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Konji, sokoli, slavuji: Simbolika životinja i ptica u *sevdalinkama*

Konji, sokoli, slavuji i golubice igraju različite uloge u *sevdalinkama*. Na određenoj razini, konji i sokoli igrali su važnu ulogu u životu jednog mladića u Bosni. Bili su vrijedna i cijenjena imovina, konji su se koristili za prijevoz, a dresirani sokoli za lov na sitnu divljač. U nekima od tih pjesama, ta se vrijednost ističe. U *sevdalinkama* se javljaju njihovi atributi snage i brzine, često u zagonetkama, kao u onoj „šta je brže od oka sokolovog.“ Na drugoj razini, najvažnija funkcija ovih životinja jeste uloga glasnika, što je uobičajeno u slavenskom folkloru. Oni komuniciraju s ljudima i pomažu im, saopštavajući im informacije o njihovim voljenima. Na još jednoj razini, sokoli mogu izravno predstavljati mladiće. Golubice su simbolizirale mlade žene, a pojavljuju se i kao nježni epiteti. Ove ptice predstavljaju osjećaj ljubavi, za mlade žene, ali i za parove. Slavuji, kao i u velikom dijelu svjetske književnosti, simboliziraju strast i čežnju.

Ključne riječi: simbolika, soko, konj, slavuj, golubica, komunikacija

Metodologija je ispitivanje konteksta u kojem se pojavljuju životinje i ptice, kao i njihove funkcije u pjesmi. Dalje ispitivanje uključuje rod, da li je soko, na primjer, povezan s muškim afektom, golubice sa ženskim aspektom. U bosanskoj narodnoj književnosti, simbolika ptica i životinja

Horses, Falcons, Nightingales: Symbolism of Animals and Birds in *Sevdalinke*

The roles of horses, falcons, nightingales and doves in *sevdalinke* are varied. On one level, horses and falcons played an important role in a young man's life in Bosnia. They were both valuable and valued possessions, with horses used for transportation, and trained falcons for hunting small game. In some of these songs, this value is highlighted. Their attributes of power and swiftness appear in *sevdalinke*, often in riddles, as in 'what is swifter than a falcon's eye.' On another level, a most important function of these animals is as messengers, which is common in Slavic folklore. They communicate with and aid humans, telling them information about their beloved. On yet another level, falcons can be direct representations of young men. Doves symbolized young women, and also appear as affectionate epithets. These birds represent the emotion of love, for young women, and also for couples. Nightingales, as in much of world literature, symbolize passion and longing.

Key words: symbolism, falcon, horse, nightingale, (female) dove, communication

Methodology is the examination of the context where animals and birds appear, as well as their function in the song. Further examination involves gender, whether a falcon, for instance, is connected to masculine affect, doves to feminine aspect. In Bosnian folk literature, the symbolism of birds and

je veoma upečatljiva, a govoreći o njihovim funkcijama, važno je uvidjeti da su to ne samo funkcije svakodnevnog života u društvu, već i simboličke funkcije komunikacije i izražavanja emocija.

U bosanskim *sevdalinkama* (tradicionalnim ljubavnim pjesmama), simbolika životinja i ptica ima nekoliko simboličkih uloga, uključujući emociju ljubavi, epitete i rodno predstavljanje, kao i komunikaciju između ljudi i životinja i ptica. Poznati po svojoj snazi i brzini, konji i sokoli često se pojavljuju kao simbolika za mladiće. Obje životinje su cijenjene: konji za prevoz, a sokoli za lov hrane. U mnogim *sevdalinkama* konj ili soko predstavlja mladića, kao u ovoj pjesmi:

Soko leti iznad Sarajeva / Traži hlada će će hladovati. / Nađe jelu nasred Sarajeva, / I pod jelom prostrta serdžada. / Na serdžadi sumbul udovica / I djevojka, rumena ružica. / Stade soko misli premissljati, / Il' će ljubiti sumbul udovicu, / Il' djevojku, rumenu ružicu? (Novi Behar, 1936: 336)

Istaknute karakteristike sokola i konja, a to su brzina konja, te brzina i vid sokola, često se nalaze u zagonetkama. Na primjer, ovdje se pojavljuje motiv brzog oka sokola.

