговац, хуманиста и црквено-просветни добротвор. Био је један од првих задужбинара у области школства и народне просвете.

талачки салони, касине, литерални клубови или књижевна друштва, циљеви и задаци су били исти: задовољавање потреба за читањем, знањем и информацијама. “Могли су да читају новине, часописе и друге публикације набављене према сопственим потребама, да се информишу, да се образују на курсевима организованим за чланове, да се друже и међусобно обавештавају о питањима важним за њихов рад и послове и да се забављају.” (Стаматовић 2011, 260)

Према расположивим подацима, а позивајући се на истраживачке радове Десанке Стаматовић и Карле Селихар, читалишта у Војводини се оснивају нешто раније него у другим деловима Србије. “У првом периоду (1842–1849), основано је пет читаоница на територији тадашње Војводине: у Иригу (1842), Сомбору (1845), Кикинди (1845), Новом Саду (1845), Мокрину (1847) и Шиду (1849). Делатност ових читаоница прекинула је мађарска револуција 1848/49. године, након чега је наступио период стагнације на целокупној територији Аустроугарске монархије, за време Баховог апсолутизма и гушења свих грађанских и националних слобода.” (Селихар 2017, 28) Од 1846. године оснивају се читаонице у Београду, Крагујевцу, Смедереву, Ужицу, Неготину, Шапцу, Пожаревцу... Године 1879. почињу са радом и у Нишу, Врању и Лесковцу. На територији Војводине користи се назив читаоница, а у Србији је назив читалиште коришћен до 1867. године, када је и Београдско читалиште⁹ променило назив у Београдска читаоница.

У жељи да се српска духовност очува под туђинском влашћу, у периоду XIX века проналажени су разни начини да књиге и часописи буду доступни што већем броју људи и да буду читани. Одржање националног идентитета изнедрило је читалишта која нису била само места за необавезна дружења већ и места за чување националног блага. Поменућемо и најстарију читаоницу у Војводини, Српску читаоницу у Иригу, коју су основали иришки Срби 1842. године. Њен циљ је био да, поред књига на страним језицима, купује и сваку српску књигу или новине које се појаве, нарочито књиге које је издавала Матица српска, како би се помогла српска књижевност. Постоји само један документ који потврђује да је Иришка библиотека и читаоница најстарија установа ове врсте Срба у Војводини. Реч је о

registration fees, membership fees, subscriptions or donations. Acquisition of materials was focused on periodical publications. In the beginning, books were not acquisitioned, but only daily newspapers and journals have been, because they brought up-to-date information about citizens and the conditions they lived in. Free access to printed materials, cultural and educational activity, mutual cooperation and publishing activity are some of the characteristics of the mentioned reading rooms. The trend of establishing reading rooms has started in Europe and America. Although they had different names: reading saloons, casinos, literal clubs or literary societies, the goals and tasks were the same: meeting the needs for reading, knowledge and information. “They could read newspapers, journals and other publications acquisitioned according to their own needs, to get information, to get education in courses organized for members, to socialize and inform each other about issues important to their work and affairs, and to have fun.” (Stamatović 2011, 260)

According to the available data, and referring to the research works of Desanka Stamatović and Karla Selihar, reading rooms in Vojvodina were established somewhat earlier than in other parts of Serbia. “In the first period (1842–1849), five reading rooms were established on the territory of the then Vojvodina: in Irig (1842), Sombor (1845), Kikinda (1845), Novi Sad (1845), Mokrin (1847) and Šid (1849). The activity of these reading rooms was interrupted by the Hungarian revolution in 1848/49, after which there was a period of stagnation in the entire territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, during Bach’s absolutism and the suppression of all civil and national freedoms.” (Selihar 2017, 28) Since 1846, reading rooms have been established in Belgrade, Kragujevac, Smederevo, Užice, Negotin, Šabac, Požarevac... In 1879, they started working in Niš, Vranje and Leskovac. In the territory of Vojvodina, term *čitaonica* (reading room) is used, and in Serbia, term *čitalište* (reading room) was used until 1867, when *Beogradsko čitalište*⁹ (Belgrade Reading Room) also changed its name to *Beogradska čitaonica* (Belgrade Reading Room).

In the desire to preserve Serbian spirituality under foreign rule, in the period of the 19th century, various ways were found to make books and journals accessible to as many people as possible and to be

⁹ Читалиште београдско, Београдско читалиште, по оснивању названо “Српско читалиште у Београду” основано је 2. јануара 1846. и било је прва јавна читаоница и једна од најстаријих установа у Србији.

⁹ *Čitalište beogradsko, Beogradsko čitalište* (Belgrade Reading Room), upon establishment called *Srpsko čitalište u Beogradu* (Serbian Reading Room in Belgrade) was founded on January 2, 1846 and was the first public reading room and one of the oldest institutions in Serbia.

књизи Доситеја Обрадовића “Писма”, са малом посветом и драгоценим датумом 20. фебруар 1842. година. У њему, као и у свим другим читалиштима, одржавана су предавања, забаве, балови, позоришне представе... Нажалост, судбина овог читалишта као и многих других у земљи била је иста. Зграда је за време Другог светског рата уништена, а заједно са њом и целокупан библиотечки фонд. Али, после рата је обновљена и наставила је са својим активностима, да би изнедрила данас модерну библиотеку, Српску читаоницу у Иригу (Dotcom 2017).

Оснивање Српске читаонице у Новом Саду 1845. године омогућено је прикупљањем добровољних прилога на баловима (Којић 1996). Читаоницу схватају као бедем одбране свог језика, народности и свог идентитета. У њој желе да читају српске књиге и новине, и она постаје средиште културног живота Срба у Војводини. У крилу Српске читаонице основано је и Српско народно позориште, прво Српско певачко друштво (Читаоничко певачко друштво), Новосадско српско коло, Девојачко и омладинско коло... По избијању Првог светског рата, Аустроугарска уништава бројна архивска документа, чиме је учињена ненадокнадива штета по културну историју наших крајева. Ипак, и поред неповољних околности, на територији северно од Саве и Дунава настављен је просветни и живот културних установа. Крајем ратних сукоба обновљен је, у Краљевини Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца, рад библиотека и музеја. Једна од институција чији је траг у времену могуће пратити је Српска читаоница у Новом Саду. Данашњи истраживачи културних збивања бележе чињенице (верификоване архивалијама из Архива Војводине и Историјског архива града Новог Сада) да је на темељима Српске читаонице у Новом Саду настала једна од највећих јавних библиотека у Србији, Градска библиотека у Новом Саду.

И данас, у 21. веку и времену доминације дигиталних технологија, у Србији постоје удружења која се не одричу културне мисије. Једно од њих је и удружење “Адлигат”¹⁰ из Београда, које је настало из приватне библиотеке (1882) Михаила Лазића, православног свештеника, у чијем дому су боравили љубитељи писане речи, те су његова лична библиотека и амбијент служили као читалиште.

The maintenance of national identity created reading rooms that were not only places for casual socializing but also places for preserving national treasures. We will also mention the oldest reading room in Vojvodina, the Serbian reading room in Irig, which was founded by Irig's Serbs in 1842. Its goal was to buy, in addition to books in foreign languages, every Serbian book or newspaper that appeared, especially books published by *Matica srpska*, in order to help Serbian literature. There is only one document that confirms that *Iriška biblioteka i čitaonica* (Irig's Library and Reading Room) is the oldest institution of this type of Serbs in Vojvodina. It is the book of Dositej Obradović “Pisma” (Letters), with a small dedication and a precious date of February 20, 1842. In it, as in all other reading rooms, lectures, parties, balls, theater performances were held... Unfortunately, the fate of this reading room as well as many others in the country was the same. The building was destroyed during the Second World War, and together with it, the entire library fund. But, after the war, it was renovated and continued with its activities, in order to create a modern library today, *Srpska čitaonica* (Serbian Reading Room) in Irig. (Dotcom 2017)

The establishment of *Srpska čitaonica* (Serbian Reading Room) in Novi Sad in 1845 was made possible by collecting voluntary contributions at dances (Kojić 1996). They understand the reading room as a rampart for the defense of their language, nationality and identity. They want to read Serbian books and newspapers in it, and it becomes the center of the cultural life of Serbs in Vojvodina. Within the *Srpska čitaonica* (Serbian Reading Room) were also founded *Srpsko narodno pozorište* (Serbian National Theater), first *Srpsko pevačko društvo* (*Čitaoničko pevačko društvo*) (Serbian Singing Society (Reading Singing Society)), *Novosadsko srpsko kolo* (Serbian Circle of Novi Sad), *Devojačko i omladinsko kolo* (Girls' and Youth Circle)... After the outbreak of the First World War, Austria-Hungary destroyed numerous archival documents, which caused irreparable damage to the cultural history of our region.

However, despite the unfavorable circumstances, in the territory north of the Sava and the Danube, the educational and cultural life of the cultural institutions continued. At the end of the war, the work of libraries and museums in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was renewed. One of the institutions whose trace in time can be followed is *Srpska čitaonica* (Serbian Reading Room) in Novi Sad. Today's researchers of cultural events note the facts (verified by archives from the Archives of

¹⁰ Удружење “Адлигат” је невладино, непрофитно удружење грађана, са седиштем у Београду, које се бави унапређењем српске културе, уметности и међународне сарадње.

Закључак

Настале у бурним временима, у турбулентним друштвено-политичким приликама, Културне лиге су резултат залагања и деловања српске културне елите, првенствено универзитетских професора из Београда, који су, сагледавајући неопходност просвећивања и описмењавања српског народа, како у градовима, тако и у сеоским срединама, своју улогу јачања националне свести озбиљно схватили. Имајући на уму важност учешћа у том процесу, своју мисију су реализовали кроз низ програма и активности, у циљу образовања и културног препорода народа на овим просторима. У времену пред Први светски рат, у прве две деценије 20. века, Културне лиге су организационим капацитетима и осмишљеним друштвеним акцијама утицале на културну политику у Краљевини Србији. Организација Културне лиге у многим нашим местима знатно је утицала и на развој библиотечно-информационе делатности у нашој држави. Културна лига је била не само претеча, него и снажан замајац оснивању и почетним корацима јавних библиотека у Краљевини и Републици Србији.

Vojvodina and the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad) that one of the largest public libraries in Serbia, *Gradska biblioteka* (City Library) in Novi Sad, was established on the foundations of *Srpska čitaonica* (Serbian Reading Room) in Novi Sad.

Even today, in the 21st century and the time of domination of digital technologies, there are associations in Serbia that don't renounce on cultural mission. One of them is the association "Adligat"¹⁰ from Belgrade, which originated from the private library (1882) of Mihailo Lazić, Orthodox priest, in whose home the fans of the written word stayed, and his personal library and ambiance served as a reading room.

Conclusion

Created in rough times, in turbulent socio-political circumstances, Cultural Leagues are the result of the efforts and actions of the Serbian cultural elite, primarily university professors from Belgrade, who have, considering the need to educate the Serbian people, both in cities and in rural areas, their role in strengthening national consciousness, took seriously. Bearing in mind the importance of participation in this process, they realized their mission through a series of programs and activities, in order of education and cultural revive of the people in this area. In the time before the First World War, in the first two decades of the 20th century, the Cultural Leagues, with their organizational capacities and designed social actions, have influenced the cultural policy in the Kingdom of Serbia. The organization of the Cultural League in many of our places has significantly influenced the development of library and information activities in our country. The Cultural League was not only a predecessor, but also a strong impetus for the establishment and initial steps of public libraries in the Kingdom and in the Republic of Serbia.

¹⁰ Association "Adligat" is a non-governmental, non-profit Association of Citizens, based in Belgrade, which deals with the promotion of Serbian culture, art and international cooperation

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Peer Review Under the Ethical Lens: Possible Questions

Stručna recenzija pod etičkim povećalom: moguća pitanja

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Abstract / Sažetak

The pressure to publish and get cited along with the extensive use of citation metrics in individual career promotion, research funding and university ranking have radically changed the research ecosystem during the last few decades, favoring the rise of predatory journals. This phenomenon has shaken the very backbone of the system, represented by the peer review process. The present article builds up upon the recommendation for reviewers, including the ethical ones, and articles expressing some concerns related to the peer review in order not to answer, but merely ask several questions that could serve as the start point for a reform of the system. Overall, the role of peer review is not at stake, but its intricate mechanisms need to adapt to the challenges of the new environment.

Pritisak da se rad objavi i citira zajedno s velikom upotrebom citatskih metrika u individualnoj promociji karijere, financiranju istraživanja i rangiranju univerziteta radikalno su promijenili istraživački ekosistem tijekom posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, pogodujući porastu grabežljivih časopisa. Ovaj fenomen je uzdrmao samu okosnicu sistema, predstavljenog postupkom stručne recenzije. Ovaj se članak temelji na preporuci za recenzente, uključujući etiku, te članci izražavaju zabrinutost koja se odnosi na recenziju, ne kako bi dali odgovor, već postavljajući samo nekoliko pitanja koja bi mogla poslužiti kao polazište za reformu sistema. Sveukupno, uloga stručne provjere nije na kocki, ali njeni zamršeni mehanizmi moraju se prilagoditi izazovima novog okruženja.

Introduction

From a global perspective, peer review is not new. The first journal using it to evaluate articles before their publication was “Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society”, published its first issue in 1665 (Lovejoy et al. 2011; Dizdar 2019). It would seem that 355 years were sufficient for the peer review to perfect its mechanisms sufficiently for eliminating all possible problems. Nevertheless, the recent pressure to “publish or perish” (Memon 2018), correlated with the transformation of research into a business (Corlan 2005) and consequent growth of open access publications (Beall 2013; Dizdar 2019) have resulted into the emergence and proliferation of predatory journals (Petrișor 2016; 2018). The efforts for discerning them from the legitimate journals, and experiments such as Bohannon’s “trap” (2013), showing that even legitimate journals might be unable to control the scientific quality using the peer review, have risen concerns, calling for re-asking a question repeated over more than a decade at least directly by the title of an article (Mulligan

Uvod

Iz globalne perspektive, stručno recenziranje nije novina. Prvi časopis koji ga je koristio za ocjenjivanje članaka prije njihova objavljivanja bio je časopis *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, objavom svog prvog broja 1665. godine (Lovejoy et al. 2011; Dizdar 2019). Čini se da je 355 godina bilo dovoljno stručnom recenziranju za usavršavanje mehanizama za uklanjanje svih mogućih problema. I pored toga, nedavni pritisak “objaviti ili propasti” (Memon 2018), povezan s transformacijom istraživanja u biznis (Corlan 2005) i posljedični rast publikacija s otvorenim pristupom (Beall 2013; Dizdar 2019), rezultirali su pojavom i širenjem grabežljivih časopisa (Petrișor 2016, 2018). Napori da ih se razazna od legitimnih časopisa te eksperimenti poput Bohannonove “zamke” (2013), pokazuju da čak i legitimni časopisi možda neće moći kontrolirati naučnu kvalitetu pomoću stručnog recenziranja, što je izazvalo zabrinutost, pozivajući na ponovno postavljanje pitanja koje je ponavljano više od desetljeća, barem izravno s naslovom članka (Mulli-

2005) or a section of an article (Baldwin 2017) and indirectly by others (Kangas and Hujala 2015), i.e., *Is peer review in crisis?*

Moreover, if journals and worldwide publishers with a long experience in using peer review might have only a need for fine tuning the process in order to eliminate the concerns, emerging journals, especially from countries without a tradition in peer reviewed publishing, might be puzzled, since the models that they are copying have proven their shortcomings; if the money issue comes into place, examples like "Metalurgia International" (Djuric 2015) suggest the need for a careful examination of peer reviewing, since, guarding the proportions, even legitimate journals might adopt predatory practices, such as poor quality control (Cobey et al. 2018), if running short of funding (Habibzadeh and Simundic 2017). Kim (2018) and Pomponi et al. (2019) cite examples of rejected papers that turned even into Nobel prizes, while Risness (2018) mentions examples of variable reviewer reports, resulting into rejected articles that should have been published and published manuscripts that should have been rejected.

In addition to these, the increasing number of journals (Mabe 2003), especially in the developing countries (Holmgren and Schnitzer 2004) has resulted into the recruitment of reviewers becoming harder (Fox et al. 2017). At the same time, the trends suggest that the global scientific output doubles every nine years (Bornmann and Mutz 2015). When looking at the "top reviewers", Pomponi et al. (2019) found out, according to the official statistics, that they produce reviews at a very high speed, with very little time (and probably attention) given to the process. These trends give a new course to the editor – reviewer – author nexus especially with established journals, which do not lack submissions. In the journal equation, loosing a reviewer, especially a good one, becomes less desirable than loosing an author. In simpler words, *reviewers do matter* (Kim 2018).

An essential question, standing as a key for understanding the article, is the very essence of peer review. While there are numerous definitions (e.g., Mulligan 2005; Björk 2018, in addition to those provided by publishers like Elsevier, Springer, Taylor & Francis or Wiley), they all say the same as the words; peer review is the *process* of *reviewing* (or refereeing) an article by *peers*, i.e. scientists with expertise in the area of the article. The analysis of the definition shows that there are at least two roles: (1) "filtering" which articles are published from all

gan 2005) ili dijelom članka (Baldwin 2017), a neizravno od drugih (Kangas i Hujala 2015), tj. *Da li je recenziranje u krizi?*

Štoviše, ako bi časopisi i svjetski izdavači s dugogodišnjim iskustvom u korištenju stručnog recenziranja mogli imati potrebu samo za dotjerivanjem postupka kako bi se uklonila zabrinutost, novi časopisi, posebno iz zemalja bez tradicije stručno recenziranog objavljivanja, mogu biti zbunjeni, budući da su modeli koje kopiraju dokazali svoje nedostatke; ako dođe do problema s novcem, primjeri poput "Metalurgia International" (Djuric 2015) sugeriraju potrebu za pažljivim ispitivanjem stručnog recenziranja, jer bi, čuvajući razmjere, čak i legitimni časopisi mogli usvojiti grabežljivu praksu, poput loše kontrole kvalitete (Cobey et al. 2018) ako nema dovoljno sredstava (Habibzadeh i Simundic 2017). Kim (2018) i Pomponi et al. (2019) navode primjere odbijenih radova koji su se pretvorili čak i u Nobelove nagrade, dok Risness (2018) spominje primjere promjenjivih izvještaja recenzenata, što rezultira odbijenim člancima koji su trebali biti objavljeni i objavljenim rukopisima koje je trebalo odbiti.

Osim ovoga, uvećani broj časopisa (Mabe 2003), posebno u zemljama u razvoju (Holmgren i Schnitzer 2004), rezultirao je time da je angažiranje recenzenata postalo teže (Fox et al. 2017). U isto vrijeme, trendovi sugeriraju da se svjetska naučna proizvodnja udvostručuje svakih devet godina (Bornmann and Mutz 2015). Kada gledamo "najbolje recenzente", Pomponi et al. (2019) su otkrili prema službenoj statistici, da proizvode recenzije veoma velikom brzinom u malo vremena (i vjerovatno pažnje) u procesu. Ovi trendovi daju novi smjer vezi urednik – recenzent – autor posebno s afirmiranim časopisima kojima ne nedostaje prijavljenih radova. U računici časopisa, gubitak recenzenta, pogotovo dobrog recenzenta, postaje manje poželjan od gubitka autora. Jednostavnijim rječnikom: *recenzenti jesu važni* (Kim 2018).

Ključno pitanje koje stoji kao ključ za razumijevanje članka jest sama suština stručne recenzije. Iako postoje brojne definicije (npr. Mulligan 2005; Björk 2018, uz one koje pružaju izdavači poput Elseviera, Springer, Taylora i Francisa ili Wileyja), svi govore isto: stručna recenzija je postupak pregleda (ili prosuđivanja) članka od strane kolega, tj. naučnika sa stručnošću u području članka. Analiza definicije pokazuje da postoje bar dvije uloge: (1) "filtriranje" koji su članci od svih prijavljenih objavljeni i (2) poboljšanje kvaliteta prijavljenih članaka. Dvije su

those submitted, and (2) improving the quality of submitted articles. The two functions are somehow combined, because in most cases the peer review process includes an initial selection, and only the accepted articles are improved; those not meeting the quality standards are rejected from the very beginning, or whenever it is considered that the authors did not cooperate sufficiently to increase the quality of their submissions.

Starting from this background, this article builds on the premise that during the 355 years peer review passed through three stages, used as a magnifying glass for examining the process from an ethical perspective. These stages are somehow reiterated by each emerging journal during the process of establishing its presence and finding its niche. In a nutshell, the three stages are: (1) a “technical” assessment of the quality of the articles only, (2) a “technical” assessment of the quality of the entire research process behind what can be read in the article, and (3) an assessment of the potential impact of the article. In more details, although the first steps might be joined, and for an already established journal the assessment is done at once, with the first step resulting into “minor revisions” and the second in “major” ones, for the purpose of this analysis they are seen as distinct stages of the growth of journals. The third stage is characteristic to journals that are already established, have stable editorial teams, well established mechanisms of control, and a large pool of articles for selection.

The aim of the article is to challenge some reflections on the very essence of the peer review process, looking at several examples selected from the recommendations for reviewers from several major publishers, and articles that have raised concerns about the peer review in general, or on particular shortcomings or cases.

Core issues of the peer review process

The peer review process has witnessed many attempts to improve its quality; while initially the peer review was a pre-publication step, nowadays post-publication review is also possible. The variations – including the “blindness” types, presence of several stages (initial screening and multiple review rounds) did not change the essence mentioned in the previous section. However, the essential questions are still addressing the three core words: process, review, and peer.

1. Peer review is a process. While in general peer review is a process, its variations can challenge this

funkcije na neki način kombinovane, zato što u većini slučajeva postupak stručne recenzije uključuje početnu selekciju, a poboljšani su samo prihvaćeni članci; oni koji ne ispunjavaju standarde kvalitete, odbijaju se na samom početku ili bilo kada, kada se smatra da autori nisu sarađivali dovoljno da bi povećali kvalitetu svojih prijavljenih članaka.

Polazeći od ove postavke, ovaj se članak temelji na pretpostavci da je tokom 355 godina recenzija prošla kroz tri faze i korištena kao povećalo za ispitivanje procesa iz etičke perspektive.

Ove se faze ponavljaju na neki način sa svakim nastankom časopisa u procesu utvrđivanja svoje prisutnosti i pronalaska svoje biti. Ukratko, tri faze su: (1) “tehnička” ocjena kvalitete samo članaka, (2) “tehnička” procjena kvalitete cjelokupnog istraživačkog procesa iza onoga što se može pročitati u članku i (3) procjena potencijalnog utjecaja članka. Detaljnije, iako se prvi koraci mogu spojiti, a za već afirmirani časopis procjena se odmah radi, s prvim korakom koji je rezultirao “manjim izmjenama” i sa drugim, “velikim”, za potrebe ove analize posmatraju se kao zasebne faze razvoja časopisa. Treća faza je karakteristična za već afirmirane časopise koji imaju postojeće uredničke timove, dobro uspostavljene mehanizme kontrole i veliki broj članaka za odabir.

Cilj članka je izazvati neka razmišljanja o samoj biti postupka stručne recenzije, gledajući nekoliko izabranih primjera iz preporuka za recenzente nekoliko glavnih izdavača i članaka koji su uzrokovali zabrinutost za stručno recenziranje općenito, ili o određenim nedostacima ili slučajevima.

Ključna pitanja procesa stručne recenzije

Proces stručne recenzije svjedočio je mnoge pokušaje poboljšanja svoje kvalitete; dok je u početku stručna recenzija bila korak prije objavljivanja, sada je također moguće recenziranje poslije objave. Varijacije – uključujući “slijepe” vrste, prisutnost nekoliko faza (početna provjera i više krugova recenziranja) nisu promijenile bit spomenutu u prethodnom dijelu. Međutim, ključna pitanja se još uvijek bave trima ključnim riječima: proces, pregled i kolege.

1. Stručno recenziranje je proces. Iako je generalno stručna recenzija postupak, njene varijacije mogu osporiti ovu odliku. Na primjer, ako je članak odbijen na samom početku (pogotovo ako postoji početna provjera), “proces” je sveden na jedan korak. Očito, za časopise s visokom stopom odbijanja ovo je “obaveza” jer recenzenti rade besplatno. Ne bi

feature. For example, if an article is rejected from the very beginning (especially if there is an initial screening), the “process” is resumed to a single step. Obviously, for journals with a high rejection rate this is a “must”, since reviewers act free of charge. It would not make sense to consume the time and efforts of the reviewers to make a decision which can be easily foreseen. However, this very simple judgment has many consequences. In the age of political correctness, Springer (2019) reserves *the right to edit a report in order to remove offensive language*, and Wiley (2019a) recommends Editors to *not use insulting, hostile, or defamatory language*; obviously, the editors are doing the same. For this reason, general issues, such as the article not fitting to the aims and scope of the journal; non-compliance with the editing guidelines; incomprehensible/poor language are provided by most journals, and the lack of research depth or novelty by the top ones. For the authors at the beginning of their career or from countries unfamiliar with the process, such arguments are not helpful. Moreover, it is very likely that the rejection due to language reasons favored the predatory journals (Soler and Cooper 2019), and even their transformation of predatory publishers into proofreading services (Petrișor 2017).

At the same time, the assessment of the revised manuscript by a reviewer asks for the decision whether to consider it as a new article, assess whether the initial comments were properly and fully addressed, or a combination of the two (Lovejoy et al. 2011). The possible answer may change the object of evaluation (the article, the entire research, or their impact). Furthermore, the Academy of Management (2020) expresses a clear warning: *Revised and accepted papers should always reflect the author's voice, as opposed to that of the reviewer or action editor*. Similarly, Lovejoy et al. (2011) found that young reviewers tend to recommend redoing the study their way with respect to the study design and methodology. This is, by far, a major concern exploited by those who oppose the peer review system.

2. Who are the “peers”? The Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) Council Guidelines (2019) require reviewers to *have the necessary expertise to assess the manuscript and can be unbiased* in their assessment. However, science has expanded so much, and new areas emerge frequently. Furthermore, there is an increasing need for interdisciplinary research. As a result, finding the perfect peers is very rare. A long time is required for the editors simply knowing the reviewers, including their decision. A relatively new initiative, Publons,

imalo smisla trošiti vrijeme i napore recenzenata da donesu odluku koja se lako može predvidjeti. Međutim, ova vrlo jednostavna odluka ima mnogo posljedica. U doba političke korektnosti, Springer (2019) zadržava *pravo da uredi izvještaj kako bi uklonio uvredljivi govor*, a Wiley (2019a) preporučuje urednicima da *ne koriste uvredljive, neprijateljske ili klevetničke riječi*; očigledno i urednici rade isto. Zbog ovog su razloga osnovni problemi, npr. članak ne odgovara ciljevima i području časopisa; nepoštivanje smjernica za uređivanje; nerazumljivo/slabo znanje jezika, navedeni u većini časopisa, kao i nedostatak ozbiljnog istraživanja ili novina od strane najboljih. Za autore na početku karijere ili iz zemalja koje nisu upoznate s postupkom, takvi argumenti nisu od pomoći. Štoviše, vrlo je vjerojatno da je odbijanje zbog jezičnih razloga pogodovalo grabežljivim časopisima (Soler and Cooper 2019), pa čak i njihovoj transformaciji iz grabežljivih izdavača u lektorske servise (Petrișor 2017).

