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Riječi urednice

Nakon duže pauze ponovo su se stekli uvjeti za koliko-toliko uravnoteženo i kontinuirano izlaženje Etnološke sveske *Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*. U proteklom broju, koji nosi godinu izdanja 2022, objavljeno je devet radova koji su bili uglavnom rezultat terenskog rada i arhivskih prinosa s različitih područja Bosne i Hercegovine – od Mostara i Širokog Brijega do Srebrenice, Kupresa, ali i Prusca te Kraljeve Sutjeske, čiji su rezultati bili djelomično objavljeni i u svesci koja nosi broj 50, a izašla je 2013. godine.

Ovaj put donosimo šest originalnih radova, koji su uglavnom zasnovani na fundamentalnim istraživanjima, i u manjem obimu terenskim, koji se uglavnom odnose na zabilješke duhovnog naslijeđa koje su snimili naši kustosi kao dio njihova rada na prikupljanju građe i upotpunjavanju Folklornog Arhiva Zemaljskog Muzeja.

Enver Imamović napisao je rad o običaju cirkumcizije ili obrezivanja kod različitih naroda svijeta, a koji nije usko povezan s kulturom naroda u Bosni i Hercegovini. Riječ je, naime, o običajnoj praksi koja je zastupljena kod jevrejskog i muslimanskog stanovništva naše zemlje prema propisu koji dolazi iz vjerskih učenja. Ovaj rad također upućuje na duge historijske korijene sličnog održavanja intimne higijene kod različitih naroda svijeta – od Južne i Srednje Amerike preko starog Egipta do Australije.

Amira Dervišević i Alen Kalajdžija predstavili su rad zasnovan na najnovijim prinosima s terena. Rad koji je ovdje

Editor's Remarks

After a long break, conditions have once again been created for a more or less balanced and continuous publication of the Ethnology volume of the *Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The previous issue, which bears the year of publication 2022, published nine papers, which were mainly the result of fieldwork and archival contributions from various areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina – from Mostar and Široki Brijeg to Srebrenica, Kupres, but also Prusac and Kraljeva Sutjeska, the results of which were partially published in the volume bearing the number 50, which was published in 2013.

This time, we present six original papers, which are mainly based on fundamental research, and to a lesser extent field research, which mainly refer to notes of spiritual heritage recorded by our curators as part of their work on collecting material and completing the Folklore Archive of the National Museum.

Enver Imamović wrote a paper about the custom of circumcision among different peoples of the world, which is not closely related to the culture of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, it is a customary practice that is represented among the Jewish and Muslim population of our country in line with the regulations stemming from religious teachings. This work also points to the long historical roots of similar maintenance of intimate hygiene among different peoples of the world – from South and Central America through ancient Egypt to Australia.

Amira Dervišević and Alen Kalajdžija presented a paper based on the latest

objavljen govori o bajci o nesretno progonjenoj djevojci u bošnjačkoj usmenoj književnosti. Naslovna priča dijeli sižejni obrazac s pričama ostalih evropskih naroda, ali posjeduje obilježja sredine u kojoj je nastala. Bajka o nesretnoj i progonjenoj djevojci zanimljiva je sudionicima lanca usmene tradicije čak i u 21. stoljeću, što svjedoči primjer zabilježen u februaru 2024. godine od Smaila Kalajdžije u Vogošći. Zabilježeno kazivanje bajke pod naslovom *Kamenčić suburčić* važno je jer pokazuje njihovu prisutnost u pripovjedačkim repertoarima pamtilaca i prenosilaca, a njihova analiza može upotpuniti predstavu o stilu i jeziku usmene bajke koja se i danas pripovijeda.

Lejla Hajdarpašić napisala je rad zasnovan na fundamentalnom istraživanju pribavljanja „obaveznog primjerka“ i izgradnji zbirke Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja. Naime, prema Zakonskoj odredbi iz augusta 1942, o dostavljanju dužnosnih primjeraka tiskovina Hrvatskoj narodnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu, Knjižnici hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu i Gradskoj knjižnici u Dubrovniku, Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine (tada preimenovala u Knjižnicu Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu) podlijeerala je spomenutoj zakonskoj odredbi, pa je morala pokazati odgovornost prikupljanja obaveznog primjerka. Rad je ponudio uvid u rad Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja u vrlo osjetljivim godinama Drugog svjetskog rata.

Jedno vrijedno etnomuzikološko istraživanje predstavio je Zanin Berbić u radu o Nuriji Šahinpašiću, narodnom pjevaču iz Pljevalja. Rad je baziran na 265 pjesama koje su akademik Cvjetko Rihtman i Mustafa A. Mulalić u okviru aktivnosti

findings from the field. The paper published here discusses the fairy tale about an unfortunate persecuted girl in Bosniak oral literature. The title story shares a plot pattern with the tales of other European peoples, but possesses the characteristics of the environment in which it was created. The fairy tale about the unfortunate and persecuted girl is interesting to participants in the chain of oral tradition even in the 21st century, as evidenced by an example told by Smaila Kalajdžija in Vogošća in February 2024. The recorded telling of the fairy tale entitled *Kamenčić suburčić* (*The Little Stone of Patience*) is important because it shows its presence in the narrative repertoires of collectors and tellers, and its analysis can complete the idea of the style and language of the oral fairy tale that is still told today.

Lejla Hajdarpašić wrote a paper based on fundamental research into the acquisition of a “legal deposit” and the construction of the collection of the National Museum’s Library. Namely, according to the Legal Provision of August 1942, on the Delivery of Legal Deposits of Printed Material to the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb, the Library of Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo and the City Library in Dubrovnik, the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (then renamed the Library of Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo) was subject to the aforementioned legal provision, and therefore had to demonstrate its responsibility for collecting the legal deposits. The paper offers an insight into the work of the National Museum Library in the very challenging years of World War II.

Valuable ethnomusicological research was presented by Zanin Berbić in his paper on Nuriya Šahinpašić, a folk singer from Pljevlja. The paper is based on 265 songs that academician Cvjetko Rihtman

Instituta za proučavanje folkloru zabilježili prema pjevanju sandžačkog pjevača Nurije Šahinpašića. Mustafa A. Mulalić zabilježio je i biografiju ovog pjevača. Nuriya je bio stariji brat poznatijeg pjevača i sakupljača narodnih pjesama Hamdije Šahinpašića.

U ovome broju također donosimo folkoristički rad Mashe Belyavski-Frank o prisustvu simbolike životinja u bosanskim sevdalinkama među kojima se javljaju konji, sokolovi i slavuji, mahom u funkciji prenositelja vijesti ili medijatora između dvoje zaljubljenih.

Na kraju, tu je i rad Senelle Krehić-Fočak koji predstavlja prohod kroz higijenske prilike i život prvih modernih apoteka u Bosni i Hercegovini u kasnijem osmanskome razdoblju naše povijesti.

Osim ovih originalnih radova, *Glasnik* pred nama nudi i nekoliko prikaza objavljenih knjiga u skorije vrijeme, a koji su važan izvor za proučavanje domaće etnologije i folkloristike te dva kraća teksta posvećena radu kolega iz struke, koji su bili prijatelji Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, a koji više nisu sa nama.

Iako broj nosi godinu 2023., bili smo u zastoju pa smo uvažili neke radove iz 2024. poput in memoriam.

Dr. Nirha Efendić
viša naučna saradnica

and Mustafa A. Mulalić recorded as part of the activities of the Institute for the Study of Folklore based to the singing of singer Nuriya Šahinpašić from Sandžak. Mustafa A. Mulalić also recorded the biography of this singer. Nuriya was the older brother of the more famous singer and folk song collector Hamdija Šahinpašić.

In this issue, we also present Masha Belyavski-Frank's folkloristic paper on the presence of animal symbolism in Bosnian sevdalinka, among which horses, falcons and nightingales appear, mostly in the function of news bearers or mediators between two lovers.

Finally, there is the paper of Senella Krehić-Fočak, which presents a passage through the hygienic conditions and life of the first modern pharmacies in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the later Ottoman period of our history.

In addition to these original papers, the *Herald* also offers reviews of recently published books, which are an important source for the study of local ethnology and folkloristics, and two shorter texts dedicated to the work of colleagues, who were friends of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who are no longer with us.

Although the issue bears the year 2023, we were at delay, so we took some works from 2024, such as in memoriam.

Dr. Nirha Efendić
Senior Research Associate

ORIGINALNI NAUČNI
I STRUČNI ČLANCI
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Običaj obrezivanja kroz historiju

Problem običaja obrezivanja dugo vremena zaokuplja pažnju historičara, etnologa, filozofa, psihologa, sociologa, liječnika, arheologa i drugih kojima je ta pojava skrenula pažnju s gledišta dotičnih struka. Svaka od njih dala je svoj doprinos da se o obrezivanju danas zna daleko više nego je to bilo prije stotinjak godina. U tome se posebno istakla arheologija otkrićem spiljskih crteža koje su iza sebe ostavili ljudi kamenog doba od prije nekoliko desetina hiljada godina, a čiji se sadržaj dovodi u vezu s obrezivanjem. Njihovi sadržaji, naime, nedvojbeno upućuju na to da je pojava obrezivanja nastala iz kulta plodnosti pomoću kojeg su ljudi već u prethistorijsko doba shvatili da je seksualna sposobnost muškaraca jamstvo opstanka zajednice. Ta sposobnost se usko veže za i danas čestu pojavu upale spolnog organa kod muškaraca. U pitanju je deformacija spolovila, kada je završetak kožice koja prekriva spolovilo toliko uzak da se ne može prevući preko glavića (glansa). Posljedica je da se kapi urina zadržavaju, što dovodi do teških upala, a time i do nesposobnosti općenja.

Proučavajući ovaj problem došlo se do zaključka da su iz tog razloga plemena i narodi na raznim stranama svijeta vremenom došli do spoznaje da se taj problem može riješiti tako da se intervencijom kožica spolovila proširi, na način da se suženi vrh odreže i na taj način muškarac postaje sposoban za općenje, a time i za reprodukciju zajednice.

Komparativnim proučavanjem ove pojave na raznim stranama svijeta došlo se do saznanja

The Practice of Circumcision Throughout History

For a long time, the issue regarding the practice of circumcision has been attracting the attention of many historians, ethnologists, philosophers, sociologists, doctors, archaeologists, and others who studied this phenomenon in accordance with their fields of study. Every field made their contribution to this phenomenon so today we know far more than about a hundred years ago. Archaeology distinguished itself from other fields of study by discovering cave paintings depicting circumcision from the Stone Age dating back to several tens of thousands years ago. Namely, these paintings undoubtedly indicate that the practice of circumcision developed from the fertility cult, because people, even in prehistory, realized that male sexual function is the guarantee for community survival. That capability is, even today, closely related to inflammation of the prostate, i.e. a penile defect when the foreskin is too tight so it cannot be pulled back from the head (glans) of the penis. Consequently, residual urine drops cause heavy inflammation along with sexual dysfunction.

After studying this issue, scientists concluded that tribes and peoples from all over the world eventually realized that the aforementioned problem can be solved by medical intervention, that is, by stretching the foreskin and cutting the narrow tip, enabling the male for intercourse and procreation.

Comparative study of this phenomenon from all around the world determined that, because of the aforesaid reason, circumcision was per-

da su iz tog razloga u prošlosti obrezivanje primjenjivala kako kulturno zaostala plemena u džunglama Južne i Srednje Amerike, Oceanije, Australije, Afrike, tako i pripadnici visoko razvijenih civilizacija kao što su bili Egipćani, pripadnici semitskih naroda među kojima Jevreji, Arapi, Idumejci, Kolhidani i dr. i brojni drugi narodi koji su iza sebe ostavili najviše pisanih podataka i spomeničke građe koja govori o ovoj pojavi.

Ključne riječi: obrezivanje, spiljski crteži, kult plodnosti, zaostala plemena, Egipćani, Jevreji, muslimani

Običaj obrezivanja muškog spolovila spada u red onih čovjekovih manifestacija čiji je smisao i početak dosta nejasan. Riječ je o pojavi koja je bila poznata mnogim narodima svijeta svih rasa, vjerske i nacionalne pripadnosti. Da se radi o pojavi koja nije imala simbolično i estetsko značenje vidi se po tome što se u nepromijenjenom obliku primjenjuje već hiljadama godina, sve do danas.

U manje obaviještenim krugovima obrezivanje se obično veže za pripadnike islamske i jevrejske zajednice, što je pogrešno mišljenje. Poznavali su ga narodi svih kontinenata neovisno jedni od drugih. Ta manifestacija je starijeg datuma od postanka i jevrejske i islamske vjere.

Obrezivanje se sastoji od jednostavnog hirurškog zahvata, a svrha mu je da se odstrani višak kože (prepucija) na spolovilu koja prekriva glavić (glans). Izvodi se tako da se koža nategne preko glavića, a višak koji strši odreže se (obreže se). U načelu, ako se stručno obavi, to je jednostavna operacija i nakon nekoliko dana rana zaraste. Kao trag ostaje kružni ožiljak na spolovilu i od tada je glavić stalno otkriven, što i jest svrha obrezivanja, iz puno razloga.

S obzirom na to da je riječ o intimnom dijelu tijela, razumljivo je da je obrezivanje

formed by both culturally primitive tribes from the rainforests of South and Central America, Oceania, Australia, Africa, and highly developed civilizations like Egyptians, the Semitic peoples including Jews, Arabs, Edomites, Colchians, and many others whose written and monument legacy mention this phenomenon.

Keywords: **circumcision**, cave painting, fertility cult, primitive tribes, Egyptians, Jews, Muslims.

The practice of male genital circumcision is one of those human manifestations whose meaning and origin are quite unclear. It is a phenomenon known to many nations around the world regardless of their race, religion, and national affiliation. This practice had no symbolic or aesthetic meaning because it has been performed in its original form for thousands of years.

Less informed people associate circumcision only with members of the Islamic and Jewish communities. However, all nations around the world, independently of each other, were familiar with this practice. It dates back to the origin of both the Jewish and Islamic faiths.

Circumcision consists of a simple surgical procedure of removing the excess foreskin (prepuce) on the genitals that covers the glans (acorn). The skin is stretched over the glans and the excess that protrudes is cut off (trimmed). Essentially, if professionally performed, it is a simple operation and the wound heals in a few days. As a result, the circular scar remains on the genital area and the glans will constantly be exposed, which is, for many reasons, the purpose of circumcision.

Considering that it is an intimate part of the body, it is understandable that circumcision throughout history caused different reactions from those who did not follow this practice. The first person who critically reviewed this phenomenon was

kroz historiju izazivalo različite reakcije od strane onih koji ga nisu primjenjivali. Prvi koji se kritički osvrnuo na tu pojavu bio je grčki historičar Herodot iz 5. stoljeća st. e. (prije 2400 godina), koji je pisao o tom običaju kod Egipćana. Obrezivanje je skrenulo pažnju i drugih antičkih pisaca. Uglavnom ga spominju kao neobičan običaj. Već se tada počinju javljati polemike o smislu tog čina.

Podaci o obrezivanju iz srednjeg vijeka dosta su šturi. Učeni svijet se počeo više zanimati za tu pojavu počev od 19. stoljeća. Interes su pobudili izvještaji ekspedicija koje su donosile vijest da taj običaj primjenjuju mnoge zajednice na raznim stranama svijeta, kako u Australiji i pacifičkim otocima, tako i narodi Afrike, Sjeverne, Srednje i Južne Amerike, pa i Eskimi. Shvatilo se da se to ne može vezati samo za Jevreje i muslimane, kako se do tada mislilo.

Boljem poznavanju ovog problema veliki doprinos je dala arheologija. Otkriveni su spomenici stari više desetina hiljada godina koji pokazuju da taj široko rasprostranjeni običaj ima mnogo dublji korijen nego se ranije mislilo. Dokazalo se, također, da su ga poznavali i pripadnici najrazvijenijih starih svjetskih civilizacija, među kojima stari Egipćani, Feničani, Asteci i Maje, ali i plemena koja su živjela u uvjetima prvo-bitne zajednice na koje su ekspedicije nailazile na svojim putovanjima po svijetu.

Važno je napomenuti da se obrezivanje kod svih zajednica obavljalo skoro na isti način, čak istim oruđem. To je kameni, odnosno kreneni nož. Koliko je jaka tradicija običaja obrezivanja pokazuje podatak da se nož od kamena upotrebljavao kod nekih zajednica i onda kad je čovjek počeo upotrebljavati metalna oruđa, među kojim i nož koji je daleko prikladniji od kamenog.

the Greek historian Herodotus who lived in the 5th century BC (2,400 years ago). He wrote about this practice among the Egyptians. Circumcision drew the attention of other ancient writers as well. They described it as an unusual custom. Since then, many controversies about the meaning of this practice have emerged.

The data about circumcision in the Middle Ages is quite scarce. Intellectuals became more interested in this phenomenon in the 19th century. People became more interested in this phenomenon after the reports of expeditions which stated that this practice was followed by many communities in various parts of the world, both in Australia and the Pacific islands, as well as in Africa, North, Central, and South America, and even the Eskimos followed this practice. Therefore, people realized that this practice could not be associated only with Jews and Muslims.

Archaeology has made a great contribution to a better understanding of this phenomenon. The discovery of monuments dating back tens of thousands of years shows that this widespread practice has much deeper roots than previously thought. It has also been proved that members of the most developed ancient civilizations were familiar with this practice, including the ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians, Aztecs, and Mayans, but also the tribes that lived in the conditions of the original community that the expeditions came across on their traveling around the world.