Dragi dragu alkatmerom budi: / "Ustan", draga, da te nešto pitam: / Šta je šire od sinjega mora? / Šta je brže od siva sokola? / Šta je slađe od slatka šećera?" / Draga dragom tiho odgovara: / "Šire nebo od sinjega mora, / brže oko od siva sokola, / slađi dragi od slatka šećera!" (Žero, 1995: 63)

Na sličan način, u drugoj zagonetki, riba odgovara djevojci:

"Djevojko, jedna budalo, / šire je nebo od mora, / duže je more od polja, / brže su oči od konja..." (Maglajlić, 2006: 94)

animals is very striking, and in discussing their functions, it is important to see that not only these functions are those of everyday life in society, but symbolic functions of communication and of expressing emotions.

In Bosnian *sevdalinke* (traditional love songs), the symbolism of animals and birds plays several symbolic roles, including the emotion of love, epithets and gender representation, as well as communication between humans and animals and birds. Known for their strength and speed, horses and falcons often appear as symbolism for young men. Both are prized possessions: horses for transportation, and falcons for hunting food. In many *sevdalinke*, a horse or falcon represents a young man, as in this song:

Above Sarajevo a falcon is flying / He is seeking a cool place to rest in the shade. / He found a fir tree in the middle of Sarajevo, / And under the fir tree, a prayer rug spread out. / On the prayer rug were a widow like a hyacinth, / And a girl – a blushing red rose. / The falcon began to think and ponder, / Should he kiss the widow like a hyacinth, / Or the blushing red rose of a girl?¹

Salient characteristics of falcons and horses, namely speed of horses and speed and swiftness of vision for falcons, are often found in riddles. For example, here the trope of a falcon's swift eye appears.

A sweetheart wakens his beloved with a red carnation: / "Get up, darling, so that I can ask you something: / What is wider than the blue sea? / What is swifter than a gray falcon? / What is sweeter than sweet sugar?" / His beloved softly answers her sweetheart: / "The sky is wider than the blue sea, / One's eye is swifter than a gray falcon, / One's sweetheart is sweeter than sweet sugar!

Similarly, in another riddle a fish answers a girl:

¹ All translations are by Masha Belyavski-Frank (excepting translations by Nirha Efendić in her quotes).

U bosanskom društvu i sokoli i konji bili su cijenjena imovina za mladiće, konj za prijevoz i dresirani soko za lov na sitnu divljač. U bosanskoj narodnoj književnosti često se spominje konj kao najvrednija imovina jednog mlaića. Ovdje to vidimo u njegovoj opkladi s djevojkom:

Okлади se momče i djevojče, / Da spavaju,
da se ne diraju, / Momče daje sedlo i đoga-
ta, / A djevojka đerdan ispod vrata. (Žero,
1995: 256)

Ili u ovoj ljubavnoj pjesmi, gdje muškarac daje vrijedne darove članovima porodice svoje voljene kako bi mu dopustili da je oženi:

Evo danas devet godin dana, / Kako gledam
zlatu u matere: / Zlatu hoće, majka mi ga
ne da. / Dadoh majki dību i kadifu, / Majka
dade, babo je ne dade. / Dadoh babi čohu
nemirenu, / Babo dade, bratac je ne dade. /
Dadoh bratu svojega sokola, / Brat je dade,
sestra je ne dade. (Maldini Wildenhainski,
1909: 4)

U ovoj pjesmi s temom lova, mladićev konj, sokol i hrt igraju ulogu kao cijenjeni elementi njegova svijeta:

Sabah zora, ja se u lov spremam, / Podne
uči, a ja još kod dvora. / (...) Svezah đogu
za debelu jelu, / A sokola za jelovo granje.
/ Hrta puštam u planinu gustu: / Kad u gori
zaspala djevojka. / Pod glavom joj smotak
djeteline, / U njedrima dva b'jela goluba. /
Blago meni i đogatu mome: / Njemu trava,
a meni djevojka. (Isaković, 1972: 33)¹

U ovoj pjesmi oba su roda opisana pticama kao simbolima ljubavi, kao golubovi u paru, a i lastavice se pominju kao par: U evropskoj narodnoj književnosti, par golubica simbolizira ljubav i vjernost, a ova pjesma jasno prenosi čežnju za partnerom.

“O girl, you foolish one, / The sky is wider
than the sea, / The sea is longer than a field,
/ Eyes are swifter than a horse...”

In Bosnian society both falcons and horses were valued possessions for young men, the horse for transportation and a trained falcon for hunting small game. In Bosnian folk literature, frequent mention is made of a horse as the greatest value of a young man's possessions. Here we see this as in his bet with the girl:

A boy and a girl made a bet, / To sleep and
not touch each other, / The boy gave his
saddle and white horse, / And the girl, the
necklace from her throat.

Or in this love song, where the man gives valuable gifts to members of his beloved's family so they will allow him to marry her:

Today makes nine full years / That I've
been gazing at mother's darling: / The dar-
ling wants to marry me, / Her mother won't
let her. / I gave her mother brocade and
velvet, / Her mother allowed her to marry,
/ Her father wouldn't let her. / I gave her
father an unlimited amount of good cloth,
/ Her father allowed her to marry, / Her
brother wouldn't let her. / I gave her brother
my falcon, / Her brother allowed her to
marry, / Her sister wouldn't let her.

In this song with the theme of hunting, a young man's horse, falcon, and greyhound as valued parts of his world all play a role:

Dawn is breaking, and I'm getting ready
to go hunting, / The noon prayer is being
called, and I'm still in the courtyard. / (...) I
tied my white horse to a fat fir-tree, / And
my falcon to a fir-branch. / I let my grey-
hound out into the thickly wooded moun-
tain: / When a girl fell asleep in the woods.
/ Clover is crushed under her head, / In her
bosom are two white doves. / Both I and
my white horse are lucky: / For he has the
grass, and I – the girl.²

¹ Napomena: Ovdje pronalazimo simboliku golubice za bijele grudi djevojke.

² Translator's note: Here we found the symbolism of white doves for the girl's breasts.

Samo ja nemam nigdje nikoga, / samo ja nemam azgin-dilbera, / samo ja tužna tugu tugujem, / samo ja ničem se ne radujem. / Gledam ja goluba, golubicu, / gledam ja lastu i lastavicu, / gledam ja jedno drugo cjeluju, / gledam ja, životu se raduju. (Žero, 1995: 352)

U evropskoj književnosti slavujev pjev čest je simbol ljubavi i strasti, a to govori i početni stih:

Bulbul pjeva okolo Mostara, / Dođi, draga, evo nam behara. / Dođi meni, moje rošno cvijeće, / Moja majka karati te neće. (Žero, 1995: 38)

Ovdje kombinacija elemenata pjesme slavuja iz ruže, sumraka kad su se fenjeri na ulicama tek popalili, zvuka muzike koju pokreće def itd., sve se spaja kako bi se stvorila atmosfera romantike i čežnje, koja kulminira u glasu voljene osobe.