U isto vrijeme, procjena ispravljenog članka od strane recenzenta zahtijeva odluku da li se on sad treba smatrati novim člankom, procjenu da li su prvobitni komentari pravilno i potpuno riješeni ili su kombinacija oba (Lovejoy et al. 2011). Mogući odgovor može promijeniti predmet evaluacije (članka, cjelokupnog istraživanja ili njegovog utjecaja). Nadalje, Academy of Management (2020) izražava jasno upozorenje: *Prerađeni i prihvaćeni rad treba uvijek reflektovati autorov glas za razliku od recenzentovog ili urednikovog postupka*. Slično, Lovejoy et al. (2011) nalaze da mladi recenzenti imaju tendenciju preporučivati prepravljavanje studije na njihov način s obzirom na dizajn i metodologiju istraživanja. Ovo je daleko najveća briga koju iskorištavaju oni koji se protive sistemu stručnog recenziranja.

2. Ko su “kolege”? Smjernice Vijeća Komiteta za etiku naučnih publikacija (*The Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) Council Guidelines*) (2019) zahtijeva od recenzenata da *imaju potrebnu stručnost u procjeni rukopisa te da budu nepristrasni* u svojim ocjenama. Međutim, nauka se toliko razvila da se često pojavljuju nova područja. Nadalje, tu je i sve veća potreba za interdisciplinarnim istraživanjima. Kao rezultat, pronalazak savršenih kolega je veoma rijedak. Dugo vremena je potrebno da urednici jednostavno upoznaju recenzente, uključujući i njihove odluke. Relativno nova inicijativa, Publonsa, sada dijela Clarivate Analyticsa, veoma je korisna za ovu svrhu. Jednostavna statistika, kao što su preporuke dane za prethodne evaluacije (odbijanje vs. prihvaćanje), prosječna dužina recenziranja, vlastite metrike istraživanja itd., mogu biti korisni

now part of Clarivate Analytics, is extremely useful for the purpose. Simple statistics, such as the recommendations made for the previous evaluations (rejection vs. acceptance), average length of the review, own research metrics etc., can be useful tools for selecting potential reviewers. However, identifying the right person does not guarantee its willingness and availability for reviewing. On the other hand, Pomponi et al. (2019) questions the quality of reviews performed by the “top reviewers”, especially when a rewarding system is used. In order to avoid the potential conflicts of interests, journals were asking authors to nominate people who could act as reviewers, and more recently, those who should *not* be contacted. In the first case, authors were asked to nominate people from a different country and/or institution; however, provided the existence of multi-national universities or research organizations, and the existence of international collaborative networks, none of these conditions is able, alone, to ensure that the conflicts of interest are avoided, and journals must rely on the ethics of the authors. Occasionally, fraudulent cases were identified when authors created bogus reviewers and e-mail addresses (Greene 2015).

3. What is the meaning of “reviewing”? According to the dictionary, a *review* is a “formal assessment of something with the intention of instituting change if necessary” (Google 2019). The definition stresses out the two purposes of the peer review, but requires a good definition of “something”. While the answer seems to be obvious, i.e., a submitted article, the real nature varies, as discussed before, from assessing the article itself, the process that led to its creation (in most cases, research), and ultimately its impact.

If the article is assessed, answers to the other possible evaluations might be included; the reviewer might ask the question whether the article reflects accurately the research process, from documenting and framing correctly the research question or hypothesis to accurately describing the methods and findings, and discussing them, or questioning its impact at least up to asking whether the article can be understood by the audience of the journal where it was submitted.

When the entire research is assessed, in addition to checking if all steps are properly documented in the article, the reviewer evaluates them *qualitatively*. At this point, the analysis looks at anything that could challenge the validity of results, from the methodology to its application and interpretation of findings.

alati za izbor potencijalnih recenzenata. Međutim, indentifikovanje prave osobe ne garantira njegovu spremnost i dostupnost za recenziranje. S druge strane, Pomponi et al. (2019) propituju kvalitet recenzija koje rade “najbolji recenzenti”, pogotovo kada se koristi nagradni sistem. Kako bi se izbjegli potencijalni sukobi interesa, časopisi su pitali autore da nominiraju osobe koji bi mogli biti recenzenti, a odskora i one s kojima se ne smije kontaktirati. U prvom slučaju, autori su zamoljeni da nominiraju osobe iz različitih zemalja i/ili institucija; međutim, pod uslovom postojanja multinacionalnih univerziteta ili istraživačkih organizacija te međunarodnih mreža saradnje, niti jedan od ovih uslova sam ne može osigurati da se izbjegn timer sukobi interesa, te se časopisi moraju osloniti na etičnost autora. Povremeno su slučajevi prevara identifikovani kada su autori osmislili lažne recenzente i kreirali lažne e-mail adrese (Greene 2015).

3. Šta je smisao “recenziranja”? Prema rječniku, recenzija je *formalna ocjena nečega s intencijom uvođenja promjene ako je potrebno* (Google 2019). Definicija naglašava dvije svrhe naučne recenzije, ali zahtijeva dobru definiciju “nečega”. Dok se odgovor čini očiglednim, tj. to je predani članak, prava priroda varira, kao što je već razmotreno, od procjene samog članka, procesa koji je doveo do njegovog stvaranja (u većini slučajeva, istraživanju) i u konačnici njegovog utjecaja.

Ako je članak ocijenjen, mogu se uključiti i odgovori na druge moguće evaluacije; recenzent može postaviti pitanje da li članak odražava tačan proces istraživanja, od ispravnog dokumentiranja i uokvirivanja istraživačkog pitanja ili hipoteze kako bi tačno opisao metode i nalaze, raspravljajući o njima ili propitivajući njegov utjecaj, pa sve do pitanja može li članak razumjeti publika časopisa u koji je poslan.

Kada se procijeni cjelokupno istraživanje, pored provjere svih koraka koji su pravilno dokumentovani u članku, recenzent ih *kvalitativno* ocjenjuje. U ovom trenutku, analiza gleda na sve što bi moglo dovesti u pitanje valjanost rezultata, od metodologije do njegove primjene i interpretacije nalaza. Tipičan pokazatelj ove analize u izvještaju recenzija sastoji se od traženja *prepravki* istraživanja kako bi se uzeli u obzir metodološki nedostaci koje su utvrdili recenzenti. Na primjer, Elsevier (2019c) pita recenzente: *Mogu li ili trebaju li autori uključiti dodatne materijale? i Predložite dodatne eksperimente ili analize*. Slično, Wiley (2019b) savjetuje recenzente da ukažu na to koja su *predložena do-*

A typical indication of this analysis in the review reports consists of asking for *redoing* the research in order to account for the methodological flaws identified by reviewers. For example, Elsevier (2019c) asks the reviewers: *Could or should the authors have included supplementary material?*, and *Suggest additional experiments or analyses*. Similarly, Wiley (2019b) advises reviewers to indicate which *suggested additional investigations are essential to support claims made in the manuscript under consideration and which will just strengthen or extend the work*. Wiley recommendations are based on the ones from COPE Council (2019): *Be clear which (if any) suggested additional investigations are essential to support claims made in the manuscript under consideration and which will just strengthen or extend the work*. The main concern here is, when the journals publish funded research, how ethical is it to allow reviewers asking for redoing the entire research or parts of it, provided that the financial and times resources of the project leading to the article have already been used? It would be fair to reject the manuscript if considering that the methodological flaws were likely to invalidate the conclusions, but a revision involving redoing the experiments or adding additional ones should be regarded with more caution. As a matter of fact, COPE Council (2019) is very clear about this: *It is not the job of the reviewer to extend the work beyond its current scope*. However, Noble (2017) suggests a different approach, saying that for an author *it is certainly acceptable to say that the requests go beyond what you perceive to be the scope of the current work, yet if the reviewer asks for 10 things, and you say that 9 out of 10 of them fall outside the scope of your work*.

If the potential impact is analyzed, the reviewer is basically answering questions like: How broad is the potential audience of the article? How novel is the article, from the theoretical and/or methodological perspectives? Does the article indicate sufficient research depth? For example, Elsevier (2018) used to indicate, in the schematics of the peer review process, two reasons for the initial rejection: *incorrect refs* and *basic science*, the second expression meaning the lack of research depth.

What should the reviewers be looking for?

Different publishers have a broad range of requirements for the reviewers. Most of them direct the reviews to answering questions ranging from a simple assessment of the article only up to looking at the entire research process and eventually evaluating the potential impact.

datna istraživanja esencijalna da podrže tvrdnje iznesene u rukopisu koji se razmatra i koja će samo ojačati ili proširiti rad. Wileyjeve preporuke su bazirane na preporukama COPE vijeća (2019): *Budite jasni koja su (ako ijedna) predložena dodatna istraživanja esencijalna da podrže tvrdnje iznesene u rukopisu koji se razmatra i koja će samo ojačati ili proširiti rad*. Ovdje je glavna briga, kada časopis objavi financirano istraživanje, koliko je etično dopustiti recenzentima da traže ponavljanje cijelog istraživanja ili njegovih dijelova, ako su financijski i vremenski resursi projekta koji su doveli članka već iskorišteni? Bilo bi pošteno odbiti rukopis uzimajući u obzir da bi metodološke pogreške mogle poništiti zaključke, dok reviziju koja uključuje ponavljanje eksperimenta ili dodavanje dodatnih treba razmotriti s više opreza. Zapravo, COPE vijeće (2019) izjasnilo se u vezi s ovim: *Posao recenzenta nije proširivanje rada izvan njegovog trenutnog djelokruga*. Međutim, Noble (2017) sugerira drugačiji pristup, govoreći da je za autora: *sigurno prihvatljivo reći da zahtjevi nadilaze ono što smatra opsegom trenutnog rada, ali samo ako recenzent traži 10 stvari, a vi kažete da njih 9 od 10 ne spada u opseg vašeg rada*.

Ako je analiziran potencijalni utjecaj, recenzent u osnovi odgovara na pitanje: Koliko je široka potencijalna publika članka? Koliko je članak nov iz teorijske i/ili metodološke perspektive? Pokazuje li članak dovoljnu dubinu istraživanja? Na primjer, Elsevier (2018) je pokazivao u shemama postupka stručne recenzije dva razloga za početno odbijanje: *netačne reference* i *osnovna nauka*, drugi izraz označava nedostatak dubine istraživanja.

Šta bi recenzenti trebali tražiti?

Različiti izdavači imaju širok raspon zahtjeva za recenzente. Većina njih usmjerava recenzije da odgovore na pitanja u rasponu od samo jednostavnih procjena članka do promatranja cjelokupnog procesa istraživanja i na kraju procjene potencijalnog utjecaja.

(1) Zahtjevi vezani za analizu članka prisutni su kod svih analiziranih izdavača. Elsevier (2019c) postavlja pitanja kao: *Je li korištena odgovarajuća struktura [...]?*, *Da li je uvod efektivan, jasan i dobro organizovan?*, *Može li kolega ponoviti eksperimente i dobiti iste rezultate?*, *Da li su autori uključili ispravne reference za prethodno objavljenu metodologiju?*, *Da li je opis nove metodologije tačan?*, *Predložite poboljšanja u načinu prikazivanja podataka*, *Komentarišite općenitu logiku i opravdanosti tumačenja i zaključaka*, *Komentarišite broj slika*,

(1) Requirements related to analyzing the article only are present with all the publishers analyzed. Elsevier (2019c) asks questions like: *Has the appropriate structure [...] been used?, Is the introduction effective, clear and well organized?, Can a colleague reproduce the experiments and get the same outcomes? Did the authors include proper references to previously published methodology? Is the description of new methodology accurate?, Suggest improvements in the way data is shown, Comment on general logic and on justification of interpretations and conclusions, Comment on the number of figures, tables and schemes, Request toning down of unjustified claims and generalizations, Check accuracy, number and citation appropriateness, Comment on any footnotes, Comment on figures, their quality and readability, Assess completeness of legends, headers and axis labels, Check presentation consistency, or Comment on need for color in figures.* Taylor & Francis (2019b) tells authors what reviewers are looking for: *the study design and methodology are appropriate and described so that others could replicate what you've done; you've engaged with all the relevant current scholarship; results are appropriately and clearly presented.* MDPI (2019) groups the questions for reviewers in the quality of presentation: *Is the article written in an appropriate way? Are the data and analyses presented appropriately? Are the highest standards for presentation of the results used?*, and scientific soundness: *Are the methods, tools, software, and reagents described with sufficient details to allow another researcher to reproduce the results?*

(2) There are fewer specific requirements for looking the entire process. MDPI (2019) asks: *Is the study correctly designed and technically sound? Are the analyses performed with the highest technical standards? Are the data robust enough to draw the conclusions?* Wiley (2019a) suggests that *If the work is not clear because of missing analyses, the reviewer should comment and explain what additional analyses would clarify the work submitted.* Elsevier (2019c) recommends reviewers to *Suggest additional experiments or analyses.*

Moreover, Lovejoy et al. (2011) dedicate an important part of their discussion to the statistical analyses, showing that statistical analyses might be unfamiliar for both novice and seasoned reviewers. However, concerns can go beyond this. Are statistical analyses always needed? Petrišor (2019) asks whether the use of statistics is a real necessity or a result of the publication bias resulting from the positivist approach, concluding that the answer is

tablica i shema, Zahtijevajte umanjeње neopravdanih tvrdnji i generalizacija, Provjerite tačnost, broj i prikladnost citata, Komentarišite bilo koje fusnote, Komentarišite slike, njihov kvalitet i čitljivost, Procijenite potpunost legendi, zaglavlja i oznaka osi, Provjerite dosljednost prezentacije ili Komentarišite potrebu za bojom u slikama. Taylor & Francis (2019b) govori autorima šta recenzenti traže: *dizajn studije i metodologija odgovaraju i opisane su tako da drugi mogu ponoviti što ste uradili; sudjelovali ste u svim relevantnim trenutnim stipendijama; rezultati su prikladno i jasno predstavljani.* MDPI (2019) grupira pitanja za recenzente u kvaliteti prezentacije: *Da li je članak napisan na odgovarajući način? Da li su podaci i analize predstavljani na odgovarajući način? Da li su korišteni najviši standardi za prezentaciju rezultata? i naučnu ispravnost: Da li su metode, alati, softver i reagensi opisani s dovoljno detalja da bi drugi istraživač mogao reproducirati rezultate?*

(2) Ima i manje specifičnih zahtjeva za sagledavanje cijelog postupka. MDPI (2019) pita: *Da li je studija pravilno dizajnirana i tehnički ispravna? Izvode li se analize prema najvišim tehničkim standardima? Da li su podaci dovoljno jaki da donose zaključke?* Wiley (2019a) sugerise da *Ako rad nije jasan zbog nedostajućih analiza, recenzent bi trebao komentarisati i objasniti koje bi dodatne analize razjasnile prijavljeni rad.* Elsevier (2019c) preporučuje recenzentima: *Predložite dodatne eksperimente ili analize.*

Osim toga, Lovejoy et al. (2011) posvećuju važan dio svoje rasprave statističkoj analizi, pokazujući da statistička analiza može biti nepoznata i početnicima i iskusnim recenzentima. Međutim, zabrinutost može ići dalje od ovoga. Da li su statističke analize uvijek potrebne? Petrišor (2019) pita da li je upotreba statistike realna potreba ili rezultat pristranosti objavljivanja koja proizlazi iz pozitivističkog pristupa, zaključujući da je odgovor mješavina oba, što znači da je malo vjerojatno da će vrhunski časopisi objaviti nalaze koji nisu podržani statističkim analizama, čak i na visokim razinama statističke značajnosti, što predstavlja "pristranost objavljivanja" (Petrišor 2010). Međutim, drugi tip pristranosti objavljivanja može biti otkriven, što znači da studije koje ne koriste uobičajene statističke metode vjerojatno neće biti objavljene, iako je upotreba alternativnih metoda dobro opravdana statističkim obrazloženjem, kada recenzenti nisu upoznati sa statistikama.

(3) Svi veliki izdavači uključuju preporuke za procjenu potencijalnog utjecaja prijavljenog rada. El-

a mixture of the two, meaning that top journals are highly unlikely to publish findings that are not supported by statistical analyses, even at high levels of statistical significance, which represents a “publication bias” (Petrișor 2010). However, a second type of publication bias might be detected, meaning that studies that do not use the mainstream statistical methods are not likely to be published, although the use of alternative methods is well justified by the statistical rationale, when reviewers are not familiar with statistics.

(3) All major publishers include recommendations for assessing the potential impact of submissions. Elsevier (2019c) includes questions like *Is the research original, novel and important to the field?* and *Comment on importance, validity and generality of conclusions*. MDPI (2019) has specific questions on the originality/novelty, significance, and overall merit; for the latest, reviewers are asked the following *Does the work provide an advance towards the current knowledge? Do the authors have addressed an important long-standing question with smart experiments?* Taylor & Francis inform the author that reviewers have to assess the work using, among others, two criteria: *your work is original or new* and *the work is of a high enough standard to be published in the journal*. (Taylor & Francis 2019b), and ask the reviewer: *Do you feel that the significance and potential impact of a paper is high or low?* (Taylor & Francis 2019a). However, Kim (2018) shows that some journals have a special department for assessing the novelty of articles instead of leaving it with the reviewers.

In addition to them, there are other specific requirements. Debates exist whether reviewers should be held responsible for detecting any ethical misconduct (Glonti et al. 2019). COPE Council Guidelines (2019) suggest that reviewers should be on watch for any ethical misconduct. Adopting the COPE Guidelines, Wiley (2019b) requires the same. A similar requirement is made by MDPI (2019): *If reviewers become aware of such scientific misconduct or fraud, plagiarism or any other unethical behavior related to the manuscript, they should raise these concerns with the in-house editor immediately*. Elsevier (2019b) makes, on the one hand, the same recommendation for reviewers: *raise your suspicions with the editor if you suspect plagiarism, fraud or have other ethical concerns*, but, on the other hand, in its guide to ethics in publishing for the reviewers (Elsevier 2019a) says that *it is NOT the role of the reviewer to detect ethics issues in papers*.

sevier (2019c) uključuje pitanja kao što su *Da li je istraživanje originalno, novo i važno za oblast?* i *Komentarišite važnost, valjanost i općenitost zaključaka*. MDPI (2019) ima specifično pitanje o originalnosti/novini, važnosti i ukupnoj zaslugi; za najnovije, recenzenti se mole za sljedeće: *Pružila li rad napredak prema trenutnom znanju? Da li su autori obratili pažnju na važna dugogodišnja pitanja pametnim eksperimentima?* Taylor & Francis obavještavaju autora da recenzenti moraju procijeniti djelo koristeći, između ostalog, dva kriterija: *vaše je djelo originalno ili novo* i *rad je dovoljno visokog standarda da se može objaviti u časopisu* (Taylor & Francis 2019b) i pitaju recenzenta: *Smatrate li da je značaj i potencijalni utjecaj rada visok ili nizak?* (Taylor & Francis 2019a). Međutim, Kim (2018) pokazuje da neki časopisi imaju poseban odjel za procjenu novina u člancima, umjesto da ih ostave recenzentima.

Pored njih, tu su drugi specifični uslovi. Postoje rasprave da li bi recenzenti trebali biti odgovorni za otkrivanje bilo kakvog etičkog prekršaja (Glonti et al. 2019). Smjernice COPE vijeća (2019) predlažu da recenzenti trebaju biti na oprezu kod bilo kakvog kršenja etike. Usvajanjem COPE smjernica, Wiley (2019b) zahtijeva isto. Sličan uslov je napravio i MDPI (2019): *Ako recenzenti postanu svjesni takvog naučnog nedoličnog ponašanja ili prevare, plagijarizma ili bilo kojeg drugog neetičkog ponašanja vezanog za rukopis, trebaju svoju zabrinutost odmah podijeliti s internim urednikom*. Elsevier (2019b) pravi, s jedne strane, istu preporuku recenzentima: *podijelite sumnju s urednikom ako sumnjate na plagijarizam, prevaru ili imate bilo koju drugu etičku zabrinutost*, ali, s druge strane, u svom vodiču za recenzente za etiku objavljivanja (Elsevier 2019a) govori uloga recenzenta *NIJE da otkriva etičke probleme u radovima*.

Drugo pitanje je da li su recenzenti odgovorni da provjeravaju da li je rukopis u skladu s preporukama za autora. Taylor & Francis (2019b) ostavlja uredniku: *Da li je autor slijedio preporuke časopisa u Uputama za autore?* Međutim, Lovejoy et al. (2011) predlažu da recenzenti trebaju također gledati stilske greške publikacije i dati komentare poput *Reference ne slijede preporuke stila časopisa*. Slično, da li su recenzenti odgovorni za lektorisiranje i provjeru pravopisa? Odgovori su kontradiktorni (Glonti et al. 2019). Taylor & Francis (2019a) imaju lijepo podešen odgovor: *Posao recenzenta nije da uređuje rad na engleskom, ali je korisno da se engleski ispravi gdje je tehničko značenje nejasno*.

Another question is whether the reviewers are responsible to check whether the manuscript complies with the author guidelines. Taylor & Francis (2019b) leave it with the Editor: *Has the author followed the journal's guidelines in the Instructions for Authors?* However, Lovejoy et al. (2011) suggest that reviewers should also look at *publication style errors* and make comments like *References do not follow journal style guidelines*.

Similarly, are reviewers responsible for copy-editing and spell checking? The answers are contradictory (Glonti et al. 2019). Taylor & Francis (2019a) have a fine tuned answer: *It's not the reviewer's job to edit the paper for English, but it is helpful if you correct the English where the technical meaning is unclear. [...] Is the submission in Standard English to aid the understanding of the reader?* However, MDPI (2019) holds reviewers responsible for assessing the level of English, and assess whether it is *appropriate and understandable*. Elsevier (2019c) asks reviewers to answer questions like: *Has the appropriate [...] language been used?* and *List separately suggested changes in style, grammar and other small changes*. COPE Council (2019) states that *suggestions for changes that improve clarity are, however, important*. Lovejoy et al. (2011) believe that spelling and grammar errors *should not be the reviewers' primary concern [...] Reviewers should always focus the review on the big picture*.

The final resolution of the reviewer must be seen in the context of the big picture, where the decision belongs to the editor (Kim 2018), or *the reviewer recommends, the editor decides* (Elsevier 2019a). However, the process is not as easy as it seems. Each part might overtake its role; editors might decide against the recommendations of the reviewers, or might rely too much on them. According to Elsevier (2019b), the editor will *weigh all views* of the reviewers in order to take a decision. On the other hand, there are reviewers who take the editor's role and conflicts may appear especially when articles are published against their recommendation for a rejection. This issue must now be weighted cautiously, because predatory journals were proven to have published articles rejected by other journals (Björk, 2018), even despite the recommendations of reviewers (Shaghaei et al. 2018). The latest generated Publons, a platform that allowed reviewers to see what happened to their reviewing work. Such decisions might compromise the perceived quality of the journal. When authors get into the equation, the situation complicates even more, because of their right to a rebuttal letter, explaining why certain

[...] Da li je poslani rad na standardnom engleskom jeziku da pomogne u razumijevanju čitatelju? Međutim, MDPI (2019) drži recenzente odgovornim za procjenu nivoa engleskog jezika i procjenu da li je *prikladno i razumljivo*. Elsevier (2019c) traži od recenzenata da odgovore na pitanja poput: *Da li je prikladni [...] jezik korišten?* i *Navedite odvojeno predložene promjene u stilu, gramatici ili neke druge male promjene*. COPE vijeće (2019) navodi da su *prijedlozi za promjene koje poboljšavaju jasnoću ipak važni*. Lovejoy et al. (2011) vjeruje da pravopis i gramatičke greške *ne trebaju biti recenzentova primarna briga [...] Recenzenti uvijek trebaju fokusirati recenziju na širu sliku*.

Posljednja recenzentova odluka mora se promatrati u kontekstu šire slike, gdje odluka pripada uredniku (Kim 2018), ili *recenzent preporučuje, urednik odlučuje* (Elsevier 2019a). Međutim, proces nije jednostavan kao što se čini. Svaki dio može preuzeti svoju ulogu; urednici mogu odlučiti protiv preporuka recenzenata, ili se mogu previše osloniti na njih. Prema Elsevieru (2019b), urednik će *izvagati sva gledišta* recenzenata kako bi donio odluku. S druge strane, postoje recenzenti koji preuzimaju ulogu urednika i sukobi se mogu pojaviti posebno kada se članci objave nakon njihove preporuke za odbijanje. Ovaj se problem mora oprezno izvagati, zato što je dokazano da grabežljivi časopisi objavljuju članke koje su odbili ostali časopisi (Björk, 2018) i pored preporuka recenzenata (Shaghaei et al. 2018). Ovo je dovelo do stvaranja Publonsa, platforme koja dopušta recenzentima da vide šta se desilo s njihovim recenziranim radovima. Takve odluke mogu ugroziti percipiranu kvalitetu časopisa. Kada se autori uključe u računicu, situacija se još više usložnjava zbog njihovog prava na pismeni odgovor, objašnjavajući zašto se nisu rješavali recenzentovi komentari. Urednici trebaju dosta razboritosti kako bi bili u mogućnosti da odluče da li autori ne sarađuju i žele li da se bore protiv recenzenata ili da li recenzenti zaista traže previše.

Kako problem treba razborit pristup, mali broj izdavača ima jasne preporuke za recenzente. Ipak, ako se recenzenti upute da formulišu svoje odluke, njihova uloga je suvišna pošto njihove odluke moraju pratiti određene obrasce. Za početnu procjenu MDPI (2019) preporučuje odbijanje ako *članak ima ozbiljne mane, nema originalni doprinos*. Wiley (2019a) i COPE vijeće (2019) samo savjetuju recenzente da *preporuke trebaju biti u skladu s komentarima danim u recenziji* i da *preporuke za urednike odgovaraju izvještaju za autore*. Slično, Elsevier (2019b) savjetuje recenzente: *Ako prepo-*

comments from the reviewers were not addressed. The editors need a lot of discernment in order to be able to decide whether the authors are not cooperating and prefer a combat against the reviewers, or the reviewers are actually demanding too much.

Since the issue needs a prudent approach, very few publishers have clear-cut recommendations for reviewers. After all, if reviewers would be instructed on phrasing their decision, their role is obsolete, since the decision must follow a certain pattern. For the initial assessment, MDPI (2019) recommends the rejection if *the article has serious flaws, makes no original contribution*. Wiley (2019a) and COPE Council (2019) only advise the reviewers that the *recommendation should be congruent with the comments provided in the review and the recommendations for the editor are consistent with your report for the authors*. Similarly, Elsevier (2019b) advises the reviewers: *If you are recommending a revision, you must furnish the author with a clear, sound explanation of why this is necessary*, and, in case of a rejection, *explain your reasoning in your report*. Taylor & Francis (2019b) provide 10 reasons for rejection: non-compliance with the aims and scope of the journal; not a true article; inappropriate length; non-compliance with the author guidelines and/or scientific writing conventions; poor style, grammar, punctuation or English; lack of novelty; improper contextualization; poor theoretical framework; poor presentation; and a libelous or unethical manuscript. In addition, rejection is recommended if *the revisions are too fundamental for the submission to continue being considered in its current form*. Lovejoy et al. (2011) advise the reviewers not to recommend a revision if *recommend a revision if, even with changes, the manuscript will not make a significant contribution*. Last but not least, Annesley (2012) suggests that a reviewer might wrongly feel that recommending the rejection of a manuscript will prevent the need for assessing a revised version of the manuscript. When assessing the revised manuscript, most publishers agree on a rejection if the author failed to address properly the comments of the reviewers.