It is important to mention that circumcision in all communities was performed almost identically, even with the same tool – a flint stone knife. This tradition was so important that a stone knife was still used in some communities even when people started using metal tools, including a metal knife that is far more suitable than a stone knife. In some contemporary communities, the flint knife was discarded only at

U nekim suvremenim zajednicama kreme- ni nož je odbačen tek krajem 19. stoljeća. To upućuje na to da običaj obrezivanja po- tječe iz duboke starine, iz vremena kad su oruđa bila samo od kamena, drveta i kosti. Čin obrezivanja je svakako već tada primio kultno značenje koje je bilo praćeno ritua- lom koji se nije dugo mijenjao, kao ni in- strument kojim se to obavljalo.

Prateće pitanje koje se veže za ovaj obi- čaj je njegov smisao. Postojeća staroegi- patska, jevrejska ili islamska izvorna građa je nepotpuna ili je u nekim slučajevima uopće nema. Mnogi istraživači ovog pro- blema mišljenja su da su sve zajednice, uk- ljučujući i zaostala plemena na pojedinim stranama svijeta, spontano počele primje- njivati taj običaj iz praktičnih (zdravstve- nih) razloga koji i danas prate mušku populaciju. To upućuje na zaključak da su, naprimjer, stari Egipćani obrezivali svo- ju djecu iz istog razloga kao što su to či- nili pripadnici Maja i Asteka u Americi, urođenici Polinezije, ili Jevreji na Bliskom istoku itd. Pri tome treba imati na umu či- njenicu da su neke zajednice, odnosno na- rodi i plemena, živjeli hiljadama godina izolirano sve do 18. i 19. stoljeća kad ih je tek svijet upoznao, a obrezivali su svo- je pripadnike na isti ili sličan način kako se to činilo na drugim stranama svijeta. To pokazuje da se u svim zajednicama na ra- znim stranama svijeta došlo do spozna- je, da kožica koja kod muškaraca prekriva glavić uda, ometa općenje, a s obzirom na onovremene higijenske uvjete i način živo- ta često ga sasvim sprečava.

Kult plodnosti i obrezivanje

Danas je u nauci općeprihvaćeno uvjere- nje da je običaj obrezivanja u najužoj vezi s kultom plodnosti koji pripada najstarijoj

the end of 19th century. It indicates that the practice of circumcision originates in an- cient times when tools were only made of stone, wood, and bone. The act of circum- cision was accompanied by a ritual that was not changed for a long time just like the tool that was used for the procedure.

The accompanying question related to this practice is its meaning. Ancient Egyptian, Jewish, or Islamic source mate- rials are incomplete or in some cases non- existent. Many researchers of this problem think that all communities, including primi- tive tribes in certain parts of the world, spontaneously began performing this prac- tice for practical (health) reasons and it is still followed by the male population to- day. We can conclude that, for example, the ancient Egyptians circumcised their children for the same reason as the Mayans and Aztecs in America, the natives of Polynesia, or the Jews in the Middle East, etc. In doing so, it is essential to consider the fact that some communities, nations, and tribes lived in isolation for thousands of years until the world found out about them in the 18th and 19th century, and they circumcised their members in the same or similar way as in other parts of the world. Consequently, people from all around the world realized that the foreskin negatively affects intercourse, and with re- gard to the hygiene conditions and lifestyle at that time, it was sometimes completely disrupted.

Fertility Cult and Circumcision

Today, it is a generally accepted opinion in science that the practice of circumcision is closely related to the cult of fertility which belongs to the oldest spiritual manifesta- tion dating back to the Stone Age. The life and survival of a community at that time depended on how many members it had. It

duhovnoj manifestaciji čovjeka koja potječe još iz kamenog doba. To je bilo vrijeme kad su život i opstanak jedne zajednice zavisili od broja njenih članova. Što je zajednica bila brojnija, lakše je mogla odbraniti svoja lovišta ili osvojiti tuđa, više članova je bilo jamstvo da će lov biti uspješniji i osigurati dovoljno hrane za njene članove, od čega im je zavisio opstanak. Iz tih razloga su ljudi kamenog doba crtali i slikali na zidovima pećina likove žena i muškaraca jer im je, kao svjesnim bićima, bila jasna spoznaja da se iz te veze stvara potomstvo, odnosno obnavlja zajednica. Iz istih razloga crtali su i slikali parenje životinja koje su lovili za ishranu i od čijeg im je razmnožavanja također zavisio opstanak. Da bi u oba slučaja pospjeli priraštaj, obraćali su se određenim silama i izvodili magijske obrede. Bili su uvjereni da će to pospješiti plodnost njihove zajednice i životinja koje su lovili.

Najstarija svjedočanstva koja se odnose na kult plodnosti pronađena su u pećinama južne Francuske i Španije. U spilji Tuc d'Audoubert (Francuska), u jednoj od njenih dvorana, pronađene su glinene statue dvaju bizona (mužjak i ženka) od kojih je mužjak spreman na skok za parenje. Na tlu ispred njih u glini sačuvali su se tragovi stopala ljudi koji su izvodili magijske obrede oko statua bizona. U nekim pećinama nađeni su modeli muških spolovila izrađeni od gline koji su također služili u magijskim obredima kojima je svrha bila da se pospješ plodnost ljudi. (Neustupny, 1960; 59–60; Tea, 1968: 41, sl. 25)

U paleolitskoj umjetnosti također su česte slike ženskih spolovila, kao i drugi prizori s time u vezi. Tako se u pećini Laussel u Francuskoj sačuvao crtež na stijeni koji prikazuje koitus (snošaj) prethistorijskog para. U nekoliko pećina u Španiji

was easier to defend its hunting grounds or conquer other territories if the community had more members. More members were a guarantee that the hunting, on which their survival depended, would be more successful and provide enough food for its members. For these reasons, people of the Stone Age drew and painted the figures of women and men on the cave walls because, as conscious beings, they knew that this relationship was crucial for creating offspring and rebuilding the community. They also drew and painted mating animals that they hunted for food because their survival depended on their reproduction as well. In order to increase growth in both cases, they performed magical rituals. They were convinced that this practice will improve the fertility of their community and increase the number of animals they hunted.

The oldest testimonies related to the cult of fertility were found in the caves of southern France and Spain. Clay statues of two bison (male and female), with the male is ready to jump for mating, were found in the Tuc d'Audoubert cave (France), in one of its halls. On the ground in front of them, the footprints of people who performed magical rituals around the bison statues were preserved in the clay. In some of these caves, they found clay models of male genitals used in magical rites to improve human fertility.¹

Many images of female genitalia and other related scenes were found in Paleolithic art. Thus, a drawing on a rock depicting the coitus (intercourse) of a prehistoric couple has been preserved in the Laussel Cave in France. There are also paintings depicting the dances of such couples in several caves in Spain. One painting in the Cogul cave (Spain) shows nine

¹ Neustupni 1960, 59 - 60; Tea 1968, 41, Fig. 25.



Slika 1. Slika iz starijeg kamenog doba u pećine Cogul u Španiji. Žene igraju oko golog muškarca s neprirodno velikim udom, simbolom plodnosti
 Fig. 1 Cave painting from the Old Stone Age – Caves of El Cogul in Spain. Women dance around a naked man with a disproportionally large phallus

otkrivene su slike na kojima su prikazani plesovi tog sadržaja. Na jednoj slici u pećini Cogul (Španija) prikazano je devet žena koje igraju oko nagog muškarca s neobično velikim udom. (Ucko i Rosenfeld, 1967; Tejada i Grimal Navarro, 1967)

I predstave tzv. paleolitskih Venera (statuice žena s naglašenim obilježjima ženstvenosti) spadaju u skupinu spomenika koji se vežu za kult plodnosti. Najpoznatiji takav primjer je tzv. Willendorfska Venera, pronađena u Austriji. Ta i druge takve statuice nisu rađene iz erotskih pobuda. Služile su u magijskim obredima kojim se željela pospješiti plodnost žena. (Powell, 1970: 11 i d., sl. 6)

Slike iz pećina koje prikazuju snošaj prethistorijskog para, muškarca s

women dancing around a naked man with an unusually large phallus.²

The depiction of the so-called Paleolithic Venuses (statues of women with pronounced features of femininity), belongs to a group of monuments that are also associated with the cult of fertility. The most famous statue is the so-called Venus of Willendorf, found in Austria. These statues were not made for erotic reasons. They were used in magical rites to improve women's fertility.³

The cave paintings depicting the intercourse of a prehistoric couple, a man with an unnaturally large phallus and women dancing around him, and statues of women

² Ucko / Rosenfeld 1967; Tejada / Grimal Navarro 1967.

³ Powell 1970, 11, etc, Fig. 6.

neprirodno velikim udom oko kojeg plešu žene, statuice žena s naglašenim ženskim atributima ženstvenosti (bedra, dojke i vagina) govore da su za ljude već u najranijim duhovnim manifestacijama spolni organi imali posebno značenje. To su za kamenodobne ljude bili simboli obnavljanja i povećanja zajednice, životne snage i opstanka. I kasnije, u mlađem kamenom dobu (neolitu), ljudi su izrađivali muška i ženska spolovila s istim značenjem. Takav lijep primjer iskopan je na lokalitetu Danilo kod Šibenika u Hrvatskoj (zemljana posuda s prikazom muškog uda). (Korošec, 1964: 26–28, T. 5, sl. 3 i 4; T. 35, sl. 1 i 5)

Na osnovi tih shvaćanja ljudi su vremenom došli do spoznaje da je za rađanje, odnosno za opstanak zajednice, muški ud bitan faktor, ukoliko je muškarac sposoban za snošaj i oplodnju žene, što nije bio čest slučaj. Mušku populaciju je, naime, već tada pratio problem česte gnojne upale uda i otoka, što takve čini nesposobnim za općenje. Do toga dolazi u slučaju kada je otvor kože koja prekriva ud i glavić toliko uzak da je nemoguće povući kožicu natrag da se oslobodi glavić. Suženi otvor kože sprečava da iscure sva mokraća pa zaostale kapice dovode do gnojne upale (bolest zvana fimioza). S obzirom na životne i higijenske uvjete ljudi koji su živjeli u mračnim i vlažnim pećinama, to je bila česta pojava. Osobe s takvim udom su nesposobne za snošaj i oplodnju žene, a u nekim slučajevima to dovodi do još težih i trajnih posljedica.

Iz tih razloga ljudi su već u prehistorijsko doba, prije nekoliko desetina hiljada godina, došli do spoznaje da se upala može mehanički otkloniti tako da se višak kože (prepućij) koji prekriva glavić (glans) odreže i od tada je glavić ogoljen.

with accentuated female attributes of femininity (thighs, breasts, and vagina), show that the sexual organs had a special meaning for people even in the earliest spiritual manifestations. For Stone Age people, these were the symbols of community renewal and growth, life force, and survival. And later, in the New Stone Age (Neolithic), people made both male and female genitalia with the same purpose. One of these sculptures was excavated at the Danilo site near Šibenik in Croatia (an earthen vessel portraying the male phallus).⁴

Consequently, people eventually realized that for procreation, that is, for the survival of the community, the phallus is an important factor if the man is capable of intercourse and fertilization of the woman, which was not often the case. Namely, the male population had the problem of frequent purulent inflammation of the glans penis, which makes them incapable of intercourse. It happens when the opening of the foreskin that covers the penis and the glans is so narrow that it is impossible to pull the skin back to release the glans. The narrow opening of the foreskin prevents all the urine to leak out, so the residual drops lead to purulent inflammation (a disease called phimosis). This disease was very common due to the living and hygienic conditions of the people who lived in dark and damp caves. People with such penises were incapable of intercourse and impregnation of a woman, and in some case, they had even more severe and lasting consequences.

For these reasons, already in prehistoric times, several tens of thousands of years ago, people realized that the inflammation can be removed mechanically by cutting off the excess foreskin (prepuce) that covers the glans leaving the glans

⁴ Korošec, 1964, 26 - 28, T. 5, Fig. 3 - 4; T. 35. Fig. 1 & 5.



Slika 2. Prehistorijska figura s naglašenim atributima ženstvenosti
koji simboliziraju plodnost žene

Fig. 2 Prehistoric figure with emphasized attributes of femininity symbolizing female fertility

Kapi se nakon mokrenja nemaju gdje zadržati, nema upale i ud je sposoban za svoju prirodnu funkciju. Na taj način je, iz čisto praktičnih razloga, nastalo obrezivanje koje je kod mnogih starih naroda na svim kontinentima preraslo u običaj. Iz istih razloga prakticira se i danas.

I u historijsko doba je kod kulturno razvijenih civilizacija muško spolovilo predstavljalo važan sadržaj duhovnih manifestacija. U staroj Grčkoj i Rimu uobičajeni nakit žena bio je privjesak koji je imao oblik muškog uda. Za njih je to bio simbol plodnosti, kao što je to bilo i kod zaostalih pacifičkih, afričkih i američkih urođenika.

Ostatak kulta muškog spolovila zadržao se dugo u nekim zajednicama na

uncovered. After urination, the drops have nowhere to stay, there is no inflammation and the penis is capable of its natural function. Consequently, people started to perform circumcision for purely practical reasons and it became a custom among the ancient people around the world. It is still performed today for the same reasons. Throughout history, in culturally developed civilizations, the phallus represented an important element of spiritual manifestations. In ancient Greece and Rome, the usual jewelry for women was a penis-shaped pendant. For them, it was a symbol of fertility as it was for Pacific, African, and American natives.

In some communities, the cult of male genitals was preserved for a long time.



Slika 3 / Fig. 3. a) neobrezani ud /
a) uncircumcised penis



b) obrezani ud / b) circumcised penis

poseban način. Kod semitskih naroda (Jevreja i Arapa) bio je običaj da se najveća zakletva izriče tako da onaj koji je izriče uhvati rukom ud onog kome se zaklinje. Takve primjere nalazimo u Starom zavjetu, kad naprimjer Abraham naređuje Eliezeru: “Stavi svoju ruku pod moje stegno!”, što je u stvari eufemizam (zamjena riječi) sa značenjem: “Dotakni mi spolovilo!” Ili, naprimjer, kad Jakov na samrti traži od sina Josipa da ga pokopa u pećini Makpeli u Kanaanu, ponavlja se ista zakletva (Postanak, 47:29; 49:30). Kod nekih arapskih plemena, kao kod Rwala u Sinajskoj pustinji, taj običaj se održao do suvremenog doba.

Among the Semitic peoples (Jews and Arabs), it was customary for the greatest oath to be pronounced in such a way that the one who pronounces it grasps the penis of the one to whom he is swearing. We find such practices in the Old Testament, when, for example, Abraham orders Eliezer: “Put your hand under my thigh!”, which is actually a euphemism (word replacement) with the meaning: “Touch my genitals!”. Or, for example, when dying Jacob asks his son Joseph to bury him in the Cave of Machpelah in Canaan, the same oath is repeated (Genesis, 47:29, 49:30). Among some Arab tribes, such as the Ruwallah in the Sinai desert, this custom was practiced until modern times.

Namjerno deformiranje i sakaćenje ljudskog tijela

Umjetno i namjerno deformiranje pojedinih dijelova ljudskog tijela predstavlja pojavu veoma starog datuma. O tome se nalaze svjedočanstva u pećinama u kojima su ljudi živjeli u dubokom kamenom dobu. Taj običaj je bio poznat zajednicama u svim dijelovima svijeta. U nekim oblicima preostao je do danas. Na razne načine primjenjuju ga podjednako, kako civilizirani narodi, tako i kulturno zaostala plemena.

Intentional Deformation and Mutilation of the Human body

The artificial and intentional deformation of certain parts of the human body is a phenomenon that dates back to ancient times. The evidence of this practice can be seen in caves from the early Stone Age. Communities all around the world were familiar with this custom. It is practiced even today in different forms. Both civilized nations and culturally primitive tribes performed it in various ways.

Postoje razne vrste i načini deformiranja i sakaćenja tijela: istezanje vrata stavljanjem obruča, sprečavanje rasta stopala stavljanjem u uski kalup, oštrenje ili vađenje zuba, bušenje pojedinih dijelova tijela, širenje ušne školjke ili usni itd. Na pećinskim crtežima u Francuskoj i Španiji na kojim je prethistorijski čovjek slikao mamute i dlakave rhinoceruse, nalaze se i ljudske otvorene šake na kojima manjka jedan ili više prstiju. U nekim krajevima Indije, Afrike, pa i u Evropi, postoji običaj da se odsiječe jedan ili više prstiju. Razlozi su razne prirode, među kojim može biti i zavjet (samokažnjavanje zbog nekog učinjenog nedjela, grižnje savjesti i sl.).

U nekim sredinama u kojima se slijedi običaj obrezivanja, kada umre muško dijete, a nije obrezano, pri sahrani lome mu mali prst na ruci.¹ Kod Maja na Jukatanu i kod nekih australijskih plemena bio je običaj da se bruse, odnosno oštire prednji zubi. To se uglavnom odnosi na djevojke. Tetoviranje tijela je svojina mnogih naroda, o čemu nas podrobno izvještavaju već antički pisci (Herodot, V, 6). U Bosni se slijedi običaj tetoviranja za koje je arheološki dokazano da vuče korijen iz prethistorije. Na lokalitetu Glasinac kod Sarajeva, i još nekim, pronađene su duge brončane igle kojim se obavljalo tetoviranje.

Već je navedeno da su na nekim paleolitskim pećinskim crtežima prikazani plesovi žena i golog muškaraca s neprirodno velikim udom. U doba neolita (mlađe kameno doba), česti su nalazi muških udova u fazi erekcije, izrađeni od pečene gline. Takvi primjerci su iskopani na spomenutom lokalitetu Danilu kod Šibenika u Hrvatskoj. Svakako su služili u obredima kulta plodnosti.

There are various types and ways of deforming and mutilating the body: stretching the neck by placing a hoop, preventing the growth of the foot by placing it in a narrow mold, sharpening or extracting teeth, piercing certain parts of the body, expanding the auricle of lips, etc. On the cave paintings in France and Spain, in which prehistoric people painted mammoths and hairy rhinoceroses, there are also paintings of human open hands with one or more fingers missing. In some parts of India, Africa, and even Europe, there is a custom to cut off one or more fingers. There are various reasons for this including a vow (self-punishment for some wrongdoing, remorse, etc.).