Hatižda Krnjević u jednom članku o poetskoj prirodi *sevdalinke* navodi: „Sevdah je i u Bosni i Hercegovini postao sinonim složenog ljubavnog osjećanja. Pojam sevdah označava ljubavnu čežnju od melanholije do ekstaze i on čini unutarnju sadržinu velikog broja pjesama.“ (Krnjević, 1976: 79) Takav koncept jasno je vidljiv u ovoj pjesmi:

Ima l' jada ko kad akšam pada, / Kad mahale fenjere zapale, / A sa đula jeca glas bulbula, / Kad def bije u prve jacije, / Kad tanani dršću šadrvani, / A iz tame šapću usne same: / “Gondže moje, da l' još misliš na me?” (Dizdar, 1944: 84)²

Golubice predstavljaju žene, ali ujedno i izraz naklonosti, prenoseći ljubav i nježnost. Tako Krnjević primjećuje u članku o prirodi *sevdalinke*, a povodom objašnjenja Jovana Krstića da one izražavaju

In this song, both genders are described by birds as symbols of love, as doves in a couple, and swallows as a couple as well: In European folk literature, a pair of doves symbolizes love and fidelity, and the longing conveyed in this song for a mate is clear.

Only I have nowhere anyone at all for me, / Only I have no wild and crazy sweetheart, / Only I sadly, sorrowfully, mourn, / Only I have nothing to rejoice in. / I look at the dove, and his lady-dove, / I look at the swallow, and his mate, / I look at them kissing each other, / I look at them rejoicing in life.

In European literature, a nightingale's singing is a frequent symbol of love and passion, and the initial line conveys this:

A nightingale is singing near Mostar, / Come, my darling, here are blossoms for us. / Come to me, my dewy flower, / My mother will not scold you.

Here the combination of elements of the nightingale's song from a rose, dusk when the lanterns in the streets have just been lit, the sound of music initiated by a tamborine, etc., all combine to build an atmosphere of romance and longing, culminating in the voice of one's beloved.

Hatižda Krnjević, in an article on the poetic nature of the *sevdalinka*, states: “Sevdah je i u Bosni i Hercegovini postao sinonim složenog ljubavnog osjećanja. Pojam sevdah označava ljubavnu čežnju od melanholije do ekstaze i on čini unutarnju sadržinu velikog broja pjesama.” (Krnjević, 1976: 79) (In Bosnia and Herzegovina, sevdah became the synonym of a complex feeling of love. The concept of *sevdah* denotes loving longing from melancholy to ecstasy and it forms the inner substance of a great number of songs.) Such a concept is clearly found in this song:

Is there sorrow as when dusk falls, / When the neighborhood lanterns are lit, / And the

² Napomena: “Gondže” se često koristi kao epitet za mladića.

„propisanu distancu između muškarca i žene, i to baš u ono doba kada je ljubavna strast, čežnja za blizinom dragog lica...” (Krnjević, 1976: 80) Kao i u mnogim *sevdalinkama*, postoji razdvojenost mladića od devojke, i on može da gleda, kao u ovom primeru, u njen prozor sa ulice, ali mu nije dozvoljeno da se približi voljenoj.

U slavenskom folkloru ptice su poznate kao glasnici. Jedan od najčešćih motiva u bosanskoj književnosti je onaj sokola koji vidi voljenu iz daljine, i prenosi tu informaciju ljubavniku, uključujući šta ona radi, šta ima na sebi, itd. Komunikacija životinje ili ptice sa ljudima je važna funkcija u bosanskoj narodnoj književnosti, kao kod ovog mladića koji razgovara sa sokolom: U nekoliko slučajeva osoba pita pticu za podatke o svojoj voljenoj:

Otkle ideš, siva tico sokole, / Nisi l bog do od te Bosne ponosne? / Nisi l vidjo liepu Fatu u majke? (*Zbirka sevdalinki*, 1950: 507)

Nirha Efendić pominje da u „izvanrednoj personifikaciji ... momci razgovaraju s golubovima glasonošama, provjeravajući u narodu opričano gospodstvo dilber Umihane” (Efendić, 2015: 105).

Nosi l’ ona hazna kolan od zlata, / Nosi l’ ona od hakika nanule, / Je li ona k’o što ono kazuju. (Kuba, 1984: 182)

Međutim, ja držim da ptice koje se ponašaju kao glasnici nisu izvanredan, već čest motiv u bosanskim ljubavnim pjesmama i baladama (vidjeti primjere u ovom radu).