Moreover, sometimes the editors might adopt a back standing attitude and place the burden to the author, especially when contradictory review reports are received. In this case, an additional discussion is needed on an assumption related to the peer review process. There are many discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of “blindness” (Tomkins et al. 2017), but very few on the independence of reviewers evaluating the same article. The Univer-

ručujete ispravke, morate dostaviti autorima jasno, zvučno objašnjenje zašto je to potrebno i, u slučaju odbijenice, *objasnite razloge u svom izvještaju*. Taylor & Francis (2019b) nude 10 razloga za odbijanje: neispunjavanje ciljeva i djelokruga časopisa; nije članak, neprikladna dužina; nepridržavanje preporuka za autore i/ili konvencije naučnog pisanja; loš stil; gramatika, interpunkcija ili engleski; nedostatak noviteta; nepravilna kontekstualizacija; loš teorijski okvir; loša prezentacija; pogrdan ili neetičan rukopis. Osim toga, odbijanje je preporučeno ako su *prepravke previše temeljne da bi se predani rad i dalje mogao razmatrati u njegovom sadašnjem obliku*. Lovejoy et al. (2011) savjetuju recenzente da ne preporučuju prepravke ako *čak i s promjenama rukopis neće dati važan doprinos*. Posljednje, ali ne najmanje važno, Annesley (2012) sugerira da recenzent može pogrešno smatrati da će se preporučivanjem odbacivanja rukopisa spriječiti potreba za ocjenom revidirane verzije rukopisa. U procjeni revidiranog rukopisa, većina izdavača je saglasna s odbijenicom ako autori ne riješe recenzentove komentare.

Štoviše, urednici ponekad usvoje zaostali stav i stave teret na autora, pogotovo kada se dobiju kontradiktorni izvještaji recenzenta. U ovom slučaju, potrebna je dodatna diskusija o pretpostavkama vezanim uz postupak stručne recenzije. Postoji mnogo diskusija o prednostima i nedostacima “sljepih recenzija” (Tomkins et al. 2017), ali malo o nezavisnosti recenzenta koji ocjenjuju isti članak. Universitet u Melbourneu (2020) pretpostavlja da je recenziranje neovisno. Međutim, najgori ishod je proizvod kada recenzent djeluje neovisno u neslaganju te urednik ne zauzme stav, prosljeđujući autoru teret rješavanja oprečnih zahtjeva. Očigledno, ovo ne znači zagovaranje da recenzenti budu svjesni svega onoga šta drugi govori od samog početka, već poziva na odgovor da li teret rješavanja oprečnih opaski treba biti ostavljen autoru ili ne i da li autoru treba biti data mogućnost da prikažu oprečne opaske, izražavajući svoj izbor jedne ili druge strane, ili pak drugačije solucije. Ova prilika nije data ili se barem njena važnost umanjuje kada autori moraju napisati odvojene odgovore svakom recenzentu.

Umjesto zaključka: nekoliko etičkih pitanja

Članak je pokušao analizirati proces stručne recenzije s etičkog stajališta koristeći preporuke za recenzente nekoliko glavnih izdavača i literature. Analiza je otkrila ne samo različite preporuke koje postoje između različitih izdavača već i kontradiktornosti

sity of Melbourne (2020) assumes that peer review is independent. However, the worst outcome is produced when reviewers acting independently are in disagreement and the editor does not take position, passing to the authors the burden of dealing with conflicting requirements. Obviously, this does not mean advocating for reviewers being aware each one of what the other one is saying from the very beginning, but calls for an answer to whether the burden of addressing conflicting remarks should be left to the author or not, and whether authors should be given the opportunity to display the conflicting remarks, expressing their choice for one side or the other, or for a different solution. This opportunity is not given or at least its importance is diminished when authors must write separate answers to each reviewer.

Instead of conclusions: several ethical questions

This article has attempted to analyze the peer review process from an ethical standpoint using the recommendations for reviewers of several main publishers and the literature. The analysis revealed differences which are present not only between different publishers, but also contradictions of different recommendations made by the same publisher. The need for peer review cannot be denied (Kim 2018). As Beninger et al. (2016) put it, out accepting senseless articles for publication and rejecting good manuscripts, only the first allows science to progress. Nevertheless, it is possible that, in an attempt to remove any constraints or suggestions that could influence the reviewers in their judgment, the guidelines are very general. It is also possible that, provided that these publishers manage a large number of journals from different fields, which determine a variety of characteristics, the fine tuning of policies is passed to the responsibility of the journal. Regardless of the rationale beyond it, the quest ended with a set of questions that did not find a definite answer, and are left open:

- (1) Which of the two functions of the peer review is more important, filtering content or improving it? How is the answer influenced by the transformation of science into a business, provided that the reviewers are not paid for their work? And is nowadays peer review still a process? Does the final product reflect the author's or the reviewer's (or editor's) voice?
- (2) Are always reviews made by the appropriate people? What qualifies a reviewer as "good" or "bad"? Are the rewarding systems influencing the quality of reviews, and even the final recommendations of the reviewers?
- (3) Which of the two functions of the peer review is more important, filtering content or improving it? How is the answer influenced by the transformation of science into a business, provided that the reviewers are not paid for their work? And is nowadays peer review still a process? Does the final product reflect the author's or the reviewer's (or editor's) voice?
- (4) Are always reviews made by the appropriate people? What qualifies a reviewer as "good" or "bad"? Are the rewarding systems influencing the quality of reviews, and even the final recommendations of the reviewers?
- (5) Which of the two functions of the peer review is more important, filtering content or improving it? How is the answer influenced by the transformation of science into a business, provided that the reviewers are not paid for their work? And is nowadays peer review still a process? Does the final product reflect the author's or the reviewer's (or editor's) voice?
- (6) Are always reviews made by the appropriate people? What qualifies a reviewer as "good" or "bad"? Are the rewarding systems influencing the quality of reviews, and even the final recommendations of the reviewers?

različitih preporuka istog izdavača. Potreba stručne recenzije se ne može zaniijekati (Kim 2018). Kao što Beninger et al. (2016) kažu, između prihvatanja besmislenih članaka za objavljivanje i odbijanja dobrih rukopisa, samo ovo prvo dopušta nauci da napreduje. Pa ipak, moguće je da, u pokušaju da se odstrane bilo kakva ograničenja ili sugestije koji mogu uticati na sud recenzenata, smjernice budu vrlo uopćene. Također je moguće da je, pod uslovom da ti izdavači vode veliki broj časopisa iz različitih područja koje određuju različite karakteristike, dotjerivanje politika prebačeno na odgovornost časopisa. Bez obzira na obrazloženje izvan toga, potraga je završila nizom pitanja koja nisu pronašla definitivan odgovor i ostala su otvorena:

- (1) Koja je od dvije funkcije stručne recenzije važnija, filtriranje sadržaja ili njegovo poboljšavanje? Kako se na odgovor utiče transformacijom nauke u biznis, pod uslovom da recenzenti nisu plaćeni za svoj rad? I da li je danas stručna recenzija još uvijek proces? Da li finalni proizvod reflektira autorov ili recenzenatov (ili urednikov) glas?
- (2) Da li recenzije uvijek daju prikladne osobe? Šta kvalifikuje recenzenata kao "dobrog" ili "lošeg"? Da li sistemi nagrađivanja utiču na kvalitet recenzija i čak na finalne preporuke recenzenata?
- (3) Do koje je mjere legitimno da stručni recenzenti gledaju dalje od rukopisa i traže promjene istraživačke metodologije, dodatne eksperimente ili ocjene potencijalnog utjecaja članka? Da li su stvarno potrebni ili čine ishod nadmetanja bolje metrike među časopisima?
- (4) Šta u stvari recenzenti trebaju tražiti? Mogu li se recenzenti pretvoriti u policajce, tj. biti odgovorni za detektiranje akademskog nedoličnog ponašanja, ili u uredničke asistente, postavljajući ih da prepravljaju engleski ili da provjeravaju da li su se pravilno i dosljedno pridržavali preporuka autorima?
- (5) Da li bi trebao postojati minimalni set preporuka koji bi pomagao recenzenatima da urade svoj posao i daju najbolju odluku prema svome znanju? Šta je potencijalni uticaj "savjeta" na izvještaj recenzije i preporuka?
- (6) Ko treba djelovati u slučaju sukoba između izvještaja recenzenata i recenzenata (ili određenog recenzenata) i autora? Kada, koliko često i do kojeg stepena je legitimno da urednik intervenira favoriziranjem jedne ili druge strane?

- (3) To what extent is it legitimate for the peer reviewers to look beyond the manuscript and request changes of the research methodology, additional experiments, or assess the potential impact of the article? Are these really needed, or they constitute an outcome of the competition for better metrics between the journals?
 - (4) What should reviewers actually be looking for? Can reviewers be turned into policemen, holding them responsible for detecting academic misconduct, or into editorial assistants, charging them with brushing up the English or checking whether the author guidelines have been properly and consistently observed?
 - (5) Should there be a set of minimum criteria helping the reviewers do their job and recommend the best decision to their knowledge? What are the potential influence of “hints” on the review reports and recommendations?
 - (6) Who should act in case of a conflict between the reviewer reports, and between the reviewers (or a certain reviewer) and the author? When, how often, and to what extent is it legitimate for the editor to intervene favoring one side or the other?
 - (7) Should the reviewers act independently of each other all over the duration of the peer review process? Would it help to allow for conflicting remarks be displayed after the first review stage, in order to reveal the contradictions? Should the editor settle down such contradictions, or pass the burden to the authors?
 - (8) Did the very essence of peer review change during the centuries of being used, or only the details? Is there a need for a reform of the peer review *in an environment of predation* (Linacre et al. 2019)? Does peer review need fundamental changes, or only some fine tuning? Which of the above needs more attention in this context? The same questions need to be asked in relationship to the transformation of science into a business, putting money into equation.
- (7) Da li recenzenti trebaju djelovati nezavisno jedni od drugih u toku procesa stručnog recenziranja? Da li bi pomoglo da se dozvoli da se oprečne opaske prikažu nakon prve faze recenzije kako bi se otkrile kontradiktornosti? Da li bi urednik trebao riješiti takve kontradiktornosti ili ih proslijediti autorima na teret?
 - (8) Da li se sama suština stručne recenzije promijenila tokom stoljetne upotrebe, ili samo detalji? Da li postoji potreba da se reformira stručno recenziranje *u okružju grabežljivosti* (Linacre et al. 2019)? Da li stručno recenziranje treba fundamentalne promjene ili samo dotjerivanje? Čemu od navedenog u ovom kontekstu treba posvetiti više pažnje? Isto se pitanje treba postaviti u vezi s transformacijom nauke u biznis, stavljajući novac u računicu.

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Razlike u otvorenosti i dijeljenju znanstvenih radova na Sveučilištu u Rijeci*

Differences in Openness and Sharing of Scientific Papers at the University of Rijeka*

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Sažetak / Abstract

Cilj: utvrditi razlike u otvorenosti i dijeljenju znanstvenih radova na Sveučilištu u Rijeci.

Metode: Analizirani su znanstveni radovi autora Sveučilišta u Rijeci iz Hrvatske znanstvene bibliografije (CROSB) u 4 područja (2017.–2019.) na uzorku od 210 radova. Kao metrički pokazatelj kvalitete časopisa korišteni su kvartili SciMago Journal Rank (SJR). Provjerena je prisutnost cjelovitog teksta u otvorenom pristupu u 3 vrste repozitorija (Repozitorij UNIRI – Dabar, ArXiv, Crosbi) i na društvenoj akademskoj mreži ResearchGate. Istraženo je postojanje razlika u stupnju sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju radova s obzirom na područje znanosti.

Rezultati: Znanstvenici iz područja prirodnih znanosti (N=55, 78,6%) i biomedicine i zdravlja (N=49, 70%) značajno više ($P<0,001$) objavljuju u časopisima u Q1 i Q2 kvartilima. Autori iz područja društvenih i humanističkih znanosti više objavljuju u Q3 i Q4 te časopisima izvan baze podataka Scopus (N=57, 81,4%). Udio radova u otvorenom pristupu (N=107, 51%) približno je jednak udjelu u zatvorenom pristupu (N= 103, 49%) ($P=0,7825$). Za samoarhiviranje i dijeljenje radova znanstvenici su koristili platformu ResearchGate (N=77), ArXiv (N=32), Repozitorij UNIRI (N=15) i Crosbi (N=9). Od svih područja znanosti, analiziramo li radove s visokim stupnjem sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju, prednjače autori iz područja prirodnih znanosti (N=21, 60%).

Zaključak: Najveći stupanj sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju rada pokazuju znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti. Nije uočena povezanost između SJR kvartila časopisa i sklonosti autora da samoarhivira ili podijeli svoj rad na otvorenoj platformi.

Aim: to determine differences in openness and sharing of scientific papers.

Methods: We have analysed scientific papers from the Croatian Scientific Bibliography (CROSB) from University of Rijeka (Croatia) in 4 fields (2017–2019) on a sample of 210 papers. The SciMago Journal Rank (SJR) quartiles were used as a metric. We have checked the presence of the full text in open access in 3 types of repositories (Repository UNIRI-Dabar, ArXiv, CROSB) and on social academic network ResearchGate. Tendency of self-archiving and sharing with regard to the field of science was investigated.

Results: Scientists in the field of natural sciences (N=55, 78.6%), and biomedicine and health (N = 49, 70%) publish more ($P < 0.001$) in Q1 and Q2 journals. Social sciences and humanities authors publish mostly in Q3 and Q4 journals and in journals not indexed in the Scopus database (N = 57, 81.4%). The proportion of open access papers (N=107, 51%) is equal to closed papers (N=103, 49%) ($P=0,7825$). Scientists used ResearchGate platform (N=77), ArXiv (N=32), UNIRI Repository (N=15) and CROSB (N=9) for the self-archiving and sharing of papers. High degree of tendency for self-archiving and sharing was observed in the field of natural sciences (N=21, 60%).

Conclusion: The highest degree of tendency for self-archiving and sharing is shown by natural scientists. There was no correlation between SJR quartile and the author's tendency to self-archive or share his work on an open platform.

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1. Uvod

Otvorena znanost je pristup znanosti koji označava promjenu sustava kroz otvorene i suradničke načine komuniciranja, stvaranja i dijeljenja znanja, resursa, rezultata i podataka, u što ranijoj fazi istraživanja. Koncept otvorene znanosti uključuje i nove načine financiranja, evaluiranja i nagrađivanja istraživača te ima za cilj osigurati reproducibilnost, potaknuti interdisciplinarnost i povećati samu kvalitetu, utjecaj, učinkovitost znanosti i pokazati osjetljivost na potrebe društva (European Commission – Open Science Factsheet 2019, 1).

Praktične manifestacije koncepta otvorene znanosti različito se raščlanjuju. Prema poimanju *Europske komisije*, pojam otvorene znanosti veže se uz nekoliko domena: otvorene istraživačke podatke, otvorene komunikacijske infrastrukture, nove metričke pokazatelje znanstvene kvalitete i utjecaja, otvoreni pristup recenziranim znanstvenim publikacijama, brigu za znanstvenoistraživačku čestitost i uključivanje javnosti u znanstveni proces (European Commission – Open Science Factsheet 2019, 1).

Ayris i Ignat (2018, 2–3) su detektirali 11 elemenata otvorene znanosti koji se mogu primijeniti u svim fazama istraživačkog procesa – konceptualizaciji, prikupljanju podataka, analizi, recenziji i objavi istraživanja. U tom su smislu izdvojili sljedeće komponente: otvoreni pristup publikacijama (engl. *Open Access* ili *OA*), otvoreni kôd (engl. *Open source code*), nerecenzirane inačice radova u otvorenim repozitorijima (engl. *Pre-print*), otvoreni recenzijski postupak (engl. *Open peer review*), alternativni sustavi vrednovanja (engl. *Alternative reputation systems*), kolaborativne bibliografije (engl. *Collaborative bibliographies*), znanstveni blogovi, otvorene istraživačke bilješke (engl. *Open annotation*), otvoreni istraživački podaci (engl. *Open data*), otvoreni dijagrami procesa (engl. *Open lab books / workflows*) i uključivanje javnosti u znanstveni proces (engl. *Citizen science*).

Pristupi i taksonomije elemenata otvorene znanosti različito se interpretiraju. U literaturi se često citira vrlo fragmentirana taksonomija sastavljena u sklopu FOSTER projekta Europske komisije (Pontica et al. 2015, 3), iako se neki autori ne slažu s hijerarhijskim odnosima unutar nje. Pa tako Tennant i sur. (2020, 9) i Watson (2015) smatraju da je otvorena znanost zapravo proizašla iz pokreta softvera otvorenog kôda (engl. *Free and open source software*) te da otvoreni kôd nije pomoćni element u hijerarhiji, kako to predlaže FOSTER. I Dizdar (2019, 31) zaključuje da je računalna infrastruktura iznjedrila

1. Introduction

Open science is an approach to science that signify changes of the system through open and collaborative ways of communicating, creating and sharing knowledge, resources, results and data, at the earliest possible stage of research. The concept of open science includes new ways of funding, evaluating and rewarding researchers and aims to ensure reproducibility, encourage interdisciplinarity and increase the quality, impact, effectiveness of science and demonstrate sensitivity to the needs of society (European Commission – Open Science Factsheet 2019, 1).

The practical manifestations of the concept of open science are divided differently. According to the *European Commission*, the concept of open science is related to several fields: open research data, open communication infrastructures, new metrics of scientific quality and impact, open access to peer-reviewed scientific publications, concern for scientific integrity and public involvement in the scientific process (European Commission – Open Science Factsheet 2019, 1).

Ayris and Ignat (2018, 2–3) detected 11 elements of open science that can be applied at all stages of the research process – conceptualization, data collection, analysis, review, and research publishing. In this regard, they determined the following components: *Open Access* or *OA*, *Open source code*, unreviewed versions of papers in open repositories (*Pre-print*), *Open peer review*, *Alternative reputation systems*, *Collaborative bibliographies*, scientific blogs, *Open annotation*, open research data (*Open data*), open process diagrams (*Open lab books / workflows*) and public involvement in the scientific process (*Citizen science*).

Approaches and taxonomies of the elements of open science are interpreted differently. The literature often cites a very fragmented taxonomy compiled as part of the European Commission's FOSTER project (Pontica et al. 2015, 3), although some authors disagree with the hierarchical relationships within it. That is why Tennant, et al. (2020, 9) and Watson (2015) argue that open science actually originated from the *Free and open source software* movement, and that open source is not an auxiliary element in the hierarchy, as suggested by FOSTER. Dizdar (2019, 31) also concludes that computer infrastructure has originated open science, i.e. the conditions for the current transfer of information to a large number of simultaneous users. Open access (*OA*) to scientific information is an important element of

otvorenu znanost, tj. uvjete za trenutni prijenos informacija velikom broju istovremenih korisnika. Otvoreni pristup znanstvenim informacijama (engl. *Open Access, OA*) važan je element pokreta otvorene znanosti i može se proglasiti da je *condicio sine qua non*.

Prva inicijativa usmjerena zagovaranju otvorenog pristupa nastala je u Budimpešti 2002. godine (engl. *Budapest Open Access Initiative, BOAI*) i tada je definirano da se otvorenim pristupom smatra slobodna dostupnost znanstvene literature na javnoj mreži, dopuštajući svim korisnicima da bez financijskih, pravnih ili tehničkih prepreka čitaju, preuzimaju, kopiraju, distribuiraju, ispisuju, pretražuju ili povezuju s cjelovitim tekstovima tih članaka, indeksiraju ili ih koriste u bilo koje druge zakonite svrhe, a sve uz osiguravanje autorima kontrole nad integritetom djela i pravo na odgovarajuće priznavanje i citiranje. Predlažu se dvije strategije za ostvarenje otvorenog pristupa: samoarhiviranje (engl. *Self-Archiving*) i objavljivanje u časopisima s otvorenim pristupom (engl. *Open-Access Journals*) (Budapest Open Access Initiative 2002).

Hrvatska deklaracija o otvorenom pristupu (2012, 2), oslanjajući se na prethodne inicijative,¹ definirala je otvoreni pristup kao “slobodan², besplatan i neometan pristup digitalnim znanstvenim informacijama koji omogućava čitanje, pohranjivanje, distribuciju, pretraživanje, dohvaćanje, indeksiranje i/ili drugo zakonito korištenje”.

Kako su se znanstveni radovi objavljeni u časopisima nametnuli kao najvažniji kanal izvještavanja o znanstvenim postignućima i spoznajama, otvoreni pristup najčešće se odnosi na slobodan pristup radovima objavljenima u časopisima. Kada govori o otvorenom pristupu znanstvenim informacijama, i *Europska komisija* se osvrće najviše na časopise, razlikujući dvije kategorije ovog koncepta: recenzirane znanstvene publikacije (primarno znanstvene članke objavljene u znanstvenim časopisima) i istraživačke podatke koji upotpunjuju izvještavanje o rezultatima znanstvenih istraživanja u časopisima ili djeluju samostalno unutar istraživačkog okoliša putem cjelovitih i strukturiranih setova istraživač-

the open science movement and can be declared as *conditio sine qua non*.

The first initiative aimed at advocating for open access originated in Budapest in 2002 (Budapest Open Access Initiative, BOAI) and then it was defined that open access was considered as the free availability of scientific literature on the public network, allowing all users without financial, legal or technical obstruct to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search or link to the full texts of these articles, index or use them for any other lawful purpose, all while providing authors with control over the integrity of the work and the right to appropriate recognition and citation. Two strategies for achieving open access are proposed: *Self-Archiving* and publishing in *Open-Access Journals* (Budapest Open Access Initiative 2002).

Croatian Declaration on Open Access (2012, 2), relying on previous initiatives,¹ defined open access as “free,² costless and unhindered access to digital scientific information that enables reading, storage, distribution, search, retrieval, indexing and / or other lawful use.”

As scientific papers published in journals have imposed as the most important channel for reporting on scientific achievements and knowledge, open access most often refers to free access to papers published in journals. When talking about open access to scientific information, the *European Commission* also refers mostly to journals, distinguishing two categories of this concept: peer-reviewed scientific publications (primarily scientific articles published in scientific journals) and research data that complement reporting on scientific research results in journals or act independently within the research environment through complete and structured research data sets (European Commission – Open Access 2020).

Open access can be achieved in different ways, and divisions are present according to the type of publication (journal, book, etc.), used technology (website, digital repository, etc.), rights of use, legality of the platform and / or available paper versions,

¹ Budimpeštanska inicijativa o otvorenom pristupu (2002.), Berlinska deklaracija o otvorenom pristupu (2003.), Budimpeštanske deklaracije o pravu na pristup informacijama (2008.), Izjava o otvorenom pristupu (IFLA, 2011.), Načela i preporuke za pristup istraživačkim podacima nastalim u okviru istraživanja financiranih iz javnih izvora (OECD, 2007.), Preporuke o pristupu i očuvanju znanstvenih informacija (2012.), Zaključak Vijeća Europske unije o znanstvenim informacijama u digitalnom dobu: pristup, diseminacija i čuvanje (2007.)

² Trajno oslobođen od bilo kakvih ograničenja i postavljanja uvjeta za pristup i korištenje

¹ Budapest Open Access Initiative (2002), Berlin Declaration on Open Access (2003), Budapest Declarations on the Right to Access Information (2008), Declaration on Open Access (IFLA, 2011), Principles and Recommendations for Access to Research Data created in the framework of publicly funded research (OECD, 2007), Recommendations on Access to and Preservation of Scientific Information (2012), Council of the European Union Conclusion on Scientific Information in the Digital Age: Access, Dissemination and Preservation (2007)

² Permanently free from any restrictions and conditions for access and use

kih podataka (European Commission – Open Access 2020).

Otvoreni pristup može se ostvariti na različite načine, a prisutne su podjele s obzirom na vrstu publikacije (časopis, knjiga i dr.), korištenu tehnologiju (web stranica, digitalni repozitorij i dr.), prava korištenja, legalnost platforme i/ili dostupne verzije rada i sl. Najpopularnija raščlamba vrsta otvorenog pristupa razlikuje zlatni (članci objavljeni u otvoreno dostupnim časopisima) i zeleni put (autori samohriviraju rad u institucijski ili neki drugi repozitorij) otvorenog pristupa. Danas zlatni put uključuje sve poslovne modele časopisa u otvorenom pristupu, a najčešće podrazumijeva naplaćivanje objave rada u otvorenom pristupu (eng. *Article Processing Charges* ili APC), pri čemu autor ili ustanova plaćaju izdavaču. Mnogi časopisi u otvorenom pristupu, posebice oni manjih akademskih izdavača, ne naplaćuju autorima objavu rada jer se financiraju iz proračuna, a kako bi se ti časopisi razlikovali od onih komercijalno orijentiranih, uvodi se koncept “dijamantnog” ili “*non-APC*” otvorenog pristupa. Takav otvoreni pristup i smjer izdavaštva pridonosi očuvanju nepristrane znanosti (Barić et al. 2017, 3). Također, veliki broj komercijalnih časopisa pripada kategoriji tzv. hibridnih časopisa, koji samo dio sadržaja nude u otvorenom pristupu, uz plaćanje, dok su drugi sadržaji nedostupni, osim putem preplate. Takvi časopisi ne smatraju se časopisima otvorenog pristupa. Postoji i podjela na *libre* otvoreni pristup (korisnici mogu slobodno čitati i smiju ponovo upotrebljavati rad) i *gratis* otvoreni pristup (korisnici mogu samo slobodno čitati rad), jer osim pristupa, u prvi plan stavlja korištenje rada (Suber 2008). Među vrstama otvorenog pristupa Piwovar navodi i *odgođeni* otvoreni pristup, otvoreni pristup uz pomoć *akademskih društvenih mreža* i *crni otvoreni pristup* (Piwovar et al. 2018). Kako odgođeni otvoreni pristup uključuje embargo, tj. vrijeme tijekom kojega je rad nedostupan, dostupnost na akademskim društvenim mrežama ovisi o mijenjajućem poslovnom modelu društvene mreže i legalnosti pohranjene verzije rada, a crni otvoreni pristup ilegalno “otvaranje” zatvorenih radova na piratskim stranicama.

Nedvojbeno je da na pokret otvorene znanosti i načine ostvarivanja otvorenog pristupa danas snažno utječu velike izdavačke kuće i njihovi profiti pa je to glavnim uzrokom zašto istraživači otvoreni pristup izjednačuju s visokim cijenama objave rada. Također, nametnuti modeli naplaćivanja produbljuju razlike između bogatih i siromašnijih znanstvenih zajednica. Radovi istraživača siromašnijih zemalja

etc. The most popular analysis of open access types distinguishes between the golden (articles published in open access journals) and green (authors self-archive work in an institutional or other repository) open access. Today, the golden route includes all business models of open access journals, and most often involves charging for the article publishing in an open access (*Article Processing Charges* or APC), whereby the author or institution are paying the publisher. Many open access journals, especially those of smaller academic publishers, do not charge authors for publishing their paper because they are funded from the budget, and to differentiate them from commercially oriented ones, the concept of “diamond” or “non-APC” open access is introduced. Such open approach and direction of publishing contributes to the preservation of impartial science (Barić et al. 2017, 3). Also, a large number of commercial journals belong to the category of so-called hybrid journals, which offer only part of the content in open access, for a fee, while other content is unavailable, except through subscriptions. Such journals are not considered as open access journals. There is also a division into *libre* open access (users can read freely and may reuse the paper) and *gratis* open access (users can only read the paper freely), because in addition to access, it puts the use of paper in the foreground (Suber 2008). Among the types of open access Piwovar also cites *delayed* open access, open access with the help of *academic social networks*, and *black open access* (Piwovar et al. 2018). As delayed open access includes an embargo, i.e. the time during which work is unavailable, availability on academic social networks depends on the changing business model of the social network and the legality of the stored version of paper, and black open access illegally “opens” closed papers on pirated sites.

