

Prikaz knjige:

Antun Hangi
Život i običaji muslimana
u Bosni i Hercegovini
(Za štampu priredila i pogovor napisala Aiša Softić)

Book review:

Antun Hangi
Life and customs of the Muslims
of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Edited for the press and written epilogue by Aiša Softić)

Bilo mi je zadovoljstvo prihvatiti poziv da govorim o ovoj knjizi, sa kojom sam se nekada davno, u svom djetinjstvu, susretao po preporuci svojih profesora narodne književnosti. Naravno, ja sam mnogo stvari od tada bio zaboravio, ali ova prilika mi je poslužila da obnovim svoje znanje o njoj i iz nje. Sticajem sretnih okolnosti, ovu knjigu priređuje i obrađuje meni draga osoba i to čini moje zadovoljstvo većim.

“Kod sastavljanja ovoga djela bila mi je na umu jedino ta želja da braću preko Save, Dinare i Biokova upoznam sa našim muslimanima i njihovim običajima”, reći će autor u predgovoru prvom izdanju svoje knjige, jer je primijetio da je nepoznavanje muslimana od strane naroda sa toga područja i u praksi i u pisanim formama oslabilo. Nema sumnje lijepa namjera, jer od nepoznavanja nekoga i nečega, nema ništa gore. Tu se kriju mnoge zablude i razna predubjeđenja. Čudno, a bosanski muslimani, ili muslimani uopće, dobro su se poznavali sa ljudima, upravo tamo kamo je Hangi imao namjeru uputiti svoje djelo i svoja saznanja o tim muslimanima. Zaborav je vrlo opasna stvar, ako je nekome do nečega stalo. Pošto je Hangi već bio donekle indoktriniran hrvatstvom kao odrednicom bosanskih muslimana, onda je ispravno uočio da to nije dobro. Zapravo, ja bih htio odmah na početku da kažem kako je slabost ovoga djela i njenog autora činjenica da i pored dugog življenja u Bosni i sa muslimanima nije uočio da tu nema nikakvog hrvatstva, a osobito da tu nema hrvatskog jezika kojim govore bosanski muslimani. To može da bude tačka

I was delighted to be asked to speak about this book, which I first encountered long ago, during my childhood, at the recommendation of my folk literature teachers. I have, of course, forgotten much from those days, but this was an opportunity for me to renew my knowledge of the book. By a fortunate concatenation of circumstances, the book has been edited by someone dear to me, which gives me still greater pleasure.

“When composing this work, I had in mind none other than to introduce my brothers beyond the Sava, the Dinarics and Biokovo to our Muslims and their customs,” the author wrote in the first edition of his book, aware that their knowledge of Muslims, both practical and in written form, was poor. Good intentions are not in doubt, for there is nothing worse than not knowing about someone or something. Ignorance covers a multitude of false impressions and prejudices. Strangely, the Bosnian Muslims, or Muslims in general, were very familiar with the very people for whom Hangi intended his book, with whom he sought to share his knowledge of those Muslims. Forgetting is very dangerous if one cares about something. Since Hangi had already to some extent been indoctrinated with the idea that the Bosnian Muslims were Croats, it was right and proper that he saw that this was not a good thing. In fact, I would like to say right at the outset that the weakness of this book and its author lies in the fact that despite living in Bosnia with Muslims for so long, he failed to understand that there is no “Croathood” there, and particularly that there is no Croatian language spoken by Bosnian Muslims. This might be a point of

odbojnosti prema ovom djelu, ali ja to neću nikako tako shvatiti, jer su njegovi formalni sunarodnici danas i ovdje u daleko težim zabludama, a zajedno živimo dva pa i više stoljeća.

Ja se ne bih trebao da upuštam u ocjenu ovoga djela u smislu njegovog naslova ili u smislu kompozicije cijelog djela, ovoga puta zajedno sa zbirkom pjesama, što mu daje, zaista, veliku vrijednost. Naime, u mnogim objašnjenjima autor citira upravo narodne pjesme koje je sam sakupio, pa bi zaista bila šteta da se i ne objave, bez obzira šta je o njima mislio i način kako je to radio Luka Marijanović. Ipak ću reći da bi bilo bolje da se knjiga zove "Vjera i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini". Evo i razloga za to: Hangi je u najduljem izlaganju govorio o vjeri bosanskih muslimana, tj. islamu. Ne ulazeći u to koliko je o tome govorio služeći se literaturom, kao što je npr. opis hadža, odnosno hodočašća u Meku i Medinu, za koje je sam rekao da se poslužio djelom Edhema Rize, a koliko je sam bilježio na osnovu kazivanja nama sada nepoznatih kazivača, što je također izvjesna manjkavost, Hangi je nevjerovatno tačno to bilježio i u smislu definicija i u smislu terminologije, pa je očito imao izvrsne kazivače ili znalce islama u mjeri u kojoj je on korišten u svakodnevnom životu islamskih vjernika u Bosni. Tu bi se samo na nekoliko mjesta trebalo intervenirati u smislu preciziranja i tačnijeg definiranja određenih vjerskih doktrina ili propisa. Ono što je stvarno uobičajeno u svakodnevnom životu muslimana, a ne spada u doktrinarne odrednice islama, nego u svakodnevnu praksu, kao što je pozdravljanje ili slično, pa to je Hangi izvrsno uradio. Naravno, o postu je imao pogrešna kazivanja, ali šta je – tu je. Ja bih preporučio, osobito nekim katoličkim teolozima, koji danas po fakultetima tumače islam ili govore o islamu katoličkim studentima ili u javnim glasilima, da uzmu Hangijevo djelo i da nauče, ako ništa, a ono korektan stav prema toj vjeri i tim vjernicima. Tu je vrlo kratko, ali vrlo jasno rečeno šta islam znači, osim što nije to *pokornost*, kako kaže Hangi, jer su mu vjerovatno tako ispričali, nego *predanost* Bogu. Hangi, inače, bježi od svojih vlastitih tumačenja, ali se ne primijeti da mu to smeta i ne ograđuje se i ne obara odgovornost na one koji su mu tako rekli, ili nema potrebe, osim u nekoliko slučajeva, da iskaže svoj