Ovdje mladić razgovara sa slavujem, izražavajući svoju frustraciju zbog odsustva njegove djevojke i što ona ne može slušati strastvenu pjesmu s njim:

Na sumbulu slavuj pjeva, ja ga ne slušam, / Nego uzmem kamen st’jenu, pa ga otjeram. / “Hajde otalen, bulbul ptico, ja te

voice of the nightingale echoes from the rose, / When someone strikes a tambourine / At the very hour of the evening prayer, / And water trembles in the fountains, / And out of the darkness pure lips whisper: / “My rosebud, do you still think of me?”³

Doves represent women, and are also terms of endearment, conveying love and tenderness. As Krnjević notes in an article on the nature of *sevdalinke*, regarding the explanation of Jovan Krstić that they express a “propisanu distancu između muškarca i žene, i to baš u ono doba kada je ljubavna strast, čežnja za blizinom dragog lica...” (...a required distance between a man and a woman, and it is just in that arrives the passion of love, longing for the nearness of the beloved person...) (Krnjević, 1976: 80) As in many *sevdalinke*, there is the separation of the young man from the girl, and he can gaze, as in this example, at her window from the street, but he is not be permitted closer to the beloved.

In Slavic folklore, birds are well-known as messengers. One of the most common tropes in Bosnian literature is that of a falcon seeing one’s beloved at a distance, and conveying that information to the lover, including what she is doing, what she is wearing, etc. Communication between animal or bird with humans is an important function in Bosnian folk literature, as in this young man talking to a falcon: In several instances, the person asks a bird for information about his beloved:

From whence do you come, gray falcon, / If God has granted it, from proud Bosnia? / Have you not seen beautiful Fata in her mother’s house?

Nirha Efendić mentions that “in an extraordinary personification ... young men are talking to a messenger pigeon,

³ Translator’s note: ‘Rosebud’ is often used as an epithet for a young man.

ne slušam, / Nema ovdje ljube moje da te poslušaj!" (Dizdar 1944, 112)

U drugim primjerima bosanske narodne književnosti, tačnije u baladama, također nailazimo na ptice kao glasnike. Ovdje mladićev soko dolijeće djevojci i obavještava je o prevari svog gospodara:

Soko prhnu do džamli pendžera. / Kad al Najla za đerđefom veze; / S pendžera je na đerđef panuo. / Pita njega ljepotica Najla: / "Ču li mene, moj sivi sokole! / Gdje si mogao ostavio dragog? / Hoće l' danas pod pendžer mi doći?" / Soko tica njojzi odgovara: / "Dilber Najlo, materino zlato! / Ne uzdaj se u ašika tvoga! / Mehmed-beg je curu isprosio, / Isprosio i prstenovao, / Eno, sada ide po djevojku." (Andrić, 1909: 88–89)

Djevojke također razgovaraju s konjima i pticama, kao u ovoj erotskoj ljubavnoj pjesmi, gde soko, kao što smo ranije vidjeli, jasno simbolizira mladića. Ovdje mlada žena indirektno izražava svoje erotske želje sokolu:

Leti soko od jele do jele, / Pa on traži trave nekošene, / Pa on traži vode nepijene, / Pa on traži 'lada neležena. / Gledala ga s pendžera djevojka: / "K' meni, k' meni, moj sivi sokole, / Ja ti imam trave nekošene, / Ja ti imam vode nepijene, / Ja ti imam 'lada neležena: / Rusa kosa – trava nekošena, / Medna usta – voda nepijena, / Bjele grudi – 'lada neležena." (Jevtić, s. a.: 48)

Nirha Efendić citira *sevdalinku* u kojoj se djevojka "ispovijeda ptici... jer nikog drugog u potpunoj izdvojenosti ne može ni susresti." Ova komunikacija sa pticama često se odnosi na mlade žene, kako bi njima izrazile svoje duboke emocije. (Efendić, 2015: 105) Isto tako, ovdje se djevojka obraća mladićevom konju:

Pitala ga lijepa djevojka: / "Ah, moj Doro, grivo moja zlatna! / Je l' se tebi gospodar ženio?" / Dobar Doro govorit ne znade, /

checking the rumours about Umihan's nobility" (Efendić, 2015: 105).