In some areas where the custom of circumcision was followed, it was customary to break the little finger of a deceased child who had not been circumcised.⁵ Among the Mayans in the Yucatan and some Australian tribes, it was customary to grind or sharpen the front teeth. This mainly applied to girls. Body tattooing was customary to many people, which is already reported in detail by ancient writers (Herodotus, V: 6). The custom of tattooing was popular in Bosnia, and it has been archaeologically proved that this custom has roots in prehistory. Among other places, long bronze needles used for tattooing were found at the Glasinac site near Sarajevo.

As already mentioned, some Paleolithic cave paintings depict dances of women and naked men with an unnaturally large phallus. Archaeologists excavated models of phalluses made of clay from the Neolithic period (New Stone Age). Such specimen was also excavated at the Danilo site near Sibenik in Croatia. They certainly had their purpose in fertility cult rites.

¹ Običaj poznat u nekim sredinama bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana (u okolini Fojnice i Kiseljaka).

⁵ A custom known to some Muslim communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (around Fojnica and Kiseljak).



Slika 4. Razni načini deformiranja tijela
Fig. 4 Different ways of deforming the body

Rasprostranjenost obrezivanja

S obzirom na to da je obrezivanje bila široko rasprostranjena pojava, kako kodostalih plemena, tako i kod nosilaca visokorazvijenih kultura, s pravom se može reći da je ono predstavljalo univerzalno naslijeđe iz daleke ljudske prošlosti. Preko pisanih i arheoloških spomenika znamo da su i stari Egipćani obrezivali svoju djecu. To je osobito bilo razvijeno kod semitskih naroda, među kojima su prednjačili Jevreji, o čemu daje brojne podatke Stari zavjet. I kod predislamskih arapskih plemena bio je ukorijenjen taj običaj, kao i kod Feničana. Za njih starogrčki historičar Herodot navodi da se nisu svi obrezivali, i to oni koji su živjeli među Helenima (Grcima, jer se ni oni nisu obrezivali).

Od zapadne skupine Semita obrezivali su se još Edomi, Moabi, Amoniti, Idumei i Iturei. Drugim riječima, uglavnom svi pripadnici zapadne grane Semita. Međutim, njihova istočna grana, koju su činili Akađani, Asirci, Amoriti, Babilonjani i drugi, nisu slijedili taj običaj. Od naroda u Maloj Aziji znamo da su se obrezivali Kolhidani i Makroni (Herodot, II, 104).

Običaj obrezivanja osobito je bio rasprostranjen među afričkim plemenima.

Prevalence of Circumcision

Since circumcision was a widespread phenomenon, both among primitive tribes and among the people of highly developed cultures, we can conclude that it represented a universal heritage from the distant human past. Through written and archaeological monuments, we know that the ancient Egyptians circumcised their children as well. This was especially widespread among the Semitic peoples, especially the Jews, as described in the Old Testament. This custom was also rooted in the pre-Islamic Arab tribes, as well as among the Phoenicians. The ancient Greek historian Herodotus states that not all of them were circumcised – those who lived among the Hellenes (Greeks) were not circumcised because Greeks did not follow this practice.

The practice of circumcision was also customary among the majority of the western Semites: Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumeans, and Itureans. However, the eastern Semites, Akkadians, Assyrians, Amorites, and Babylonians, did not follow this practice. Among the peoples of Asia Minor, we know that the Colchians and Macrons were circumcised (Herodotus, II: 104).

Circumcision was particularly widespread among the African tribes. It can

Može se reći da su ga primjenjivali skoro svi tamošnji stanovnici crne kože, među kojima: Nubijci, Dongolani u sjevernom Sudanu, pleme Zulu u južnoj Africi, narodi Senegala, Gambije, Gvineje, Konga, Tanzanije, Mozambika itd. Obrezivali su se i domoroci na Madagaskaru, kao i neki od stanovnika stare Indije. Etnološka istraživanja su pokazala da su običaj obrezivanja poznavala i brojna zaostala plemena u Australiji iz vremena prije doseljavanja Evropljana.

Isti običaj je bio poznat domorocima pacifičkih otoka kao Nove Kaledonije, Novih Hebrida, zatim na Polineziji, na Tahitiju, Havajima, Tongu, Fidžiju, na Maršalskim otocima te u Indoneziji i Maleziji.

Obrezivanje je bilo poznato i narodima američkih kontinenata iz pretkolumbovog doba. U Sjevernoj i Srednjoj Americi djecu su obrezivali pripadnici indijanskog plemena Denesa iz Mekenzijske, zatim Asteci u Meksiku, Maje na Jukatanu, plemena Nikaragve, Hondurasa, Salvadora i Guatemale, onda brojna plemena Južne Amerike, osobito ona koja su naseljavala sliv rijeke Amazona, uz obale rijeke Orinoko, ali i stanovnici krajnjeg sjevera, Eskimi. (Turchi 1950, 410; Stano, 1949: 1705–1706)

Zanimljivo je da se nisu obrezivali najstariji stanovnici Mezopotamije Sumerani, kao ni Hindi u Indiji, a ni stari Kinezi. Obrezivanje nije bilo poznato ni indoevropskim narodima, među kojima su bili Grci, Rimljani, Iliri i dr. Taj običaj se javio u Evropi tek pojavom islama.

Obrezivanje kod starih Egipćana

Običaj obrezivanja kod Egipćana bio je predmet velikog zanimanja mnogih antičkih pisaca. O njemu je najiscrpnije pisao

be said that it was performed by almost all the black-skinned inhabitants there, among them: the Nubians, the Danagla in northern Sudan, the Zulu tribe in southern Africa, the peoples of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Congo, Tanzania, Mozambique, etc. The natives were also circumcised in Madagascar, as well as some of the inhabitants of ancient India. Ethnological research has shown that the practice of circumcision was also familiar to numerous primitive tribes in Australia from the time before Europeans settled.

The same practice was followed by the natives of Pacific islands such as New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, as well as Polynesia, Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

The people of the American continents in the pre-Columbian era also circumcised their male children. In North and Central America, children were circumcised by members of the Indian tribe Dane-zaa from Canada, the Aztecs in Mexico, the Maya in Yucatan, the tribes of Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala, numerous tribes of South America, especially those who inhabited the Amazon River basin, along the coasts of the Orinoco River, as well as the inhabitants of the far north, the Eskimos.⁶

It is interesting that the oldest inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the Sumerians, were not circumcised, just as the Hindi in India, and the ancient Chinese. The Indo-European people, among whom were the Greeks, Romans, and Illyrians did not follow this practice. This custom appeared in Europe only with the spread of Islam.

⁶ Zaborowski, 1890, 433; Turchi 1931 - 9, 410; Stano 1949, 1705 - 1706.

grčki historičar Herodot u 5. stoljeću st. e., koji je o tome sakupio podatke u samom Egiptu, kojom prilikom je zapisao: “Polne organe drugi narodi ostavljaju onakve kakvi su izrasli, a Egipćani i oni koji se na njih ugledaju, obrezuju ih” (Herodot, Hist. II, 36).

Pored Herodota, obrezivanje kod starih Egipćana spominju i drugi antički pisci, među kojima: Diodor Sikulski (1,28), Filon (De circ., I), Josip Flavije (Ant. Jud., VIII, 103; Contra Ap., I, 22), Pseudo Barnaba (9: PG 2, 752), Clement Aleksandrijski (Stromata, 1,15: PG 8,768), Agatarchid i dr. Obavještavaju nas da je taj običaj kod njih veoma starog datuma te da su ga primjenjivali svi slojevi društva. O tome koliko se kod Egipćana do toga držalo svjedoči podatak iz Starog zavjeta, gdje se neobrezanost u krugu Jevreja naziva egipatskom sramotom, budući da se kod Egipćana najvećom sramotom smatralo biti neobrezan (Jošua, V:8–9).

Pored literarnih svjedočanstava, o obrezivanju u ovoj zemlji govore i arheološki spomenici. Osobito su zanimljivi kameni reljefi i zidne slike. U svim slučajevima vjerno je prikazan taj čin. Reljef ovog saдрžaja nađen je i u grobu velikodostojnika Ankhmâhora u Sakari, a potječe iz vremena 6. dinastije (prije više od 4000 godina). Na njemu su prikazana dva dječaka, dva operatera i njihov pomoćnik. Na reljefu je i popratni tekst koji objašnjava prizor. Prvi dječak očito s bolom podnosi operaciju pa operater dovikuje svom pomoćniku: “Drži ga čvrsto, ne daj da klone!”, a ovaj mu uzvraća: “Činim što kažeš.” Oruđe kojim se vrši obrezivanje je od kremenâ, a operateri su bez sumnje stručnjaci za te poslove, vjerovatno svećenici, jer je riječ o kulturnom obredu.

Circumcision among the Ancient Egyptians

Circumcision among the Egyptians was a subject of great interest to many ancient writers. The Greek historian Herodotus wrote about it in the 5th century BC: “They are the only people in the world – they at least, and such as have learnt the practice from them – who use circumcision” (Herodotus, Hist. II: 36).

Besides Herodotus, circumcision among the ancient Egyptians was also mentioned by other ancient writers, including Diodorus Siculus (1,28), Philo (De circ., I), Joseph Flavius (Ant. Jud., VIII, 103; Contra Ap., I, 22), Pseudo Barnabas (9: PG, 752), Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, 1, 15:PG8, 768), Agatarchides, etc. They informed us that this practice existed in their community for a long time and that all classes of their society circumcised their children. The Old Testament testifies how much the Egyptians adhered to this practice because uncircumcision among the Jews was called the Egyptian shame, since among the Egyptians it was considered the greatest shame to be uncircumcised (Joshua, V, 8-9).

In addition to written testimonies, archaeological monuments also serve as clear evidence of circumcision in this country. Stone reliefs and wall paintings are particularly interesting because they faithfully depict this practice. Such a relief was also found in the tomb of the dignitary Ankhmahor in Saqqara, and it dates to the time of the 6th dynasty (more than 4,000 years ago). It depicts two boys, two medical practitioners, and one assistant. There is also an accompanying text on the relief that explains the scene.

The first boy is clearly enduring the operation with pain, so the medical practitioner shouts to his assistant: “Hold him tight, don’t let him fall!”, and the latter



Slika 5. Reljef na kojem je prikazano obrezivanje dječaka u starom Egiptu
Fig. 5 The relief depicting circumcision of boys in ancient Egypt

Drugi reljef tog sadržaja nađen je u ruševinama hrama boga Khonsua u Karnaku, koji pripada razdoblju 20. dinastije (12. stoljeće st. e.). Spomenik je oštećen s gornje strane, ali sačuvan je najbitniji dio. Na njemu je dječak starosti između 6 i 12 godina kojeg operater obrezuje na isti način kao na prethodnom reljefu. (Dumas, 1965: 240 i 587, sl. 90) Ovi spomenici potvrđuju da se obrezivanje kod Egipćana primjenjivalo hiljadama godina.

Analizom je utvrđeno da se na većini mumija zapažaju tragovi obrezivanja pa su tako na najvjerodostojniji način potvrđeni podaci antičkih pisaca i prizora sa slika i reljefa. Zapaženo je i to da su redovito obrezane kraljevske mumije, zatim mumije

replies: “I do what you say!” The tool used to perform the circumcision is made of flint, and the practitioners are undoubtedly experts in this work. They were probably priests because this was a cult ritual.

Another relief of this content was found in the ruins of the temple of the god Khonsu in Karnak, which belongs to the period of the 20th dynasty (12 century BC). The monument was damaged on the upper side, but the most important part was preserved. It depicts a boy between 6 and 12 years old who is being circumcised by the practitioner in the same way as in the previous relief.⁷ These monuments confirm that circumcision was practiced by the Egyptians for thousands of years.

⁷ Dumas 1965, 240, 587, Fig. 90.



Slika 6. Tradicionalni kremeni nož kakav se upotrebljavao za obrezivanje kod mnogih starih naroda

Fig. 6 Many ancient peoples used a traditional flint knife for circumcision

svećenika te velikodostojnika. I literarni izvori iz antičkog doba obavještavaju nas da su kod Egipćana svećeničku dužnost mogli obavljati isključivo obrezane osobe. Mnogo kasnije, u rimsko doba, kad je izdat edikt o zabrani obrezivanja na čitavom području Rimskog Carstva, zbog dugovjeke tradicije jedino su Jevreji i egipatski svećenici bili izuzeti od te zabrane, i to nakon dugih upornih molbi i pozivanja na dugovjeki vjerski faktor tog običaja. (Juster, 1914: 263–264)

Jedna od najbolje sačuvanih mumija na kojoj se jasno vidi da je pokojnik bio obrezan pripada faraonu Amenemhetu iz 12. dinastije koji je vladao Egiptom prije 4500 godina. Iako je pronađena davne 1881. godine, tek je nedavno odmotana. Na dobro sačuvanom tijelu jasno se vidi da je faraon bio obrezan.

Do sada nije pronađen staroegipatski tekst koji opisuje ili spominje obrezivanje. Jedino bi se jedan navod u Knjizi mrtvih mogao na to odnositi, a glasi: “To je krv koja je izišla iz uda boga Ra, kad je htio rezati sam sebe. Od tog je stvorio bogove...” (Allen, 1960)

Analyses confirmed that the majority of mummies show traces of circumcision, so the data from ancient writers and scenes from paintings and reliefs were confirmed in the most reliable way. It is also noticeable that royal mummies were regularly circumcised, followed by mummies of priests and dignitaries. Additionally, literary sources from ancient times inform us that only circumcised persons could perform priestly duties among the Egyptians. Much later, in Roman times, when an edict was issued banning circumcision throughout the Roman Empire due to a long-standing tradition, only Jews and Egyptian priests were exempted from this prohibition even after long persistent requests and appeals to the long-standing religious element of that practice.⁸

One of the best-preserved mummies on which it is clear that the deceased was circumcised belongs to Pharaoh Amenemhet from the 12th dynasty, who ruled Egypt 4,500 years ago. Although it was found back in 1881, it was only recently unwrapped. The well-preserved body clearly shows that the pharaoh was circumcised.

So far, no ancient Egyptian text has been found that describes or mentions circumcision. Only one reference in the Book of the Dead could refer to it: “They are the drops of blood which came forth from the

⁸ Juster, 1914, 263 - 264.

Obrezivanje kod Jevreja

Jevreji su narod o kojem smo najbolje obaviješteni kad je u pitanju običaj obrezivanja. O tome govori njihovo bogato književno naslijeđe, prije svega Stari zavjet. Taj narod je više nego ijedan drugi pridavao značaj tom običaju. Njegovo dosljedno pridržavanje kroz dugo razdoblje njihove prošlosti ostavilo je traga i u literaturi drugih naroda. Iz njihove izvorne građe može se zaključiti da je jedino kod njih obrezivanje imalo vjersko obilježje sa strogim propisima. U izvorima se spominje pod raznim nazivima, zavisno od metode, pa tako: “berit (brith) milah”, ili skraćeno samo “milah”, zatim “periah” i “metzitzah”. (Graubart, 1953: 85; Encyclopedia Judaica V, 1974: 567, 571)

Ni kod njih nije jasno porijeklo ovog običaja. Po nekima to su naslijedili iz prethistorijskog doba, a po drugima preuzeli su ga od Egipćana. Neki, pak, tvrde da su tu tradiciju ustvari Jevreji predali Egipćanima, što je malo vjerovatno s obzirom na statusni i kulturni nivo jednih i drugih. Kritičkim proučavanjem raspoložive građe o tome se može nešto određenije govoriti.

Biblijsko predanje običaj obrezivanja stavlja u mitsku epohu, čak u doba Abrahama, kad je po tradiciji uspostavljen savez između Boga i jevrejskog naroda i kad je obrezivanje postalo simbol tog ugovora. Stari zavjet detaljno opisuje kako se Bog obratio Abrahamu i kako je nastao taj običaj: “Obrezujte se, i to neka bude znak Saveza između mene i vas. Svako muško dijete među vama kroz vaša pokoljenja, kad mu se navrší osam dana, neka bude obrezano, i rob, rođen u tvome domu ili za novac kupljen, mora se obrezati. Tako će moj Savez na vašem tijelu ostati vječnim

phallus of Ra when he went forth to perform his own mutilation. These drops of blood sprang into being under the forms of the gods Hu and Sa, who are in the body-guard of Ra, and who accompany the god Tem daily and every day.”⁹

Circumcision among Jews

We have plenty of data when it comes to the practice of circumcision among the Jewish people. Their rich literary heritage, above all the Old Testament, describes this practice. They assigned more significance to this custom than anyone else. Their consistent adherence throughout a long period of their past left a mark in the literature of other nations as well. From their written materials we can conclude that circumcision for them had a religious background with strict regulations. This practice is mentioned under various names depending on the method: “berit (brith) milah”, or just “milah”, then “brisperiah”, and “metzitzah”.¹⁰

Even among them, the origin of this practice is not clear. According to some, they inherited it from prehistoric times, and according to others, they borrowed it from the Egyptians. Some, on the other hand, claim that this tradition was actually handed down by the Jews to the Egyptians, which is unlikely considering their status and cultural level. By critically studying the available material, it is possible to talk about it more precisely.

Biblical tradition places the custom of circumcision in a mythical era, even in the time of Abraham, when according to tradition a covenant was established between God and the Jewish people, and when circumcision became a symbol of that covenant. The Old Testament describes in

⁹ Allen 1960.

¹⁰ Graubart 1953, 85; Encyclopedia Judaica, V, 567, 571.