antagonism towards this work, but I shall never see it in that light, as his former fellow compatriots are in a far worse state of delusion here and now, and we have been living together for two centuries or more.

I should not allow myself to judge this book from its title or the composition of the work as a whole, combined this time with a collection of poems, which makes it all the more valuable. This is because the author makes frequently reference in his explanations to folk songs which he collected, and it would have been a shame not to publish them, regardless of what Luka Marijanović thought of them and the way he did so. And yet, I will say that a better title for the book would have been "Faith and Customs of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina." The reason for this is that in his lengthiest exposition Hangi talks about the religion of the Bosnian Muslims, Islam. Regardless of how far he turned to the literature when speaking on this, as for instance in the description of the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, about which he said he referred to the work of Edhem Rizo, or the extent to which he himself observed on the basis of accounts by people now unknown to us, which is also a shortcoming, Hangi recorded all this with unbelievable accuracy in terms of both definition and terminology, and clearly had available to him people with excellent knowledge of Islam to the extent that it forms part of the daily life of Islamic believers in Bosnia. There are only a few places where certain religious doctrines or precepts would need to be defined more precisely. As for what is really part of the normal daily life of Muslims, forming part of their daily practices rather than belonging to the domain of Islamic doctrine, such as greetings for instance, Hangi dealt with this brilliantly. Of course, there are some flawed accounts of fasting, but there you are. I would recommend Hangi's book to Catholic theologians in particular who are now teaching Islam in various universities or speaking about it to Catholic students or in the press, and to take from it, if nothing else, a proper view of the religion of Islam and of Muslims. It sets out very briefly but very clearly what Islam means, except that it is not *submission*, as Hangi says, for so he was probably told, but commitment or dedication to God. In fact, Hangi avoids giving his own interpretations, but there is no sign that this bothered or restricted him, and he does not pass on responsibility to those who

stav, a on je u korist bosanskog islama u odnosu na kršćanstvo. Dakle, u smislu prenošenja onoga što bosanski muslimani vjeruju i prakticiraju, Hangi je bez sumnje zadovoljio. Ne bi bile naodmet neke bilješke, ali ovako opet Hangijevo djelo je ostalo autentično i to neću okarakterizirati kao nedostatak priređivanja i objavljivanja ovoga djela.

Život muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini, a očito je on obišao najveći dio Bosne, ako hoćete i Hercegovine, ostao je dosta šturo prikazan u odnosu na vjeru. No, sada znamo da on ne izgleda onako kako ga prikazuju drugi stranci koji su prolazili preko Bosne ili boravili u njoj poput Pjera Davida i nekih drugih čiji su zapisi korišteni u literaturi i književnosti o Bosni i bosanskom društvu, osobito muslimanima. Ali ostavimo to po strani. Prema njemu, muslimani su "trijeznog života, iskreni i poštteni" i on ih je kao takve zavolio. On iskreno piše o načinu njihova življenja, o njihovoj porodici, o odnosu unutar porodice, naročito životu supružnika i djece koja beskrajno poštuju i slušaju svoje roditelje, što je posljedica dobrog uzgoja, kako kaže Hangi. On piše i o odanosti bosanskih muslimana poljodjelstvu, ali ako nema toga, onda oni rade ono što ima, ali svako treba da nešto radi. Naročito je razvijen komšijski odnos pa je komšija bliži od rođaka koji negdje dalje živi ili stanuje. Oni imaju svojih zabava u dokolici itd.

Međutim, značaj Hangijeva rada za naše društvo je, prije svega, u tome što je on prvi, ili prvi detaljno ili gotovo u cjelini želio, ili imao potrebu da prikaže život tzv. srednje klase i usput onog najbogatijeg sloja, a ta dva društvena sloja su određujući činioci razvoja društva. To naša etnologija ne poznaje. Naša je etnologija, po ugledu na historiju, koja je pisana prije Hangija, ali i poslije njega, do danas, naročito u susjednim zemljama ili kod naših drugih sugrađana, seljačka i oni pišu o selu i seoskim običajima, pa iako se zna da je društveni, pa i ostali život muslimana vrlo razvijen upravo u gradu, to niti je obrađivano niti je identificirano kao baza za razvoj društva, pa i običaja. Kao da nije postojalo. Ako se slučajno neko dotakne toga života i tih običaja, reći će da je to vjerski život, ili da je to nastalo pod uticajem vjere. Koliko god vjera imala uticaja u životu nekog naroda, ipak se sav život nije mogao odvijati u okviru vjere. Osim toga, nikada

told him, or has no need, except in a few cases, to express his own views, and in that regard he favours Bosnian Islam rather than Christianity. As far as conveying what Bosnian Muslims believe and practise, therefore, there is no doubt that Hangi is satisfactory. Some notes would not come amiss, but even as it is, Hangi's work remains authentic, and I will not characterize this as an editorial shortcoming in the publication of the book.