Does she wear a precious golden necklace, / Does she wear slippers made of agate stone. / Is she what people say she is.

However, I maintain that birds acting as messengers are not extraordinary, but rather a frequent trope in Bosnian love songs and ballads (see examples in this paper).

Here a young man is talking to a nightingale, voicing his frustration at his girl's absence and that she cannot list to the passionate song with him:

On the hyacinth a nightingale is singing, I don't listen to you, / Rather I take a large rock, and drive it away. / "Go away from there, you nightingale bird, / I'm not listening to you, for my love is not here to listen to you!"

In other examples of Bosnian folk literature, namely in ballads, we also see birds as messengers. Here a young man's falcon flies to a girl, and informs her of his master's deceit:

The falcon flew off to the glass window / When rosy-cheeked Najla was embroidering on a frame; / From the window he landed on the embroidery frame. / The beauty Najla asked him: / "My gray falcon, listen to me! / Where have you left my sweetheart? / Mehmed-bey has asked a girl to marry him, / He successfully asked her, and the ring has been given, / Now they are going to fetch the girl."

Girls also speak to horses and birds, as in this erotic love song, where the falcon, as we have seen earlier, clearly is a symbol of a young man. Here the young woman indirectly expresses her erotic desires to the falcon.

A falcon flies from fir tree to fir tree, / He seeks unmown grass, / And he seeks untouched water to drink, / And he seeks cool shade where no one has lain. / A girl looked at him from her window: / "Come

Ušim striže, a nogama grebe: / “Nije mi se gospodar ženio!” (Andrić, 1929: 27)

U bosanskoj narodnoj književnosti, sokoli i druge ptice ne vrše samo funkciju glasnika znanja, već prenose emocije i svog vlasnika. U primjeru drugog žanra narodne književnosti, balade, mladić u svom muškom identitetu ne može direktno prenijeti svoje suze, a time i duboke emocije svojoj voljenoj. Svojoj voljenoj govori da stoji ispred njegove kuće i gleda njegovog sokola. Plač sokola je zamjena za plač njegovog gospodara.

“Moj Omere, obazri se na me! / Nek ja vidim crne oči tvoje, / Je l’ se na njih suza pomolila?” / “Moja Fate, moja dušo draga! / Ne mogu se obazriti na te, / Jer su ovdje čudnovati ljudi; / Bog zna što bi oni pomislili, / Nego ajde dvoru bijelome, / Kad te dođe želja do Omera, / Ti pogledaj sivoga sokola, / Kako plače za svojim junakom! / Kako plače i kako uzdiše! / Nako i ja, draga dušo moja, / Za tobom ti plačem i uzdišem.” (Andrić, 1909: 209–210)

Dakle, ovdje mladićev soko ne samo da djeluje kao glasnik, ne samo da predstavlja mladića, već otkriva duboke emocije koje se on ne usuđuje izraziti pred drugima.

Vidjeli smo da su golubice čest simbol ženstvenosti, ali ptice općenito, posebno male ptice, mogu predstavljati mlade žene:

Sve tičice pripjevaše, samo jedna ne pjeva, / Pitale ju drugarice: “Što ti, tico, ne pjevaš?” / “Ne pitajte, drugarice, što ja ne pjevam! / Mene majka staru daje,...” (Andrić, 1929: 183)

Dok su uglavnom konji i sokoli simboli mladića, a ptice, posebno golubice, mladih žena, s vremena na vrijeme otkrivamo da mladić koristi metafore iz svog svijeta, ovdje atribut sokola, da opiše djevojku:

to me, come to me, my gray falcon / I have unmown grass for you, / I have untouched water for you to drink, / I have for you cool shade where no one has lain: / Unmown grass is my light-brown hair, / Untouched water, my honey-sweet lips, / Cool shade where no one has lain, my white breasts.”