Slika 7. Obrezivanje Abrahama (slika iz Petoknjižja, 14. stoljeće)
Fig. 7 Circumcision of Abraham (illuminated manuscript Pentateuch, 4th century)

Savezom. Muško koje se ne bi obrezalo neka se odstrani od svog roda: takav je prekršio moj Savez” (Postanak, 17:10–14).

Abraham je morao poslušati Božiji nalog. Biblijsko predanje dalje o tome kaže: “Abraham zatim uzme svog sina Jišmaela i sve robove koji su bili rođeni u njegovom domu i sve koje je kupio novcem, pa ih istog dana obreže, kako mu je Bog rekao. Abrahamu bijaše 99 godina kad se obreza, a njegovom sinu Jišmaelu bijaše 13 godina kad ga obreza. Tako su tog istog dana bili obrezani Abraham i njegov sin Jišmael, i svi muškarci njegovog doma, rođeni u njegovoj kući ili za novac kupljeni od stranaca, svi s njim bijahu obrezani” (Postanak, 17:23–27). Dalje se govori o tome kako je Abraham trpio bolove nakon obrezivanja, a

detail how God spoke to Abraham and how this custom arose: “This is my covenant which ye shall keep, between me and you, and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised; And ye shall circumcise the flash of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. And the uncircumcised man child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant”. (Genesis. 17:10-14)

onda mu je bog poslao Mihaela, Gabrijela i Rafaela da ga njeguju.

Po ovome predanju, Abraham je bio prvi od jevrejskog naroda koji je obrezan, a kako je to bila Božija zapovijest, to je po Bibliji razlog da kod Jevreja obrezivanje ima čisto vjersko obilježje i postalo je “Božiji biljeg tog naroda”.

Iz izvorne građe se saznaje da se Jevreji nisu dugo držali tog običaja. Nakon izlasku iz Egipta, kroz razdoblje od 40 godina, dok su lutali pustinjom, to je palo u zaborav. Nije bilo obrezano nijedno dijete, a oni iz generacije koji su bili obrezani u Egiptu, skoro su svi pomrli. Po predanju nije ni Mojsije obrezao svog sina pa ga je na to podsjetio Jahve. Napao ga je u snu i ubio bi ga da mu se nije snašla žena. Brzo je zgrabila nož i obrezala sina. Onda je krvavom kožicom dotakla Mojsijeve noge, nakon čega ga je Bog pustio (Izlazak, 4:24–26).

Nakon prijelaza Jordana, kad je na mjesto umrlog Mojsija došao Jošua, obavljeno je masovno obrezivanje na brdu Aralotu kod Gilgala nedaleko od Jerihona. Jošua je po uputama Boga napravio kremene noževе, a onda obrezao svu generaciju koja je bila rođena u pustinju po napuštanju Egipta. Kad su ozdravili, tada je Bog rekao Jošui: “Danas skidoh sa vas egipatsku sramotu” (Jošua, 5:2–9).

Ova predanja mogu se dovesti u vezu s historijskim činjenicama. Naime, kad su Jevreji počeli naseljavati Kanaan, došli su u dodir sa starosjediocima od kojih su se vjerski i kulturno oštro razlikovali. Između zavojevača i starosjedilaca izbila su neprijateljstva. Težnja Jevreja je bila da se u svemu stave iznad zatečenog stanovništva, da uspostave svoj dominantan položaj i da se od njih u svemu podvoje. Počeli su isticati one svoje vjerske i kulturne tradicije koje su bile u oštroj oprečnosti u odnosu

Abraham had to obey God’s command. The biblical tradition goes further: “And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham’s house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him. And Abraham was ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. In the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son. And all the men of his house, born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him. (Genesis, 17, 23–27). Then, it is mentioned how Abraham suffered pain after circumcision and then God sent Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael to nurse him.

According to this tradition, Abraham was the first of the Jewish people to be circumcised. As it was God’s commandment, according to the Bible, this is the reason that among Jews, circumcision has a purely religious character and became “God’s mark of that nation”.

From the original material, it is known that the Jews did not adhere to this practice for long. After leaving Egypt, for a period of 40 years while they wandered in the desert, this practice fell into oblivion. Not a single child was circumcised and those who were circumcised previously in Egypt almost all died. According to tradition, even Moses did not circumcise his son, so Yahweh reminded him of that. He attacked him in his sleep and would have killed him if his wife hadn’t taken care of him. She quickly grabbed a knife and circumcised her son. Then she touched Moses’ feet with a bloody foreskin, after which God let him go. (Exodus, 4: 24–26).

After crossing the Jordan, when Joshua replaced the dead Moses, a mass circumcision



Slika 8. Pribor za obrezivanje kod Jevreja

Fig. 8 Instruments and objects used to perform a Jewish circumcision

na tradiciju starosjedilačkog stanovništva. U novoj sredini Jevreji su time željeli istaći osobenost svog naroda.

Mojsije je svojevremeno obnovio taj običaj u svom narodu s ciljem da se i na taj način uspostavi nacionalno jedinstvo opipljivom vezom. Tako je obrezivanje institucionalizirano kao jedna vrsta inicijacije za kolektivni način života, što je bilo uvjetovano političkim faktorima u određenoj fazi razvoja jevrejskih plemena.

Ako bi se biblijsko predanje o obrezivanju pokušalo smjestiti u historijske okvire, to bi se moglo svesti na sljedeće: uvođenje običaja obrezivanja kod Jevreja može se smjestiti u 19. stoljeća st. e., odnosno u vrijeme kad su Jevreji pod Abrahamom boravili u Egiptu. Predanje koje se veže za Mojsija i Jošuu, odnosno na obnavljanje zaboravljenog običaja, odnosilo bi se na 13. stoljeće st. e., kad su Jevreji napustili Egipat i kad su lutali pustinjom u potrazi za "Obećanom zemljom". U vrijeme dolaska u Kanaan otpočinje vrijeme teških borbi s Kanaancima, a onda i s Filistejcima (od 13. do 11. stoljeća st. E.).

was performed on Mount Ha'aralot near Gilgal, Jericho. Joshua followed God's instructions and made flint knives and then circumcised the entire generation that was born in the desert after leaving Egypt. When they were healed, God said to Joshua: "This day I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you" (Joshua, 5: 2-9).

These traditions can be linked to historical facts. Namely, when the Jews began to settle in Canaan, they came into contact with the natives, from whom they were religiously and culturally different. Hostilities broke out between the conquerors and the natives. The Jews aspired to put themselves above the population, to establish their dominant position, and to separate themselves from them in everything. They began to emphasize their religious and cultural traditions that were in sharp contrast to the traditions of the indigenous population. In the new environment, the Jews wanted to emphasize the uniqueness of their people.

Moses restored this custom among his people to establish national unity through a tangible bond. Thus, circumcision was institutionalized as a type of initiation for



Slika 9. Obrezivanje u jevrejskoj sredini
Fig. 9 Circumcision in the Jewish community

Kroz to vrijeme sazrijevao je vjerski i nacionalni kanon pa je u doba kralja Saula i Davida (konac 11. i početak 10. stoljeća st. e.) obrezivanje već bilo historijsko naslijeđe koje se skoro u neizmijenjenom obliku održalo do danas.

Jevreji koji su živjeli u sredini u kojoj se nije slijedio običaj obrezivanja bili su izloženi vrijeđanju, pa i napadima. Kako je kod njih obrezivanje imalo vjersko-nacionalno obilježje, na tim osnovama su gradili svoj etički stav i sveukupni odnos prema narodima koji se nisu obrezivali. Te razlike su često dovodile do krvavih sukoba. U Starom zavjetu spominje se slučaj koji se veže za Šekema sina Hamora, koji je obeščastio Jakovljevu kćerku Dinu. To je dovelo do neprijateljstva između dva naroda kojima su pripadali Dina i Šekem. Otac i braća Dinina su kao uvjet za pomirenje tražili da se svi njihovi muškarci iz Šekemova roda obrežu i da postanu kao oni, pa će tek tada pristati da daju svoju sestru Šekemu za

a collective way of life, which was conditioned by political factors at a certain stage of the development of the Jewish tribes.

If one tried to place the biblical tradition of circumcision in a historical framework, it could be reduced to the following: the introduction of the custom of circumcision among Jews can be placed in the 19th century BC, that is, at the time when the Jews lived in Egypt with Abraham. The tradition associated with Moses and Joshua, or the restoration of a forgotten custom, would refer to the 13th century BC when the Jews left Egypt and wandered through the desert in search of the “Promised Land”. Upon the arrival in Canaan, the era of heavy battles began with the Canaanites and then with the Philistines (13th -11th century BC). During that time, religious and national canonization matured, so in the era of King Saul and David (end of the 11th and beginning of the 10th century BC), circumcision was already a historical legacy that has survived almost unchanged to this day.

ženu. Ovi su pristali, obrezali se, međutim, to nije riješilo neprijateljstva između njih i došlo je do pokolja. Taj primjer pokazuje kako su se odnosili oni koji su slijedili običaj obrezivanja prema drugima, odnosno onima koji se nisu obrezivali. Brojni su primjeri iz starog vijeka koji govore o raspravama, napadima, pa i pogromima koji su poduzimani protiv pripadnika jevrejskih zajednica zbog obrezivanja.

Nevolje i stradanja zbog obrezivanja

Boravak Jevreja u babilonskom sužanjstvu, do čega je došlo u 6. stoljeću st. e., još je više učvrstio njihove vjersko-nacionalne tradicije. Po povratku u domovinu to ih je dodatno udaljilo od sredine koju su zatekli u svojoj zemlji. To se prenijelo i na političke odnose koji su se često završavali sukobima. U tome je također obrezivanje često bilo jedan od glavnih razloga takvih odnosa.

U doba helenizma, odnosno u vrijeme kad su Jevreji potpali pod vlast sirijских kraljeva (3. i 2. stoljeće st. e.), stanje se još više pogoršalo. Jevreji su ljubomorno čuvali svoje tradicionalne običaje koji su bili izazovni za sredinu u kojoj su živjeli. Napadi onih koji su slijedili druge vjere i nisu se obrezivali postajali su sve žešći, osobito od strane heleniziranih (greciziranih) Orijentalaca. Često su izbijali neredi pa je 168. godine st. e. kralj Antioh Epifan izdao edikt kojim je Jevrejima bilo zabranjeno da obrezuju svoju djecu (Makab., 1:41–49).

Koliko su zvanične vlasti helenističkih vladara imale odbojan i nepomirljiv stav prema obrezivanju, pokazuje strogo zakon po kojem je za prekršitelje

The Jews who lived in a milieu where the custom of circumcision was not followed were exposed to insults and even attacks. For them, circumcision had a religious and national character so they built their ethical attitude and overall attitude towards people who were not circumcised. These differences often led to bloody conflicts. There is a case in the Old Testament related to Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, who dishonored Jakob's daughter Dinah. This created enmity between the two nations to which Dinah and Shechem belonged. As a condition for reconciliation, Dinah's father and brothers demanded that the men from Shechem's lineage be circumcised and become like them, and only then would they agree to give their sister to Shechem as a wife. They agreed to get circumcised, but this did not resolve the enmity between them which resulted in a massacre. This example shows how those who followed the custom of circumcision treated others, that is, those who were not circumcised.

Trouble and Suffering Due to Circumcision

The Babylonian captivity of Jews in the 6th century BC strengthened their religious and national traditions even more. Upon returning to their homeland, this further distanced them from the social environment they found in their country. This was also transferred to political relations, which often ended in conflicts. Circumcision was also one of the reasons for conflicts among them.

During the Hellenistic era when the Jews came under the rule of the Syrian kings (3rd and 2nd century BC), the situation worsened even more. The Jews jealously guarded their traditional customs, which were challenging for the environment in



Slika 10. Savremeno obrezivanje u jevrejskoj zajednici
Fig. 10 Modern-day circumcision in the Jewish community

bila predviđena smrtna kazna. Jevreji, međutim, ni pod tom prijetnjom nisu odustajali od svoje tradicije (Makab., 1:60–61). Zabilježeni su slučajevi šta su majke sve činile i kakvoj su se opasnosti izlagale da im se dijete obreže.

Kasnije, pod dinastijom Asmonea, taj edikt je bio ukinut. Priznato im je pravo da je obrezivanje jedno od njihovih osnovnih vjersko-nacionalnih obilježja. To pravo je dato i Idumeima, koji su također živjeli u granicama onovremene Palestine. S tim, međutim, nisu prestale nevolje Jevreja. Legaliziranje obrezivanja izazvalo je žestoke rasprave među samim Jevrejima. Vodile su se oko toga kako postupiti prema onima koji su u vrijeme zabrane poklekli i svoju djecu nisu obrezali.

Stvorile su se dvije struje, od kojih je svaka na svoj način tumačila vjerske propise u novim uvjetima i okolnostima. Poznati tadašnji rabin Jošua pripadao je struji koja je zagovarala stav da je za povratnike dovoljno ritualno pranje, bez obrezivanja,

which they lived. The attacks of those who followed other religions and were not circumcised became increasingly fierce, especially by Hellenized (Greekized) Orientals. King Antiochus Epiphanes issued an edict forbidding Jews to circumcise their children in 168 BC after the riots broke out (I Maccab 1: 41-49).

How much the official authorities of the Hellenistic rulers had a repulsive and irreconcilable attitude towards circumcision is shown by the strictness of the law – the death penalty for violators of the law. The Jews, however, did not give up their tradition even under this threat (I. Maccab. 1: 60-61). There are recorded cases of what mothers did and what dangers they exposed themselves to in order to have their children circumcised.

Later, under the Hasmonean dynasty, this edict was abolished. Their right was recognized and the fact that circumcision was one of their basic religious and national symbols. This right was also given to the Idumeans who also lived within the borders of Palestine at that time. However,

dok je rabin Eli'ezer, predvodnik mnogo strože struje, zastupao mišljenje da se takvi svakako moraju naknadno obrezati.

Pogled na obrezivanje u grčko-rimsko doba

I kasnije su Jevreji, kao i drugi narodi koji su se obrezivali, imali nepritika zbog toga. Tako je bilo i u rimsko doba, s promjenljivim stavom vlasti kroz dugo razdoblje postojanja tog carstva. Nakon zabrane koju je proveo kralj Antioh Epifan, pa nakon tolerancije koja je uslijedila pod dinastijom Asmonea, u novonastalim okolnostima, kad je Rim postao gospodar velikog dijela Evrope, Afrike i Bliskog Istoka, nije bilo dosljednosti u tom pitanju. To je išlo na ruku protivnicima tog običaja pa su koristili svaku priliku da izvrgnu ruglu i napadaju one koji su obrezani.

I Grci su se prema obrezivanju odnosili podozrivo, a po uzoru na njih i grecizirani Orijentalci koji su živjeli među Jevrejima. Upravo su oni bili najčešće podstrekači hajki, objeda te moralnih i fizičkih napada. Zna se, međutim, da je bilo i Grka koji su se obrezivali. Među njima je bio i poznati filozof Pitagora (6. stoljeće st. e.), kao i oni koji su bili inicirani u neke od egipatskih misterija kojima su mogla pristupiti samo obrezana lica.

Obrezani su bili izloženi raznim nevoljama. Nisu mogli obavljati političke dužnosti niti učestvovati u zvaničnim manifestacijama. Bili su isključeni i iz sportskih natjecanja jer su prema ondašnjem običaju učesnici nastupali goli, kako je bilo i na Olimpijskim igrama. Kad bi se pred masom pojavio natjecatelj koji je bio obrezan, dočekivan je s pogrdama, na njega su bacali kamenje i sl.

troubles of the Jews did not end there. The legalization of circumcision caused fierce debates among the Jews. They debated how to deal with those who succumbed to the ban and did not circumcise their children.

Two groups emerged, with each interpreting religious regulations in its own way and under new conditions and circumstances. The well-known Rabbi Joshua of the time belonged to the group that advocated the position that ritual washing without circumcision is sufficient for returnees, while Rabbi Eliezer, the leader of a much stricter group, advocated the opinion that such persons must be circumcised afterward.

A Survey of Circumcision in the Greco-Roman Era

The Jews, like any other people who were circumcised, endured troubles because of this practice. It was the same in Roman times, when the attitude of the authorities changed throughout the long existence of that empire. After the ban was implemented by King Antiochus Epiphanes, and after the tolerance that followed under the Hasmonean dynasty, in the newly created circumstances when Rome became the ruler of a large part of Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, there was no consistency in this matter. It had a great benefit for the opponents of this practice, so they used every opportunity to mock and attack those who were not circumcised.

The Greeks were also suspicious about circumcision, followed by the Hellenized Orientals who lived among the Jews. They often were the instigators of chases, slanders, and moral and physical attacks. However, it is known that Greeks were also circumcised. The most famous philosopher Pythagoras (6th century BC) was also

Izvori iz tog doba nas obavještavaju o krajnje nehumanim postupcima prema takvim licima. Zbog pritiska i nerazumijevanja sredine obrezani su često pribjegavali bolnom postupku kojim su željeli prikriti obrezanost, odnosno ukloniti njegov trag. Podvrgavali su se naknadnoj operaciji zvanoj epispazam, kojom se to prilično uspješno postizalo. Od poznatijih ličnosti koje su se podvrgle toj operaciji bila su i dva sina Heroda, kralja Edomaca.

Takav operativni postupak bio je poznat još u biblijsko doba. Isak je po običaju svog naroda obrezao sina Jakova osmog dana po rođenju, ali se ovaj u zreloj dobi sam podvrgao naknadnoj operaciji kako bi prikrrio da je bio obrezan. (Makab., 1:15).

Često su i zvanične rimske vlasti imale nepomirljiv stav prema Jevrejima zbog obrezivanja. Nisu izostajale ni zakonske mjere. Car Hadrijan je 131. godine n. e. izdao edikt kojim je bila predviđena smrtna kazna za prekršioce (Lex Cornelia. De sicariis: Dig. XLVIII, 8, 4, 2). Kada je 132. godine n. e. u Judeji izbio ustanak Jevreja predvođen Bar Kohbom, jedan od zahtjeva je bio da se ukine zakon o zabrani obrezivanja.