There is no doubt that the open science movement and ways of achieving open access today are strongly influenced by large publishing houses and their profits, so this is the main reason why researchers equalize open access with high article publishing prices. Also, imposed charging models deepen the differences between richer and poorer scientific communities. The papers of researchers from poorer countries are often published in closed access because there are no secured means to pay for open access, which reduces their readability, citation and impact. This is corroborated by the research of Mirjam Curno and Stephanie Oeben (2018) according to which, in the period from 2015 to 2017, open access journals received on average 7% more cita-

nerijetko bivaju objavljeni u zatvorenom pristupu jer ne postoje osigurana sredstva za plaćanje otvorenog pristupa, čime se smanjuje njihova čitanost, citiranost i utjecaj. To potkrepljuje i istraživanje Mirjam Curino i Stephanie Oeben (2018) prema kojem su, u razdoblju od 2015. do 2017. godine, časopisi otvorenog pristupa u prosjeku dobili 7% više citata od časopisa u zatvorenom pristupu. Iz navedenih se razloga npr. hrvatski autori više okreću dijamantnim časopisima, tj. onima koji ne naplaćuju otvoreni pristup, samoarhiviranju svojih radova u otvorene repozitorije i dijeljenju svojih radova putem popularnih akademskih društvenih mreža.

Samoarhiviranjem rada autor pohranjuje cjeloviti tekst svog djela u institucijski, tematski ili nacionalni repozitorij koji je u otvorenom pristupu. Samoarhivirati se mogu različite inačice znanstvenih radova, ovisno o politici samoarhiviranja izdavača i njihovim pravilima. Autori svoj rad mogu podijeliti i na nekim drugim platformama kao što su društvene akademske mreže (npr. Mendeley, Academia.edu, ResearchGate). Samoarhiviranje i dijeljenje rada od znanstvenika zahtijeva dodatan angažman te je potrebno donositi obaveze na institucijskoj i nacionalnoj razini i unaprijediti informacijsku infrastrukturu (Macan 2018, 76). Usprikoš takvim izazovima, ovaj model ima brojne koristi jer na taj način rad postaje vidljiviji, pristupačniji, pretraživiji i korišteniji (Cerejo 2013), a time i citiraniji.

Cilj ovog istraživanja je utvrditi prakse objavljivanja, pohranjivanja i dijeljenja znanstvenih radova autora Sveučilišta u Rijeci te utvrditi razlike s obzirom na tri skupine znanstvenih područja i korištene načine ostvarivanja otvorenog pristupa.

2. Materijali i metode

Analizirani su znanstveni radovi objavljeni u časopisima koje su objavili znanstvenici iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva, prirodnih znanosti, društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti Sveučilišta u Rijeci u razdoblju 2017.–2019. godine.

Kao temelj za analizu korištena je *Hrvatska znanstvena bibliografija* (CROSBI)³ zbog njene cjelovitosti i sveobuhvatnosti, te su izdvojeni svi izvorni znanstveni i pregledni radovi objavljeni u časopisima od 2017. do 2019. godine, čiji su bibliografski podaci uneseni u CROSBI do 21. veljače 2020. a pridruženi nekoj od sastavnica Sveučilišta u Rijeci (N=1431).

tions than journals with subscription. From these reasons, for example, Croatian authors turn more to diamond journals, i.e. those that do not charge for open access, self-archiving of their work in open repositories and sharing their work through popular academic social networks.

Authors can self-archive the full-text of their paper in an institutional, thematic or national repository. Different versions of scientific papers can be self-archived, depending on the publisher's self-archiving policy and their rules. Authors can also share their paper on some other platforms such as social academic networks (e.g. Mendeley, Academia.edu, ResearchGate). Self-archiving and paper sharing require additional engagement from scientists and it is necessary to make commitments at the institutional and national level and improving the information infrastructure (Macan 2018, 76). Despite such challenges, this model has numerous benefits because in this way the paper becomes more visible, accessible, searchable and used (Cerejo 2013), and thus more cited.

The aim of this research is to determine the practices of publishing, archiving and sharing scientific papers of the authors of the University of Rijeka, and to identify differences with regard to the three groups of scientific fields and the methods used to achieve open access.

2. Materials and methods

Scientific papers in journals published by scientists in the field of biomedicine and health, natural sciences, social sciences and humanities of the University of Rijeka in the period from 2017 to 2019 were analysed. *The Croatian Scientific Bibliography* (CROSBI)³ was used as a basis for the analysis due to its completeness and comprehensiveness, and all original scientific and review papers published in journals from 2017 to 2019, whose bibliographic data were entered into CROSBI by February 21, 2020, were singled out and associated with one of the constituents of the University of Rijeka (N=1431).

Sample

Due to differences in the models of dissemination of scientific results, 4 scientific fields were analysed, in 3 groups: biomedicine and health, natural sciences and the fields of social sciences and humanities.⁴

³ <https://www.bib.irb.hr/>

⁴ According to *Pravilnik o znanstvenim i umjetničkim područjima, poljima i granama* (Consolidated text – “Narodne novine” No. 118/09, 82/12, 32/13, and 34/16 – unofficial)

³ <https://www.bib.irb.hr/>

Uzorak

Zbog razlika u obrascima diseminacije znanstvenih rezultata, analizirana su 4 znanstvena područja, u 3 skupine: biomedicina i zdravstvo, prirodne znanosti i područja društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti.⁴ Iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva izdvojeni su radovi Fakulteta zdravstvenih studija (N=88) i Medicinskog fakulteta (N=528). Za prirodne znanosti izdvojeni su radovi Odjela za fiziku (N=92) i Odjela za matematiku (N=51), za društvene znanosti i humanističke znanosti izdvojeni su radovi Ekonomskog fakulteta (N=94), Fakulteta za menadžment u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu (N=121), Filozofskog fakulteta (N=251), Odjela za informatiku (N=23), Pravnog fakulteta (N=150) i Učiteljskog fakulteta (N=33).

Za svaki od tri stratum (znanstvena područja) određen je probabilistički slučajni sustavni uzorak radova koji se kasnije analizirao. Prema ukupnom broju jedinica populacije u svakom stratumu (biomedicina i zdravstvo N=616, prirodne znanosti N=143, društvene znanosti i humanističke znanosti N=672) određena je potrebna veličina uzorka za svako područje ($n=70$) i veličina intervala za svako područje $k=N/n$ (biomedicina i zdravstvo $k=8$, prirodne znanosti $k=2$, društvene i humanističke znanosti $k=9$). Početna jedinica za uzorkovanje za svaki skup slučajno je odabrana između 1 i k , te se nadalje odabirala svaka k -ta jedinica. Ukupan broj jedinica za analizu u uzorku iznosi $n=210$ (Tablica 1).

In the field of biomedicine and health, the papers of the Faculty of Health Studies (N=88) and the Faculty of Medicine (N=528) were selected. For the natural sciences selected articles are from the Department of Physics (N=92) and the Department of Mathematics (N=51), for the social sciences and humanities, selected articles are from the Faculty of Economics (N=94), the Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management (N=121), the Faculty of Philosophy (N=251), the Department of Informatics (N=23), the Faculty of Law (N=150) and the Faculty of Teacher Education (N=33).

For every of three strata (scientific fields) a probabilistic random systematic sample of papers was determined which was later analysed. According to the total number of population units in each stratum (biomedicine and health N=616, natural sciences N=143, social sciences and humanities N=672) the required sample size was determined for each area ($n=70$) and the size of the interval for each area $k=N/n$ (biomedicine and health $k=8$, natural sciences $k=2$, social sciences and humanities $k=9$). The initial sampling unit for each set was randomly selected between 1 and k , and each k unit was further selected. The total number of units for analysis in the sample is $n=210$ (Table 1).

Tablica 1. Oblikovanje uzorka u istraživanju otvorenosti i dijeljenja znanstvenih radova na Sveučilištu u Rijeci
Table 1. Sample design in the research of open access and sharing of scientific papers at the University of Rijeka

Područje znanosti Scientific field	Sastavnica Sveučilišta u Rijeci Constituent of the University of Rijeka	Radovi u CROSBİ bazi Papers in CROSBİ N (%)	Uzorak Sample N (%)
Biomedicina i zdravstvo Biomedicine and Health	Fakultet zdravstvenih studija Faculty of Health Studies	88 (6,1)	11 (5,2)
	Medicinski fakultet u Rijeci Faculty of Medicine	528 (36,9)	59 (28,1)
	Ukupno – Biomedicina i zdravstvo Total – Biomedicine and health	616 (43,0)	70 (33,3)
Prirodne znanosti Natural Sciences	Odjel za fiziku Department of Physics	92 (6,4)	45 (21,4)
	Odjel za matematiku Department of Mathematics	51 (3,6)	25 (11,9)
	Ukupno – Prirodne znanosti Total – Natural Sciences	143 (10,0)	70 (33,3)

⁴ Prema Pravilniku o znanstvenim i umjetničkim područjima, poljima i granama (Pročišćeni tekst – "Narodne novine" broj 118/09, 82/12, 32/13 i 34/16 – neslužbeni)

Društvene znanosti i humanističke znanosti Social Sciences and Humanities	Ekonomski fakultet Faculty of Economics	94 (6,6)	10 (4,8)
	Fakultet za menadžment u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management	121 (8,5)	13 (6,2)
	Filozofski fakultet Faculty of Philosophy	251 (17,5)	23 (11,0)
	Odjel za informatiku Department of Informatics	23 (1,6)	3 (1,4)
	Pravni fakultet Faculty of Law	150 (10,5)	17 (8,1)
	Učiteljski fakultet Faculty of Teacher Education	33 (2,3)	4 (1,9)
	Ukupno – Društvene znanosti i humanističke znanosti Total – Social Sciences and Humanities	672 (47,0)	70 (33,3)
Sva područja All fields		1431 (100,0)	210 (100,0)

Postupak

Znanstveni radovi analizirani su s obzirom na pristup, tj. otvorenost, pohranjivanje u repozitorije i dijeljenje na društvenoj mreži ResearchGate. Dana je procjena stupnja sklonosti dijeljenja znanstvenog rada.

Procjena otvorenosti znanstvenih radova

Putem Google Scholar tražilice, pretragom po naslovu, provjereno je za sve jedinice iz uzorka jesu li u otvorenom pristupu na digitalnoj platformi pripadajućeg časopisa.

U prvom dijelu istraživanja ispitana je distribucija radova s obzirom na *SCImago Journal Rank* (SJR) metrički pokazatelj i praksa objavljivanja radova u otvorenom pristupu na Sveučilištu u Rijeci, a s obzirom na ispitivana područja znanosti i definirano razdoblje (2017.–2019.). Kriteriji za definiranje otvorenosti u ovom dijelu istraživanja ograničeni su na već spomenuti tzv. zlatni put otvorenog pristupa. Razlikujemo znanstvene radove objavljene u otvorenom pristupu (objava rada u časopisu u otvorenom pristupu ili objava rada u otvorenom pristupu uz APC) i znanstvene radove objavljene u zatvorenom pristupu.

Pohranjivanje znanstvenih radova i dijeljenje na društvenim mrežama

Drugi dio istraživanja bavi se pohranjivanjem radova u repozitorije (Repozitorij UNIRI – Dabar, ArXiv, Crosbi) i dijeljenjem na društvenim mrežama (ResearchGate).

Pretragom po naslovu provjerena je prisutnost cjelovitog teksta u otvorenom pristupu za svaku je-

Procedure

Scientific papers were analysed with regard to access, i.e. openness, archiving in repositories and sharing on the social network ResearchGate. An assessment of the degree of tendency to share scientific paper is given.

Assessment of the openness of scientific papers

Through the Google Scholar search engine, by searching by title, all units from the sample were checked for whether they are in open access on the digital platform of the corresponding journal.

The first part of the research the distribution of papers was examined according to the metric indicator *SCImago Journal Rank* (SJR) and the practice of paper open access publishing at the University of Rijeka, with regard to the examined fields of science and the defined period (2017–2019). The criteria for defining openness in this part of the research are limited to the already mentioned so-called the golden route of open access. We distinguish between scientific papers published in open access (paper publishing in an open access journal or paper publishing in open access with the APC) and scientific papers published in closed access.

Archiving scientific papers and sharing on social media

The second part of the research deals with paper archiving in repositories (Repository UNIRI – Dabar, ArXiv, CROSBI) and sharing on social networks (ResearchGate). With the title search the presence

dinicu uzorka u 3 repozitorija koji omogućavaju pohranu cjelovitog teksta rada, a koje smo odredili kao predstavnike specifičnih vrsti digitalnih platformi: institucijskog repozitorija (Repozitorij UNIRI), *pre-print* repozitorija (ArXiv) i nacionalne znanstvene bibliografije (Crosbi). Provjereno je također je li rad u cijelosti podijeljen na društvenoj mreži ResearchGate.

Stupanj sklonosti dijeljenja rada

Određivanjem *stupnja sklonosti* autora da pohrane cjeloviti rad u neku od digitalnih platformi (ArXiv, Repoziroirj UNIRI, Crosbi) ili ga podijele putem društvene mreže Research Gate može ih se raščlaniti na one koji pokazuju *visoku sklonost* (samoarhivirali su ili podijelili cjeloviti tekst na dvije ili više platformi), *nisku sklonost* (samoarhivirali su ili podijelili cjeloviti tekst na jednoj platformi) ili nalazimo na *izostanak sklonosti* (nisu samoarhivirali ili podijelili cjeloviti tekst rada niti na jednoj platformi).

Uz pomoć konstrukta *stupnja sklonosti* ispitano je postojanje razlika u sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju radova s obzirom na područje znanosti kojem autori pripadaju.

Osim *stupnja sklonosti* autora da samoarhiviraju ili dijele cjeloviti tekst rada s obzirom na područje znanosti, u trećem dijelu istraživanja ispitano je i odnos između *stupnja sklonosti* autora da samoarhiviraju ili dijele svoj rad i kvalitativnih metričkih pokazatelja rada (SJR).

Procjena metričkog pokazatelja

Za potrebe istraživanja odabran je metrički pokazatelj časopisa *SCImago Journal Rank* (SJR) koji predstavlja alternativu popularnom čimbeniku odjeka časopisa (Journal Impact Factor ili JIF), a izračunava se također temeljem broja objavljenih radova i prikupljenih citata. Jedna od prednosti JCR je javna i besplatna dostupnost podataka putem portala *SCImago Journal & Country Rank*.⁵ SJR kao izvor podataka koristi bazu podataka Scopus izdavača Elsevier.

Časopisi su razvrstani u znanstvena područja, a s obzirom na SJR, razvrstani su u kvartile (Q). Kvartili su u rasponu od prvog (Q1) do četvrtog (Q4) i odnose se na smještaj određenog časopisa u njegovoj poddisciplini s obzirom na SJR, ako rangiramo SJR indekse od najvećeg prema najmanjem. Dakle, časopis u prvom kvartilu (Q1) ima SJR u prvih 25% časopisa za barem jednu od njegovih klasificiranih poddisciplina.

of full text in open access was checked for each sample unit in 3 repositories that allow archiving of full text of the paper, which we identified as representatives of specific types of digital platforms: institutional repository (UNIRI Repository), preprint server (ArXiv) and national scientific bibliographies (CROSBI). It was also checked whether the paper was fully shared on the social network ResearchGate.

Degree of tendency to paper sharing

By determining the degree of tendency of the author to store the entire paper in one of the digital platforms (ArXiv, UNIRI Repository, CROSBI) or share it through the social network Research Gate, they can be divided into those that show high inclination (self-archived or split the whole text into two or more platforms), low inclination (self-archived or shared the full text on one platform) or we find a lack of inclination (they did not self-archive or share the full text of the paper on any platform).

With the help of the degree construct of tendency, the existence of differences in the tendency of self-archiving and paper sharing with regard to the science field to which the authors belong was examined.

In addition to the *degree of tendency* of authors to self-archive or share the full text of the paper considering the field of science, the third part of the study examined the relationship between the *degree of tendency* of authors to self-archive or share their paper and qualitative metric indicators (SJR).

Estimation of metric indicator

For the purposes of the research, the metric indicator *SCImago Journal Rank* (SJR) was selected, which is an alternative to the popular Journal Impact Factor (JIF), and is also calculated based on the number of published papers and collected citations. One of the advantages of JCR is the public and free availability of data through the *SCImago Journal & Country Rank* portal⁵. SJR as a data resource uses the Scopus database published by Elsevier.

Journals are classified into scientific fields, considering SJR, they are classified into quartiles (Q). Quartiles are in the range from the first (Q1) to the fourth (Q4) and refer to the placement of a particular journal in its subdiscipline considering SJR, if we rank SJR indexes from highest to lowest. Thus, a journal in the first quartile (Q1) has a SJR in the top 25% of journals for at least one of its classified subdisciplines.

⁵ <https://www.scimagojr.com>

⁵ <https://www.scimagojr.com>

Etički aspekti istraživanja

Istraživanje je odobrilo Povjerenstvo za etička pitanja Medicinskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci kao dio projekta "Poznavanje, stavovi i korištenje alata otvorene znanosti u biomedicini (uniri-biomed-18-99 1234)" Sveučilišta u Rijeci.

Statističke metode

Za prikaz rezultata i statističku obradu podataka korišteni su računalni programi otvorenog koda OpenOffice Calc 4.1.7 i JASP 0.12.2.

Korišten je χ^2 -test za kategorijske varijable.

Povezanost je iskazana neparametrijskim koeficijentom korelacije Spearman.

Svi rezultati interpretirani su na razini statističke značajnosti $P < 0,05$.

3. Rezultati i rasprava

Distribucija radova s obzirom na SJR metrički pokazatelj

Distribucija radova Sveučilišta u Rijeci (2017.–2019.) s obzirom na SJR metrički pokazatelj časopisa u kojima su objavljeni radovi ($P < 0,001$) pokazuje da znanstvenici iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva i prirodnih znanosti značajno više objavljuju u časopisima u prva dva kvartila, koje uvjetno možemo nazvati prestižnijim časopisima: čak je 78,6% ($N=55$) prirodnoznanstvenih i 70% ($N=49$) biomedicinskih radova objavljeno u Q1 i Q2 časopisima. U društvenim znanostima i humanističkim znanostima prevladavaju radovi objavljeni u Q3 i Q4 časopisima i onima koji nisu indeksirani u bazi Scopus pa niti nemaju dodijeljen kvartil [$N=57$ (81,4%)] (Slika 1). *SCImago Journal Rank* donekle normalizira razlike u zakonitostima citiranja između različitih znanstvenih područja što u određenoj mjeri dopušta usporedbe među znanstvenim područjima. Scopus je sveobuhvatnija baza podataka od Web of Science citatnih indeksa koji se koriste za izračunavanje JIF te uključuje više hrvatskih časopisa. Za razliku od JIF koji koristi dvogodišnji citatni prozor, SJR koristi trogodišnji citatni prozor (u izračun uključuje citate koje su u tekućoj godini prikupili radovi objavljeni u prethodne tri godine), što je primjerenije ne toliko dinamičnim znanstvenim područjima kao što je npr. biomedicina. Također, SJR ne vrednuje svaki citat jednako, već veću težinu daje citatima iz prestižnijih časopisa (prema SJR). Prednost mu je i što uključuje samo 33% samocitata, čime je donekle uklonjen utjecaj prekomjernog samocitiranja časopisa (Macan i Petrak 2015, 35–37).

Ethical aspects of research

The research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Rijeka Medical Faculty as part of the project Knowledge, attitudes and use of open science tools in biomedicine (uniri-biomed-18-99).

Statistical methods

For the review of results and statistical data processing open-source computer programs OpenOffice Calc 4.1.7 and JASP 0.12.2 were used.

The χ^2 -test was used for categorical variables.

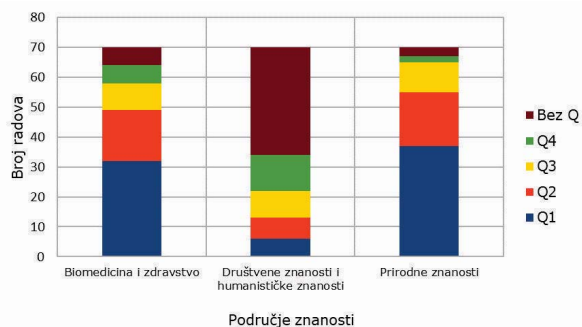
The correlation is calculated with nonparametric Spearman correlation coefficient.

All results were interpreted at the level of statistical significance $P < 0.05$.

3. Results and discussion

Distribution of papers considering SJR metric indicator

Distribution of papers of the University of Rijeka (2017–2019), considering journal SJR metric indicator in which the papers were published ($P < 0.001$), shows that scientists in the fields of Biomedicine and Health and Natural sciences publish significantly more in journals in the top two quartiles, which can be conditionally called more prestigious journals: even 78.6% ($N=55$) Natural science and 70% ($N=49$) Biomedical papers are published in Q1 and Q2 journals. In the fields of Social sciences and Humanities papers are published in lower quartiles – Q3 and Q4 journals prevail as well as those which are not indexed in the Scopus database and do not even have a assigned quartile [$N=57$ (81.4%)] (Figure 1). *SCImago Journal Rank* somewhat normalizes the differences in citation validity between different scientific fields which to some extent allows comparisons between scientific fields. Scopus is a more comprehensive database than Web of Science citation indexes which are used to calculate JIF and includes more Croatian journals. Unlike JIF that uses a two-year citation window, a SJR uses a three-year citation window (the calculation includes citations collected in the current year by papers published in the previous three years), which is more appropriate for less dynamic scientific fields such as biomedicine. Also, SJR does not value every citation equally, but gives more significance to citations from more prestigious journals (according to SJR). Its advantage is that it includes only 33% of self-citations, which somewhat removes the impact of excessive self-citation of the journal (Macan, Petrak 2015, 35–37).



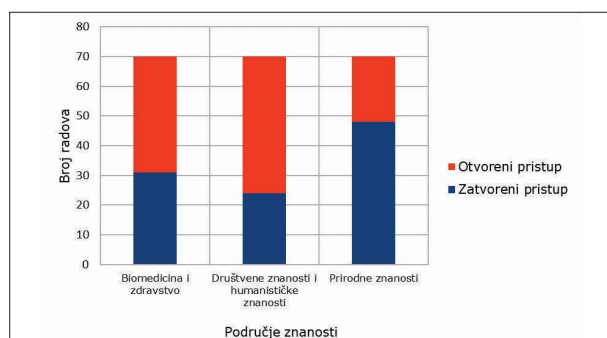
Slika 1. Distribucija radova Sveučilišta u Rijeci s obzirom na područje znanosti i SJR kvartile (N=210, $P<0,001$)

Trend objave unutar društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti u ovom istraživanju prisutan je i u svjetskoj produkciji radova iz društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti (Liu i Li 2018, 117; Ennas i Di Guardo 2015, 86) i može se objasniti njihovom prirodom u kojima su istraživanja nerijetko lokalno relevantna, objavljena u hrvatskim časopisima, na hrvatskom jeziku. Smatramo da su navike objavljivanja hrvatskih znanstvenika povezane s kriterijima za napredovanja u znanstvenim i znanstveno-nastavnim zvanjima, koji u svim područjima osim humanističkih znanosti snažno potiču ili pak zahtijevaju od znanstvenika objavljivanje u prestižnim časopisima.⁶

Objavljivanje otvoreno dostupnih znanstvenih radova u znanstvenim časopisima

Udio znanstvenih radova u otvorenom pristupu [N=107 (51%)] približno je jednak udjelu radova u zatvorenom pristupu [N=103 (49%)] ($P=0,836$).

U objavljivanju radova u otvorenom pristupu prednjače znanstvenici iz društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti [N=46 (65,7%)], dok značajno više radova u zatvorenom pristupu objavljuju znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti [N=48 (68,6%)] (Slika 2; $P<0,001$).



Slika 2. Otvorenost radova Sveučilišta u Rijeci s obzirom na područje (N=210, $P<0,001$)

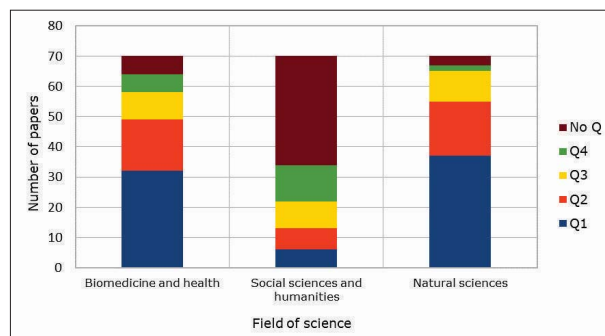


Figure 1. Distribution of papers of the University of Rijeka considering scientific field and SJR quartile (N=210, $P<0.001$)

The trend of publishing within the Social sciences and Humanities in this research is also present in the world production of papers (Liu and Li 2018, 117; Ennas and Di Guardo 2015, 86) and can be explained by their nature in which research is often locally relevant, published in Croatian journals, in the Croatian language. We believe that the publishing habits of Croatian scientists are related to the criteria for advancement in scientific and scientific-teaching professions, which in all areas except the humanities, strongly encourage or require scientists to publish in prestigious journals.⁶

Publishing open access articles in scientific journals

The share of scientific papers in open access [N=107 (51%)] is approximately equal to the share of papers in closed access [N=103 (49%)] ($P=0.836$). Scientists from Social sciences and Humanities are in the lead in publishing open access papers [N=46 (65.7%)], while significantly more papers in closed access are published by natural science scientists [N=48 (68.6%)] (Figure 2; $P<0.001$).

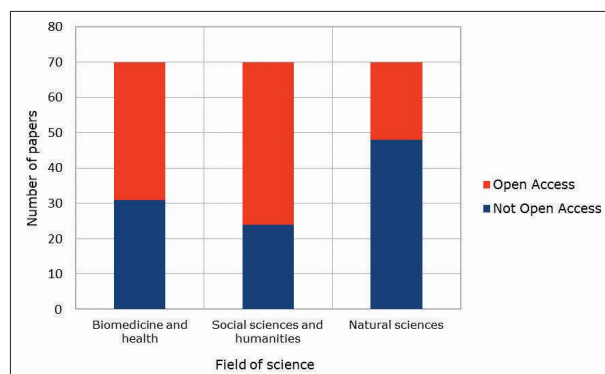
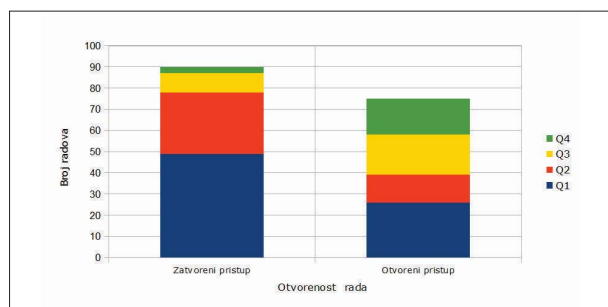


Figure 2. Openness of the papers of the University of Rijeka considering scientific field (N=210, $P<0.001$)

⁶ Prema "Pravilnik o uvjetima za izbor u znanstvena zvanja" (Narodne Novine, broj 28/17), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2017_03_28_652.html.

⁶ According to "Pravilnik o uvjetima za izbor u znanstvena zvanja" (Narodne Novine, No. 28/17), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2017_03_28_652.html.

Unutar cijelog skupa, kod znanstvenih radova objavljenih u Q1 i Q2 časopisima više je zatvorenih znanstvenih radova [Q1 – N=49 (65,3%); Q2 – N=29 (69%)], dok su autori znanstvenih radova objavljenih u Q3 i Q4 časopisima skloniji otvorenom pristupu [Q3 – N=19 (67,9%), Q4 – N=17 (85%)] (Slika 3; $P<0,001$).