The life of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina – and he clearly visited most of Bosnia, and of Herzegovina if you will – had been rather scantily represented by comparison with their religion. However, we now know that it does not resemble the accounts of it by other foreigners who have travelled through or spent time in Bosnia, such as Pierre David for example, or others whose writings are quoted or referred to in non-fiction or literary works on Bosnia and Bosnian society, particularly Muslims. Let us put that to one side, however. According to Hangi, Muslims live "a sober life [and] are sincere and honest," and he liked them for it. He writes honestly about their lifestyle, their family life and relations within the family, and particularly the life of their wives and children, who respect and obey their parents, which is the result of good upbringing, as Hangi says. He also writes about Bosnian Muslims' dedication to farming, but if they have no land, they work at what they have, they have to do something. Neighbourly relations are particularly important, and a neighbour is dearer than a relative who lives a long way away. They also have their own entertainments and leisure pastimes.

However, the importance of Hangi's work for our society is above all that he was the first who sought to describe in detail or comprehensively, or felt the need to depict, the life of the middle class and the wealthiest, the two social strata that are the decisive factors in the development of society. Our ethnology does not recognize that. Our ethnology, modelled on history as it was written before Hangi and still is since him, particularly in our neighbouring countries or among our fellow citizens, deals with the peasantry, describes the countryside and rural customs, and even if authors are aware that the social life, the life as a whole, of Muslims is very advanced in towns and cities, they do not address it or identify it as the basis for the development of society and customs. It is as if

se ne smije zaboraviti da postoji pamćenje, koje je kontinuirano, i koje je negdje u svijesti, pojedinačnoj ili kolektivnoj, duboko sačuvano, bez obzira na sve mijene koje se dešavaju na mikro ili makroprostorima i bez obzira dolazile mijene iznutra ili izvana. To znači da to pamćenje utiče na djelovanje ljudi i način njihovog života. Eto sada ili od vremena Hangija imamo pogled u taj srednji sloj muslimanskog, odnosno bosanskog društva. Meni je poznato odakle potiče ovakav stav i naših historičara i naših etnologa. Neću o tome sada raspravljati, ali ću reći da svako nudi ono što ima. On će nekada i pohvaliti našega muslimana kao učena, a nekada će reći i da je zaostao. Nisu nemoguće ovakve kontradikcije. Jer, on ima na umu mnoštvo već izraslih intelektualaca muslimana koji dobrano doprinose "hrvatskoj kulturi", a vrijeme od okupacije 1878. godine je vrlo kratko. Na drugoj strani ima veliki broj zaostalog svijeta, što je također istina. On će po inerciji kršćanskog shvatanja jednom reći da su muslimani konzervativni, jer se strogo pridržavaju vjere i njenih propisa, jednom da su oni bolji od kršćana jer poštuju svoju vjeru. Šta možemo, to je sudbina onih koji su predmet opisa drugih.

Što se tiče običaja koje je autor poredao onako kako je mislio da treba poredati, složio bih se sa nekim njegovim ranim kritičarima da to nisu običaji u cjelini. Mora se priznati da bi to bilo vrlo teško ostvariti, ali ovo je tek isječak iz običaja muslimana. Ima jedna stvar koja upada u oči, a to je da je Hangi strogo vodio računa da ne govori o običajima pripadnika drugih konfesija u Bosni. Gotovo da je to temeljito proveo u svom djelu. Ima to dobrih strana, ali mi bismo danas imali potrebu da vidimo šta se dešavalo kod drugih naših sugrađana. Osobito ako bi se to kompariralo ili govorilo o sličnostima i razlikama, a u percepciji ili bilježenju Hangija. Mi mislimo da su sličnosti brojne i značajne, a to ide u prilog ovoj zemlji koja je takva stotinama godina. Hangi je, čini se, imao tu sposobnost da se strogo drži muslimana i njihovog života ili njihove vjere, a imao je i jednu izrazito dobru predispoziciju, a to je da je on mogao i da je on govorio bez predubjeđenja, što u našoj etnologiji nije slučaj. Naime, naša etnologija je manje-više zatrovana predubjeđenjima i negativnim etničkim ili narodnosnim prljavštinama.

it does not exist. When an author happens to touch on that urban life and its customs, he will say that it is religious life and that it has evolved under the influence of religion. However great the impact of religion on the life of a given people, not every aspect of one's life is defined by religion. Furthermore, one should never forget that there is such a thing as memory, which is unbroken and which is preserved deep in the consciousness, individual or collective, regardless of all the changes that take place at the micro or macro level and regardless of whether those changes come from within or without. This means that memory influences what people do and how they live. So now, or since Hangi's day, we have a view of that middle class of Muslim or Bosnian society. I am aware where the views held by our historians and ethnologists come from. I shall not discuss this now, but will say that everyone offers what he has. The law of the market, to be at least a touch cynical. He will sometimes praise our Muslims for their erudition, and at other times say that they are backward. This is not an impossible contradiction, for he has in mind the mass of already mature Muslim intellectuals whose contribution to "Croatian culture" is considerable, though the time that has elapsed since the occupation is very brief. On the other hand, there are plenty of backward people, which is also true. Out of the inertia of Christian understanding, he will say now that the Muslims are conservative, for they adhere strictly to their religion and its precepts, and at another time that they are better than Christians because they honour their religion. What can we do, this is the fate of those who are the subject of description by others.