Pod carem Antoninom Pijom (138–160. godine n. e.) zabrana je bila ukinuta, ali je ostala na snazi za Arape, Nabatejce, Samarićane i Egipćane. Ovi posljednji su se kasnije izborili da im se od zabrane izuzmu barem svećenici, koji po njihovom običaju nisu mogli obavljati službu u hramu ako nisu obrezani. Car je to uvažio pa je obrezivanje bilo dozvoljeno samo Jevrejima i egipatskim svećenicima (Makab., I:15; J. Flavije, Contra App. II, 13; Origene, in Rom. II, 43).

Rimskim građanima bilo je dozvoljeno primati jevrejsko jednobožje, slaviti njihove blagdane i drugo, ali se nisu smjeli

among them as well as those who were initiated into some of the Egyptian mysteries that included only the circumcised.

The circumcised were exposed to various troubles. They could not perform political duties or participate in official events. They were also excluded from sports competitions like the Olympic Games because, according to the custom of that time, the participants performed naked. When a circumcised contestant appeared in front of the crowd, he was greeted with insults, stones were thrown at him, etc.

The sources from that era inform us about extremely inhumane actions towards such persons. Due to the pressures and misunderstanding of the environment, the circumcised often resorted to a painful procedure with which they wanted to cover up their circumcision, that is, to remove its trace. They underwent a subsequent operation called epispasm, which achieved their goal quite successfully. Two sons of Herod, king of the Edomites, were some of the most famous people who underwent that operation.

Such an operative procedure was already known in biblical times. According to the custom of his people, Isaac circumcised his son Jacob on the eighth day after his birth, but the latter underwent a subsequent operation himself to conceal his circumcision (Makab, I, 15).

Official Roman authorities often had an irreconcilable attitude towards Jews because of circumcision. They were especially ridiculed by Roman writers who used various derogatory terms for them. There were also legal measures. Emperor Hadrian in 131 AD issued an edict that stipulated the death penalty for violators (Lex Cornelia. De sicariis: Dig. XLVIII, 8, 4, 2). When a Jewish uprising led by Bar Kohba broke out in 132 AD in Judea, one of the demands was to abolish the law prohibiting circumcision.



Slika 11. Oni koji su postajali sljedbenici egipatskog boga Serapisa morali su se podvrći obrezivanju bez obzira na to kojem su narodu pripadali

Fig. 11 Those who became followers of the Egyptian god Serapis had to submit to circumcision regardless of which nation they belonged to

obrezivati, kao ni njihovi robovi. One koji bi to učinili deportirali su na pusti otok, a imovina im je bila konfiscirana, dok je za operatera bila propisana smrtna kazna. (Leclercq, 1914: 1740) Vremenom se stav i pogled na to pitanje mijenjao pa u određenim razdobljima nije bilo nikakve zabrane i građani su postupali po svom nahođenju.

S obzirom na to da su mnogi rimski građani prihvaćali i egipatske kultove ili su se upućivali u neke od njihovih misterija, prethodno su se morali podvrći obrezivanju. Takvih je bilo mnogo jer su egipatski

During the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-160 AD), the ban was lifted, but it remained in force for Arabs, Nabateans, Samaritans, and Egyptians. They fought to exempt at least the priests who, according to their custom, could not serve in the temple if they were not circumcised. The emperor accepted this, so circumcision was allowed only to Jews and Egyptian priests (Maccab. I, 15; J. Flavije, *Contra App.* II, 13; Origene, in: *Rom.* II, 43)

Roman citizens were allowed to accept Jewish monotheism, celebrate their holidays and other practices, but they were not

kultovi u Rimu, kao i u rimskim provincijama, imali mnogo pristaša, osobito kult boginje Izide i Serapisa. Obrezanih je u to vrijeme bilo i u današnjoj Bosni, jer je prisutnost sljedbenika tih egipatskih kultura dokazana spomeničkom građom, što govori da su bili obrezani. U 5. stoljeću Justinijanov zakonik je opet uveo zabranu obrezivanja za rimske građane koji su prelazili na jevrejstvo, ali se nije dugo održao.

Stav prema onima koji prelaze na jevrejstvo

Kad su se Jevreji našli u dijaspori, odnosno kada su ih rimske vlasti počele raseљjavati izvan njihove zemlje, ukazala se mogućnost da se i drugi narodi upoznaju s njihovom vjerskom i kulturnom tradicijom. Bilo je puno i onih koji su prihvaćali jevrejsku vjeru, a s time su prihvaćali i uvjete koji su bili propisani za pripadnike tog naroda. Morali su se podvrći i obrezivanju, čime su ispunjavali osnovni uvjet da postanu sljedbenici jevrejskog jednobožja. To su bili tzv. “prozeliti”.

Za neke kandidate to su bili odveć strogi uvjeti, tim više što je obaveza obrezivanja za nejevreje smatrana barbarskim običajem. Judejske općine su morale računati i na takve pa je bilo zagovornika da se takvim učine ustupci, što je među Jevrejima izazvalo žestoke i dugotrajne rasprave. Neki od njihovih teoretičara, kao što su bili rabini Jišmae’l i Aqiba, zastupali su tumačenje po kojima je kod Jevreja obrezivanje samo po sebi jednakovrijedno kao sve zapovijedi zajedno, uključujući tu svih 613 propisa. Tvrdili su i to da neobrezano lice nije moralno sposobno ni spremno slijediti Torah (jevrejska vjerska knjiga). (Stano, 1949: 1704) Bilo je i suprotnih mišljenja

allowed to get circumcised, and neither were their slaves. Those who would do so were deported to a deserted island and their property was confiscated, while the person who performed circumcision was given the death penalty.¹¹ Over time, the attitude and view on this issue changed, so in certain periods there was no prohibition and citizens acted as they saw fit.

Since many Roman citizens also accepted Egyptian cults or were instructed in some of their mysteries, they had to undergo circumcision beforehand. There were many of them because the Egyptian cults had many supporters in Rome, as well as in the Roman provinces, especially the cult of the goddesses Isis and Serapis. At that time there were also circumcised people in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina because the presence of followers of those Egyptian cults is proven by monuments that show that they were circumcised. In the 5th century, Justinian’s Code again introduced a ban on circumcision for Roman citizens who converted to Judaism, but it did not last long.

Attitude toward Those Who Convert to Judaism

When the Jews found themselves in the diaspora, that is, when the Roman authorities began to displace them outside their country, the possibility arose that other peoples could become acquainted with their religious and cultural traditions. There were also many who accepted the Jewish religion, and with that, they also accepted the conditions that were prescribed for members of that nation. They also had to undergo circumcision, which fulfilled the fundamental condition of becoming followers of the Jewish monotheism. These were the so-called “proselytes”.

¹¹ Dictionnaire d’Archéologie ... , 1948, 1740

koja su na koncu prevagnula. Donesena je odluka da se obraćenici ne moraju po svaku cijenu podvrći obrezivanju. Dovoljno je bilo da se prihvate ostala načela jevrejske vjere. Takvi, međutim, kao neobrezani nisu bili ravnopravni članovi vjerske zajednice. Nazivali su ih “bogobojažni”. Tek su njihova djeca bila s ostalim vjernicima izjednačena, s obzirom na to da su odmah po rođenju bili obrezani po jevrejskom običaju. (Jedin, 1972: 83) I kroz naredna razdoblja o tom pitanju često su se mijenjali propisi, koji su bili praćeni žustrim raspravama, pa i sukobima. Tek je savremena reforma judaizma definitivno riješila to pitanje. (Pallière, 1926)

Obrezivanje kod zaostalih plemena

Običaj obrezivanja bio je poznat brojnim zaostalim plemenima širom svijeta. Neki od njih živjela su hiljadama godina izolirano od ostalog svijeta, što govori da kroz to vrijeme nije moglo doći do preuzimanja ma kojih utjecaja sa strane. S time u vezi, posebno su zanimljiva urođenička plemena srednje i sjeverne Australije. Plemena s tog područja koja se nisu obrezivala slijedila su običaj koji se sastojao od toga da na razne načine deformiraju pojedine dijelove tijela, u što spada i tetovaža.

Običaj obrezivanja kod zaostalih plemena predstavlja plodno tlo za istraživače ovog problema. Došlo se do zaključka da to ima duboke korijene, stare hiljadama godina, praćene raznim obredima. Kod nekih plemena iz srednje Australije obrezane dječake su vodili u šumu, gdje su ostajali do ozdravljenja. Po njihovom vjerovanju, tamo je nastanjen Dobri duh, koji se dječacima javlja zujanjem, što je ustvari izvodio

For some candidates, these conditions were too strict, especially since the obligation of circumcision for non-Jews was considered a barbaric custom. The Judean municipalities had to count on these people so they advocated such concessions which caused fierce and long-lasting discussions among the Jews. Some of their theoreticians, such as rabbis Yishmae’l and Akiva, advocated the interpretation according to which among Jews, circumcision is equivalent to all the commandments together, including all 613 regulations. They also claimed that an uncircumcised person is not morally capable or ready to follow the Torah (Jewish religious book).¹² There were also opposing opinions that prevailed in the end. The decision was made that converts do not have to undergo circumcision at all costs. It was enough to accept the other principles of the Jewish faith. As such, however, uncircumcised were not equal members of the religious community. They were called “God-fearers”. Only their children were equal to other believers if they were circumcised immediately after birth according to the Jewish custom.¹³ And throughout the following periods, the regulations on this issue were often changed and they were accompanied by heated discussions and even conflicts. Only the modern reform of Judaism definitively solved that question.¹⁴

Circumcision in Primitive Tribes

Many primitive tribes around the world were familiar with circumcision. Some of them lived isolated from the rest of the world for thousands of years, which means that during that time there could be no influence from outside. When it comes to

¹² Stano 1952, 1704.

¹³ Jedin 1972, 83

¹⁴ Pallière, 1926.



Slika 12. U plemenskim zajednicama na raznim stranama svijeta pred obrezivanje se izvode razni obredi

Fig. 12 In tribal communities in various parts of the world, various rituals are performed before circumcision

vrač iz njihovog plemena. Ceremonijal je praćen raznim drugim magijskim obredima. (Turchi, 1950: 410)

Kod nekih plemena u sjevernoj i srednjoj Australiji obrezivanje je bilo povezano s obredom inicijacije dječaka (uvođenje u red odraslih, odnosno ratnika). To se izvodilo tako što je obrezanu kožicu morao pojesti najmlađi brat obrezanog, a u odsutnosti ovoga, to je činio sam obrezani. U nekim sredinama kožicu je jeo operater. Vjerovalo se da to daje snagu i da potiče hrabrost.

Kod australijskih plemena susreće se još jedan običaj koji je bio poznat i narodima na drugim stranama svijeta. Riječ je o naknadnom obrezivanju koji su nazivali “arialtha” ili “mika”. Podvrgavani su mu dječaci godinu dana nakon prvog obrezivanja. Ta izuzetno bolna operacija sastojala se u tome da se tankim oštrim

this practice, the indigenous tribes of central and northern Australia are particularly interesting. The tribes from that area who were not circumcised followed a custom that consisted of deforming certain parts of the body in various ways, including tattoos.

The practice of circumcision among primitive tribes is a fertile ground for researchers of this problem. It was concluded that it has deep roots, thousands of years old, accompanied by various rituals. Among some tribes from central Australia, circumcised boys were taken to the forest where they stayed until they recovered. According to their belief, the Good Spirit resides there and appears to the boys by humming, which was actually performed by a witch doctor from their tribe. The ceremony was accompanied by various other magical rites.¹⁵

In some tribes in northern and central Australia, circumcision was associated

¹⁵ Turchi 1931- 9, 410.

predmetom iznutra ureže mokraćna cijev (uretra). Čemu je to služilo i kakav je bio smisao tog bolnog tretmana, istraživačima je ostalo nepoznato. To im nisu znali reći ni urođenici. Na upit ovih odgovarali su da je to običaj.

Obrezivanje je bilo poznato i pacifičkim narodima, kako Papuancima, tako i urođenicima Nove Kaledonije, Novih Hebrida, na Tahitiju, Havajima, Tongu, Maršalskim otocima itd. I ovdje, kao kod većine zaoostalih plemena, obrezivanje se obavlja u zreloj dječjačkoj dobi, kad postaju spolno zreli članovi zajednice, a time i ratnici.

Na američkim kontinentima obrezivanje je bilo poznato kako pripadnicima kulturno visokorazvijenih zajednica kao što su bile Maje, Asteci i Inke, tako i kod zaoostalih plemena iz Amazonije, kakvi su bili Martiusi, Tacunoi i dr. Kod Inka u Peruu obrezivanju su podvrgavane i djevojčice.

I u Africi je ovaj običaj bio široko rasprostranjen. Kao i drugdje, i ovdje se uglavnom vezao za obred inicijacije, odnosno uvođenje mladića u red odraslih i ratnika. U plemenu Amazulu bio je običaj da poslije obrezivanja dječake zatvaraju u logor gdje su obučavani ratničkim vještinama, a u Bečuani su dječake skupljali u tzv. "Škole obrezivanja", gdje su izlagani svakojakom mučenju kako bi otvrdnuli na sve teškoće, nakon čega je slijedio obred obrezivanja, čime su postajali punopravni članovi plemena.

Kod nekih brdskih plemena istočne Afrike obrezanim dječacima se priređivalo jelo koje se sastojalo od izmiješanih dijelova ljudskog tijela (jetra, testisi i uši), koji su uzimani s ubijenih neprijatelja. Postojalo je uvjerenje da obrezana lica dobivaju snagu ubijenog neprijatelja. I u plemenu Kikuju, također iz istočne Afrike, obrezani dječaci su mogli preći u

with the rite of initiation of boys (induction into the ranks of adults, i.e., warriors). This was done by having the circumcised foreskin eaten by the circumcised boy's youngest brother, and if he did not have a brother, the circumcised himself did it. In some areas, the foreskin was eaten by the circumciser. It was believed that this act gave strength and courage.

Australian tribes had another custom that was also known in other parts of the world. It is a subsequent circumcision which they called "arialtha" or "mika". Boys were subjected to it one year after the first circumcision. This extremely painful operation consisted of cutting the urinary tract (urethra) from the inside with a thin sharp object. The meaning of that painful treatment remained unknown. Not even the natives could explain to the researchers the purpose of this practice. When they were asked about this practice, they said that it was a custom. Circumcision was also known to Pacific peoples, such as the Papuans, the natives of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, the Marshall Islands, etc. And here, as with most primitive tribes, circumcision was performed at a mature boyhood, when they become sexually mature community members i.e., warriors.

On the American continents, circumcision was known both to members of culturally highly developed communities such as the Mayans, Aztecs and Incas, as well as to primitive tribes from the Amazon, such as the Martius, Ticuna, etc. Among the Incas in Peru, girls were also subjected to circumcision.

This practice was also widespread in Africa. It was mostly linked to the initiation rite, that is, the introduction of young people into the ranks of adults and warriors. In the Zulu tribe, it was customary that after circumcision the boys were held in a camp where they were trained in warrior skills, and in the Bechuana tribe, the boys



Slika 13. U nekim plemenima dječake vode u šumu, gdje ih uz tradicionalne obrede obrezuju
 Fig. 13 In some tribes, boys are taken to the forest where they are circumcised during traditional ceremonies

red ratnika samo putem obrezivanja. Ako bi neki od njih ma iz kojeg razloga ostao neobrezan, doživotno je ostajao bespravan član plemena.

Kod svih plemena obred obrezivanja bio je praćen raznim magijskim obredima. U Gabonu u Africi, odrezane kožece splovila stavljale su se na totemsko stablo – zaštitni znak plemena, s ciljem da se pospeši plodnost obrezanih dječaka. (Turchi, 1950: 410)

Stav kršćanstva prema obrezivanju

Obrezivanje je bilo obavezno i za rane kršćane, što je razumljivo s obzirom na to da je ta vjera ponikla u jevrejskoj sredini i na njenim vjersko-nacionalnim temeljima. Iz tog razloga je i Isus bio obrezan (Luka, 2:21–23). (Jedin, 1972: 85)² Isti je

² Njegovo obrezivanje inspiriralo je mnoge slikare: Mazolini (1384–1447) u galeriji Ufici

were gathered in the so-called “circumcision schools” where they were subjected to all kinds of torture to harden them for all hardships, followed by a circumcision ceremony, which made them full members of the tribe.

Among some hill tribes of East Africa, a dish was prepared for circumcised boys, which consisted of mixed parts of the human body (liver, testicles, and ears), which were taken from killed enemies. There was a belief that circumcised gained the strength of a killed enemy. And in the Kikuyu tribe, also from East Africa, circumcised boys could become warriors only through circumcision. If one of them remained uncircumcised for any reason, he remained a rightless member of the tribe for life.

In all tribes, the rite of circumcision was accompanied by various magical rituals. In Gabon, Africa, cut-off foreskins were placed on a totem tree, the tribe’s emblem, with the aim of increasing the fertility of circumcised boys.¹⁶

¹⁶ Ibidem

slučaj s apostolima, i općenito svim prvim sljedbenicima te vjere. Pitanje obrezivanja ubrzo je izazvalo velike rasprave u crkvenim krugovima.

Spor je izbio onda kad se postavilo pitanje mogu li se među sljedbenike nove vjere primati i nejevreji, odnosno pripadnici drugih naroda, koji nisu obrezani. Taj problem je postajao sve prisutniji jer je kroz kratko vrijeme kršćanstvo steklo mnoge simpatizere raznih nacionalnosti i drugih vjerskih pripadnosti.