Slika 3. Otvorenost rada Sveučilišta u Rijeci s obzirom na SJR kvartil časopisa u kojima su objavljeni (N=210; $P<0,001$)

Praksa dijeljenja i samoarhiviranja radova

Analizom prakse dijeljenja i samoarhiviranja znanstvenika Sveučilišta u Rijeci u odabranim platformama uočava se da je s najvećim brojem radova korištena platforma ResearchGate (N=77), zatim slijede ArXiv (N=32), Repozitorij UNIRI (N=15) i Crosbi (N=9).

Crosbi

Hrvatska znanstvena bibliografija (Crosbi) omogućuje autorima da uz bibliografski zapis mogu pohraniti (samoarhivirati) i cjeloviti tekst rada. U ovom istraživanju uočeno je da je 9 radova arhivirano u Hrvatskoj nacionalnoj bibliografiji, te je uz bibliografske podatke o tim radovima dostupan i pristup cjelovitom tekstu rada. Svi su radovi iz društvenog i humanističkog područja znanosti. Smatramo da je razlog malog broja pohrane taj što autori ne moraju pohranjivati cjeloviti tekst već samo bibliografske podatke.

Repozitorij UNIRI

Repozitorij UNIRI⁷ jest institucijski repozitorij Sveučilišta u Rijeci i dio je Digitalnog akademskog arhiva i repozitorija (Dabar). U njega su uključeni i u njemu aktivni svi fakulteti i odjeli obuhvaćeni ovim istraživanjem, no infrastruktura repozitorija se zasada uglavnom koristi za arhiviranje završnih i diplomskih radova (77,3%), a tek se 6,6% zapisa odnosi na znanstvene radove zaposlenika Sveučilišta u Rijeci. Unutar uzorka ove analize pronađeno je tek 15 radova arhiviranih u repozitorij, i to mahom iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva (N=14). Uzrok

Within the whole set, there are more closed scientific papers published in Q1 and Q2 journals [Q1 – N=49 (65.3%); Q2 – N=29 (69%)], while the authors of scientific papers published in Q3 and Q4 journals are more inclined to open access [Q3 – N=19 (67.9%), Q4 – N=17 (85%)] (Figure 3; $P<0.001$).

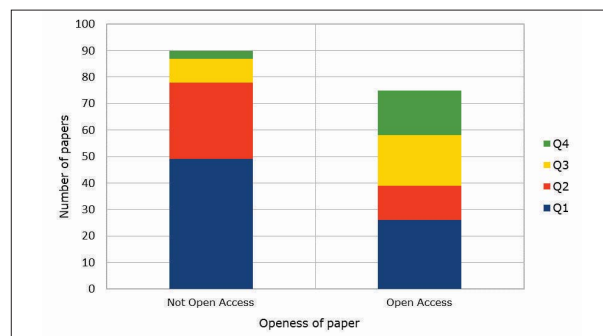


Figure 3. Openness of the papers of the University of Rijeka considering SJR quartile of the journals in which they were published (N=210; $P<0.001$)

The practice of sharing and papers self-archiving

Analysis of the practice of sharing and self-archiving of the University of Rijeka scientists in selected platforms shows that the ResearchGate platform was used with the largest number of papers (N=77), followed by ArXiv (N=32), UNIRI Repository (N=15) and CROSB I (N=9).

CROSB I

The Croatian Scientific Bibliography (CROSB I) enables authors to self-archive the full text of a paper in addition to the bibliographic record. In this research, it was noticed that 9 papers were archived in the Croatian National Bibliography, and in addition to bibliographic data on these papers, access to the full text of the paper is available. All papers are from the Social sciences and Humanities. We believe that the reason for the small number of storage is that the authors do not have to store full text but only bibliographic data.

UNIRI Repository

UNIRI Repository⁷ is the institutional repository of the University of Rijeka and is part of the Digital Academic Archives and Repositories (Dabar). It includes all active faculties and departments covered by this research, but the repository infrastructure is currently mainly used for archiving final and graduate theses (77.3%), and only 6.6% of records relate to scientific papers of employees of the University of Rijeka. Within the sample of this analysis, only 15 papers archived in the repository were

⁷ <https://www.unirepository.svkri.uniri.hr/>

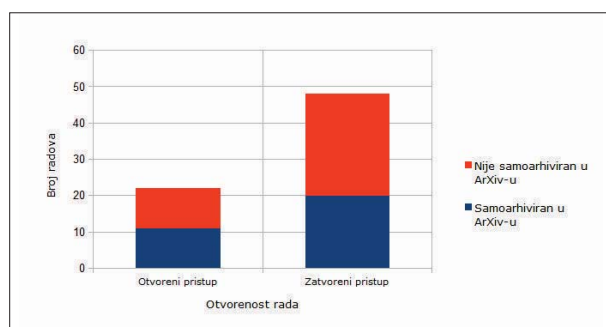
⁷ <https://www.unirepository.svkri.uniri.hr/>

malom broju samoarhiviranih znanstvenih radova može se pronaći i u relativno nedavnom uspostavljanju platforme. Prvi objekt u otvorenom pristupu pohranjen je u repozitorij u rujnu 2015. godine. Od tada broj svih vrsta pohranjenih objekata kontinuirano raste i za očekivati je da će se povećati i broj samoarhiviranih znanstvenih radova (Sveučilište u Rijeci, 2020).

ArXiv

Otvoreni repozitorij ArXiv,⁸ kao kanal distribucije uglavnom nerecenziranih tzv. *pre-print* (a ponekad i recenziranih) inačica radova, u ovom istraživanju očekivano koriste gotovo isključivo znanstvenici prirodnih znanosti, što je u skladu s tematskim okvirima tog repozitorija i ustaljenom praksom prirodnoznanstvenih autora. Gledajući cijeli skup u ArXiv-u su samoarhivirana 32 rada, no gotovo svi znanstveni radovi [96,9% (N=31)] su iz područja prirodnih znanosti, a samo 3,1% (N=1) iz društvenih znanosti, točnije područja informatike.

Iako su znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti skloniji objavljivati radove u zatvorenom [N=48 (68,6%)] nego u otvorenom pristupu [N=22 (31,4%)], njih gotovo polovica se odlučuje pohraniti nerecenziranu *pre-print* ili recenziranu inačicu rada u ArXiv [N=31 (44,3%)]. Na to se u podjednako mjeri odlučuju i autori koji su objavili rad u časopisu u otvorenom pristupu [N=11 (50%)], kao i oni koji su objavili rad u časopisu u zatvorenom pristupu [N=20 (41,6%)] (P=0,695) (Slika 4.).



Slika 4. Broj radova prisutnih u ArXiv-u s obzirom na objavljenost rada kao otvoreno dostupnog u znanstvenom časopisu u prirodnim znanostima (N=70; P=0,695)

Jedina vidljiva razlika vezana je uz inačicu rada koju pohranjuju pa tako oni autori koji su objavili rad u časopisu u zatvorenom pristupu, a odlučili su ga pohraniti u ArXiv, češće izabiru samoarhiviranje nerecenzirane *pre-print* inačice rada (*pre-print* N=12, recenzirani rad N=8). S druge strane, oni autori koji su objavili rad u znanstvenom časopisu

found, mostly in the field of biomedicine and health (N=14). The cause of the small number of self-archived scientific papers can also be found in the relatively recent establishment of the platform. The first object in open access was stored in a repository in September 2015. Since then, the number of all types of stored objects has been continuously growing and it is expected that the number of self-archived scientific papers will increase (University of Rijeka, 2020).

ArXiv

Open access archive ArXiv,⁸ as a distribution channel for mostly unreviewed so-called *pre-print* (and sometimes peer-reviewed) versions of papers, in this research, is anticipatedly used, almost exclusively by scientists of the natural sciences, which is in line with the thematic framework of this repository and the established practice of the authors of natural sciences. Looking at the whole set in ArXiv, 32 papers were self-archived, but almost all scientific papers [96.9% (N=31)] are from the field of Natural sciences, and only 3.1% (N=1) from the field of Social sciences, more precisely field of informatics. Although scientists in the field of Natural science are more likely to publish papers in closed access [N=48 (68.6%)] than in open access [N=22 (31.4%)], almost half of them choose to store unreviewed *pre-print* or peer-reviewed version of the paper in ArXiv [N=31 (44.3%)]. Authors who have published a paper in an open access journal [N=11 (50%)], as well as those who have published a paper in a closed access journal [N=20 (41.6%)] (P=0.695), equally decide to do so (Figure 4).

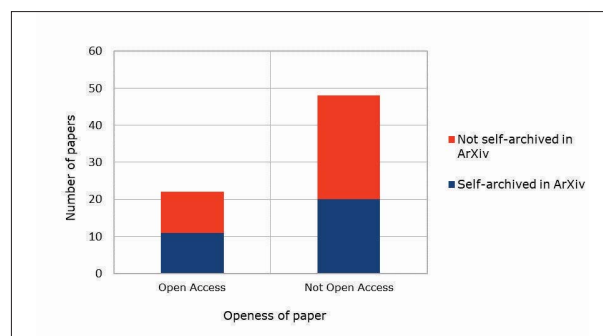


Figure 4. Number of papers present in ArXiv considering the publishing of the paper as openly available in a natural sciences scientific journal (N=70; P=0.695)

The only visible difference is related to the version of the paper they store, so those authors who published the paper in a closed access journal, and decided to store it in ArXiv, more often choose to

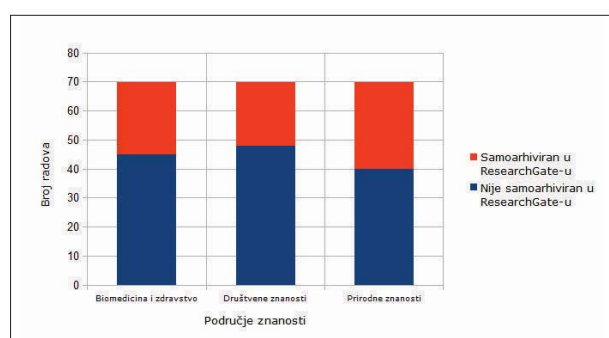
⁸ <https://arxiv.org/>

⁸ <https://arxiv.org/>

u otvorenom pristupu, a odlučili su ga pohraniti u ArXiv, češće izabiru arhiviranje recenzirane inačice rada (*pre-print* N=3, recenzirani rad N=8).

ResearchGate

Čak 77 radova iz cijelog skupa prisutno je u ResearchGate-u⁹ sa samoarhiviranim i javno dostupnim cjelovitim tekstom rada. U sličnim omjerima i bez značajnih razlika ($P = 0,366$) prisutni su samoarhivirani radovi u sva tri područja: u biomedicini i zdravstvu [N=25 (35,7%)], prirodnim znanostima [N=30 (42,7%)] i društvenim znanostima i humanističkim znanostima [N=22 (31,4%)] (Slika 5.).



Slika 5. Prisutnost samoarhiviranih radova na ResearchGate akademskoj mreži s obzirom na otvorenost radova (N=210; $P=0,366$)

Ako promotrimo samo radove koji su u zatvorenom pristupu (nisu objavljeni u časopisima u otvorenom pristupu ili u otvorenom pristupu uz naknadu za objavljivanje) uočava se da su znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti najskloniji takve radove samoarhivirati, i time otvoriti, na ResearchGate društvenoj mreži [N=15 (31,3%)]. U nešto manjem omjeru su to učinili znanstvenici iz društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti [N=5 (20,8%)] i područja biomedicine i zdravstva [N=4 (12,9%)].

Iako nije dijelom koncepta otvorenog pristupa, zanimljivo je spomenuti da je na akademskoj društvenoj mreži ResearchGate moguće i samo pohraniti bibliografske podatke o radu uz koje se nalazi polje za zahtjev cjelovitog teksta autoru rada. Takav zahtjev pristiže na e-mail adresu autora zapisa i on potom odlučuje hoće li e-mailom podijeliti svoj rad s korisnikom. Takav način sudjelovanja na ResearchGate-u, samo s bibliografskim podacima uz mogućnost zahtjeva cjelovitog teksta, prilično je ustaljen među autorima obuhvaćenim ovim istraživanjem. Promatrajući sva područja zajedno čak 43,8% (N=92) radova iz ispitivanja sudjeluje na

self-archive the unreviewed pre-print version of the paper (pre-print N=12, peer-reviewed work N=8). On the other hand, those authors who published the paper in an open access scientific journal, and decided to store it in ArXiv, more often choose to archive a peer-reviewed version of the paper (pre-print N=3, peer-reviewed paper, N=8).

ResearchGate

As many as 77 papers from the entire set are present in ResearchGate⁹ with a self-archived and publicly available full text of the paper. Self-archived papers are present in similar proportions and without significant differences ($P=0.366$) in all three groups: in Biomedicine and Health [N=25 (35.7%)], Natural sciences [N=30 (42.7%)] and Social sciences and Humanities [N=22 (31.4%)] (Figure 5).

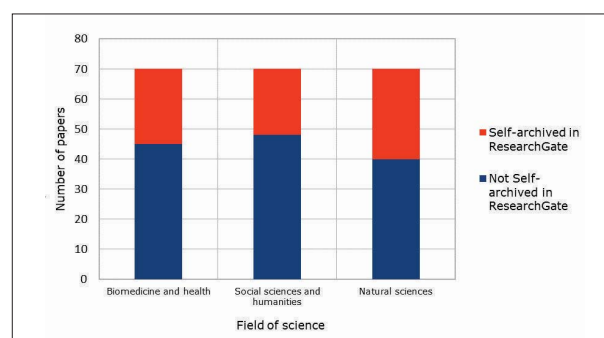


Figure 5. Presence of self-archived papers in the ResearchGate academic network considering the openness of the papers (N=210; $P=0.366$)

If we look only at papers that are in closed access (not published in open access journals or in open access with a publication fee), it is noticed that scientists from the field of Natural sciences are most inclined to self-archive such papers, and thus open them, on the ResearchGate social network [N=15 (31,3%)]. To a lesser extent, this was done by scientists from the field of Social sciences and Humanities [N=5 (20,8%)] and the fields of Biomedicine and Health [N=4 (12,9%)].

Although it is not part of the concept of open access, it is interesting to mention that on the ResearchGate it is possible to only store bibliographic data of the paper (next to which there is a field for requesting the full text from the author). Such request arrives to the e-mail address of the author of the record and then author decides whether to share their work with the user by e-mail. Such way of participating in ResearchGate, with only bibliographic data with the possibility of requesting a full text, is

⁹ <https://www.researchgate.net/>

⁹ <https://www.researchgate.net/>

ResearchGate mreži na ovakav način, a među njima s najvećim udjelom prednjače radovi iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva [N=39 (42,4%)].

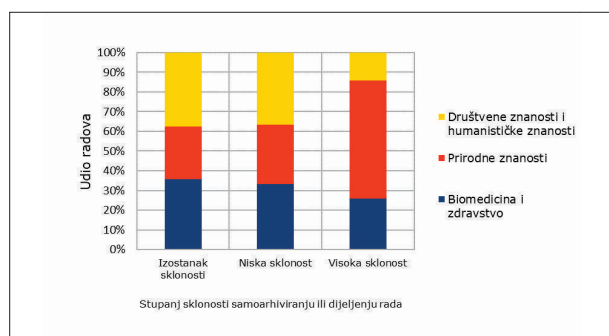
Motivacija autora da podijele rad na akademskoj društvenoj mreži povezana je sa željom za povećanje vidljivosti rada. U skladu s tzv. OACA (engl. *Open Access Citation Advantage*) hipotezom koja tvrdi da jednostavnost pristupa radu, tj. otvorenost rada, može povećati vidljivost i, posljedično, potencirati učestalost citata koje rad dobiva, dijeljenjem radova na akademskim društvenim mrežama autori imaju bolju šansu za vidljivost i citiranje (Cintra i sur. 2018, 119; Ramezani-Pakpour-Langeroudi i sur. 2018).

Motivacija autora da prisustvuju samo bibliografskim podacima rada bez dijeljenja cjelovitog teksta rada može se vezati uz svijest autora o autorsko-pravnim ograničenjima koja nameću politike nekih izdavača.

Analiza sklonosti samoarhiviranju znanstvenih radova

Nešto više od polovice radova nije samoarhivirano [N=112 (53,3%)], 63 (30%) znanstvena rada podijeljena su na jednoj platformi, odnosno imaju nizak stupanj sklonosti, a tek 35 (16,7%) je podijeljeno na dvije platforme ($P < 0,001$) i ima visok stupanj sklonosti samoarhiviranju znanstvenih radova. Nisu pronađeni znanstveni radovi podijeljeni na više od dvije platforme.

Od svih ispitanih područja znanosti, analiziramo li radove s visokim stupnjem sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju, prednjače autori iz područja prirodnih znanosti [N=21 (60%)] (Slika 6).



Slika 6. Stupanj sklonosti autora da samoarhiviraju ili dijele cjeloviti tekst rada s obzirom na područje znanosti (N=210; $P=0,006$)

Ako ustvrdimo da autorova intervencija samoarhiviranja ili dijeljenja rada koji je inače u zatvorenom pristupu ima veliki značaj za otvaranje tog znanstvenog rada globalnoj znanstvenoj zajednici, potrebno je promotriti samo radove u zatvorenom pristupu i

quite common among the authors included in this research. Looking at all groups together, as many as 43.8% (N=92) of the papers from the study participate in the ResearchGate network in this way, and among them papers from the field of Biomedicine and Health [N=39 (42.4%)] are in the lead.

The motivation of the authors to share the work on the academic social network is related to the desire to increase the visibility of the paper. In accordance with the so-called OACA (*Open Access Citation Advantage*) hypothesis claiming that simplicity of access to paper, i.e. openness of paper can increase visibility and, consequently, emphasize the frequency of citations that the paper receives, by sharing papers on academic social networks, authors have a better chance of visibility and citation (Cintra et al. 2018, 119; Ramezani-Pakpour-Langeroudi et al. 2018).

The motivation of authors to appear with only bibliographic data of the paper without sharing the full text of the paper may be related to the author's awareness of copyright restrictions imposed by the policies of some publishers.

Analysis of the scientific papers self-archiving tendency

Slightly more than half of the papers are not self-archived [N=112 (53.3%)], 63 (30%) scientific papers are shared on one platform or have a low degree of tendency, and only 35 (16.7%) are shared on two platforms ($P < 0.001$) and has a high degree of tendency to self-archive scientific papers. No scientific papers were found shared on more than two platforms.

Of all the examined fields of science, if we analyse papers with a high degree of tendency for self-archiving and sharing, the leading authors are from the field of Natural sciences [N=21 (60%)] (Figure 6).

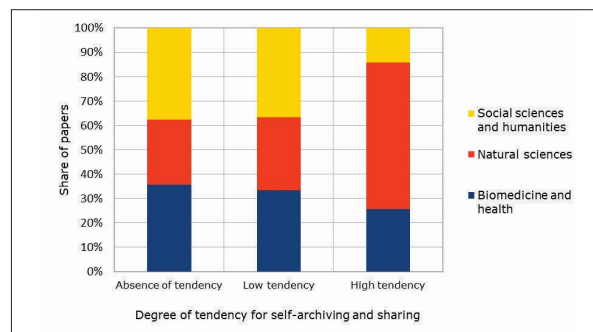
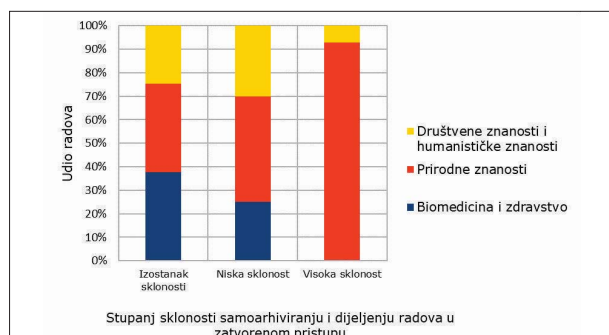


Figure 6. The degree of authors' tendency to self-archive or share the full text of a paper considering the field of science (N=210; $P=0.006$)

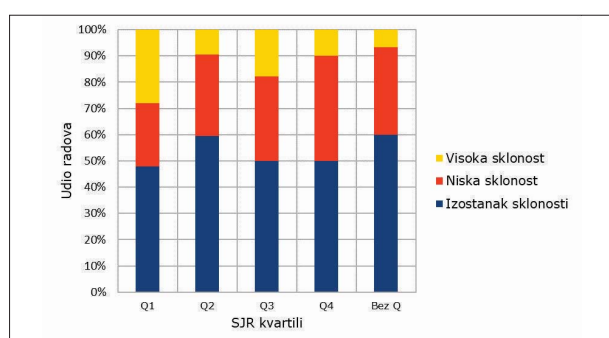
The author's intervention of self-archiving or sharing a paper that is otherwise in closed access for opening of that scientific paper to the global sci-

kakav je obrazac dijeljenja i samoarhiviranja samo u toj skupini. Od sva tri ispitana područja znanosti, visoki *stupanj sklonosti* samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju znanstvenih radova koji su objavljeni u zatvorenom pristupu u najvećem su omjeru [N=13 (92,6%)] pokazali također autori iz područja prirodnih znanosti (Slika 7, $P=0,004$).



Slika 7. Stupanj sklonosti autora da samoarhiviraju ili dijele cjeloviti tekst rada koji je objavljen u zatvorenom pristupu s obzirom na područje znanosti (N=103; $P=0,004$)

Nije nađena značajna povezanost stupnja sklonosti autora da samoarhivira ili javno podijeli svoj rad i metričkog pokazatelja SJR časopisa u kojem je rad objavljen ($P=0,116$). Isto je vidljivo na Slici 8. koja ukazuje na podjednaku razinu sklonosti autora da samoarhiviraju ili podijele svoj rad (bilo u niskom ili visokom stupnju) i izostanaka te sklonosti ($P=0,102$).



Slika 8. Stupanj sklonosti autora da samoarhiviraju ili dijele cjeloviti tekst rada (bez obzira na to je li objavljen u otvorenom ili zatvorenom pristupu) s obzirom na metrički pokazatelj SJR časopisa u kojem je rad objavljen (N=210; $P=0,102$)

Ovo istraživanje ima ograničenje, rađeno je na uzorku radova, ne na cjelokupnoj publicistici djelatnika Sveučilišta u Rijeci niti u svim područjima. Moguće je da neka područja imaju drugačije navike ili da bi rezultati na cjelokupnom uzorku bili neznatno drugačiji. Također, nismo sigurni da je popis bibliografskih podataka u Crosbyju potpun, no jedini je važeći u RH.

entific community is of great importance. Thus, it is necessary to consider only closed access papers and what is the pattern of sharing and self-archiving only in that group. Of all three examined fields of science, the *high degree of tendency* for self-archiving and sharing of scientific papers published in a closed access was also shown to the greatest extent [N=13 (92.6%)] by authors from the field of Natural sciences (Figure 7, $P=0.004$).

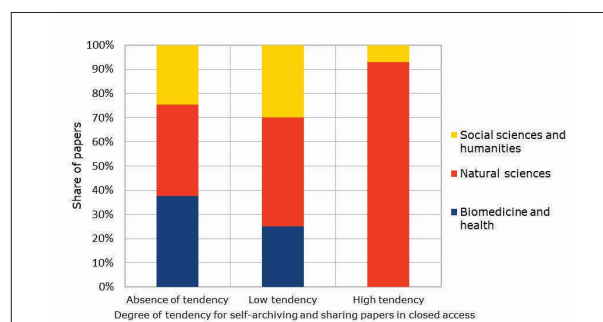


Figure 7. The degree of authors tendency to self-archive or share the full text of a paper published in a closed access considering the field of science (N=103; $P=0.004$)

No significant correlation was found between the degree of tendency of the author to self-archive or publicly share their paper and the metric indicator of the journal's SJR in which the paper was published ($P=0.116$). The same is evident in Figure 8, which indicates an equal level of tendency of authors to self-archive or share their paper (either in a low or high degree) and the absence of that propensity ($P=0.102$).

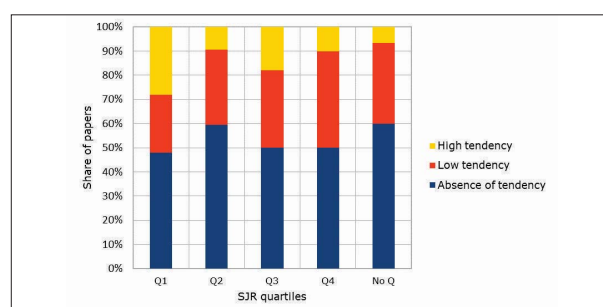


Figure 8. Degree of authors tendency to self-archive or share the full text of a paper (whether published in open or closed access) considering the metric indicator of the journal's SJR in which the paper was published (N=210; $P=0.102$)

This research has a limitation, it was done on a sample of papers, not on the entire publishing activity of the employees of the University of Rijeka nor in all the fields. It is possible that some fields have different habits or that the results on the whole sample would be slightly different. Also, we are not sure that the list of bibliographic data in Crosby is complete, but it is the only one valid in the Republic of Croatia.

4. Zaključak

U razdoblju od 2017. do 2019. godine znanstvenici Sveučilišta u Rijeci iz područja biomedicine i zdravstva i prirodnih znanosti najviše objavljuju svoje radove u časopisima svrstanim u SJR kvartile Q1 i Q2, i to podjednako u otvorenom i zatvorenom pristupu. Autori iz područja društvenih i humanističkih znanosti više naginju objavljivanju u Q3 i Q4 časopisima, te onim časopisima koji nisu indeksirani i nemaju dodijeljen SCImago Journal Rank indikator, što je u skladu s obrascima objavljivanja i specifičnostima društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti.

Znanstvenici Sveučilišta u Rijeci u podjednakom omjeru objavljuju svoje radove u otvorenom i zatvorenom pristupu u znanstvenim časopisima. No, postoje razlike između područja znanosti. Pa tako u objavljivanju radova u otvorenom pristupu prednjače znanstvenici iz društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti, dok značajno više radova u zatvorenom pristupu objavljuju znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti.

Ako se u tom kontekstu promotri i pripadnost radova cijelog skupa određenom SJR kvartilu časopisa, vidljivo je da je više radova u Q1 i Q2 časopisima koji su u zatvorenom pristupu, a oni u Q3 i Q4 časopisima su češće u otvorenom pristupu.