As regards the customs that the author classifies as he thinks they should be, I would agree with some of his earlier critics who say that these are not their customs as a whole. It must be admitted that this would be very difficult to achieve, but this is merely one segment of the customs of Muslims. One thing that strikes one is that Hangi is very careful not to talk about the customs of people of other confessions in Bosnia. This he has done almost consistently throughout. There are good sides to this, but we would now like to know what happened in the case of our other fellow citizens, particularly if they had been compared or the similarities and differences between them had been discussed, from Hangi's point

Od narodnih običaja, Hangi nam je ponudio po njemu najvažnije, a to su: rađanje djeteta, znači život, zatim odrastanje i odgoj, zatim emotivni život ili ašikovanje, odnosno ljubav, a zapravo cijelo ovo njegovo djelo, i običaji i zbirka pjesama, u suštini se mogu svesti na porodicu, ljubav i ljepotu, i sve recidive koji iz toga po prirodi stvari proizilaze, a to su i njegova zasebna poglavlja kao što je *Prošnja*, *Svatovi* i opremanje i knivenje mlade, ili kinanje kao kaže Hangi, i nićah, to jest vjenčanje, zatim *Muž i žena* – u relaciji onoga što slijedi, a to su starci i Smrt. Čini se da je time zaokružio bosanskog čovjeka, muslimana, u onoj njegovoj osnovnoj životnoj vertikali, od rođenja do smrti, s tim što je vjeru i život stavio na početak.

Sva poglavlja je izvanredno obradio. Doduše, nije nam dao detalje o rođenju, ali jest preko babe ili ebejke, kako se to kaže u Krajini. Tu je njegovo mišljenje o tome kako musliman najviše ljubi djecu i želi ih mnogo, osobito sinova. To je njegova najveća radost. U tom smislu je i odnos prema majci koja rađa, i ne samo odnos obitelji nego i sve rodbine i okoline. Naročito je obratio pažnju na sujevjerja, koja su mnogobrojna, i uroke koji su osobito opasni za djecu. Donio nam je i način borbe protiv uroka i drugih natprirodnih zala koja prijete tek rođenoj djeci, ili djeci uopće.

U poglavlju o odrastanju i uzgoju na vrlo živopisan način je opisao radost roditelja kada djeca pođu u mejtef (mekteb). To je radost cijelog džemata. Tu je darivanje hodže, tu su želje da se završi mekteb i prouči hatma, tj. da se nauči učiti u Kur'anu. Ali usput nam priča i kako nisu baš ti mektebi, a to su tzv. sibjan mektebi, naročito organizirani i ne odgovaraju svrsi, kako to kaže Hangi. Ali Hangi zaboravlja da je to onaj dio koji je opredijeljen za vjersku obuku, a ona je u onolikoj mjeri i obimu koliko je nužno čovjeku vjerniku za obavljanje svakodnevnih obaveza prema Bogu i svojoj vjeri. Sasvim je tačno da to nisu monumentalni objekti i da je to ono najnužnije, jer sve troškove oko toga i oko hodže snosi narod sam. No kako bilo, kritika je ispravna, ali on to i nije ispričao sa namjerom kritike kao ukora. Ima jedna čudna stvar. Hangi se ne može načuditi kako djeca u mektebima uče kolektivno. Tu metodiku Hangi očito nije poznavao i on ne misli

of view or observations. We believe that the similarities are many and significant, which is a good thing for this country, which has been like this for hundreds of years. Hangi seems to have had the ability to deal strictly with the Muslims and their lives or their religion, and he had one advantage, which was that he was able to speak without preconceptions, which is not the case in our ethnology. Rather, our ethnology is more or less contaminated by preconceptions and negative ethnic or national filth.

As for folk customs, Hangi deals with what he regards as most important: the birth of children, which is to say life, upbringing, emotional life and courting, or love, and in fact the whole of his work, both customs and poems, is essentially about the family, love and beauty, and everything that derives naturally from them, in his separate chapters on proposals, weddings and setting the young couple up in life, and the nikah, the [Islamic] marriage ceremony, and on husband and wife and what follows in due course, old age and death. This seems to complete the life of the Bosnian Muslim and the vertical trajectory of life, from birth to death, in which he put religion and life at the beginning.

He composed every chapter extremely well. Admittedly, he said little about birth, except that it is the domain of the midwife or *ebejka*, as they say in the Krajina, the frontier regions. He expresses the view that Muslims love children more than anything, and want a large family, particularly sons. This is their greatest joy. This also dictates the attitude towards the mother who gives birth to them, not merely that of the parents but also of every relative and of friends and neighbours. He pays particular attention to superstitions, of which there are many, and to magic spells, which are especially dangerous for children. He also describes ways to combat spells and other supernatural evils that threaten newborn children in particular or children in general.