Već se pred prve crkvene oce postavilo pitanje moraju li se oni koji pristupaju novoj vjeri podvrći obrezivanju ili da se uvede tolerancija. Za provođenje te ideje postojalo je niz praktičnih prepreka. Onima koji su bili drugih nacionalnosti smetalo je što su nosioci ovog učenja Jevreji, kao i to što je nova vjera s praktične strane bila prožeta krutim obredima i običajima koje je naslijedila od jevrejskog monoteizma, a tu spada obrezivanje, propis o zabranjenim jelima i još niz drugih rigoroznih mjera i zabrana.

Prvi od crkvenih otaca koji je bio protiv ovih prepreka, a koje su smetale potencijalnim pristalicama kršćanstva, bio je apostol Pavle pa je počeo zdušno raditi na rješavanju ovog problema. Predlagao je da se za pridošlice ukine obaveza obrezivanja. Rano kršćanstvo se u početku nije mnogo razlikovalo od jevrejskog vjerskog učenja. Obredi i običaji su im takoreći bili isti. S obzirom na razvojni put kojim je kršćanstvo pošlo, to se nije moglo održati. Trebalo je uprostiti kult i ukinuti rigorozne propise koji su odbijali pristalice.

Oni dalekovidniji, kakav je bio i apostol Pavle, savjetovali su da se oni koji žele

u Firenci; Fillipo Lipi (1400–1469) u galeriji Prado u Madridu; Rubens (1557–1640) u crkvi Saint Ambrosie u Gênesu; Ticijan (1490–1576) u Berlinu itd.

Christianity's Attitude towards Circumcision

Circumcision was also mandatory for the early Christians, which is understandable considering that this faith arose in the Jewish environment and on its religious and national foundations. For this reason, Jesus was also circumcised as well as the apostles, and in general all the first followers of that faith (Luka, 2: 21-36).¹⁷ The issue of circumcision soon caused great debates in church circles.

The dispute emerged when the question arose as to whether non-Jews, that is, members of other nations who were not circumcised, could be accepted among the followers of the new religion. This issue became more and more relevant because, in a short time, Christianity gained many sympathizers of various nationalities and other religious affiliations. The first church fathers were already faced with the question of whether those who join the new religion must be circumcised or whether tolerance should be introduced. There were a number of practical obstacles to implementing that idea.

The members of other nationalities were bothered by the fact that the carriers of this teaching were Jews, as well as the fact that the new religion's practical side was imbued with rigid rituals and customs inherited from Jewish monotheism, including circumcision and the regulation of forbidden foods and a number of other rigorous measures and prohibitions.

The Apostle Paul was the first of the church fathers who were against this obstacle which was bothering potential

¹⁷ Jedin 1972, 85; His circumcision inspired many painters: Mazolini (1384 - 1447) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence; Fillipo Lipi (140 - 1469) in the Prado Gallery in Madrid; Rubens (1557 - 1640) in the church of Saint Ambrose in Gênes; Titian (1490 - 1576) in Berlin, etc.



Slika 14. Obreživanje Isusa, koje se obilježava u obje kršćanske crkve na prvi dan Nove godine
 Fig. 14 The circumcision of Jesus - it is celebrated in both Christian churches on the first day of the New Year

prihvatiti Kristovo učenje, a nisu po jevrejskom običaju obrezani, oslobode te obaveze. To nije išlo lahko jer je bilo mnogo onih koji nisu bili za toleranciju. U tome se posebno isticala antiohijska crkva iz grada Antiohije (koji se nalazio u današnjoj južnoj Turskoj). Rasprave oko toga često su se pretvarale u teške sukobe. Da bi se našlo rješenje, zakazano je apostolsko vijećanje koje je održano u Jerusalemu. Na njemu se apostol Pavle uporno i argumentirano zalagao da se novim pristalicama napravi ustupak. Koncil je na koncu prihvatio njegov prijedlog. Zaključeno je da se jevrejski običaj koji propisuje obreživanje ne treba odnositi na pripadnike nejevrejske nacionalnosti, ali se i oni moraju pridržavati općih načela crkve (Djela, 15, 5, 19–29).

Odluku, međutim, nije bilo lahko sprovesti. Pavle je postao meta oštih kritika. Optužen je da na svom misionarskom putu “odvraća pagane od Mojsijevog zakona i obaveze od obreživanja” (Djela, 21:21). Nije ostao pošteđen ni apostol Petar. Njega su optuživali što navraća ljudima koji nisu

followers of Christianity, so he began to work earnestly to solve this problem. He suggested the abolishment of the obligation of circumcision for newcomers. Early Christianity was initially not very different from Jewish religious teachings. Their rites and customs were, so to speak, the same. Given the development path that Christianity took, this could not be sustained. It was necessary to simplify the cult and abolish the rigorous regulations that repelled their supporters.

The more far-sighted ones, such as the Apostle Paul, advised that those who want to accept Christ’s teachings, but were not circumcised according to the Jewish custom, should be released from this obligation. It was not easy because there were many who were not in favor of tolerance. The Antiochian church from the city of Antioch (which was located in today’s southern Turkey) stood out from this practice. Discussions about it often turned into serious conflicts. In order to find a solution, an apostolic council was convened and held in Jerusalem. At this council, the



Slika 15. Zaslugom Sv. Petra i sv. Pavla za prve kršćane je ukinuta obaveza da se obrezuju
Fig. 15 The obligation to be circumcised was abolished for true Christians thanks to St. Peter and St. Paul

obrezani i što s njima objeđuje (Djela, 11,1–3). (Jedin, 1972: 85 i d.)

Kršćani koji se ne obrezuju

Stav apostola Pavla o pitanju obrezivanja ipak je bio presudan. Njegovo popularno tumačenje je imalo širok odjek među onima koji su se kolebali u odluci da priđu novoj vjeri, a koji su zazirali od obrezivanja. Kako je broj takvih stalno rastao, to je dovelo do toga da se vjerski obred sve više uprošćuje i kršćanstvo je postepeno gubilo obilježje jevrejstva, da bi se na koncu od njega sasvim odvojilo. Uobličilo se u samostalnu vjeru s učenjem i propisima koji su odgovarali novom vremenu i njegovim interesima. Tako je obrezivanje napušteno, čime je kršćanstvo prekinulo s tim običajem za sva vremena.

Ipak, nije sva crkva bila jednosložna u tom pitanju. Daleko od Judeje, na jugu

Apostle Paul persistently and argumentatively advocated making a concession to the new supporters. The council finally accepted his proposal. It was concluded that the Jewish custom that prescribes circumcision should not apply to members of non-Jewish nationality, but they must also adhere to the general principles of the church (Acts, 15, 5:19-29).

The decision, however, was not easy to implement. Paul became the target of harsh criticism. He was accused of distracting the pagans from the Mosaic Law and the obligation of circumcision on his missionary journey (Acts, 21:21). Even the apostle Peter was not spared. They accused him of visiting uncircumcised people and eating with them (Acts, 11:1-3).¹⁸

Christians Who Were Circumcised

The Apostle Paul's stance on the issue of circumcision was still decisive. His

¹⁸ Jedin 1972, 85, etc.

starog Egipta, kršćanstvo je također imalo pristaša. Takvi su po starom običaju te zemlje slijedili običaj obrezivanja. Ta tradicija je bila toliko jaka da je zvanična crkva zauzela stav da se njeni sljedbenici mogu i nadalje pridržavati tog običaja. Tako je obrezivanje i nadalje ostalo među koptskim kršćanima, što je jedno od obilježja egipatske kršćanske (koptske) crkve. Njeni sljedbenici, mada su kršćani, i danas obrezuju svoju djecu.

Isti je slučaj s monofizitima u Etiopiji, kod kojih običaj obrezivanja također potječe iz pretkršćanskog doba, kako je svojevremeno to zabilježio još Herodot u 5. stoljeću st. e. Taj se običaj i kod njih zadržao do savremenog doba, čemu je svakako doprinio i islam, odnosno islamizacija te zemlje, čiji sljedbenici također primjenjuju običaj obrezivanja.

Islam i obrezivanje

U današnje vrijeme običaj obrezivanja se skoro isključivo veže za pripadnike islama i Jevreja, mada se primjenjuje i kod drugih naroda kod kojih je to naslijeđe mnogo starijeg datuma od te dvije vjere. Takvo shvaćanje je proisteklo iz činjenice što su u savremeno doba muslimani najbrojniji sljedbenici tog običaja, pa se uglavnom obrezivanje poistovjećuje s pripadnicima te vjere. Međutim, da je takvo gledište pogrešno, vidjelo se iz dosadašnjeg izlaganja, jer je obrezivanje bilo poznato brojnim drugim narodima na svim kontinentima hiljadama godina prije nastanka islama i jevrejske vjere.

Ustvari, obrezivanje se ni po čemu ne može vezati za islamsko učenje, jer ga Kur'an, na kojem se temelji islam, ne spominje. To pokazuje da obrezivanje kod muslimana nije proisteklo iz vjerskog

popular interpretation had a wide echo among those who hesitated in their decision to come to the new religion, and who shied away from circumcision. As the number of such people constantly grew, it led to the religious rite becoming increasingly simplified, and Christianity gradually lost the characteristics of Judaism resulting in its complete separation. It became an independent religion with teachings and regulations that corresponded to the new time and its interests. Thus, circumcision was abandoned and Christianity put an end to this practice once and for all.

However, not all churches were unanimous on this matter. Far from Judea, in the south of ancient Egypt, Christianity also had supporters. These people followed the practice of circumcision according to the old custom of that country. This tradition was so strong that the official church took the position that its followers should be freed from the obligation of circumcision. Thus, circumcision remained among the Coptic Christians and it is one of the characteristics of the Egyptian Christian (Coptic) church. Their followers, even though they are Christians, still circumcise their children today.

The Monophysites in Ethiopia, where the custom of circumcision also originates from the Christian era, as Herodotus once recorded in the 5th century AD, also followed this practice. It has remained with them until modern times, which was certainly contributed by Islam, that is, the Islamization of that country, whose followers practice circumcision as well.

Islam and Circumcision

Nowadays, the custom of circumcision is almost exclusively associated with members of Islam and Judaism, although it is also followed by other nations where



Slika 16. Običaj obrezivanja kod muslimana vuče korijen iz predislamskog doba
Fig 16 The practice of circumcision among Muslims has its roots in pre-Islamic times

propisa, kakav je slučaj kod Jevreja. Zato se postavlja pitanje kako je ušlo u običaj da i muslimani obrezuju svoju djecu, unatoč navedenoj konstataciji. Odgovor je u činjenici da obrezivanje spada u preislamski običaj kojeg su se Arapi držali hiljadama godina prije pojave islama. (Wellhausen, 1897: 174–175) S obzirom na to da je obrezivanje bilo općeprihvaćena svojina svih zapadnih semitskih naroda, u koje spadaju i Arapi, shvatljivo je da su i oni slijedili taj običaj. Bio je toliko jak da su ga zadržali i nakon primanja islama.

Zbog toga što Kur'an nijednom riječi ne spominje obrezivanje neki istraživači su iznosili mišljenje da je, navodno, vjerovjesnik Muhamed nesvjesno propustio da unese taj propis u Kur'an. Drugi tumače da je obrezivanje shvatio ne kao vjersku, nego kao fiziološku potrebu. Po nekima, pripadnici islama su počeli slijediti taj običaj po uzoru na Muhameda koji je na svijet došao obrezan (Ibn Sa'd, Tabakat, I/1, 64). (Wensinck, 1927: 1029)

Međutim, razlog je bez sumnje u već navedenoj činjenici da je običaj obrezivanja

it is a legacy of a much older date than those two religions. Such an understanding arose from the fact that in modern times, Muslims are the most numerous followers of that practice, so circumcision is generally identified with members of this religion. However, as presented in this research paper, this interpretation is wrong because circumcision was known to many other peoples on all continents thousands of years before the emergence of Islam and the Jewish faith.

In fact, circumcision cannot be linked to Islamic teachings in any way because the Qur'an, on which Islam is based, does not mention it. Thus, circumcision among Muslims did not stem from a religious prescription, as it is the case with the Jews. That is why the question arises as to how it became a custom for Muslims to circumcise their children, despite the aforementioned fact. The answer lies in the fact that circumcision belongs to a pre-Islamic custom that the Arabs followed thousands of years before Islam.¹⁹ Circumcision was a generally accepted practice of all Western Semitic peoples, including the Arabs. This

¹⁹ J. Wellhausen 1897, 174 - 175.

kod Arapa bio duboko ukorijenjen i prije pojave islama pa ga je kao takvog prihvatio i islam. Do sličnih pojava je dolazilo i u drugim vjerama koje su u svom kanonu zadržale neke paganske običaje koji su u narodu bili duboko ukorijenjeni. I kršćanstvo je u tom pitanju moralo praviti kompromis, pa su se na taj način u pojedinim sredinama zadržali brojni paganski običaji koji su u potpunoj suprotnosti s kršćanskim učenjem i shvaćanjem.

Kako Kur'an ne spominje obrezivanje, uslijedile su rasprave među islamskim teoretičarima da li da ga muslimani primjenjuju ili ne. Tako juristička škola Shafi'ita obrezivanje smatra obaveznim, dok ga druge škole tek preporučuju. (Sourdel, 1968: 541–542) U dokumentu Hidith doslovno se navodi da obrezivanje kod Arapa spada u predislamski propis i nabraja se zajedno s rezanjem noktiju, brkova, čišćenjem zuba itd. Spominju ga i neki rani pjesnici kao Hudhali, Farazdak i dr. (Wensinck, 1927: 1028)

Kod Arapa se obrezivanje najčešće naziva “khitan”, ali ima i drugih naziva, kao “tathar”, “taharah” ili “tahur”, kojim se ujedno označava i ceremonija koja prati obrezivanje. (Wensinck, 1927: 1029; Levy, 1950: 411–412) Obrezivanje je vremenom postala opća svojina islama i podvrgavaju mu se čak i oni koji naknadno prihvaćaju islamsku vjeru, bez obzira što to nije uvjet. U ovom slučaju obrezivanje više ima psihološko značenje, preko čega obraćenik smatra da i “de iure” postaje musliman.

Širenje običaja obrezivanja pod utjecajem islama

S obzirom na to da se islam javio i konačno uobličio u arapskom svijetu, shvatljivo

custom had such a strong tradition among them that they kept it even after accepting Islam.

The fact that the Qur'an does not mention it in a single word led some researchers to express the opinion that, allegedly, the prophet Muhammad unknowingly missed to include this regulation in the Qur'an. Another interpretation is that he understood circumcision not as a religious but as a physiological need. According to some, members of Islam began to follow this custom following the example of Muhammad, who was born circumcised (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, I/1: 64).²⁰

Undoubtedly, the practice of circumcision among the Arabs was deeply rooted even before Islam, so Islam accepted it as such. Similar phenomena occurred in other religions that accepted into their canon some pagan customs that were deeply rooted in their faith. Christianity also had to make compromises on this issue, and in this way, in certain areas, numerous pagan customs were retained that are in complete opposition to Christian teaching and understanding.

Since the Qur'an does not mention circumcision, Islamic theorists argued whether Muslims should follow this practice. Thus, the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence considers circumcision obligatory, while other schools only recommend it.²¹ In the Hadith document, it is precisely stated that circumcision among Arabs is a pre-Islamic regulation and is listed together with trimming nails, mustaches, cleaning teeth, etc. It was also mentioned by some early poets such as Hudhali, Al-Farazdaq, and others.²²

Among the Arabs, circumcision is most often called “khitan”, but other names are used as well, such as “tathar”, “taharah” or “tahur”, which also denotes the

²⁰ Wensinck 1927, 1029.

²¹ Sourdel 1968, 541 - 542.

²² Wensinck 1927, 1028.

je da je najveći dio praktičnog i etičkog sadržaja ta vjera preuzela iz tradicije tog naroda. Po toj osnovi su i drugi narodi koji su primali islam preuzimali običaj obrezivanja, smatrajući ga uvjetnim činom da bi postali potpuni sljedbenici te vjere.

Arapī, koji su taj običaj imali u naslijeđu iz paganskog doba, s tom tradicijom nisu prekidali ni u novom vjerskom životu. Narodi kod kojih je taj običaj bio nepoznat, s preuzimanjem islama preuzeli su i obrezivanje koje je vremenom prešlo i u njihovu tradiciju. Tako se širenjem islama širio i običaj obrezivanja.

Najveći utjecaj u tom pogledu izvršili su Arapi u doba velikih osvajanja, kad je islam doživio najveću ekspanziju. Nekoliko stotina godina kasnije, misiju širenja islama preuzeli su Turci. Kad su oni primili islam, s novom vjerom primili su i običaj obrezivanja. Preko njih je prenesen i među neke evropske narode kod kojih je do tada taj običaj bio nepoznat. Jače i trajnije je prihvaćen samo u onim zemljama, odnosno narodima, u kojima je islamizacija uhvatila dublji korijen. Takav slučaj u Evropi je s Bosnom i Albanijom.

Kad je u pitanju Bosna, treba uzeti u obzir okolnosti i način na koji je zemlja osvojena od strane Turske i kako se odvijala islamizacija u njoj. To je bilo u uskoj vezi s odnosom onovremene kršćanske Evrope prema stanovnicima Bosne koji nisu slijedili učenje zvanične (kršćanske) crkve, nego su imali vjeru čije su se osnove temeljile na dualizmu, što je za kršćansku Evropu bilo heretičko učenje, a njeni sljedbenici su smatrani hereticima (krivovjernicima). Kad su sredinom 15. stoljeća Turci osvojili Bosnu, stvoreni su preduvjeti da se domaće stanovništvo upozna s vjerom osvajača, a to je bio islam. Spletom niza historijskih okolnosti koje su pratile

ceremony that accompanies circumcision.²³ Circumcision eventually became a general characteristic of Islam and even those who subsequently accept the Islamic faith are subjected to it, regardless of the fact that it is not a requirement. In this case, circumcision has more of a psychological meaning, through which the convert believes that he becomes a Muslim “de jure”.