Analiza dijeljenja i samoarhiviranja radova u otvorene platforme (ResearchGate, ArXiv, Repozitorij UNIRI, Crosbi) pokazala je da nešto više od polovice radova nije samoarhivirano i da znanstvenici Sveučilišta u Rijeci najviše dijele znanstvene radove na društvenoj akademskoj mreži ResearchGate, i to sva tri područja podjednako. Slijedi platforma ArXiv, kojom se gotovo isključivo koriste autori iz prirodnih znanosti, i to u veliko obujmu – gotovo svaki drugi autor iz tog područja. Mali je udio radova koji se samoarhiviraju u Crosbi platformi, i to su isključivo oni iz društvenih znanosti i humanističkih znanosti. U najmanjoj mjeri se koristi Repozitorij UNIRI – institucijski repozitorij Sveučilišta u Rijeci koji je dio Digitalnog akademskog arhiva i repozitorija (Dabar). Institucijski repozitorij Sveučilišta u Rijeci jest infrastrukturno i praktično platforma s najviše potencijala za osiguravanje tzv. zelenog puta otvorenog pristupa kroz arhiviranje i dijeljenje znanstvenih radova djelatnika Sveučilišta. Osim toga, Sveučilište u Rijeci je jedna od rijetkih ustanova u Hrvatskoj koja službeno podupire i daje podršku otvorenoj znanosti kroz Deklaraciju Sveučilišta u Rijeci “Europska otvorena znanost”¹⁰ od 22. siječnja 2019. godine. Očito još

4. Conclusion

In the period from 2017 to 2019, scientists from the University of Rijeka in the fields of Biomedicine and Health and Natural sciences mostly publish their papers in journals classified in SJR quartiles Q1 and Q2, both in open and closed access. Authors in the fields of Social sciences and Humanities are more inclined to publish in Q3 and Q4 journals, and those journals that are not indexed and do not have an SCImago Journal Rank indicator, which is in line with publishing forms and specifics of Social Sciences and Humanities. Scientists of the University of Rijeka publish their papers in open and closed access in scientific journals in equal ratio. But there are differences between the fields of science. Thus, scientists from the Social sciences and Humanities are in the lead in publishing open access papers, while significantly more papers in the closed access are published by scientists from the field of Natural sciences. If in this context the affiliation of the papers of the whole set to a certain SJR quartile of journals is observed, it can be seen that more papers in Q1 and Q2 journals are in closed access, and those in Q3 and Q4 journals are more often in open access. The analysis of sharing and self-archiving papers in open platforms (ResearchGate, ArXiv, Repository UNIRI, CROSB) showed that slightly more than half of the papers are not self-archived and that scientists from the University of Rijeka mostly share scientific papers on the ResearchGate social academic network, for all three fields equally. This is followed by the ArXiv platform, which is used almost exclusively by authors from the field of natural sciences, and on a large scale – almost every other author from that field. There is a small share of papers that are self-archived in the CROSB platform, and these are exclusively those from the Social sciences and Humanities.

The UNIRI Repository is the least used – the institutional repository of the University of Rijeka, which is part of the Digital Academic Archive and Repository (Dabar). The Institutional Repository of the University of Rijeka is an infrastructural and practical platform with the most potential for securing the so-called a green route of open access through archiving and sharing the scientific papers of University employees.

In addition, the University of Rijeka is one of the few institutions in Croatia that gives and officially supports open science through the Declaration of the University of Rijeka – *European Open Science*¹⁰ of 22 January 2019. Obviously, there is still a period to

¹⁰ https://kampus.svkri.uniri.hr/images/Nacrt_Deklaracije_Sveučilišta_u_Rijeci_-_Otvorena_europska_znanost.pdf

¹⁰ https://kampus.svkri.uniri.hr/images/Nacrt_Deklaracije_Sveučilišta_u_Rijeci_-_Otvorena_europska_znanost.pdf

predstoji razdoblje da se obrasci i navike djelatnika Sveučilišta, koje takva podrška zagovara, usvoje u većem opsegu.

Kako bismo bolje razjasnili i shvatili sklonost autora da samoarhivira ili podijeli svoj rad na otvorenoj platformi, uveden je konstrukt *stupanj sklonosti*. Prateći pokazatelj *stupnja sklonosti*, u sklonosti samoarhiviranju i dijeljenju rada prednjače znanstvenici iz prirodnih znanosti, čak i ako promotrimo isključivo samoarhiviranje i dijeljenje radova koji su objavljeni u zatvorenom pristupu. Nije uočena povezanost između SJR kvartila časopisa u kojem je objavljen rad i sklonosti autora da samoarhivira ili podijeli svoj rad na nekoj otvorenoj platformi.

come before the forms and habits of the University employees, advocated by such support, are adopted to a greater extent.

In order to clarify better and understand the author's propensity to self-archive or share their paper on an open platform, a *construct degree of tendency* was introduced. Following the indicator of the degree of tendency, the tendency for self-archiving and paper sharing is led by scientists in the field of Natural sciences, even if we look exclusively at self-archiving and sharing of papers published in a closed access. No connection was observed between the SJR quartile of the journal in which the paper was published and the author's tendency to self-archive or share their paper on an open platform.

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Istraživanje primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe: društveno označavanje

Researching of Application of the User Bookmarks in Subject Cataloguing: Social Bookmarking

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subject cataloguing, user bookmarking, social
bookmarking

Sažetak / Abstract

Polazeći od potrebe iznalaženja rješenja poboljšanog pristupa građi u predmetnom katalogu, kao i poboljšanja predmetnog opisa, sprovedeno je istraživanje ispitivanja primjene korisničkih oznaka društvenog označavanja u okviru predmetne obrade građe. Cilj rada je komparativnom analizom korpusa ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka članaka triju časopisa Vjesnika bibliotekara Hrvatske (2019), Glasnika Narodne biblioteke Srbije (2017, 2018) i Bosniace (2019) ispitati primjenu korisničkih oznaka društvenog označavanja u predmetnoj obradi građe. U radu se naglašavaju prednosti primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe te se iznosi zaključak da korisničke oznake mogu unaprijediti i poboljšati pristup sadržaju u katalogu kroz korisničko označavanje, tj. društveno označavanje. Pretpostavka je da dobiveni rezultati nakon analize mogu biti indikativni za osmišljavanje strategije unapređenja predmetnog opisa i prilagođavanja bibliotečkog kataloga savremenom korisniku, na osnovu korisničkih oznaka dodijeljenih jezikom korisničke zajednice.

This research is done with the aim to find a solution on how to improve the accessibility of collections in catalogues and to improve subject cataloguing. The research is about questioning the application of user bookmarks of social marking within the subject cataloguing. The goal of this paper is to question the use of user tags in subject processing of the resources with comparative analysis of the bunch of keywords and user bookmarks of the articles in three journals including Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske (2019), Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije (2017, 2018) and Bosniaca (2019). This paper is highlighting the advantages of application user bookmarks in cataloguing and concluding that user bookmarks could improve and ameliorate access to a catalogue content through social bookmarking. The hypothesis is that the final result of analysis could be indicative of finding and designing a strategy that could improve subject cataloguing and adjustment of library catalogue to a modern user according to user tags which are assigned on common language.

Uvod

*Ab Iove principium. – Početak je od Jupitera
(tj. počnimo od najvažnijeg).*

U bibliotečkom katalogu, *de facto* problem otežanog verbalnog predmetnog pristupa sadržaju do kojeg korisnik želi doći u potrazi za znanjem, oduvijek je postojao, kako u tradicionalnim, tako i u digitalnim bibliotekama i bazama podataka putem interneta i informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija, kao novog načina “putovanja kroz sadržaje”. Taj problem, koji se najčešće ogleda u vidu predmetnih odrednica koje odstupaju od rječnika korisničkih riječi u okviru predmetne obrade građe, inicirao je provedbu istraživanja primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe. Cilj istraživanja je ispitati primjenu

Introduction

*Ab Iove principium. – Everything begins with Jupiter
(i.e. Start with the most important).*

In the library catalogue, *de facto* problem of hampered verbal subject access to the content that the user wants to reach in search of knowledge, has always existed in both traditional and digital libraries and databases via the Internet and information and communication technologies, as a new way of “travelling through content”. This problem, which is most often reflected in the form of subject headings that differ from the vocabulary of user words within the material subject cataloguing, initiated the implementation of research on the application of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing of

oznaka dodijeljenih od strane korisnika, to jest korisničkih oznaka društvenog označavanja u predmetnoj obradi, kroz statističku, značenjsku i lingvističku analizu. Sve to je ispitano komparativnom analizom ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka, članaka časopisa *Vjesnika bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019), *Glasnika Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) i *Bosniace* (2019), koji su poslužili kao primjeri ispitivanja primjene korisničkih oznaka društvenog označavanja u okviru predmetne obrade te građe.

U sklopu društvenog označavanja, oznake dodijeljene od strane korisnika predstavljaju korisničke oznake; predmetne odrednice predstavljaju oznake koje su rezultat predmetnog označavanja od strane stručnjaka. Mikačić (1996, 34–35) za definiciju predmetne odrednice navodi: predmetna odrednica jeste skup riječi, koje su pojmovne oznake, a koje u svojoj ukupnosti daju sažeti iskaz o predmetu sadržanom u pojedinom dokumentu. Na sličan način Lohmann (2013, 19) definiše korisničke oznake: korisničke oznake predstavljaju proizvoljne tekstualne oznake povezane s resursima. Kako korisničke oznake donose naznake novih elemenata opisa koji nisu prisutne u tradicionalnom predmetnom pristupu obrade građe, za očekivati je da postoji kvantitativna, ali i kvalitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi dodanih istoj građi. U okviru toga, u analizu krenulo se od sljedećih hipoteza: H1: Postoji kvantitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe.

Ova hipoteza ispitana je statističkom analizom prikupljenih korisničkih oznaka usporedno s ključnim riječima, kako bi se analizirala razlika na kvantitativnoj razini.

H2: Postoji kvalitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe.

Hipoteza je ispitana lingvističkom i značenjskom analizom korisničkih oznaka kroz ispitivanje naznaka novih elemenata opisa koji donose oznake, a koje nisu prisutne u predmetnom opisu građe ključnim riječima; sve s ciljem poboljšanja kvalitete predmetnog opisa građe korisničkim oznakama.

Rezultati istraživanja primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe prikazani su kroz statističku, lingvističku i značenjsku razinu komparativne analize, koja je dala uvid u značaj društvenog označavanja.

Društveno označavanje

Korisničke oznake prepoznate su kao djelotvorne u organizaciji informacija zbog funkcionisanja korištenja kolektivne inteligencije, koja nastaje kao

material. The aim of the research is to examine the application of bookmarks assigned by users, i.e. user bookmarks of social bookmarking in the subject cataloguing, through statistical, semantic, and linguistic analysis. All of this was examined by a comparative analysis of keywords and user bookmarks, journal articles in *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019), *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) and *Bosniaca* (2019), which served as examples of testing the usage of user bookmarks in social bookmarking within the subject cataloguing of that material.

As part of social bookmarking, user-assigned bookmarks represent user bookmarks, subject headings represent bookmarks that are the result of subject indexing by experts. Mikačić (1996, 34–35) for the definition of the subject heading states: subject heading is a set of words, which are term designations, and which in their entirety give a concise statement of the subject contained in a particular document. Similarly, Lohmann (2013, 19) defines user bookmarks: user bookmarks are arbitrary text tags associated with resources. Since user bookmarks bring indications of new description elements that are not present in the traditional subject approach to material cataloguing, it is to be expected that there is a quantitative but also a qualitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords added to the same material. Within this, the analysis started from the following hypotheses:

H1: There is a quantitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material.

This hypothesis was tested by statistical analysis of collected user bookmarks in parallel with keywords, in order to analyze the difference at the quantitative level.

H2: There is a qualitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material.

The hypothesis was tested by linguistic and semantic analysis of user bookmarks through the examination of indications of new elements of the description that bring the bookmarks, which are not present in the subject description of the material with the keywords, all with the aim of improving the quality of the subject description of the material by user bookmarks.

The results of the research on the application of user bookmarks in the subject description of the material are presented through the statistical, linguistic and semantic level of comparative analysis, which provided insight into the importance of social bookmarking.

rezultat korisničkog sudjelovanja u dodjeljivanju oznaka koje će predmetno opisivati promatrani objekt građe, što predstavlja društveno označavanje. Ivanjko (2015, 50) za definiciju društvenog / korisničkog označavanja (engl. *Tagging, Collaborative tagging, Social tagging / bookmarking*) navodi da je to postupak organiziranja elektroničkih sadržaja, koji provodi više korisnika, na način da se ti sadržaji indeksiraju / kategoriziraju *ad hoc* dodijeljenim ključnim riječima. Naime, pod terminom društveno (engl. *social*) podrazumijeva se društvo kao skupina pojedinaca, aktivnih agenata, u konačnici korisnika koji učestvuju u označavanju sadržaja na internetu (Shirky Clay 2005, 183–209). Termin označavanje (engl. *bookmarking, tagging*) može se definisati kao dodjeljivanje / tagiranje korisničkih oznaka ili tagova (engl. *bookmarks, tag*) sadržaju koje čine ključne riječi, odnosno nekontrolisani termini koje korisnici dodjeljuju izvorima koje postavljaju ili koji su postavljeni na internetu od strane pojedinaca na nekoj od web stranica (Trant 2009). U vezi s tim, kolaborativno tagiranje (engl. *Collaborative tagging*) zapravo je rezultat zajedničkog označavanja korisnika i nastaje klasificiranjem sadržaja po određenim područjima (Golder i Huberman 2006), pri čemu se ukupan broj dodijeljenih korisničkih oznaka određenom sadržaju, proizašlih iz postupka društvenog označavanja, naziva folksonomija (engl. *folksonomy*) (Vander Wal 2007). Budući da folksonomija nastaje dodjeljivanjem tagova izvoru sadržaja na webu od strane korisnika kao aktera, ona kao takav način kategorizacije nema unaprijed osmišljenu koncepciju, već nastaje proizvoljnim i samoprocjenljivim djelovanjem korisnika u provedbi društvenog označavanja. To, dakaiko, nije slučaj primarno s bibliotekarima, stručnjacima koji u tradicionalnom modelu predmetnu obradu građe provode korištenjem pravila za kreiranje iskaza o dokumentu. Ono što se može navesti kao razlika između dodjeljivanja ključnih riječi od strane predmetnog stručnjaka i korisnika u procesu društvenog označavanja jeste to da uspješnost predmetne obrade građe zavisi od kvalitete obrade predmetnog stručnjaka, dok kod korisničkog označavanja uspješnost obrade spada na grupu korisnika. To znači da svaki korisnik može posebice dodijeliti željenu oznaku nekom izvoru, a kvantitet ponavljanja iste oznake od strane nekog trećeg korisnika pokazuje kvalitetu te iste oznake.

Za provedbu društvenog označavanja nužan i neminovan je odabir ciljanog alata koji omogućava provedbu društvenog označavanja. Neki od alata za društveno označavanje su: Pinboard, Digg, Diigo, Tagpacker, Pinterest, We Heart It, Plurk i mnogi

Social bookmarking

User bookmarks have been recognized as effective in organizing information due to the functioning of the use of collective intelligence, which arises as a result of user participation in the assignment of bookmarks that will objectively describe the observed material object, which represents social bookmarking. Ivanjko (2015, 50) for definition of social/user bookmarking (or *Tagging, Collaborative tagging, Social tagging/bookmarking*) states that it is a process of organizing electronic content, which is carried out by several users in a way that these contents are indexed / categorized *ad hoc* to assigned keywords. In fact, under the term social, society is understood as a group of individuals, active agents, ultimately, the users who participate in the bookmarking of content on the Internet (Shirky Clay 2005, 183–209). Term bookmarking (or *tagging*) can be defined as assigning / tagging user bookmarks or tags to the content that consists of keywords, i.e. uncontrolled terms that users assign to sources that they post or that are posted on the Internet by individuals on one of the websites (Trant 2009). On this matter, *collaborative tagging* is actually the result of common user bookmarking that results from classifying content by specific areas (Golder and Huberman 2006), where the total number of assigned user bookmarks to a particular content, originated from the social bookmarks process, is called *folksonomy* (Vander Wal 2007). Because folksonomy is created by assigning bookmarks to a source of content on the web by users as participants, and as such way of categorization, it does not have a preconceived concept, but arises from the arbitrary and self-assessing actions of users in the implementation of social bookmarking. This, of course, is not the case primarily with librarians, experts who in the traditional model carry out the subject cataloguing of material using the rules for creating statements about the document. What can be stated as the difference between the assignment of keywords by the subject expert and the user in the social bookmarking process, is that the success of the subject cataloguing of the material depends on the quality of the cataloguing of the subject expert, while in the case of user bookmarking the success of the cataloguing belongs to the group of users. This means that each user can individually assign the desired bookmark to a source, and the quantity of repetition of the same bookmark by a third user shows the quality of that same bookmark.

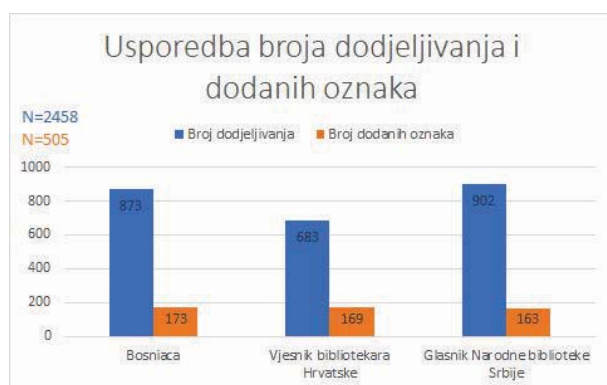
drugi. Diigo alat je jedan od najpopularnijih alata za društveno označavanje, a ujedno je korišten i za potrebe ovoga istraživanja, kao centralizirano mjesto za provedbu korisničkog / društvenog označavanja.

Komparativna analiza časopisa

Metodom online nabave iz mnoštva (engl. *crowdsourcing*) prikupljen je korpus korisničkih oznaka putem Diigo alata za društveno označavanje. Korisnici su po vlastitom mišljenju dodijelili svakom članku časopisa *Bosniace* (2019), *Vjesnika bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i *Glasnika narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) oznake koje su oni prepoznali kao djelotvorne u organizaciji informacija i komplementiranju predmetne obrade građe. Pristup Diigo grupi "Folksonomija", odnosno cjelokupnom korpusu članaka časopisa i dodijeljenih korisničkih oznaka, kao i profilima korisnika dodjeljivača, omogućen je putem linka: <https://groups.diigo.com/group/folksonomija>. In medias res, sprovedenom analizom korpusa korisničkih oznaka usporedno s ključnim riječima, kroz tri faze istraživanja uz ispitivanje postavljenih hipoteza, došlo se do sljedećih rezultata:

Statistička analiza

Statistička analiza odnosila se na ispitivanje kvantitativne razlike između omjera korpusa ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka triju časopisa: *Bosniace* (2019), *Vjesnika bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i *Glasnika narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018). Putem Diigo alata za društveno označavanje, ukupno je dodijeljeno 2458 korisničkih oznaka na uzorku od po deset članaka za sva tri gore spomenuta časopisa, od kojih je 505 jedinstvenih / dodanih korisničkih oznaka (Grafikon 1), dok ukupan broj ključnih riječi koje se nalaze uz članke časopisa iznosi 131.



Grafikon 1. Usporedba broja dodjeljivanja i dodanih oznaka za sva tri časopisa

Kao što vidimo, od ukupnog broja od 2458 dodijeljenih korisničkih oznaka, 873 oznake su dodijeljene *Bosniaci* (2019), 683 *Vjesniku bibliotekara Hrvatske*

The implementation of social bookmarking is necessary and inevitable to choose a targeted tool that enables the implementation of social bookmarking. Some of the social bookmarking tools are: Pinboard, Digg, Diigo, Tagpacker, Pinterest, We Heart It, Plurk and many others. Diigo tool is one of the most popular tools for social bookmarking, which was also used for the purposes of this research as a centralized place for the implementation of user / social bookmarking.

Comparative journal analysis

By the method of online crowdsourcing a corpus of user bookmarks was collected through the Diigo social bookmarking tool. Users have assigned in their own opinion to each journal article in *Bosniaca* (2019), *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) bookmarks which they recognized as effective in organizing information and complementing the material subject cataloguing. Access to Diigo group "Folksonomy", that is, the entire corpus of journal articles and assigned user bookmarks, as well as to the profiles of the assignor users, is enabled via the link: <https://groups.diigo.com/group/folksonomija>. In medias res, the implemented analysis of the corpus of user bookmarks in parallel with the keywords, through three phases of research with the examination of the hypotheses, led to the following results.

Statistical analysis

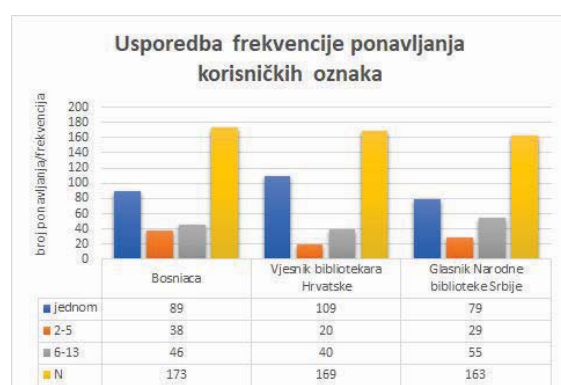
Statistical analysis related to the examination of the quantitative difference between the ratio of the corpus of keywords and user bookmarks of three journals: *Bosniaca* (2019), *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018). Through the Diigo social bookmarking tool, a total of 2458 user bookmarks were assigned to a sample of ten articles for all three of the above-mentioned journals, of which 505 were unique / added user bookmarks (Chart 1), while the total number of keywords that accompanied journal articles is 131.

(2019) i 902 oznake *Glasniku Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018), od kojih je broj dodanih oznaka za prvi časopis 173, za drugi časopis 169 i za treći časopis 163; što zbirno iznosi 505 jedinstvenih, dodanih korisničkih oznaka za sva tri časopisa.

Omjeri ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka, s obzirom na spomenutu kvantitativnu metodu promatranja u ovome istraživanju zasebno, za *Bosniacu* (2019) su 49 : 173, za *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) 41 : 169, a za *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) 41 : 163.

Ovi statistički pokazatelji omjera ključnih riječi naspram korisničkih oznaka potvrđuju prvu hipotezu statističke analize za sva tri časopisa: h1. ključnih riječi će biti manje u odnosu na korisničke oznake. Kao što vidimo iz prikaza omjera oznaka časopisa, od ukupno 222 oznake za *Bosniacu* (2019), 78% je više korisničkih oznaka u odnosu na ključne riječi, a od ukupno 210 oznaka za *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) 80%. Za *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) relativni pokazatelj razlike korisničkih oznaka naspram ključnih riječi iznosi 78% u korist korisničkih oznaka, što je u globalu za sva tri časopisa od ukupno 636 oznaka, u prosjeku 79% više korisničkih oznaka.

Analizom frekvencije pojavljivanja pojedinih riječi kao korisničkih oznaka za članke sva tri časopisa, s brojem pojavljivanja korisničkih oznaka u intervalima: korisnička se oznaka pojavljuje jednom, od 2 do 5 puta, te od 6 do 13 puta ponavljanja, odnosno dodjeljivanja iste oznake od strane korisnika, dobijen je prikaz frekvencije ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka zasebno za sva tri časopisa (Grafikon 2).



Grafikon 2. Usporedba frekvencije ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka za sva tri časopisa

Sakupljanjem svih korisničkih oznaka sa sveukupnim zasebnim zbirovima na nivou članaka u intervalima pojavljivanja korisničkih oznaka koje se ponavljaju, sumirano i s korisničkim oznakama koje se pojavljuju jedanput, vidljivo je da postoji razlika

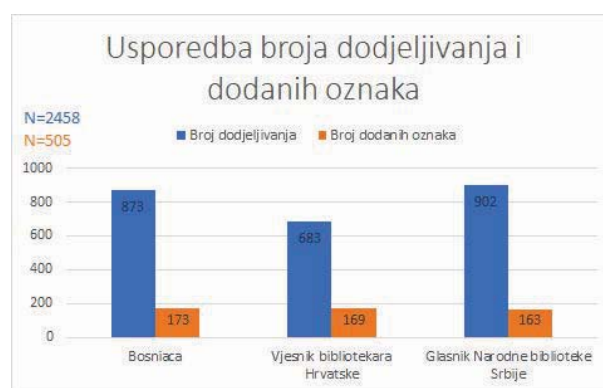


Chart 1. Comparison of the number of assignments and added bookmarks for 30 articles from three journals

As we can see, out of a total of 2458 assigned user bookmarks, 873 bookmarks have been assigned to *Bosniaca* (2019), 683 to *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and 902 bookmarks to *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018), of which the number of bookmarks added for the first journal is 173, for the second journal 169 and for the third journal 163, which is total of 505 unique, added user bookmarks for all three journals.

The ratios of keywords and user bookmarks, given the mentioned quantitative method of observation in this study separately, for *Bosniaca* (2019) are 49 : 173, for *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) 41 : 169, and for *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) 41 : 163.

These statistical ratio indicators of keywords to user bookmarks confirm the first hypothesis of statistical analysis for all three journals h1: there will be less keywords than user bookmarks. As we can see from the display of journal bookmark ratios, out of a total of 222 bookmarks for *Bosniaca* (2019), 78% has more user bookmarks than keywords, and out of a total of 210 bookmarks for *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) it is 80%. For *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018), the relative indicator of the difference between user bookmarks versus keywords is 78% in favour of user bookmarks, which is in general for all three journals out of a total of 636 bookmarks, on average 79% more user bookmarks.

By analyzing the frequency of occurrence of individual words as user bookmarks for articles in all three journals with the number of occurrences of user bookmarks in intervals: the user bookmark appears once, from 2 to 5 times, and from 6 to 13 re-

u frekvenciji ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka za sva tri časopisa.

Naime, od ukupnog broja korisničkih oznaka 173 za *Bosniacu* (2019), frekvencija ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka je na relaciji 51% oznaka koje se samo jednom pojavljuju naspram 49% oznaka koje se ponavljaju više puta. Kao što vidimo, procentualno postoji zanemarljivo manji broj oznaka niske frekvencije (veliki broj oznaka koje su dodane samo jednom) u odnosu na broj velike frekvencije (mali broj oznaka koje su često dodane).

Signifikantno je s časopisom *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019), pri čemu od ukupno 169 korisničkih oznaka niska frekvencija naspram velike frekvencije ima sljedeću relaciju: 64% naspram 36%, što predstavlja približno udvostručenje korisničkih oznaka koje se ponavljaju naspram korisničkih oznaka koje se pojavljuju jedanput.

U odnosu na prethodna dva časopisa, korisničke oznake *Glasnika Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) zauzimaju relaciju 48% : 52%, u kojoj dominira velika frekvencija naspram niske frekvencije pojavljivanja korisničkih oznaka. Prema tome, za ovaj časopis nije potvrđena hipoteza: h2. frekvencija broja dodijeljenih identičnih korisničkih oznaka od strane korisnika dodjeljivača je niska. Za časopise *Bosniaca* (2019) i *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) potvrđena je prethodna hipoteza, koja je ujedno i indikator na primjenu korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe zbog povećanja korpusa oznaka koje opisuju sadržaj.

U konačnici, provođenjem statističke analize na razini omjera ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka, kao i frekvencije ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka, u cilju prikaza razlike na spomenutim kvantitativnim razinama, hipoteza h1: postoji kvantitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe, potvrđena je za sva tri časopisa. Taj kvantitet prevashodno se ogleda u gotovo učetverostručenom broju korisničkih oznaka nasuprot broju ključnih riječi, koje su s korisničkog aspekta samoprocijenjenog opisivanja iscrpne. Činjenica je da je prisutni broj korisničkih oznaka u velikoj mjeri veći od broja ključnih riječi te da iste te oznake ne povećavaju samo broj frekvencije već postojećih oznaka nego dakako povećaju i korpus korisničkog rječnika, čija bi primjena u predmetnom opisu građe imala za cilj omogućiti lakši i brži pronalazak iste te građe.

Lingvistička analiza

Ova se analiza odnosila na formalnu analizu vezanu uz gramatička obilježja korisničkih oznaka, kako bi

currences, that is, the assignment of the same bookmark by the user, the frequency of user bookmark recurrence was obtained separately for all three journals (Chart 2).