Nirha Efendić quotes a *sevdalinka* where a girl “confides in a bird... that she cannot meet anyone else in her isolation.” This communication with birds frequently applies to young women, to express to them their deep emotions. (Efendić, 2015: 105) Likewise, here the girl is speaking to the young man’s horse:

The beautiful girl asked him: / “Ah, my Bay, my golden mane! / Has my master married you?” / Good Bay cannot speak, / He pricks his ears, and scrapes his feet: / “My master has not married!”

In Bosnian folk literature, falcons and other birds not only function as messengers of knowledge, but convey the emotions of their owner. In an example of another genre of folk literature, the ballad, the young man cannot convey his tears and thus deep emotion to his beloved directly in his masculine identity. He tells his beloved to stand outside his home, and watch his falcon. The falcon’s crying is a substitute for its master crying.

“My Omer, turn around and look at me! / Let me see your dark eyes, / Have tears appeared in them?” / “My Fata, my dear, my darling! / I can’t turn around and look at you, / For the people here are strange; / God knows, what they would think, / Rather go to my white palace... / When you are longing for Omer, / Look at the gray falcon, / How it is crying for its hero! / How it is crying and how it is sighing! / That is how I, my dear, my darling, / Cry and sigh for you.”

Thus, here not only does the young man’s falcon act as a messenger, not only does it represent the young man, but

U djevojke šahin trepavice, / Oh, moj brate,
čudne ljepotice! / Prosiću je od mile majči-
ce. / Ako mi je majka i nedala, / Viš kuće
joj jablan drvo raste, / Popeću se jablanu na
granu, Pa ću kukat kano kukavica... (*Novi
Behar*, 1927: 12)

Ovdje se također nailazi na simboliku tuge u kukavičjem krik. Vladan Nedić, kojeg citira članak Nirhe Efendić (Efendić, 2015: 103), navodi da "...Liričar patrijarhalnih oblasti ushićava se dugim crnim trepavicama djevojke...", pominjući da je ovo uobičajeno poređenje u bosanskim ljubavnim pjesmama.

Zanimljivo je da zamjena svjetova simbola, kao u ovoj pjesmi, može ukazivati na kvalitete muškog svijeta koje je preuzeo ženski svijet. Djevojka postaje moćan soko kad se naljuti na svog dragog. Transformacija žene u pticu je motiv u slavenskom folkloru, a ovdje se ona mijenja iz pasivnog ženskog u snažno muško biće sokola, te odlijeće drugom dragom.

Sirota sam i sve mi se žaluje, / Gdje ja ne znam, gdje moj dragi danuje, / Gdje l' danuje, gdje li noću noćuje / il' koju li osim mene miluje. / Nek' miluje, nek' se je naljubi, / Doće vr'jeme, i on će se kajati, / A ja neću za suze mu hajati. / Djevojka sam, em – djevojka, em – soko, / Imam krila, uzviću se visoko, / Pak ću pasti drugom dragom na krilo, / Koj će mene bolje znati ljubiti. (Kuba, 1907: 243)

Zaključci

Životinje i ptice igraju različite uloge u *sevdalinkama* (bosanskim tradicionalnim ljubavnim pjesmama). Glavnu ulogu igraju konji i sokoli, koji predstavljaju mladiće, a često zauzimaju mjesto mladića i njegovih emocija.

reveals the deep emotions he dares not express in front of others.

We have seen that doves are a frequent symbol for the feminine, but birds in general, especially little birds, may represent young women:

All the little birds are singing, only one doesn't sing, / Her friends asked her: "O bird, why aren't you singing?" / "Don't ask, my friends, why I do not sing! / My mother gave me away to an old husband..."