In his chapter on upbringing he provides a very striking description of the parents' delight when their children go to *mejtef* (*mekteb*) [Qur'an school]. The whole congregation rejoices. Gifts are made to the hojja, and the desire to finish Qur'an school and to read the whole Qur'an. But he also says that these very mektebs, *sibjan mekteb* as they are called, are not very well organized and, as Hangi says, do not really serve their purpose. But he forgets that this is the part that is committed

da je dobra. Na njegovu žalost, i danas se taj metod određuje kao najuspješniji i najefikasniji. Uz kolektivno učenje postoji i tzv. mentorstvo, tj. da stariji poučava mlađega, odnosno da mu pomaže, a da učitelj samo kontrolira. Ovdje osobito lijepo, gotovo sa oduševljenjem Hangi opisuje pripremanje djece i njihovo oblačenje. Naravno, on uvijek ima na umu razliku između bogatog i manje bogatog ili siromašnog. Tu su taksativno nabrojani predmeti oblačenja i materijali od kojih su napravljeni. Na kraju dobijemo veličanstveno obučenog đacića kao malog čovječuljka, a djevojčicu kao gizdavu damicu.

Ašikovanje je posebna priča. Uglavnom, pored svih pravila i zabrana uvijek se nađe način da se dođe do svoje voljene ili voljenog, makar sve to bilo u suprotnosti sa šerijatom. Naravno, meni ne pada na pamet da s njim polemiziram i da govorim o onome što je zabluda, ili je to bila zabluda u Bosni. Osobito kad je u pitanju pokrivanje. Onaj ko ne shvata da je pokrivanje dio mode i kao takvo dio običaja, a ne vjerske naredbe, osim u smislu pristojnog oblačenja, onda je on u zabludi. Hangi nije mogao izbjeći tu zabludu, ali je morao priznati da se djevojke ne pokrivaju, nego to rade udate žene, a opet on sam kaže da su žene glava porodice. Pa sada neka izvoli ko voli. Pošto on ne govori o ruralnim sredinama, ostavićemo to po strani. On govori o gradu i o već naznačenim društvenim slojevima. Ja pamtim kada su se sve žene i djevojke u mom rodnom zavičaju pokrivale manje-više jednako bijelim jašmacima, bilo to muslimanke ili nemuslimanke. I još nije to bilo davno!

Prošnja je jednostavno prikazana i ona je uglavnom ili preko posrednica provodadžika, ili izravno preko porodičnih izaslanika muškaraca. Udaja je ili po odobrenju i zadovoljstvu porodica, ili otmicom kao to Hangi kaže, a ja bih rekao kad se djevojka iskrađe, tj. krijući. Uglavnom, ovo je vrlo interesantan podvig, bilo krađa ili otmica. Otmice u epskim pjesmama imaju poseban smisao i ne spadaju u ove redovne prošnje i ženidbe. Svatovi kako ih Hangi prikazuje su ostaci sjećanja iz nekih dalekih vremena ili iz onog epskog poriva za junaštvom. U ovom poglavlju mislim da je Hangi bio slabo upućen u nićah ili vjenčanje, pa je pogrešno opisao i definirao tzv. mehri muadžel i mehri muedžel. Mislio je da se time djevojka

to religious education, and is appropriate to the extent and scope that is required for the believer to perform his daily obligations towards God and his faith. Clearly, these are not monumental buildings, but only the bare essentials, because all the expense associated with them and the *hojja* is borne by the people themselves. Be that as it may, the criticism is justified, but he did not intend it to be a rebuke. There is one curious thing. Hangi cannot get over the fact that children in the *mekteb* learn collectively. He was clearly unfamiliar with this method, and does not think it is a good one. To his regret, even now it is regarded as the most successful and effective method. As well as collective learning, there is also mentorship, when an older person coaches or helps a younger one, and the teacher merely checks the results. Here Hangi describes particularly well, almost with delight, the preparation and clothing of children. Of course, he always maintains the different between the wealthy, the less wealthy and the poor. He lists the articles of clothing and the materials they are made of. The end result is a splendidly clad boy looking like a little gentleman, and a girl like a little lady in all her finery.

Ašikovanje [courting] is a separate story in itself. On the whole, regardless of all the rules and restrictions, there is always a way to reach one's beloved, even if it is contrary to the *sharia*. Of course, I would not think of arguing with him, or of saying what is or was fallacy in Bosnia, particularly as regards covering the head. Anyone who does not understand that the *hijab* is part of fashion, and thus of custom, not of religious precepts, except in the sense of dressing modestly, is under a misapprehension. Hangi was unable to avoid this misapprehension, but had to admit that girls do not wear the *hijab*, but married women do, though he himself says that women are the head of the family. So if someone wants to, so be it. Since he is not talking about rural environments, we shall disregard them; he deals with the town or city and the social strata already referred to. I remember a time when all the women and girls in my home town wore more or less identical head scarves, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. And that was not so long ago, either.