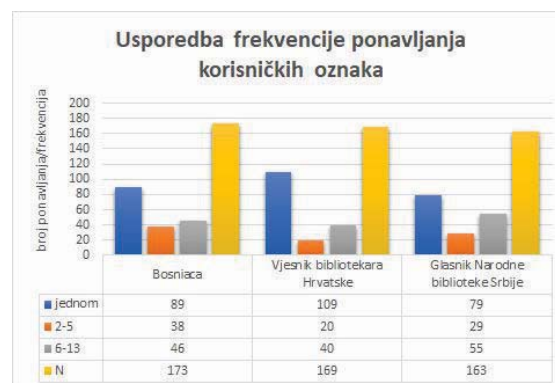


Chart 2. Comparison of user bookmarking recurrence frequency for all three journals

By collecting all user bookmarks with total separate sums at the article level at user bookmarks occurrence intervals which recur, summarized also with user bookmarks which are repeated once, it is evident that there is a difference in the frequency of recurrence of user bookmarks for all three journals.

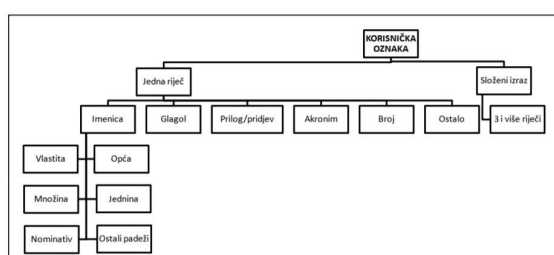
In fact, out of the total number of user bookmarks of 173 for *Bosniaca* (2019), the frequency of recurrence of user bookmarks is on the relation 51% of bookmarks that appear only once versus 49% of bookmarks which are repeated several times. As we can see, there is a negligible percentage of low frequency bookmarks (a large number of bookmarks added only once) compared to a high frequency number (a small number of bookmarks that are added often).

The journal *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) is significant that out of a total of 169 user bookmarks, the low frequency versus the high frequency has the following relation: 64% vs. 36%, which represents an approximate duplication of user bookmarks that are repeated versus user bookmarks that appear once.

Compared to the previous two journals, user bookmarks for *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) take the following relation: 48% : 52%, which is dominated by a high frequency versus a low frequency of occurrence of user bookmarks. Therefore, the hypothesis for this journal h2: the frequency of the number of identical user bookmarks assigned by the assignor user is low, has not been confirmed. For journals *Bosniaca* (2019) and *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) the previous hypothesis was confirmed, which is also an

se dobio uvid u kvalitet oznaka koje su korisnici dodali člancima časopisa.

Analiza je rađena prema modelu analize doktorske disertacije *Pristup analizi i primjeni korisničkog označivanja u predmetnom opisu baštinske građe* (Ivanjko 2015, 124, prema modelu Špiranec i Ivanjko 2012, 68), koji je istu analizu uradio u svom radu na osnovu kategorizacije korisničkih oznaka predloženih u radu Heckner, Mühlbacher i Wolf (2008, citirano prema Ivanjko 2015, 124), a koju su Špiranec i Ivanjko (2012, citirano prema Ivanjko 2015, 124) prilagodili za potrebe vlastitih istraživanja korpusa oznaka (Slika 1):



Slika 1. Kategorije lingvističke analize

Prema predstavljenoj kategorizaciji korisničkih oznaka, najprije je izvršena analiza korisničkih oznaka usporedno za sva tri časopisa prema broju riječi od kojih se sastoje korisničke oznake (Grafikon 3), pri čemu su korisničke oznake diferencirane u grupe: jedna riječ, složeni izraz i 3 i više riječi. Analiza je provedena na korpusu od 505 dodanih korisničkih oznaka, od kojih su 173 oznake bh. časopisa, 169 oznake hrv. časopisa i 164 oznake srp. časopisa.



Grafikon 3. Usporedna analiza korisničkih oznaka časopisa prema broju riječi od kojih se sastoje

Kao što je vidljivo iz podataka predstavljenih u procentima, objedinjeno za sva tri časopisa, najveći broj korisničkih oznaka sastojao se od složenih izraza: 53% *Bosniaca* (2019), 43% *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i 41% *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018); nešto manje oznaka se sastojalo od jedne riječi: 30% hrv. časopis, 40% srp. časopis, dok je bh. časopis zauzeo udjelno najmanje

indikatora upotrebe korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu baštinske građe (Ivanjko 2015, 124, prema modelu Špiranec i Ivanjko 2012, 68), koji je istu analizu uradio u svom radu na osnovu kategorizacije korisničkih oznaka predloženih u radu Heckner, Mühlbacher i Wolf (2008, citirano prema Ivanjko 2015, 124), a koju su Špiranec i Ivanjko (2012, citirano prema Ivanjko 2015, 124) prilagodili za potrebe vlastitih istraživanja korpusa oznaka (Slika 1):

Ultimately, by conducting statistical analysis at the level of the ratio of keywords and user bookmarks, as well as user bookmark recurrence frequencies, in order to show the difference at the mentioned quantitative levels, the hypothesis h1: there is a quantitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material, has been confirmed for all three journals. This quantity is primarily reflected in the almost quadrupled number of user bookmarks versus the number of keywords, which are detailed from the user aspect of self-assessment. The fact is that the number of present user bookmarks is largely higher than the number of keywords, and that the same bookmarks increase not only the number of frequencies but the existing bookmarks, rather than increasing the corpus of the user dictionary, whose application in the subject cataloguing of the material would aim to enable easier and faster finding of the same material.

Linguistic analysis

This analysis has referred to a formal analysis related to the grammatical features of user bookmarks, in order to gain insight into the quality of bookmarks that users added to journal articles.

The analysis was done according to the doctoral dissertation analysis model *Pristup analizi i primjeni korisničkog označivanja u predmetnom opisu baštinske građe* (Analysis and implementation of folksonomies in subject indexing of heritage materials) (Ivanjko 2015, 124, according to the model Špiranec and Ivanjko 2012, 68), who did the same analysis in his paper based on the categorization of user bookmarks proposed in the paper Heckner, Mühlbacher and Wolf (2008, cited according to Ivanjko 2015, 124), and which are Špiranec and Ivanjko (2012, cited according to Ivanjko 2015, 124) adapted for the purposes of their own bookmark corpus research (Figure 1):

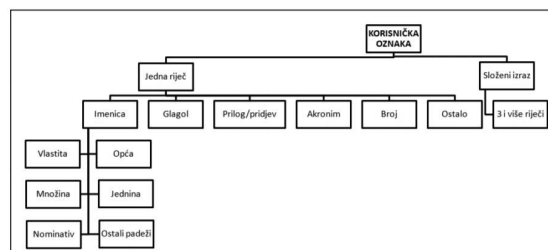
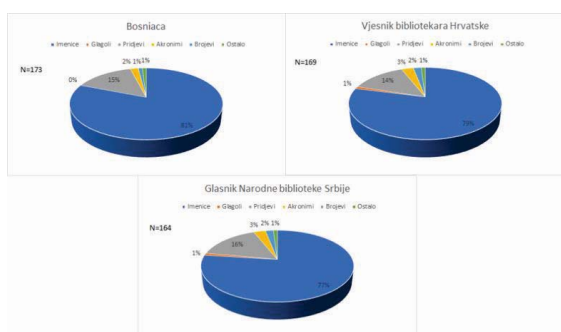


Figure 1. Categories of linguistic analysis

procenata, 20% oznaka od jedne riječi. Približno podjednake udjele iz grupe oznaka od 3 i više riječi su imali bh. i hrv. časopisi od 27 i 28%, dok je srp. časopis imao najmanji udio od 20% riječi iz spomenute grupe korisničkih oznaka.

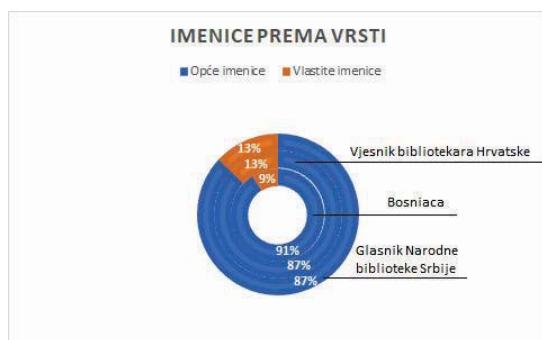
Sljedeća provedena analiza je analiza korisničkih oznaka prema vrsti riječi. Analiza je izvršena grupisanjem korisničkih oznaka prema kategorizaciji korisničkih oznaka, zasebno s ukupnim brojem korisničkih oznaka za sva tri časopisa pojedinačno, prema sljedećim vrstama riječi: imenice, glagoli, pridjevi, akronimi, brojevi i ostalo (Grafikon 4).



Grafikon 4. Analiza korisničkih oznaka časopisa prema vrsti riječi

Na osnovu podataka sa slike, očigledno je da velika većina riječi pripada imenicama za sva tri časopisa: 81% za *Bosniacu* (2019), 79% za *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i 77% za *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018). Procentualno manji dio u odnosu na imenice zauzimaju pridjevi s približno 15% za sva tri časopisa. Ostale vrste riječi evidentno su prisutne u najmanjem broju od 3 i manje od 3% riječi.

Prema udjelno najvećem broju riječi koje pripadaju imenicama, ali ponajprije prema postavljenoj kategorizaciji analize, izvršena je i posljednja lingvistička analiza prema vrsti (Grafikon 5), padežu (Grafikon 6) i broju imenica (Grafikon 7) za sve časopise.



Grafikon 5.: Imenice prema vrsti

According to the presented categorization of user bookmarks, the analysis of user bookmarks was performed first in parallel for all three journals according to the number of words that make up user bookmarks (Chart 3), where user bookmarks are differentiated into groups: one word, compound expression, and 3 or more words. The analysis was performed on a corpus of 505 added user bookmarks, of which 173 are bookmarks of BH journals, 169 bookmarks are Croatian journals and 164 bookmarks are Serbian journals.

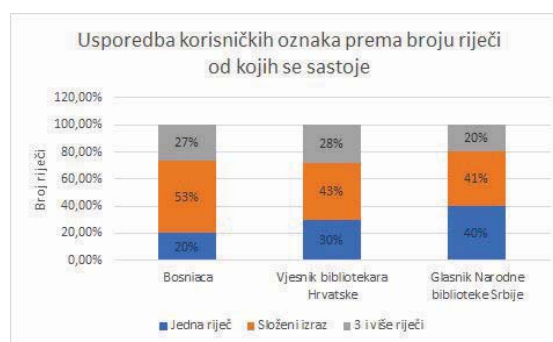
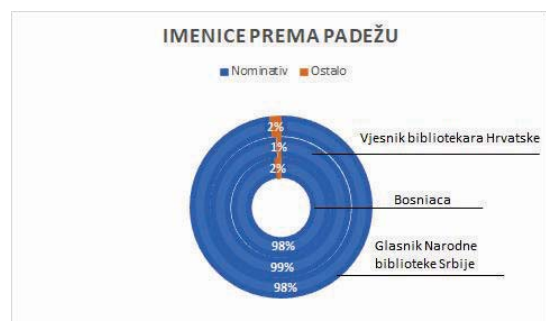


Chart 3. Comparative analysis of journal user bookmarks according to the number of words they consist of

As can be seen from the presented percentage data, combined for all three journals, the largest number of user bookmarks consisted of complex expressions: 53% *Bosniaca* (2019), 43% *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and 41% *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018), a slightly less bookmarks consisted of a single word 30% for Croatian journal, 40% for Serbian journal, while the BH journal took the lowest percentage share, 20% of one-word bookmark. Approximately equal shares from the group of bookmarks from 3 and more words had BH and Croatian journals – from 27 and 28%, while Serbian journal had a minimum share of 20% of the words from mentioned group of user bookmarks.

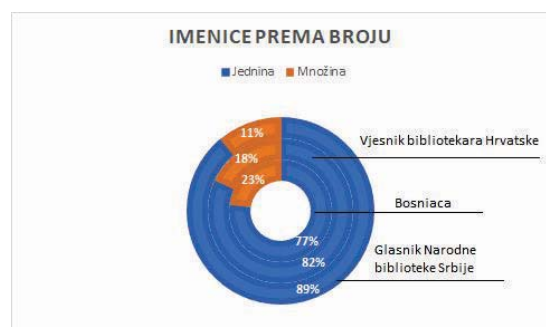
The next performed analysis is the analysis of user bookmarks by word class. The analysis was performed by grouping user bookmarks according to the categorization of user bookmarks, separately with the total number of user bookmarks for all three journals individually, according to the following classes of words: nouns, verbs, adjectives, acronyms, numbers and rest (Chart 4).

Kao što vidimo, većina imenica za sva tri časopisa pripada općim imenicama, s po 87% za hrv. i srp. časopis i 91% za bh. časopis, dok od ukupnog korpusa, 9% imenica bh. časopisa i po 13% ostalih dvaju časopisa pripadaju vlastitim imenicama.



Grafikon 6. Imenice prema padežu

Prema padežu, imenice za sva tri časopisa zauzimaju približno isti većinski procenat imenica u nominativu od po 98% za bh. i srp. časopis i 99% za hrv. časopis, dok su imenice u ostalim padežima prisutne u izrazito malom broju od 2% i 1% po prethodno navedenom redoslijedu časopisa.



Grafikon 7. Imenice prema broju

Imenice prema broju zauzimaju većinski udjel za sva tri časopisa imenicama u jednini od 77% za *Bosniacu* (2019), 82% za *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i 89% za *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018), dok su ostale imenice prisutne u množini s manjim udjelom od 23% za bh. časopis, 18% za hrv. časopis i 11% za srp. časopis.

Nakon provedene analize, s rezultatima od udjelno najvećeg broja složenih izraza korisničkih oznaka koje pripadaju općim imenicama u jednini i nominativu, zaključeno je da su u lingvističkoj analizi ključnih riječi također najviše zastupljene opće imenice u složenim izrazima u jednini i nominativu, što ne potvrđuje kvalitativne razlike između promatranih oznaka. S druge strane, broj dodanih oznaka pokazuje prisutnost oznaka koje nisu prisutne u predmetnom opisu ključnim riječima. Prema tome, prisutnost novih elemenata oznaka, proizašlih od

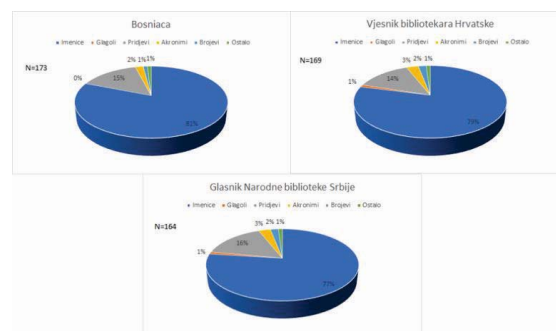


Chart 4. Analysis of journal user bookmarks by word class

Based on the data from the picture, it is obvious that the large majority of words belong to nouns for all three journals: 81% for *Bosniaca* (2019), 79% for *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and 77% for *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018). In percentage terms, a smaller part in relation to nouns is occupied by adjectives with approximately 15% for all three journals. Other types of words are evidently present in the smallest number of 3 and less than 3% of words.

According to the share of highest number of words which are belonging to nouns, but primarily according to the fixed categorization of the analysis, the last analysis of linguistic analysis was also performed by class (Chart 5), grammatical case (Chart 6) and the number of nouns (Chart 7) for all journals.

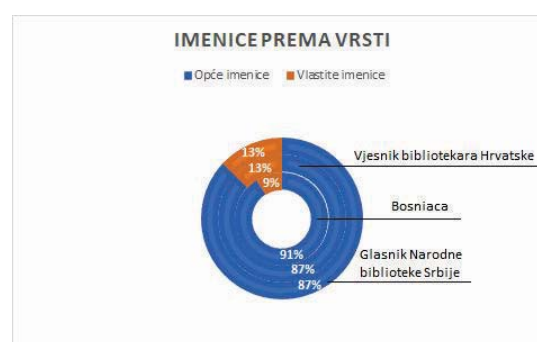


Chart 5. Nouns by class

As we can see, most nouns for all three journals belong to common nouns, with 87% for Croatian and Serbian journal and 91% for BH journal, while from the total corpus, 9% nouns of BH journal and 13% of the other two journals belong to the proper nouns.

strane korisnika dodjeljivača istih oznaka, umnogome govori o važnoj ulozi folksonomija u organizaciji i pretraživanju informacija, čime je potvrđena hipoteza koja se odnosi na lingvističku analizu h2: postoji kvalitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe.

Značenjska analiza

Značenjska analiza se odnosila na sadržajnu analizu vezanu za značenje korisničkih oznaka, koja je izvršena s ciljem uvida u kvalitet oznaka koje su korisnici dodali člancima časopisa.

Ivanjko (2015, 128–130) za istoimenu analizu koristi model autora Klenczonija i Rygiela (2004, 42–61, citirano prema Ivanjko 2015, 129), koji se prevashodno odnose na značenjsku analizu vizualne građe, koje je Ivanjko objedinio u tabelu (Slika 2), a koju smo za potrebe ovoga rada prilagodili analizi korisničkih oznaka časopisa.

RAZINA	NAZIV	OPIS
1. razina	<i>ISNESS</i>	identificira vrstu izvora koji se opisuje (npr. plakat, fotografija)
2. razina	<i>OFNESS</i>	
	• <i>GENERIČKI POJMOVI</i>	ne zahtijevaju specifično znanje već samo znanje prepoznavanja
	• <i>SPECIFIČNI POJMOVI</i>	identificiraju specifične karakteristike prisutne na izvoru
3. razina	<i>ABOUTNESS</i>	odnosi se na apstraktne pojmove vezane uz prikazano

Slika 2. Razine značenjske analize korisničkih oznaka (Ivanjko 2015, 130)

Prva razina – *isness* – identificira vrstu izvora koji se opisuje; druga – *ofness* – odnosi se na identificiranje pojmova vezanih uz resurs, detaljnije razrađuje razinu *ofness* na generičke pojmove (koji ne zahtijevaju specifično znanje, već samo znanje prepoznavanja) te specifične pojmove (koji identificiraju specifične karakteristike prisutne na izvoru), dok se treća razina – *aboutness* – odnosi na apstraktne pojmove vezane uz prikazano.

Prema postavljenom modelu, provedena je analiza značenja razina korisničkih oznaka članaka za sva tri časopisa koji su predmet ovog istraživanja (Tabela 1).

Tabela 1. Rezultati analize značenja razina korisničkih oznaka časopisa

Naziv časopisa	Broj izvora	Broj korisničkih oznaka	ISNESS	OFNESS	ABOUTNESS	OSTALO
<i>Bosniaca</i>	10	173	1	138	23	12
<i>Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske</i>	10	169	1	143	18	8
<i>Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije</i>	10	164	1	143	12	9

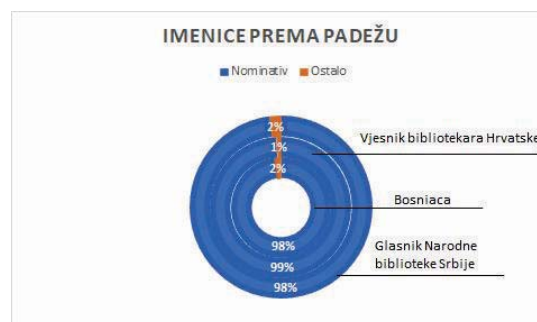


Chart 6. Nouns according to grammatical cases

According to the grammatical case, nouns for all three journals cover approximately the same majority percentage of nouns in the nominative case of the 98% for BH and Serbian journal and 99% for Croatian journal, while nouns in other grammatical cases are present in a very small number of 2% and 1% in the aforementioned order of the journal.

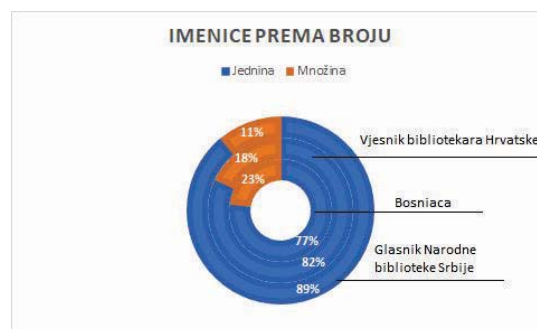
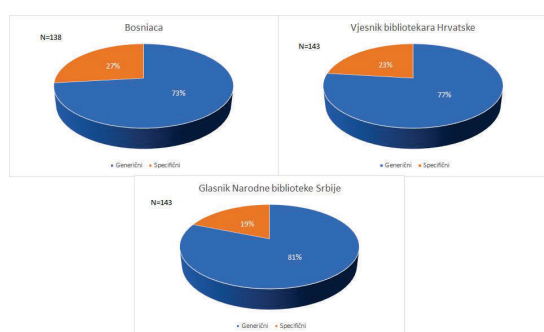


Chart 7. Nouns by number

Nouns by number cover the majority share for all three journals by singular nouns of 77% for *Bosniaca* (2019), 82% for *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and 89% for *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018), while other nouns are present in the plural with a smaller share of 23% for BH journal, 18% for Croatian journal and 11% for Serbian journal.

After the analysis, with the results of the share of the highest number of complex expressions of user bookmarks that belong to common nouns in the singular and nominative case, it was concluded that in the linguistic analysis of keywords the most

Kao što vidimo iz tabelarnog prikaza, najveći broj korisničkih oznaka časopisa pripada razini *ofness*, i to 138 oznake *Bosniace* (2019) i po 134 oznake *Vjesnika bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i *Glasnika Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018). Prema tome, izvršena je i analiza korisničkih oznaka na razini *ofness* (Grafikon 8). Na razini *aboutness* dodane su 23 korisničke oznake za bh. časopis, 18 oznaka za hrv. te 12 oznaka za srp. časopis; dok je na razini *isness* za sva tri časopisa dodana po jedna korisnička oznaka budući da se radi o člancima triju časopisa.



Grafikon 8. Analiza korisničkih oznaka časopisa na razini *ofness*

Analiza prema razini *ofness* pokazala je kako je najveći broj korisničkih oznaka dodan na generičkoj razini. Od ukupnog broja 138 *ofness* korisničkih oznaka za *Bosniacu* (2019), 73% oznaka je dodano na generičkoj razini, dok je 27% dodano na specifičnoj razini. Slična je situacija i s časopisima *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019) i *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) s po 143 ukupno korisničke oznake, od kojih je 77% oznaka dodanih na generičkoj razini i 23% dodanih oznaka na specifičnoj razini za prvi časopis, dok je za drugi časopis udjelno veći broj oznaka od 81% dodanih na generičkoj razini i udjelno manje od 19% oznaka dodano na specifičnoj razini.

U konačnici, rezultat analize prema razini značenja korisničkih oznaka za sva tri časopisa pokazao je da su korisničke oznake najviše dodane na generičkoj *ofness* razini, što je i prihvatljiv i ujedno očekivan rezultat, budući da generički pojmovi ne zahtijevaju predznanje niti specifično znanje već samo prepoznavanje izvora od strane korisnika. Prema tome, značenjskom analizom se odbacuje hipoteza h2: postoji kvalitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe.

Diskusija

Summa summarum, rezultati statističke analize pokazali su znatnu kvantitativnu razliku od 79% korisničkih oznaka naspram kvantitativnom podatku

represented are also common nouns in complex expressions in the singular and nominative case, which does not confirm the qualitative differences between the observed bookmarks. On the other hand, the number of added bookmarks indicates the presence of bookmarks that are not present in the subject cataloguing by keywords. Therefore, the presence of new bookmark elements, resulting from assignor users of the same bookmarks, talk a lot about the important role of folksonomies in organizing and searching for information, whereby a hypothesis relating to linguistic analysis h2: there is a qualitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material, is confirmed

Semantic analysis

Semantic analysis referred to the content analysis related to the meaning of user bookmarks, which was done with the goal of insight into the quality of the bookmarks that users added to the articles of the journals.

Ivanjko (2015, 128–130) for the eponymous analysis uses a model from the authors Klenczoni and Rygiel (2004, 42–61, cited in Ivanjko 2015, 129), which are primarily related to semantic analysis of visual materials, which Ivanjko combined into a table (Figure 2), and which we have adapted for the purposes of this paper to the analysis of journal user bookmarks.

RAZINA	NAZIV	OPIS
1. razina	<i>ISNESS</i>	identificira vrstu izvora koji se opisuje (npr. plakat, fotografija)
2. razina	<i>OFNESS</i>	
	• <i>GENERIČKI POJMOVI</i>	ne zahtijevaju specifično znanje već samo znanje prepoznavanja
	• <i>SPECIFIČNI POJMOVI</i>	identificiraju specifične karakteristike prisutne na izvoru
3. razina	<i>ABOUTNESS</i>	odnosi se na apstraktne pojmove vezane uz prikazano

Figure 2. Levels of semantic analysis of user bookmarks (Ivanjko 2015, 130)

First level – *isness* – identifies the type of source being described, second – *ofness* – refers to the identification of terms related to a resource, elaborates in more detail the level *ofness* to generic terms (which do not require specific knowledge but only knowledge of recognition) and specific terms (which identify the specific characteristics present at the source); while the third level – *aboutness* – refers to abstract terms related to what is shown.

According to the fixed model, the semantic analysis of the levels of article user bookmarks for all three journals that are the subject of this research was performed (Table 1).

Table 1: Results of the semantic analysis of the journal user bookmark levels

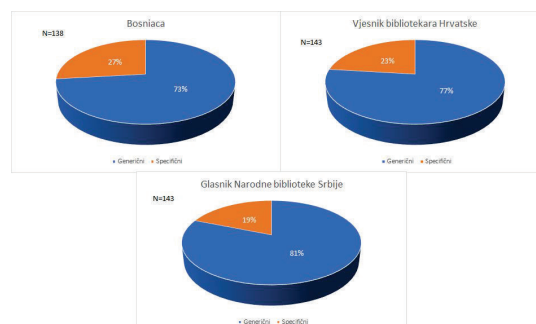
Journal title	Number of sources	Number of user bookmarks	ISNESS	OFNESS	ABOUTNESS	REST
<i>Bosniaca</i>	10	173	1	138	23	12
<i>Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske</i>	10	169	1	143	18	8
<i>Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije</i>	10	164	1	143	12	9

od 21% ključnih riječi, ukupno za sva tri časopisa, što potvrđuje prvu hipotezu statističke analize h1: ključnih riječi će biti manje u odnosu na korisničke oznake. Iz priloženog, ovaj kvantitativni pokazatelj razlike zbog većeg broja dodijeljenih oznaka od strane korisnika predstavlja indikator za primjenu korisničkih oznaka u predmetnoj obradi građe zbog povećanja broja oznaka, tj. baze korpusa oznaka. Kongruentno s tim, kvantitativni indikator primjene korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe najviše se ogleda i u iscrpnosti dodanih oznaka od strane korisnika, što potvrđuje i opravdava statistički podatak sumativno za sve časopise provedenog istraživanja o broju dodjeljivanja naspram dodanih oznaka, koje zauzimaju sljedeću relaciju broja dodjeljivanja korisničkih oznaka 73% : 27% dodanih korisničkih oznaka. U ovome slučaju, broj dodjeljivanja pokazuje koherentnost mišljenja korisnika kao subjekata primatelja usluge koji stvaraju kolektivnu inteligenciju dodjeljujući mnoštvo korisničkih oznaka koje su jedinstvene, što potvrđuje ukupan broj dodanih korisničkih oznaka. Na taj način, iste korisničke oznake variranjem od uopćavanja sve do sažimanja oznaka, povećavaju korpusni broj pristupnih tačaka prilikom pretraživanja te samim tim odziv dokumenta biva dosta veći.