Islam and the Spread of Circumcision

Considering the fact that Islam appeared and finally took shape in the Arab world, it is understandable that the religion took over most of its practical and ethical content from the traditions of that people. On this basis, other peoples who accepted Islam adopted the custom of circumcision, considering it a compulsory act in order to become true followers of that religion.

The Arabs, who inherited this custom from the pagan era, did not break with this tradition even in their new religious life. When people accepted Islam, they also accepted circumcision even if they were previously unaware of this practice, and it became a part of their tradition. Thus, with the spread of Islam, the custom of circumcision also spread. The Arabs had the greatest influence in this regard during the era of the great conquests when Islam experienced its greatest expansion. A few hundred years later, the mission of spreading Islam was taken over by the Turks. When they accepted Islam, they also accepted the practice of circumcision with their new faith. Consequently, some European nations accepted this practice. It is more strongly and permanently accepted only in those countries in which Islamization has taken a deeper root. Such is the case in Europe with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania.

²³ Wensinck 1927, 1029; Levy 1950, 411 - 412



Slika 17. Kolektivno sunećenje dječaka (Bošnjaka) u Sandžaku (Srbija)
Fig. 17 Collective circumcision of boys (Bosniaks) in Sandzak (Serbia)

političko stanje u Bosni pred tursko osvajanje (napadi evropskih križara i djelovanje inkvizicije protiv sljedbenika domaće, bogumilske vjere itd.), doprinijelo je da stanovništvo masovno primi islam, a s njime i tradiciju obrezivanja. Ubrzo nakon turskog osvajanja, najveći dio bosanskog stanovništva primanjem islama preuzeo je i taj običaj koji i danas slijede ovdašnji muslimani.

Obrezivanje djevojčica

Kod mnogih naroda bio je običaj, koji se u nekim zemljama još prakticira, da se obrezuju i djevojčice (excisione). Starogrčki historičar Strabon pisao je o tom običaju u Egiptu. U nekim zemljama slijede ga i pripadnici islama kod kojih se naziva “khafd”. I danas je prisutan u nekim zemljama afričkog i azijskog područja. Kod Jevreja se nije nikada primjenjivao, dok je bio poznat Inkama u Južnoj Americi i nekim zajednicama u Australiji.

Obrezivanje djevojčica također vuče korijen iz daleke prošlosti, ali je bilo manje

When it comes to Bosnia and Herzegovina, one should take into account the circumstances of the Turkish conquest and the process of Islamization. This was closely related to the relationship of Christian Europe at the time towards the inhabitants of Bosnia, who did not follow the teachings of the official (Christian) church, but had a faith whose foundations were based on dualism, which for Christian Europe was a heretical teaching, and its followers were considered misbelievers (heretics). When the Turks conquered Bosnia in the middle of the 15th century, preconditions were created for the local population to become familiar with the religion of the conquerors i.e., Islam. A combination of a series of historical circumstances that followed the political situation in Bosnia before the Turkish conquest (attacks by European crusaders and action of the Inquisition against followers of the local, Bogomil religion, etc.) contributed to the mass acceptance of Islam by the population, and with it the tradition of circumcision. Shortly after the Turkish conquest, the majority of the Bosnian population accepted Islam and adopted this practice, which is still followed by local Muslims today.

rašireno od običaja obrezivanja dječaka. Kod nekih arapskih plemena nepoznato je, dok ga drugi primjenjuju selektivno, a treći bez izuzetka. To govori da ovaj običaj nije ni u jednoj sredini imao opće značenje. Kao takav nije ni u islamskom svijetu općeprihvaćen, niti se igdje dovodi u vezu s vjerskom obavezom.

O ovom običaju iznijeta su razna mišljenja. Po nekima i u ovom slučaju radi se o kultu plodnosti, a to znači da je razlog obrezivanja isti kao u slučaju obrezivanja dječaka, to jest veže se za inicijaciju, čime se označava da je djevojčica postala seksualno zrela i sposobna za rađanje potomstva. Kao prilog tom objašnjenju navodi se podatak da se obrezivanje uglavnom obavlja u doba puberteta, čime djevojčica postaje zrela žena. Međutim, u nekim zajednicama to se obavlja u dobi između 2. i 6. godine, a kod nekih kad se dijete prvi put iznese izvan kuće. Ima sredina u kojim je običaj da se to izvodi pred samu udaju.

Danas je općeprihvaćeno mišljenje da je razlog tog običaja sasvim druge prirode, Tim operativnim zahvatom kod djevojčica, odnosno budućih žena, umrtvljuje se želja, odnosno nagon za općenjem. To se izvodi rezanjem dražice (klitorisa) koja sadrži osjetno tkivo, čijim se nadražajem izaziva spolno uzbuđenje. To je preventiva da tako obrezana žena počini preljubu, odnosno prevari muža, ili ako je u pitanju djevojka, manja je mogućnost da osramoti porodicu. U pitanju su zajednice u kojima se na ženu gleda kao na predmet kojoj je dužnost samo da radi i rađa potomstvo, pod oštrom kontrolom muških članova zajednice.

U nekim sredinama obrezivanje djevojčica se obavlja tajno, bez znanja muških članova. Na Javi se prigodna svečanost naziva "suna", a u Sudanu "gusaran", što ustvari znači "glačanje zuba", vjerovatno

Circumcision of Young Girls

Female genital circumcision (excision) was a custom in many countries and it is practiced in some regions even today. The ancient Greek historian Strabo wrote about this custom in Egypt. In some countries, it is also followed by members of Islam, where it is called "khafd". It is still present in some countries in Africa and Asia. It was never used among Jews, while it was known to the Incas in South America and some communities in Australia.

Female circumcision has its roots in the distant past, but it was less widespread than male circumcision. Some Arab tribes do not follow this custom, some selectively, and some without exception. This means that this practice did not have a general meaning in any of these tribes. As such, it is not generally accepted in the Islamic world, nor is it anywhere associated with religious obligation.

There are different opinions about this practice. According to some, it represents a fertility cult which means that the reason for circumcision is the same as in the case of circumcising boys i.e., it is tied to initiation, which indicates that the girl has become sexually mature and capable of bearing offspring. As a contribution to this explanation, it is mentioned that circumcision is mostly performed at the time of puberty, which makes a girl a mature woman. However, in some communities it is done between the ages of 2 and 6, and in some when the child is taken outside the home for the first time. There are communities where it is customary to perform it before the wedding.

Today, it is a generally accepted opinion that the reason for this custom is of a completely different nature. With this operation, the desire, i.e., the drive for intercourse is numbed in the girl, and the future women. This is done by cutting the clitoris, which contains sensitive tissue, the stimulation of which causes sexual arousal.



Slika 18. U mnogim zemljama Azije, Afrike, Bliskog Istoka i Južne Amerike također se obrezuju djevojčice

Fig. 18 In many countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and South America, girls are also circumcised

zato što se obrezivanje obavlja rezanjem ili izrezivanja malih usni vagine i dražice. U nekim slučajevima režu se samo njeni dijelovi. Kod nekih naroda vlada običaj da se privremeno (do udaje) mehanički zatvori vaginalni otvor nekom vrstom kopče ili se zašije. Smisao toga je da se na taj način eventualno onemogući nekontrolirani odnos s muškom osobom, bilo kao djevojke ili kao udate žene. Osoba koja obrezuje djevojčice uvijek je starija iskusna žena. Nosi razne nazive, pa se tako za sina te žene kaže “Ibn nukatti’at-Buzar” (sin one koja obrezuje žene). (Wensinck, 1927: 1029) U svakom slučaju taj vid operacije je krajnje bolan, a ponekad može imati tragične fizičke i psihičke, pa i smrtne posljedice.

Slavlje u čast obrezivanja

U mnogim zemljama obrezivanje muške djece predstavlja svečani čin praćen veseljem. Tako, naprimjer, u Saudijskoj Arabiji, ili tačnije u Meki, za tu priliku dječake oblače u svečanu odjeću i na konju ih vode kroz naselje. Povorku predvode svirači i pjevači. Neposredno iza dječaka

This is a preventive measure intended to prevent a circumcised woman from committing adultery, i.e., from cheating her husband, or if it is a girl, she is less likely to embarrass the family.

In some areas, female circumcision is performed secretly without the knowledge of male members. In Java, the appropriate ceremony is called “suna”, and in Sudan “gusaran”, which actually means “brushing the teeth”, probably because circumcision is performed by cutting or excision of the labia minora of the vagina. In some cases, only a part of the labia minora is cut. In some nations, there is a custom to temporarily (until marriage) mechanically close the vaginal opening with some kind of clip or to sew it up. The purpose of this is to prevent an uncontrolled relationship with a male person, either as a girl or as a married woman. The person who circumcises girls is always an older experienced woman. She has various names, so the son of that woman is called “Ibn nukatti’at-Buzar” (the son of the one who circumcises women).²⁴ In any case, this type of operation is extremely painful and can

²⁴ Wensinck 1927, 1029.

jedna od žena nosi kadionicu u kojoj tinja ugalj na kojem se kadi mirisna smola i so. Operacija se izvodi pri izlasku sunca, nakon čega se priređuje gozba. (Wensinck, 1927: 1029)

U Turskoj obrezivanje predstavlja posebno svečan čin i obično se obavlja masovno. Djecu obuku u svečano ruho i vode ih kroz naselje. Nakon toga se prinesu krvne žrtve (kurbani), iza čega slijedi molitva, a potom se pristupa obrezivanju. Ranije su to obavljali barbiri (berberi, brijači ili seoski vidari), uz prisutnost imama koji obavlja prigodne molitve. To je ujedno općenarodna svečanost s gozбом u kojoj učestvuje sve mjesno stanovništvo. U staroj Turskoj, kad se obrezivao princ, to je bio državni praznik. Za tu priliku su pozivani na dvor najveći dostojanstvenici Carstva, kao i predstavnici evropskih dvorova. (Mouradgea D'Ohsson, 1787: 231 i d.)

Kod muslimana na Javi u Indoneziji dječake koje obrezuju vode na grob pretka, gdje se donosi cvijeće, tamjan i drugi pokloni, a onda se obavi molitva. Na drugom otocima te zemlje obrezivanje se povezuje sa svečanostima zvanim "Khatm" ili "Kataman" koje sadržavaju razne obrede. U mnogim slučajevima to je u suštosti suprotnosti s islamskim normama.

U nekim malezijskim i indonezijskim sredinama običava se naknadno obrezivanje, koje je dosta rašireno i na pacifičkim otocima (Di Nola 1972, Scotti 1958). Kada su u pitanju neke muslimanske sredine u tom dijelu svijeta, to se obavlja pred polazak na hodočašće u Meku, što se ne može dovesti u vezu s islamom. Kod nekih plemena u unutrašnjosti Saudijske Arabije neki obredi koji prate obrezivanje također sadrže neke elemente koji potječu iz preislamskog doba. Ima sredina u kojima se dječaci obrezuju pred ženidbu u prisustvu

sometimes have tragic physical and psychological consequences, even death.

Celebration in Honor of Circumcision

In many countries, the circumcision of male children represents a solemn act accompanied by rejoicing. So, for example, in Saudi Arabia, or more precisely in Mecca, boys are dressed in formal clothes and taken through the village on horseback for this occasion. The procession is led by musicians and singers. Directly behind the boy, one of the women is carrying a censer in which smoldering coals are used to burn fragrant resin and salt. The operation is performed at sunrise, after which a feast is held.²⁵

In Turkey, circumcision is a particularly solemn act and it is usually performed in a group. The children are dressed in festive clothes and lead through the village. After that, they offer blood sacrifices (Qurbani), pray, and then the circumcision begins. Previously, this was done by barbers (half-doctors or village seers), with the presence of an imam who performed appropriate prayers. It also represents a national celebration with a feast in which all the local population participates. In old Turkey, when a prince was circumcised, it was a state holiday. For this occasion, the greatest dignitaries of the Empire as well as representatives of European courts were invited to the court.²⁶

Among the Muslims in Java, Indonesia, the circumcised boys are taken to the grave of an ancestor, where flowers, incense, and other gifts are brought, and then a prayer is performed. On other islands of that country, circumcision is associated with ceremonies called "Khatm" or "Kataman",

²⁵ Ibidem

²⁶ D'Ohsson 1787, 231, etc.



Slika 19. U svim sredinama priređuje se slavlje u čast obrezivanja dječaka
Fig. 19 All communities organize a celebration in honor of the circumcision of boy

svoje vjerenice koja prati taj čin. Ukoliko mladić pokaže znak bola dok ga obrezuju, smatra se nedoraslim i svadba se otkazuje.

Ritual i tehnika obrezivanja

Način na koji se vrši obrezivanje i obred koji to prati u uskoj je vezi s vremenom, prostorom i vjerskom pripadnosti zajednice u kojoj se to obavlja. Kada je u pitanju obrezivanje djevojčica, u nekim sredinama pred operaciju stružu (oštre) im zube. To, kao i samu operaciju, po pravilu, obavlja starija iskusna žena koja se u raznim sredinama različito naziva.

Kada su u pitanju dječaci, kod Jevreja je u biblijsko doba novorođeno muško dijete po pravilu obrezivao otac ili majka, uvijek osmog dana od rođenja. U kasnije doba obrezivanje je obavljalo stručno lice zvano “môhel” (obrezivač). Pomagao mu je tzv. “sandîkôs” (sandak), koji je za vrijeme obrezivanja držao dijete na koljenima. Tokom operacije sandak je sjedio na posebnoj stolici zvana “stolica proroka Elia”. Dijete se postavljalo na koljena sandaka koji na poseban način uklješti ruke

which include various rituals. In many cases, this custom is in contrast to Islamic norms.

In some Malaysian and Indonesian areas, subsequent circumcision is customary, which is also quite widespread on the Pacific islands.²⁷ When it comes to some Muslim communities in that part of the world, this is done before going on the pilgrimage to Mecca, which cannot be associated with Islam. Among some tribes in the interior of Saudi Arabia, some rites accompanying circumcision also contain some elements dating back to pre-Islamic times. There are communities where boys are circumcised before marriage in the presence of their fiancée who accompanies the act. If the young man shows signs of pain while being circumcised, he is considered immature and the wedding is cancelled.

Circumcision: Ritual and Technique

The way in which circumcision is performed and the rite that accompanies it is closely related to the time, space, and

²⁷ Di Nola 1972, 244 etc; Scotti 1958, 636.

i noge djeteta da se ne može pomaknuti. Rezanje kože (prepucija) izvodi se tako da je obrezivač navuče preko glavića i vještim potezom s kremenim nožem odsiječe višak koji visi preko glavića.

Obred je započinjao prigodnim molitvama kojim se prizivao blagoslov za dijete. Jedan dio je izgovarao otac djeteta, a drugi operater. Nakon završene operacije, djetetu je davano ime, a potom je slijedilo blagosiljanje i svečani obred kojem je prisustvovao najbliži rod. Počasno mjesto imao je *môhel* i *sandîkôs*, to jest njegov pomagač. (Stano 1949, 1704; Encyclopedia judaica V, 1974: 571)

Kod zaostalih naroda i plemena kod kojih je obrezivanje imalo značenje inicijacije, obred je bio praćen raznim magijskim radnjama. U većini slučajeva obavljalo se kolektivno. Dječake iste dobi postroje i operater redom obrezuje jednog po jednog. Kako je riječ o dječacima poodmakle dobi koji su ovim činom prelazili u red odraslih, odnosno u kastu ratnika i spolno zrelih članova zajednice, operateru nije trebao pomagač. Dječaci su mirno podnosili operaciju. Onaj koji bi pokazao znak bola i straha, nije mogao biti iniciran.

Kako i kod muslimana običaj obrezivanja potječe iz predislamskog doba i kako ni kod njih nema vjersko značenje, obred nije jedinstven i razlikuje se od zemlje do zemlje. U većini slučajeva prožet je paganskim običajima. U Meki obred obrezivanja nazivaju "tahar". Upotreba tamjana i soli u ceremoniji, kao i to da se čin obrezivanja izvodi pri izlasku sunca, jasno ukazuje na običaj koji potječe iz doba koje je prethodio islamu.

Na Javi u Indoneziji se za ceremonijal pripremaju različita jela koja imaju magijsko značenje. Nakon obavljene operacije, uzvanicima se ona nude prema društvenoj

religious affiliation of the community in which it is performed. In regards to female circumcision, their teeth are scraped (sharpened) before the operation in some areas. As a rule, this, as well as the operation itself, is performed by an older, experienced woman, who is called differently in various areas.

In biblical times, a Jewish newborn male child was circumcised by his mother or father on the eighth day after birth. In later times, circumcision was performed by an expert called "*môhel*" (circumciser). He was helped by the so-called "*sandîkôs*" (sandak), who held the child on his knees during circumcision.

During the operation, the sandak was sitting on a special chair called "Prophet Elia's chair". The child was placed on the sandak's knees, who held the child's arms and legs so that the child cannot move. When cutting the foreskin (prepuce), the circumciser pulls the skin over the glans and, with skillful precision, uses a flint knife to cut off the excess that hangs over the glans.

The ceremony began with appropriate prayers invoking a blessing for the child. One part was spoken by the child's father and the other by the circumciser. After the operation was completed, the child was given a name, followed by a blessing and a solemn ceremony attended by the closest relatives. The place of honor was held by the *môhel* and *sandîqôs*, i.e. the circumciser and his assistant.²⁸

Among primitive peoples and tribes where circumcision was associated with initiation, the ceremony was accompanied by various magical acts. In most cases, it was done collectively. The boys of the same age were lined up and they were circumcised one by one. As we are talking about boys of advanced age who by this

²⁸ Stano 1949, 1704; Encyclopedia Judaica, V, 571.