Proposals of marriage are depicted quite simply, as usually made through a matchmaker or direct, by male members of the family. Girls are married either with the approval of the families, or by abduction as Hangi calls it, though I would rather call

kupuje. U Bosni se nikada djevojke nisu kupovale, a ova dva mehra su, uslovno rečeno, jedno dar, a drugo osiguranje u pravom smislu. Muadžel su zaruke koje postaju njeno vlasništvo, bez obzira da li se brak održao ili ne, a muedžel je osiguranje za mladu, odnosno ženu u slučaju razvoda braka. Tada je muž dužan isplatiti ženi osiguranje, odnosno njeno izdržavanje. Prema tome, kod muslimana je po šerijatu brak obligacioni sporazum ili ekonomski ugovor. On se bazira u principu na ljubavi, ali za trajnu ljubav niko ne garantira. Osim toga, tu je još mogućnost neplodnosti, za koju je, nažalost, gotovo uvijek okrivljavana žena, pa se u tom slučaju može oženiti i druga ili inoča. Ako neka žena ne može to podnijeti, onda ona dobiva svoje osiguranje. Naravno, ne treba imati iluzija, nije uvijek sve išlo kako treba ili po zakonu ili šerijatu, ali to je nevjerovatna civilizacijska tekovina koju su muslimanka, pa i musliman mogli slobodno koristiti. Brak se sklapa na sudu i rastavlja na sudu, a ne na nebesima, mada je Poslanik govorio da je razvod najmrža stvar Bogu.

Muž i žena brinu brigu o porodici i djeci, ali očekuju istu takvu brigu i za sebe, a to će biti ako su djeca dobro odgojena. Hangi je sjajno prikazao smrt i sahranu do u detalje. Garantiram, nijedan hodža to danas ne zna, pa često kažem da su i smrt i sahrana danas industrijskog karaktera, a da su ljubav i emocije negdje izvan svijeta.

U ovom djelu je zbirka pjesma pod naslovom MUSLIMANSKE NARODNE PJESME. Gospođa Softić je o tome govorila i ja ne bih imao mnogo šta dodati.

Pjesme su krasne i, što je osobito važno, one su autentične, jer Hangi nije ništa mijenjao. Ja nisam ni književni historičar ni etnolog, ali čini mi se da nijedna od ovih pjesama nije epskog karaktera. Nekolike možda imaju neke primjese epskog, ali je svima uglavnom motiv ljubav, sretna ili nesretna. To su sve fine balade i ljubavne pjesme. Neke od njih se danas aktivno pjevaju kao sevdalinke i one su prema tome naše, izvorno, a ne turske. Možda melodije imaju neke uticaje turske lirske pjesme, ali to je sve. U ovoj zbirci se našla i pjesma za koju je bosanski književnik Jovan Dučić rekao da je bez ikakve sumnje najbolja strofa ili stihovi u svjetskoj književnosti uopće, a to je pjesma *Ah, što l' mi se Travnik zamaglio*.

it eloping. This is a very interesting phenomenon, whether regarded as elopement or abduction. Abductions in epic poems are quite distinct from these ordinary proposals and marriages. Wedding parties, as Hangi depicts them, are a relic of ancient times, or of the epic impulse for heroism. In this chapter, I believe that Hangi was not that familiar with the *nikah* or marriage ceremony, and incorrectly described the *mehri muadžel* and *mehri muedžel* [the dowries promised by a man to his bride before or at the time of the marriage]. He thought that it was the bride-price. But in Bosnia, girls have never been bought; the *mehr* may be described as a gift, a kind of insurance. It becomes the property of the woman, whether the marriage survives or not, and the *muedžel* is her insurance in the event of divorce, when the husband is bound to pay this insurance or maintenance. For Muslims, a sharia marriage is a contract, a matter of economics. It is based in principle on love, but no one can guarantee eternal love. There is also always the possibility of infertility, for which, unfortunately, women have always been blamed, so a man may take a second wife. If the first wife cannot accept this, she receives her insurance. One should not be under the illusion that everything always proceeded according to plan, whether by law or by sharia, but it is a remarkable civilizational achievement which Muslims, both men and women, may take advantage of. Marriage is entered into in court and dissolved in court, not made in heaven, though the Prophet said that divorce is the thing most hated by God.

Husband and wife take care of the family and children, but also expect to be taken care of, and so it will be if the children are brought up well. Hangi gives an excellent account of death and burial, down to the last detail. I guarantee no hojja nowadays knows it this well. For me, death and funerals are an industry now, and love and emotion are somewhere beyond this world.

This part of the work contains the collection of poems entitled MUSLIM FOLK POEMS. Mrs. Softić has spoken about this, and I would not have much to add. The poems are delightful, and what is particularly important, they are authentic, for Hangi has changed nothing. I am neither a literary historian nor an ethnologist, but it seems to me that none of these are epic in nature. Some might have some epic features, but the principal theme of all of them is love, happy or unhappy. They are

Da ne duljim i ovako je previše. Sevač je bilo objaviti zajedno i običaje i pjesme jer je to sada jedna prava cjelina. Djelo bez studije gospođe Softić iznosi 456 stranica.