Dakako, da postoji indikacija za primjenu korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe, detaljnije potvrđuje i niska frekvencija ponavljanja korisničkih oznaka, čime je dokazana i sljedeća hipoteza h2: frekvencija broja dodijeljenih identičnih korisničkih oznaka od strane korisnika dodjeljivača je niska. Ovom dokazanom hipotezom, komplementarno s prvom također potvrđenom hipotezom statističke analize, u konačnici se prihvata prva postavljena hipoteza istraživanja ispitana statističkom analizom h1: postoji kvantitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe.

Osim toga, važnu ulogu folksonomija u organizaciji i pretraživanju informacija pokazuju i kvalitativni podaci dobijeni lingvističkom analizom koji potvrđuju naznake novih elemenata opisa predmetnom pristupu obrade građe, što *ad hoc* govori o

As we can see from the table, most journal user bookmarks belong to a level *ofness*, as follows: 138 bookmarks for *Bosniaca* (2019) and 134 bookmarks for *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and for *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018). Therefore, an analysis of user bookmarks at the *ofness* level was also performed (Chart 8). At the level of *aboutness*, 23 user bookmarks were added for the BH journal, 18 bookmarks for Croatian and 12 bookmarks for the Serbian journal, while at the *isness* level, one user bookmark has been added for all three journals, since these are articles from three journals.

Chart 8. Analysis of journal user bookmarks at the level *ofness*

Analysis by level *ofness* showed that the largest number of user bookmarks was added at the generic level. Out of a total of 138 *ofness* user bookmarks for *Bosniaca* (2019), 73% of the bookmarks are added at the generic level, while 27% was added at a specific level. The situation is similar with journals *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019) and *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) with 143 user bookmarks total, of which 77% of the bookmarks were added at the generic level and 23% were added at the specific level for the first journal, while for the second journal the share of more bookmarks than 81% added at the generic level and a share of less than 19% of bookmarks added at a specific level.

Finally, the result of the semantic analysis according to the level of user bookmarks for all three journals

postojanju više indikacija za primjenu korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu građe. Pod naznakama lingvističke analize podrazumijeva se dobijeni broj dodanih oznaka koje pokazuju prisutnost oznaka koje nisu prisutne u predmetnom pristupu, tj. opisu ključnim riječima, čime se prihvata postavljena hipoteza h2: postoji kvalitativna razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi iste građe, dok se ista hipoteza odbacuje rezultatima značenjske analize, koji pokazuju jednakost korisničkih oznaka ključnim riječima.

Daljnim pregledom korpusa korisničkih oznaka provedenog istraživanja, koherentno s rezultatima istraživanja, evidentno su dokazane i brojne prednosti procesa korisničkog označavanja. Prednosti se ponajviše ogledaju u dodjeljivanju korisničkih oznaka u vidu generičkih pojmova od strane korisnika koji dodjeljuju oznake na osnovu prepoznavanja sadržaja, a ne postojanja specifičnog znanja o predmetnoj građi koju korisnici opisuju. Također, dodjeljivanje vlastitih slobodno izabranih oznaka omogućava korisnicima bolju organizaciju sadržaja, samim tim i bolju pretragu izvora, što će udruženim djelovanjem korisnika koji provode društveno označavanje rezultirati stvaranjem korisničkih zajednica zasnovanih na sistemu kolektivne inteligencije. Sve navedeno, zapravo, očituje elemente potrebe primjene korisničkih oznaka društvenog označavanja u predmetnoj obradi građe.

Zaključak

Na osnovu analize ustanovljeno je da društveno označavanje može doprinijeti i olakšanom pristupu građi u predmetnom katalogu kroz unapređenje predmetnih odrednica korisničkim oznakama dodijeljenim jezikom korisnika putem alata za društveno označavanje. Sve je to potvrđeno istraživanjem putem Diigo alata za društveno označavanje kroz komparativnu analizu ključnih riječi i korisničkih oznaka članaka časopisa *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (2019), *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (2017, 2018) i *Bosniaca* (2019). Kvalitativna analiza je pokazala da nema značajnih razlika između korisničkih oznaka i ključnih riječi, dok je kvantitativna analiza pokazala značajno veći broj korisničkih oznaka naspram ključnih riječi. Veliki broj oznaka dodijeljenih od strane korisnika povećava pristupne tačke u pronalasku sadržaja. Ujedno, oznake dodane jezikom korisnika rješavaju problem verbalnog pristupa sadržaju koji je u bibliotečkom katalogu oduvijek bio problem. Sve ovo predstavlja indikaciju za primjenu korisničkih oznaka u predmetnom opisu kako u tradicionalnom predmetnom

showed that user bookmarks were mostly added at the generic *ofness* level, which is both an acceptable and at the same time an expected result, since generic terms do not require prior knowledge or specific knowledge but only source recognition by the user. Therefore, semantic analysis of hypotheses h2: there is a qualitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material, is dismissed.

Discussion

Summa summarum, the results of the statistical analysis showed a significant quantitative difference of 79% of user bookmarks compared to the quantitative data of 21% keywords, total for all three journals, which confirms the first hypothesis of statistical analysis h1: keywords will be less than user bookmarks. From the stated, this quantitative indicator of the difference due to the higher number of bookmarks assigned by the user, represents the indicator for the application of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing material due to the increase in the number of bookmarks, i.e. the corpus base of bookmarks. Congruently with this, a quantitative indicator of the use of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing of material, is mostly reflected in the exhaustiveness of the bookmarks added by the user, which confirms and justifies the statistics summatively for all journals of the conducted research on the number of assignments versus added bookmarks, which take the following relation of the number of assignment of user bookmarks 73% : 27% of added user bookmarks. In this case, the number of assignments shows the coherence of the opinion of users as entities of the recipient of the service that create collective intelligence by assigning a multitude of user bookmarks that are unique, which confirms the total number of added user bookmarks. In that way, the same user bookmarks by varying from generalizations to bookmark compressing, increase the corpus number of access points when searching, and thus the response of the document is much higher.

Of course, there is an indication for the use of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing of material, the low frequency of user bookmarking recurrence is also confirmed in more detail, whereby the hypothesis h2: the frequency of the number of identical user bookmarks assigned by the assignor user is low, is also proved. With this proven hypothesis, complementary to the first also confirmed hypothesis of statistical analysis, ultimately, the first established research hypothesis h1: there is a quantitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material, examined by statistical analysis, is accepted.

katalogu tako i u elektronskom katalogu na internetskim bibliografskim sistemima i uslugama. U vezi s tim, važno je naglasiti da korisničke oznake i ključne riječi dodijeljene od strane korisnika / predmetne odrednice imaju istu namjenu koja se očituje u organizaciji informacija, te u okviru toga korisničke oznake ne mogu zamijeniti predmetne odrednice kao sistem predmetnog označavanja, već one jedinstvenim djelovanjem mogu unaprijediti organizaciju i pristup informacijama u katalogu, što je i potvrđeno provedenim istraživanjem.

In addition, the important role of folksonomy in the organization and search of information is shown by qualitative data obtained by linguistic analysis, which confirm the indications of new description elements of subject approach to material cataloguing, which ad hoc suggests the existence of multiple indications for the use of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing of material. Under the indications of linguistic analysis, the resulting number of added bookmarks, which indicate the presence of bookmarks that are not present in the subject approach, is assumed, i.e. cataloguing by keywords, whereby established hypothesis h2: there is a qualitative difference between user bookmarks and keywords of the same material, is being accepted, while the same hypothesis is rejected by the results of the semantic analysis, which show the equality of user bookmarks by keywords.

Further review of the corpus of user bookmarks of the conducted research, coherent with the research results, numerous advantages of the user bookmark process, have been evidently proven. The advantages are mostly reflected in the assignment of user bookmarks in the form of generic terms by users who assign bookmarks based on content recognition, and not the existence of specific knowledge about the subject material that users describe. Also, assigning their own freely chosen bookmarks allows users to better organize their content, hence a better search of sources, and which, through the joint action of users who implement social bookmarking, will result in the creation of user communities based on a system of collective intelligence. All of the above, in fact, manifests the elements of the need to use user bookmarks of social bookmarking in the subject cataloguing of the material.

Conclusion

Based on analysis, it has been established that social bookmarking can also contribute to easier access to the material in the subject catalogue through the improvement of the subject headings with user bookmarks, assigned user language via the social bookmarking tool. All this was confirmed by research through the Diigo tool for social bookmarking through a comparative analysis of keywords and user bookmarks of journal articles of *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* (Croatian Librarians Herald) (2019), *Glasnik Narodne biblioteke Srbije* (The Herald of the National Library of Serbia) (2017, 2018) and *Bosniaca* (2019). Qualitative analysis has shown that there are no significant differences between user bookmarks and keywords, while quantitative analysis showed a significantly

higher number of user bookmarks versus keywords. A large number of bookmarks assigned by users are increasing access points in the content finding. At the same time, bookmarks added in the users language solve the problem of verbal access to content, which has always been a problem in the library catalogue. All this is an indication for the use of user bookmarks in the subject cataloguing both in the traditional subject catalogue and in the electronic catalogue on online bibliographic systems and services. In this matter, it is important to emphasize that user bookmarks and keywords assigned by

users / subject headings have the same purpose that manifests in the organization of information, and within that, user bookmarks cannot replace the subject headings as a subject indexing system, but they can improve the organization and access to information in the catalogue through a single action, which is confirmed by the implemented research.

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Pisana riječ kroz fondove Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine: Katalog stare periodike

Written Word From the Funds of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Catalogue of Old Periodicals

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Vrijedne ruke bibliotekara NUBBiH pripremile su nam još jedno dobro djelo s plemenitim naumom – da osvijetle još jedan trezorski kutak koji je dugo skrivao od brojnih očiju blago od posebnog značaja za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i svijet. Katalog stare periodike koji je pred nama s glavnim naslovom *Pisana riječ kroz fondove NUBBiH*, poput ugodne šetnje provodi nas kroz vrijeme i historijska zbivanja u BiH sve od 1850. do 1945. godine uz pomoć 268 predstavljenih naslova periodike i 278 njihovih grafičkih priloga, slika. Uz osnovne, ponegdje u zavisnosti od značaja naslova i šire podatke o časopisu, prolazimo iz priče u priču o sudbini BiH u vrijeme osmanske i austrougarske uprave, svjetskih ratova i u vremenu između njih. Ovi grafički prikazi originalnih primjeraka, naslovi, podnaslovi, neprikosnoveno tačni podaci o sudbinama časopisa i ljudi vezanih uz njih, pobuđuju još veći interes o ovoj zbirci dostojno predstavljenoj na 339 strana i s bibliografijom.

Osmanski period Kataloga sadrži najvrijednije naslove koji svjedoče o tipičnoj, već poslovičnoj bosanskoj širini i toplini dobrih Bošnjana, kako po grafijskoj raznovrsnosti pisama (latinica, ćirilica, osmanski turski), tako i po jezičkom i grafijskom dualizmu (uporedo tekstovi na bosanskom jeziku latinicom ili ćirilicom i osmanskom turskom arapskim pismom). Posebno plijeni prvi prilog prvog štampanog bh. časopisa *Bosanski prijatelj*. Od svih predstavljenih, ovaj časopis uza svu veliku vrijednost, ima i neuporedivo najljepši naslov.

Vrijeme austrougarske uprave u BiH poznato je po eksploziji izdavačke djelatnosti koja je bila posljedica potpuno novog državnog ustrojstva. Grafijska i jezička raznolikost u časopisima se nastavlja uz tendenciju evropeizacije i uvođenje njemačkog, mađarskog jezika i povećan broj tema, od političkih, preko obrazovnih, kulturnih, do vjerskih i mnogih drugih. Časopisi ovog doba imaju i izgled i sadržaje evropskih časopisa. Jedan od vrednijih je

Bosnischer Bote, koji je obnašao funkciju službenih novina u savremenom smislu i koji je vrijedan izvor podataka istraživačima ovog perioda. Jedan od kurioziteta ovdje mogla bi biti činjenica da se baš u ovo doba javlja najveći broj časopisa i novina koji u naslovu nose ime Bosna u raznim oblicima (*Bosna*, *Bosanac*, *Bošnjak*, *Bosanska pošta*, *Bosanska vila*, *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine*, *Bosanskohercegovački glasnik*, *Bosanskohercegovački Istočnik*).

Periodika vremena između dva svjetska rata, popularno zvanog Stara Jugoslavija, odražava opet novo, sada neko relaksiranije doba. U raznolikoj masi naslova, iza kojih stoje nacionalne, političke, kulturne, prosvjetne i druge grupacije, pažnju privlači časopis *Novi čovjek* (1925) urednika prof. Miljenka Vidovića, osnivača čuvenog Etičkog pokreta, koji je iznjedrio mnoge i poznate intelektualce i demokrate tog i kasnijeg doba. Iako je Pokret uključivao srednjoškolsku omladinu, pružajući joj dodatna, savremena, ali i klasična znanja, pružao je i temeljna znanja, postavši tako neka vrsta preteče učenja na daljinu svoga vremena na temelju svojih udžbenika i večernjih škola.

Period Drugog svjetskog rata predstavljen periodičnim publikacijama zorno prikazuje uzburkane prilike u svijetu i njihov dah u Bosni. Istovremeno, najavljuje se sasvim novo slobodarsko doba naslovima poput *Borac*, *Bilten antifašističke omladine Sarajeva*, *Nova Jugoslavija*, *Žena kroz borbu* i drugima. Važnost izgleda, jezika, pisma časopisa ustupili su mjesto sadržaju, čija je glavna tema bila borba za slobodu i novo doba.

Ova publikacija, iz izloženog, u potpunosti se pridružuje porodici izdanja koja nam pričaju i svjedoče o sačuvanom bosanskohercegovačkom dokumentarnom blagu. Ma kolika vrijednost dokumentarnog blaga bila, najvećim, najvrijednijim blagom smatram Ljude – bibliotekare, bez čijeg entuzijazma, posvećenosti i znanja ne bi bilo tih saznanja.

Vodič kroz javne biblioteke u Bosni i Hercegovini

A guide to public libraries in Bosna i Hercegovina

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Vodič kroz javne biblioteke u Bosni i Hercegovini je još jedno kapitalno djelo Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine. Publikacija je izašla u Ediciji Stručna bibliotečka literatura, a tekst potpisuju mr. sci. Zijada Đurđević-Alidžanović, dr. sci. Ismet Ovčina i Adisa Žero, viši bibliotekar. Publikacija je izašla kao reprezentativno izdanje grafičkog urednika Eldina Hodžića na 293 stranice, uz prijevode Ahmeda Kurte i lekturu mr. sc. Zenaide Karavdić. Publikacije ne bi bilo bez bibliotekarki, bibliotekara i drugih odgovornih lica koji su se odazvali pozivu NUBBiH i ispunili anketne listove. Pojedine biblioteke, uz osnovne informacije koje su tražene, predstavile su se i šire, razumijevajući da su to podaci koji ostaju kao svjedočanstvo za budućnost, da je to sabrano iskustvo jedne djelatnosti i važan izvor za mnoga istraživanja.

S tim u vezi ovdje treba napomenuti da se često zaboravlja da su ovakvi vodiči više od pukog mapiranja stanja jedne djelatnosti, jer su oni, između ostalog, važni za kritičku analizu rada biblioteka i bibliotekara, koja bi trebala pomoći profesionalizaciji ove djelatnosti, što je, nažalost, problem i nakon više od 400 godina od pojave prvih javnih biblioteka u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Prva javna biblioteka u BiH otvorena je 1630. godine. Nju je, kao prvu samostalnu ustanovu ovog tipa u Banjoj, osnovao šejh Husamuddin, sin hadži Omerov. U Sarajevu je 127 godina kasnije (1757) osnovana Šehidijina, a zatim (1774) Kantamirijina biblioteka. U javnim bibliotekama ili onima koje su imale mogućnost posudbe knjiga, radili su bibliotekari koji su imali platu. Naprimjer, prema šerijatskom hudžetu (šerijatski hudždžet) od 9. ša'bana 1212 (1797), bibliotekar biblioteke Abdulaha Kantamiri zade plaćan je 14 akči dnevno iz sredstava njegovog (Abdulah Kantamiri zade) vakufa.¹

O sistematskoj i organiziranoj mreži javnih (narodnih) biblioteka moguće je govoriti tek od šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća nakon donošenja *Zakona o bibliotečkoj djelatnosti* 1957. godine. Ta mreža se postepeno širila i razvijala, da bi, kako se navodi u *Vodiču kroz narodne biblioteke Jugoslavije* (1979), u Bosni i Hercegovini tada bile 103 biblioteke.²

Prvo poslijeratno istraživanje stanja javnih biblioteka u Bosni i Hercegovini objavljeno je 2006. godine u *Vodiču kroz javne biblioteke u BiH*. *Vodič* je sačinila radna grupa Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine (pod rukovodstvom mr. sci. Zijade Đurđević-Alidžanović) na temelju anketnog prikupljanja podataka o bh. bibliotekama. Anketiranjem je obuhvaćena 61 biblioteka u FBiH i Distriktu Brčko i 47 biblioteka u RS (ukupno 108 javnih biblioteka).³

U *Vodiču* je zapisano da: "...Jedan od poražavajućih rezultata ankete za bibliotečko-informacijsku djelatnost je činjenica da sve općine u BiH nemaju javnu biblioteku. Od 85 općina u Federaciji BiH, 21 nema javnu biblioteku, četiri općine imaju biblioteku koja nije u funkciji. U Republici Srpskoj od 63 općine, 16 nema javnu biblioteku."⁴

Dvije godine nakon izdavanja *Vodiča kroz javne biblioteke u BiH*, Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka Republike Srpske izdala je *Vodič kroz narodne biblioteke Republike Srpske*, autorice Milke Davidović (Banja Luka, 2008).

Spomenute publikacije pokazale su se kao dragocjeni vodiči i adresari koji su bili od velike pomoći u prikupljanju podataka o bh. bibliotekama, a korišteni su u mnogim naučnim radovima poput disertacije Senada Čelikovića *Biblioteke i bibliotekarstvo u*

¹ Lavić, Osman. 2013. *Biblioteke u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme osmanske uprave* (magistarski rad). Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, str. 40.

² Mihaliček, Mubera. 1979. "Vodič kroz narodne biblioteke Jugoslavije" *Bibliotekarstvo* XXV (3): 105–108.

³ Đurđević-Alidžanović, Zijada. 2004–2005. "Pregled stanja u javnim bibliotekama u BiH" *Bosniaca* IX–X (9–10): 17–18.

⁴ *Vodič kroz javne biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine*, pripremila Zijada Đurđević-Alidžanović. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 2006, str. 201.

Bosni i Hercegovini 1975–2010, publicirane 2019. godine u izdanju Planjaks iz Tešnja.

Prethodni *Vodič kroz javne biblioteke u BiH* NUBBiH je objavila 2006. godine, da bi 2008. godine objavila i *Vodič kroz visokoškolske biblioteke*, tako da *Vodič* iz ove, 2020. godine, pokazuje da je NUBBiH, zahvaljujući entuzijazmu svojih uposlenika, dosljedna u slijeđenju dobre prakse mapiranja biblioteka.

Građa *Vodiča* bit će ovdje predstavljena kroz njegovih pet poglavlja. U Uvodnom dijelu, u *Predgovoru* dr. sci. Ismeta Ovčine, izneseni su razlozi objavljivanja *Vodiča*, gdje se navodi da je cilj njegovog nastanka bio da se javnosti predoči trenutna slika o jednom od najznačajnijih segmenata bh. kulture, obrazovanja i nauke, te pojedinačno predstave bibliotečke ustanove u BiH.⁵ U Uvodu je i tekst *O Funkciji vodiča* mr. sci. Zijade Đurđević-Alidžanović u kojem se navodi da: "...Pripremajući ovu publikaciju došli smo do podataka koje općine nemaju javnu biblioteku, kao i do podataka o novonastalim bibliotekama koje nisu postojale u toku izrade prethodnog *Vodiča* iz 2006. godine."⁶ Adisa Žero, viši bibliotekar, u tekstu *Javne biblioteke i komunikacijske tehnologije* upozorava na to da je: "...potrebna veća podrška društva kako bi biblioteke uhvatile korak sa savremenim trendovima u bibliotekarstvu".⁷ Pri tome posebno ističe potrebu digitaliziranja građe kao trajne zaštite, ali i oblika komunikacije prilagođenih mlađim generacijama. U ovom dijelu *Vodiča* date su opće informacije i shematski prikazi Javnih biblioteka u BiH.

U drugom dijelu *Javne biblioteke u Federaciji BiH i Brčko Distriktu – nosioci bibliotečko-informacionog sistema BiH* predstavljene su najveće biblioteke koje su nosioci BiS-a u BiH. U trećem poglavlju dat je pregled javnih biblioteka u BiH kroz tri cjeline: 3a) Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina, 3b) Republika Srpska i 3c) Brčko distrikt. Četvrti dio *Vodiča* sadrži abecedne i stručne registre po općinama po nazivu i registar javnih biblioteka u FBiH po kantonima / županijama.

Peti dio *Vodiča* daje rezultate ankete te zaključke i preporuke.

Osnovni izvor podataka o bibliotekama bio je anketni list upućen svim javnim bibliotekama u BiH, kao i podaci na web portalima onih biblioteka koje ga imaju. Anketni je list sadržavao: identifikacijske podatke o biblioteci, podatke o osnivanju i osnivaču, o prostoru, opremi, kadrovima, fondovima, katalozima, korisnicima, edukacijama zaposlenih i korisnika i posebnim aktivnostima.

U *Vodiču* je konstatirano da u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji 116 javnih biblioteka, u Federaciji 64, u RS-u 51 i jedna u Brčko distriktu. Nažalost, tri javne biblioteke u FBiH nisu se odazvale pozivu, a u RS-u 24.

Ovako dobro strukturiran vodič jasno pokazuje da mu je prethodila planska realizacija cijelog projekta, a dosadašnje iskustvo u izradama *Vodiča* rezultiralo je publikacijom koja nadilazi formu vodiča i može se svrstati u monografije.

Nadam se da će ovaj *Vodič* biti ne samo vodič koji je mapirao biblioteke i stanje u njima nego i vodič koji će biti prepoznat kao osnova za unapređenje javnih biblioteka, budući da su one, kako je navedeno u IFLA/ UNESCO Manifestu za javne biblioteke, *kapije znanja*, te da će ih lokalne zajednice prepoznati kao partnere u popravljaju kvaliteta života u okruženju u kojima djeluju, te početi sistematski ulagati u njihov razvoj.

⁵ Ovčina, Ismet. 2020. "Predgovor" U *Vodič kroz javne biblioteke*. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, str. 11.

⁶ Đurđević-Alidžanović, Zijada. 2020. "Funkcija vodiča" U *Vodič kroz javne biblioteke*. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, str. 13.

⁷ Žero, Adisa. 2020. "Javne biblioteke i komunikacijske tehnologije" U *Vodič kroz javne biblioteke*. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, str. 21.

Edukacija bibliotekara i stručni ispiti u 2020. godini

Education of librarians and professional exams in 2020

Zijada Đurđević-Alidžanović

Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina / National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Ove 2020. godine Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine obilježila je 75 godina postojanja, a Centar za permanentno obrazovanje bibliotekara BiH broji 21 uspješnu godinu u organizaciji edukacija za bibliotečke djelatnike, kao i polaganja stručnih bibliotečkih ispita. Centar za permanentno obrazovanje bibliotekara formiran je 1999. godine i od tada svake godine naše edukacije pohađa desetina bibliotečkih djelatnika iz cijele Bosne i Hercegovine i regiona. Centar je ustanovljen na osnovu podrške Otvorenog društva iz Budimpešte i OSI projekta za biblioteke – Network Library Program, Information Program – NLP 2000–2002. Ciljevi organizacije edukacija su osposobljavanje bibliotečkih djelatnika za kvalitetno i samostalno obavljanje stručnih bibliotečko-informacijskih usluga, razvijanje sposobnosti za korištenje novih tehnologija te promoviranje informacijske pismenosti i intelektualne slobode u bibliotekama.

Iako je pandemija Covid 19 nametnula mnoga ograničenja, planovi i programi edukacija našeg Centra za permanentno obrazovanje bibliotekara u BiH u potpunosti su realizirani. Poštujući sve epidemiološke mjere napravili smo pomjeranje termina održavanja kurseva. Kursevi iz osnovnog bibliotečko-informacijskog znanja prema programu su: 1. kurs – *Bibliotečka pismenost* i 2. kurs – *Informacijska pismenost*. Prvi kurs je održan od 24. do 27. 2. 2020. i sadržavao je 30 sati nastave, a drugi kurs od 1. do 4. 6. 2020. godine s 28 sati nastave.

Na ovogodišnje kurseve bilo je prijavljeno i prisustvovalo im je 16 kandidata iz različitih tipova biblioteka iz cijele Bosne i Hercegovine. Edukacija je obuhvatala predavanja, vježbe, prezentacije, obilazak svih odjela NUBBiH, razgovore i konsultacije. Prema utvrđenom rasporedu sati kurseve su realizirali predavači

i instruktori iz NUBBiH, s Filozofskog fakulteta, Katedre za bibliotekarstvo i drugih srodnih institucija. Svim polaznicima je obezbijedena stručna literatura neophodna za polaganje stručnog bibliotečkog ispita i za rad u bibliotekama te informativni i promotivni materijal. Tokom izvođenja edukacija i tokom održavanja stručnih ispita kandidati su bili raspoređeni prema uputama Kriznog štaba KS i prema svim epidemiološkim mjerama.

Osim edukacija u sklopu Centra za permanentno obrazovanje, NUBBiH je organizirala i polaganje stručnih ispita iz bibliotekarstva, u skladu sa Zakonom o bibliotečkoj djelatnosti (Sl. list BiH, br. 37/1995), Pravilnikom o stručnim zvanjima u bibliotečkoj djelatnosti (čl. 18, stav 4 i čl. IX.5 istog zakona). Polaganja stručnih ispita u ovoj godini održala su se u tri ispitna roka: u martu, augustu i oktobra.

Prema prijavama za polaganje stručnih bibliotečkih ispita u 2020. godini u tri ispitna roka stručne ispite je položilo 28 kandidata, i to: 26 bibliotekara, 1 viši knjižničar i 1 knjižničar. U periodu od 1999, zaključno s krajem 2020. godine, stručne ispite je položilo ukupno 993 kandidata, i to: 620 bibliotekara, 220 viših knjižničara i 153 knjižničara.

Osnovno stručno zvanje *bibliotekar* stekli su:

1. Ilhana Adžem, Bugojno
2. Sinanudin Alibegović, Zenica
3. Selma Aškraba, Mostar
4. Marijana Ćaćić, Čajniče
5. Edina Ćorić, Sarajevo
6. Alija Džigal, Sarajevo
7. Matea Eljuga, Drinovci
8. Nada Gajović, Pale
9. Bernard Harbaš, Zenica
10. Lamija Hatibović, Sarajevo

11. Nermina Hodžić, Sarajevo
12. Amela Jašarević, Sarajevo
13. Jelena Jegdić, Foča
14. Vesna Jugović, Visoko
15. Radenka Lažetić, Pale
16. Nermina Lopo-Ažderović, Kakanj
17. Amina Mahmutović, Sarajevo
18. Zara Malićbegović, Žepče
19. Sanja Miletić, Mostar
20. Irma Nukić, Sarajevo
21. Amra Olovčić, Sarajevo

22. Miljana Pecikoza, Višegrad

23. Amina Selak, Sarajevo

24. Monika Sulić, Čapljina

25. Jusuf Šljivnjak, Ilijaš

26. Marija Tomičić, Kiseljak

Osnovno stručno zvanje *viši knjižničar* stekla je:

1. Senada Fajković, Zenica

Osnovno stručno zvanje *knjižničar* stekla je:

1. Selma Mehić, Sarajevo