While chiefly horses and falcons are symbolic of young men, and birds, especially doves, of young women, once in a while, we find that a young man uses metaphors from his world, here of a falcon's attributes to describe a girl:

The girl has eyelashes like a falcon's, / Oh, my brother, what a wondrous beauty! / I will ask her dear mother for her daughter's hand. / If her mother won't give her to me, / Above her house an apple tree grows, / I'll climb up unto a branch of the apple tree, / Then I'll cry mournfully like a cuckoo...

Here is also found the symbolism of sorrow in a cuckoo's cry. Vladan Nedić, quoted in Nirha Efendić's article (Efendić, 2015: 103), mentions that 'The lyricist of patriarchal regions is smitten by the long dark eyelashes of a young woman...', noting that this is a common simile in Bosnian love songs.

Interestingly, switching worlds of symbols, as in this song, can indicate the qualities of the masculine world taken on by the feminine world. A girl becomes a powerful falcon when angry with her sweetheart. Transformation of the female to a bird is a trope in Slavic folklore, and here she changes from the passive feminine to the powerful masculine being of a falcon, and flies away to another sweetheart.

I am an orphan, and everyone is sorry for me, / I don't know where, where my sweetheart spends his days, / Where he spends

Soko ili konj u ovim pjesmama može biti direktna zamjena za mladića, na primjer kada soko leti iznad Sarajeva i razmišlja koga da poljubi. Često se spominju njihove osobine snage i brzine, a pojavljuju se i kao odgovori u zagonetkama. Mlade žene su predstavljene golubicama i drugim pticama, a epitet 'bijeli golubovi' odnosi se na njihove grudi. Ptice su direktna zamjena za mladu ženu, npr. kada je u pjesmi žena ptičica, i njene prijateljice, druge ptice je pitaju zašto ne pjeva, a ona odgovara da je udata za starca.

Komunikacija ljudi sa životinjama i pticama je motiv u slavenskoj narodnoj književnosti i često se pojavljuje u ovim ljubavnim pjesmama. Na primjer, djevojka razgovara s mladićevim konjem, pitajući ga da li njegov vlasnik razmišlja da se oženi. Mladić razgovara sa sokolom i pita ga da li je vidio njegovu ljubav. Muška metafora sokola ponekad se može koristiti kada se odnosi na mlade žene, kao kada mladić opisuje prelijepu devojkicu pa kaže da ima trepavice poput sokola, ili kada odbačena djevojka sebe opisuje kao sokola koji odlijeće nekome ko će je više voljeti.

his days, where he spends his nights, / And whom he is caressing instead of me. / Let him caress her, let him kiss her, / There will come a time when he will be sorry, / And his tears won't bother me a bit. / I'm a girl, now a girl, now a falcon, / I have wings, I'll fly away up high, / Then I'll settle on another sweetheart's lap, / One who will know how to love me more.

Conclusions

Animals and birds play several roles in *sevdalinke* (Bosnian traditional love songs). A major role is played by horses and falcons, both of which represent young men, and often take the place of a young man and his emotions. A falcon or horse in these songs can act a direct substitute for the young man, for instance, when a falcon is flying over Sarajevo, and thinking of whom he should kiss. Their qualities of power and speed are frequently referred to, and also appear as answers in riddles. Young women are represented by doves, and other birds, and the epithet 'white doves' refers to their breasts. Birds are a direct substitute for the young woman, e.g., when in the song when the young woman is a little bird, and her friends, the other birds ask why she is not singing, and she answers that she has been married off to an old man.

Communication between people and animals and birds is a trope in Slavic folk literature, and appears frequently in these love songs. For example, a girl talks to a young man's horse, asking if his owner is thinking of marrying. A young man talks to a falcon, asking if he has seen his love. The masculine metaphor of a falcon may sometimes be used referring to young women, as when a young man describes a beautiful girl as having eyelashes like a falcon, or when a jilted girl describes herself as a falcon, flying away to someone who will love her more.

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