Aiša Softić, koja je priredila ovo djelo za štampu, napisala je studiju o ovome djelu i nasloвила je kao *Pogovor*. Možda nije bitno kakav je naslov. Bitnije je šta je u tekstu. Pa ipak, mislim da je ovaj naslov skroman ili više nego skroman, a posve sigurno ne odgovara jednom pogovoru, jer bi se to htjeli ne htjeli trebalo da odnosi samo na Hangijevu radnju. Međutim, ovaj pogovor je u stvari jedna sjajna studija o bosanskohercegovačkoj etnologiji i njenim dometima do današnjeg dana. A. Softić u svojoj studiji prati nastajanje zapisa o običajima bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana ili uopće običaja bosanskog naroda, u putopisima, ljetopisima ili časopisima ili kao samostalne radnje, koje su ostavljali oni koji su prolazili kroz Bosnu ili su tu živjeli. Međutim, za moje izlaganje ovdje i za ono šta ja znam o našoj etnologiji, meni je bitnije da studija ima dimenziju kritičkog posmatranja, kako metodologije etnološkog istraživanja, tako i predmeta njenog istraživanja, kvaliteta i dometa istraživanja i obrade, jer kvantitativni dio ne zadovoljava, i konačno pristupa, posebno idejnog, ovoj materiji i njenom istraživanju. Mislim da je ovo prva studija pisana vrlo jasnim stavom i pitanjem o tome da li Bošnjaci imaju svoje običaje i da li su ti običaji narodnosnog karaktera ili su oni plod vjerskih uticaja. Zatim, isto tako jasan stav da su etnološka, ili kako autorica studije navodi, još i folkloristička istraživanja do sada učinjena u ovoj zemlji nedovoljna i da su diskriminatorski diferencirana na štetu bošnjačkih običaja. Kako je poznato, u našoj etnologiji nema mnogo kritike, kao ni uostalom ni u drugim znanostima i disciplinama, pa je stoga ova studija pravo osvježenje i vjerovatno povoljan input za istraživanja i valorizaciju kako rezultata dosadašnjih istraživanja, tako i potrebu novih dubljih istraživanja, bez predrasuda. Isto tako ova studija ustvari predstavlja postavljanje pitanja na koja treba tražiti valjane odgovore, bilo temeljnom kritikom ili, pak, temeljnom redefinicijom dosadašnjih stavova i mišljenja o običajima Bošnjaka. Naravno, postavlja se pitanje i običaja naših sugrađana u onom smislu kako su do sada rađeni

refined ballads and love poems, a dozen or more of which are still sung as *sevdalinka*, and are thus our own, not Turkish. The melodies may have been somewhat influenced by Turkish lyric poetry, but that is all. This collection also included the verses of which Jovan Dučić, a Bosnian Orthodox Christian writer, said that they are beyond doubt the finest verses in the literature of the world: the poem *Ah, što l' mi se Travnik zamaglio*.

I shall not dwell too long on this. It was *sevač* [a good deed] to publish the customs and poems together, as they form a true whole. The work has 456 pages, not counting Mrs. Softić's study.

Aiša Softić, who edited the work for the press, wrote a study on it, calling it an Epilogue. Maybe the title is not that important; what matters is the content. All the same, I think this title is too modest, more than modest, and certainly not appropriate for an epilogue, which, like it or not, should relate only to Hangi's work. This epilogue, however, is in fact a brilliant study of ethnology in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its achievements to date. Mrs. Softić traces the origin of records on the customs of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslims, or of the Bosnians as a whole, in travelogues, chronicles and periodicals or as individual works, the legacy of those who have travelled or lived in Bosnia. However, for this talk of mine, and from what I know about our ethnology, what is more important is that this study has a critical dimension, both of the methodology of ethnological research and of the subject of that research, the quality and scope of research and analysis, because mere quantity is not enough for the final approach, especially conceptual, to this material and the study of it. I believe this is the first study written with the very clear view that the Bosniacs had their own customs, and that they are of a popular nature or are the outcome of religious influences. It also has the equally clear view that ethnology or, as the author also calls it, folklore research in this country has been insufficient, and discriminates against the customs of the Bosniacs. It is well known that there is not much criticism in our ethnology, nor indeed in other sciences and disciplines, so this study is a breath of fresh air and probably a good input for research and valorization as the result of research to date and for the need for more and more thorough research, without prejudice. The study also raises questions that need proper answers, whether based on critique

i obrađivani. Inače, iz stavova gospođe Softić jasno proizilazi da su mnoga mišljenja srpskih ili hrvatskih etnologa i folklorista o bošnjačkim običajima neutemeljena i bez moguće naučne valorizacije. Ima više razloga za to, ali nijedan ne spada u tzv. objektivne razloge. Istraživači koji su se doticali toga pitanja imali su dvostruke kriterije, uglavnom, nenaučnog karaktera. Tako, po mnogima, običaji nemuslimana su narodni običaji, a običaji muslimana su vjerski običaji. Zaista to može biti samo u Evropi, ili u Bosni koja je u Evropi. Takav pristup ne može polučiti naučne i validne rezultate. Aiša Softić ističe da je ovo djelo Antuna Hangija gotovo jedinstveno u našoj nauci, koje na ovakav način i sa ovakvim pristupom govori o običajima muslimana ili Bošnjaka. Zar samo takav stav nije dovoljan za ocjenu dosadašnjih istraživanja?! Ona nam je ponudila nekoliko imena, koja u stvari i čine najveći dio tih istraživača, koji su, međutim, sasvim svjesno potcjenjivali značaj bošnjačkih običaja, naravno po mom mišljenju, zaboravljajući da je najvjerojatnije najveći dio bošnjačkih narodnih običaja u osnovi svih ostalih na ovom prostoru, osobito onih u gradskim sredinama. Na stranu elementi religioznog u običajima. Bilo bi interesantno uporediti historiju i etnologiju i u okviru toga demografske karakteristike ove zemlje od prije više od jednog milenijuma.

Aiša Softić je pratila i ponudila nam radove i bibliografije radova o pojedinim običajima, bilo da se radi o bošnjačkim ili nekim drugim. To je zaista ogroman trud, ali to je i potreba naše nauke iz ove oblasti koja još nije sustavno uspostavljena na našim fakultetima i institutima. Ona ih prati od Benedikta Kuripešića sa početka 16. stoljeća, pa preko Čelebije i Dževdet efendije do austrijskih poslenika i radova koji su iz ove oblasti nastajali u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji do danas. Naravno, gđa Softić se osvrnula i na radove onih koji su najviše pisali o tome u prethodnoj državi i našla da njihovi radovi ne mogu zadovoljiti naučne uzuse, jer su jednostrani, apologetski, nacionalni i nacionalistički, odnosno ksenofobični. I kod nekih izvanbosanskih istraživača osjeća se nastojanje da se što više marginaliziraju bošnjački običaji.

No u nekim kratkim vremenima prije agresije na Bosnu 1992. godine u Bosni su se počeli

or on a radical redefinition of past and present views and thinking on the customs of Bosniacs. This of course also raises the question of the customs of our fellow citizens as they have been dealt with to date. It is clear from Mrs. Softić's views that many of the opinions regarding Bosniac customs held by Serb or Croat ethnologists and folklorists are unfounded and without basis for being adjudged academically or scientifically. There are many reasons for this, but not one of them can be called rational. Researchers who have touched on this question have had double standards, mainly of an unscientific nature. Thus, for many, the customs of non-Muslims are folk customs, but those of Muslims are religious. This can only happen in Europe, or in Bosnia which is in Europe. This approach cannot produce valid scientific results. Aiša Softić notes that this work by Antun Hangi is almost unique in our academic world in its approach to and description of the customs of Muslims or Bosniacs. Is not this view in itself sufficient to judge research to date? She provides a few names, including in fact the majority of these researchers, who have quite deliberately underestimated the importance of Bosniac customs, in my opinion of course, forgetting that probably the greater part of Bosniac folk customs underlie all others in this country, particularly in urban settings. The elements of the religious in customs aside [sic]. It would be interesting to compare history and ethnology in the context of this demographic feature, present in this country for more than a millennium.

Aiša Softić has identified and listed the works and bibliographies on various customs, whether Bosniac or other. This is a major undertaking, but necessary for our scholarship in this field, which has yet to be systematically introduced in our universities and institutions. She traces them from Benedict Krupešić in the early 16th century via Čelebi and Dževdet effendi to Austrian civil servants and the works produced in this field in socialist Yugoslavia and to the present. She also refers to the works of those who wrote most extensively on the subject in the previous state, and finds that their works cannot meet academic standards, being one-sided, apologetic, national and nationalist, and xenophobic. Among some foreign researchers, too, one senses efforts to marginalize Bosniac customs as far as possible.

A short while before the recent war, Bosniac researchers began to emerge in Bosnia and Herzegovina

pojavljivati i Bošnjaci istraživači koji su uni-
jeli dozu novog, svježijeg, objektivnijeg u sva-
ta istraživanja, pokušavajući naći ono što je za-
jedničko svim stanovnicima Bosne. Međutim,
mora se priznati da to ide vrlo sporo. Još postoje
kolebanja i nedoumice, još se luta od muslimana
do Bošnjaka ili Srbina i Hrvata, a historija bog-
mi stvara nova saznanja, pa ćemo po svoj prilici
izvore mnogih običaja morati tražiti kod drugih
naroda koji su negdje daleko od bivših jugosla-
venskih prostora i drukčije etničke građe. No,
dok se ne stvore novi rezultati, ova studija Aiše
Softić će biti sigurno ne samo polazna osnova,
nego sintetizirano znanje o običajima i etnolo-
giji uopće. Kod mene nema nepotizma kad su
u pitanju nauka i naučna istraživanja, zato ću
slobodno odati priznanje gospođi Softić, kako
je ona napravila sjajan posao za našu nauku i
za našu budućnost naslonjenu na časnu proš-
lost, bez obzira bila ona malo i konzervativna,
jer kako Hangi kaže, naši muslimani (prihvatam
kao Bošnjaci) su trezveni, iskreni i poštteni. E pa
neka smo i konzervativni, a naša trezvenost, is-
krenost i poštenje, pogotovu ako ga još bude,
zaloga je lijepe budućnosti.

who were bringing something new, fresh, more
objective to their research, trying to discover what
is common to everyone in Bosnia. However, it
must be admitted that it is a very slow process.
There are still many vacillations and dilemmas,
research still lurches from Muslims to Bosniacs
or Serbs and Croats, while history creates new
discoveries, and it would seem that the origins of
many customs must be sought in other peoples liv-
ing far from ex Yugoslavia and of different ethnic
background. Until new results are achieved, how-
ever, this study by Aiša Softić will undoubtedly
be not only a starting point, but also a synthesis
of the knowledge of customs and of ethnology
in general. I have no nepotism when it comes to
scholarship and scholarly research, and I therefore
feel free to express my respect for Mrs. Softić and
to repeat once again that she has done a wonderful
job for our scholarship and our future, based on
an honourable past, regardless of whether it was
a bit conservative for, as Hangi says, our Muslims
or Bosniacs are sober, sincere and honest. So let
us have our conservatism, for our sobriety, our
sincerity and our honesty, if any remains, are the
warrant of a better future.