Slika 20. U najstarije doba obrezivalo se komadićem kremena
Fig. 20 In ancient times, circumcision was performed with a piece of flint

kategoriji. U nekim zemljama neposredno pred operaciju dječak mora izgovoriti ili pročitati nekoliko poglavlja iz Kur'ana. Kod nekih, pak, operaciji prethodi procesija u kojoj se dječaci koji se trebaju obrezati voze na posebnoj vrsti kola koja su ukrašena životinjskim likovima, što je bez sumnje ostatak totemskog obreda. Djeca su obučena u svečano ruho, ukrašena nakitom, a goli dijelovi tijela se premazuju mastima.

act were passing into the ranks of adults, that is, into the caste of warriors and sexually mature members of the community, the operator did not need an assistant. The boys calmly endured the operation. One who would show signs of pain and fear could not be initiated.

As the custom of circumcision among Muslims also originates from the pre-Islamic era and as it has no religious significance for them either, the rite is not unique and differs from country to country. In

U nekim sredinama također na Javi, djeca prije i poslije operacije moraju mirovati i izbjegavati vruću hranu, jer po tamošnjem vjerovanju to donosi nesreću. Nakon obavljene operacije, dijete stavljaju u krilo žene koja je više puta rađala, kako bi se njezina plodnost prenijela na obrezano dijete. (Hurgronje 1931)

U nekim mjestima u Egiptu dječake preoblače u ženske haljinice, vode ih na grob pretka i tamo im peru glavu, a potom se priređuje ritualna gozba. U drugim mjestima glave im prekrivaju mahramama kako bi se dijete zaštitilo od uroka.

U mnogim sredinama rašireno je vjerovanje da su djeca koja se obrezuju podložna urocima pa se iz tog razloga poduzimaju razne radnje. Obično se kade posebnom vrstom smole, obavljaju se molitve, prinose krvne žrtve, na dijete se stavljaju određeni magijski znaci, hamajlije i sl. U nekim zemljama, kao naprimjer u Turskoj, obredi koji prate čin obrezivanja imaju sadržaje kojima je cilj da pojačaju snagu obrezanog djeteta i da ga učine hrabrim ratnikom. U tu svrhu priređuju se natjecanja u trčanju, gađanju lukom i strijelom ili iz puške, a onda se dječaci bogato daruju. (Mouradgea D'Ohsson, 1787: 231 i d.)

I kod balkanskih naroda, pa tako i kod bosanskih muslimana, obrezivanje je praćeno sličnim sadržajem. I tu se operater zove "berbo", koji je po struci obično brijač priučen i za obrezivanje. Sami čin obrezivanja naziva se "sunet" ili "sunećenje". Izvodi se uglavnom pojedinačno u roditeljskom domu, uz prisutnost oca, imama i najbližih srodnika. Obred započinje prigodnom molitvom iz Kur'ana, a završava se svečanom gozbom (sofrom). Uvijek se gleda da to bude "uoči petka". Dob djeteta se kreće od jednog mjeseca starosti pa do dječачke dobi. I ovdje se obrezano

most cases, it is imbued with pagan customs. In Mecca, the ritual of circumcision is called "Tahar". The use of incense and salt in the ceremony, as well as the fact that the act of circumcision is performed at sunrise, clearly indicate that this custom dates back to the pre-Islamic era.

In Java, Indonesia, they prepare various dishes that have a magical meaning for the ceremony. After the operation, the guests are offered the dishes according to their social status. In some countries, just before the operation, the boy must recite or read several chapters from the Quran. For some, however, the operation is preceded by a procession in which the boys, who are to be circumcised, ride on a special type of cart decorated with animal figures, which is undoubtedly a remnant of a totemic ritual. The children are dressed in festive clothes, decorated with jewelry, and the naked parts of their bodies are smeared with ointment.

In some parts of Java, children must rest before and after surgery and avoid hot food, because according to the local belief, it brings bad luck. After the operation, the child is placed in the lap of a woman who has given birth several times, so that her fertility is transferred to the circumcised child.²⁹

In some places of Egypt, they dress the boys in women's clothes, take them to the grave of their ancestors and wash their heads before the ritual feast. In other places, their heads are covered with shawls to protect the children from spells.

In many communities, there is a widespread belief that children who are circumcised are subject to spells so various actions are taken for this reason.

They usually bathe children with a special type of resin, perform prayers, offer blood sacrifices, and place certain magical signs and charms on the child. In some countries, such as Turkey, the rites that accompany the act of circumcision have

²⁹ Hurgronje 1925- 6, 205, etc.



Slika 21. U današnje vrijeme obrezivanje se obavlja na savremen način
Fig. 21 Nowadays, circumcision is performed in a modern way

dijete bogato daruje, najčešće zlatnicima, a u siromašnim sredinama barem jajetom. Dešava se i to da se nakon nekog vremena obrezivanje djeteta ponovi. To je u slučajevima ako nije obavljeno kako treba, to jest ako vrh kože nije dovoljno odrezan pa ud izgleda kao neobrezan.

Kod mnogih naroda običaj je da se dijete prije kao i poslije operacije okupa. To svakako ima praktični smisao, kao i stavljanje raznih mehlema na ranu da ranica brzo zaraste.

Slučajevi djece koja su rođena kao da su obrezana

U vjerskoj i historijskoj literaturi poznati su slučajevi da je bilo djece koja su na svijet došla i koja su po svemu izgledala kao da su obrezana. S gledišta savremene medicine takvi slučajevi su mogući, ali veoma rijetki. Dakako, ne radi se o obrezanom djetetu u doslovnom smislu. U normalnim

content that aims to increase the strength of the circumcised child and make him a brave warrior. For this purpose, they organize competitions in running, shooting with a bow and arrow, or with a rifle, and then they give various gifts to the boys.³⁰

Among the Balkan peoples, as well as among the Bosnian Muslims, circumcision is similarly performed. The circumciser is called “berbo” and he is usually a barber trained in circumcision. The act of circumcision itself is called “sunset” or “sunećenje” (ar. sunnah). It is performed individually in the parents’ home, with the presence of the father, imam, and closest relatives. The ceremony begins with an appropriate prayer from the Quran and ends with a festive feast (bs. sofra). It is mostly performed on the eve of Friday. The child’s age ranges from one month old to boyhood. The child is showered with gifts – the ones who can afford give a gold coin and in poor areas the children get at least an egg. In some cases, the procedure is repeated if

³⁰ D’Ohsson 1787, 231, etc.

okolnostima kod svakog rođenog djeteta kožica spolovila je duga i prekriva cijeli glavić. Može se ogoliti samo ako se kožica povuče unazad, dok je kod rijetko rođene djece kožica kratka i ne pokriva glavić pa po svemu izgleda kao da je dijete obrezano.

Tako rođenu djecu, dakako, nije trebalo obrezati. Kako su takvi slučajevi rijetki, s medicinskog gledišta smatraju se fenomenom, a u staro doba se kod svih naroda to smatralo Božijim znakom, odnosno znamenjem, pa je takvo dijete u sredini u kojoj je živilo obožavano i poštovano kao Božije poslanje. I danas u nekim sredinama u Africi tako rođeno dijete smatraju "blagoslovom Neba". Isti je slučaj s djecom koja se rode s ekstremno bijelom pigmentacijom, kod kojih je koža svijetloružičasta, kosa bijela i tanka, a mrežnica oka crvena (medicinski slučaj zvan albinizam). Takvi u zajednici postaju vrači ili poglavice plemena.

Historijski izvori su zabilježili da je u određenim okolnostima životni put takvo rođeno djece bio poseban i postali su historijske ličnosti. Nije slučajnost da za najpoznatije biblijske ili kur'anske ličnosti predanje kaže da su se rodili obrezani. Takav je bio Adam, Šet, Henok Noa, Josip, Mojsije, Samuel, David, Izaija i Jeremija. Neka predanja to kažu i za Joba, Balaama, Zenubabela, kao i za Isusa (Luka, 2:21–23). Jedan od posljednjih velikih ljudi za kojeg se kaže da je na svijet došao kao obrezan bio je vjerovjesnik Muhamed. (Grevs i Patai, 1969: 109 i 19; Stano, 1949: 1706)

Dob obrezivanja djeteta

Izuzev Jevreja, ni kod jednog drugog naroda nije strogo određena dob kad dijete treba obrezati. Izgleda da ni u starom Egiptu

the circumcision is not properly performed or the penis looks uncircumcised.

In many nations, it is customary for the child to bathe before surgery. This certainly makes practical sense, as well as putting various ointments on the wound so that the wound heals quickly.

Children Who Were Born Circumcised

There are known cases in religious and historical literature that there were children who were born and who looked as if they had been circumcised. From the point of view of modern medicine, such cases are possible but very rare. Of course, it is not about a circumcised child in the literal sense. Under normal circumstances, the foreskin of every born child is long and covers the entire head and it can be exposed only if the foreskin is pulled back. Rarely, some children are born with a short foreskin that does not cover the head, so it looks as if the child has been circumcised.

Of course, children born this way did not need to be circumcised. Since such cases are rare, from a medical point of view they are considered a phenomenon, and in ancient times, among all nations, this was considered a sign of God. Thus, these children were worshiped and respected as God's mission. Even today, in some areas in Africa, a child born this way is considered a "blessing of Heaven". The same is with children who are born with extreme white pigmentation, where the skin is light pink, the hair is white and thin and the retina of the eye is red (a medical condition called albinism). They often become healers or chieftains of the tribe. Historical sources recorded that in certain circumstances the life path of children born this way was special and they became important figures. It is no coincidence that the

to nije bilo strogo propisano. Na reljefima gdje je prikazan čin operacije, dječaci su u dobi između 6. i 12. godine.

S obzirom na to da je kod Jevreja običaj obrezivanja bio strogo vjerski propisan, kao i čin kako se to obavlja, bila je propisana i dob. Po biblijskom predanju Bog je Abrahamu naredio da se dijete mora obrezati osmog dana od rođenja (Postanak, 17:12), čega su se Jevreji dosljedno pridržavali kroz sva kasnija razdoblja, pa čak i ako je to trebalo obaviti subotom.

Kod ostalih naroda nije postojao propis o tome pa se može govoriti o običaju sredine jer se, naprimjer, u istoj vjerskoj ili etničkoj zajednici razlika kreće i do 15 godina. Kod nekih, dob se određuje nasumično, od vremena do vremena. Kod zaostalih plemena obrezivanje se obavlja u poodmakloj dobi, kada djeca ulaze u pubertet.

U ovoj dobi obrezivanje se obavlja kod skoro svih afričkih plemena, zatim u Australiji, Maleziji i Pacifičkim otocima. Međutim, i tu ima razlike, na što su utjecali određeni faktori. Kod nekih australskih plemena dijete se obrezuje tek kad mu se ukažu prve dlake na licu, a kod drugih kad bude u stanju učiniti neko djelo vrijedno divljenja, da savlada kakvu opasnu zvijer i sl. Kod Asteka i Maja djeca su se obrezivala u dobi od jednog mjeseca.

Kod muslimana ta dob se kreće od 7. dana rođenja do 15. godine života, što zavisi od ustaljene tradicije sredine u kojoj dijete živi. Na to su utjecala i razna teološka tumačenja. Po jednima, dijete je zabranjeno obrezati prije nego što napuni 10 godina života, dok drugi preporučuju da se to obavi sedmog dana po rođenju.

Neka plemena, kao u Hadramiti u južnoj Arabiji, koji se čvrsto pridržavaju svojih plemenskih običaja, djecu obrezuju četrdesetog dana od rođenja. U Meki se

most famous persons from the Bible and the Quran have been born circumcised: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noa, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Some writings also include Job, Balaam, and Zerubbabel. One of the last great men known to have been born circumcised was the prophet, Muhammad.³¹

The Age of a Circumcised Child

With the exception of the Jews, no other nation has a strictly defined age when a child should be circumcised. It seems that it was not strictly prescribed even in ancient Egypt. The reliefs about circumcision portrayed boys between the ages of 6 and 12.

The custom and procedure of circumcision was strictly ordered to the Jews as well as the age of children. According to biblical tradition, God commanded Abraham that the child must be circumcised on the eighth day since birth (Genesis, 17:12), and the Jews followed it through all subsequent periods, even if it had to be done on the Sabbath.

In other nations, there was no regulation about this so the difference can be up to 15 years in the same religious or ethnic community from different demographic backgrounds. Some people determined the age for circumcision arbitrarily. Some primitive tribes performed circumcision at an advanced age, when children enter puberty.

Circumcision is performed at this age in almost all African tribes, as well as in Australia, Malaysia, and the Pacific Islands. However, there are some differences as well and they are influenced by certain factors. In some Australian tribes, a child is circumcised when the first facial hair appears, and in others, when he can do something admirable, for example, to overpower some dangerous beast. The

³¹ Greys / Patai, 1969. 109, 194; Stano 1949, 1706.



Slika 22. U nekim dijelovima svijeta obrezivanje se obavlja u poodmakloj dobi
Fig. 22 In some parts of the world, circumcision is performed at an advanced age

djeca obrezuju između 3. i 7. godine života, a kod jugozapadnih Arapa 7, 14, 21. ili 28. dana od rođenja. U Egiptu se obrezuju između 5. i 6. godine, a u Turskoj u 7. godini života. Pleme Mazequos u istočnoj Africi običava obrezivanje između 1. i 2. mjeseca starosti djeteta. Kod Arapa u sjevernoj Africi dob se kreće od 7. dana do 13. godine života, a kod nekih crnačkih plemena između 10. i 15. godine života. Kršćanski Kopti običavaju obrezivati svoju djecu između 6. i 18. godine života, a abesinski kršćani u 6, 7. ili 8. godini starosti. (Wensinck, 1927: 1029 i d.)

Ni kod balkanskih muslimana nema strogo određene dobi, ali se to obično čini između 3. i 6. godine života, zavisno od mjesta, odnosno regije. Kod nekih se preporučuje dob kad je dijete već svjesno da bi i samo pazilo na ranicu. U svakom slučaju, riječ je o ritualu koji se može obaviti u svakom razdoblju djetinjstva, počev

Aztecs and Mayans circumcised their children at the age of one month.

For Muslims, the age ranges from the seventh day of birth to the 15th year of life and it depends on the established tradition of the area in which the child lives. It was also influenced by various theological interpretations. According to some, it is forbidden to circumcise a child before he is 10 years old, while others recommend circumcising children on the seventh day after birth.

Some tribes who strictly adhere to their tribal customs, like those who live in the Hadramaut region in southern Arabia, circumcise their children on the fortieth day after birth. In Mecca, children are circumcised between the ages of 3 and 7, while southwestern Arabs circumcise their children on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th day after birth. In Egypt, they are circumcised between the ages of 5 and 6, and in Turkey at the age of 7. The Meskwaki tribe in East Africa practices circumcision between the 1st and 2nd month after birth. For Arabs



Slika 23. Jedan od primjera obrezivanja u poodmakloj dobi

Fig. 23 Even in developed parts of the world, circumcision is performed at an advanced age

od 7. dana rođenja do 18. godine života. U mnogim sredinama u svijetu povezuje se s drugim vjersko-magijskim obredima, kao što je prvo šišanje, brušenje ili vađenje zuba, bušenje nozdrva, usne, resice i sl.

Smisao i značenje obrezivanja

O tome kada se počeo primjenjivati običaj obrezivanja, s kojim ciljem i kakav mu je smisao, ni do danas se nije našlo zadovoljavajuće tumačenje, mada su iznijeta razna mišljenja. Kad bi se taj običaj vezao samo za jedan narod, jednu vjeroispovijest ili samo za jedno područje, odgovor bi se našao. S obzirom na to da je to široka prostorna i vremenska pojava, ne može se tumačiti s jedne tačke gledišta. To pitanje je skrenulo pažnju raznih struka, kako arheologa i historičara, tako liječnika, psihologa, filozofa i dr. Za istraživače je zbunjujuće da je obrezivanje bilo poznato narodima u onim dijelovima svijeta koji su hiljadama godina bili izolirani od ostalog svijeta. Takav je slučaj sa stanovnicima pacifičkih otoka, s urođenicima Australije i američkih

in North Africa, the age ranges from seven days to 13 years and for some black tribes, the age of circumcision varies between 10 and 15 years of age. Christian Copts usually circumcise their children between 6 and 18 years of age and Abyssinian Christians at 6, 7, or 8 years of age.³²

The age of circumcision is not strictly defined for Balkan Muslims either, but it is usually performed between the ages of 3 and 6, depending on the place or region. Some recommend circumcising the child when he is old enough to take care of his wound alone. In any case, it is a ritual that can be performed in any period of childhood, starting from the 7th day after birth until the 18th year of life. In many areas of the world, it is associated with other religious and magical rites, such as the first haircut, grinding or extraction of teeth, piercing of nostrils, lips, earlobe, etc.

The Meaning and Significance of Circumcision

There are different opinions about the origin of this practice, its purpose and

³² Wensinck 1927, 1029, etc.

kontinenata, za koje je svijet saznao tek nakon velikih geografskih otkrića.

U jednoj od najstarijih verzija mitskog kazivanja o Adamu, spominje se Lilit, prvo žensko stvorenje, koje je bilo zloduh koji je napadao novorođenčad. Po tom kazivanju najbolja zaštita je da se dijete obreže, a ako je u pitanju žensko, treba nad njim obaviti određeni magijski obred. Na zidu prostorije u kojoj leži majka i dijete nacrt se krug izvučen natronom ili drvenim ugljem, a unutar njega ispišu se riječi "Adam i Eva. Van Lilit!" Uz to bi se na vrata ispisala imena: Senoj, Sansenoy i Semangelof, čije značenje nije jasno. (Grevs i Patai, 1969: 67)

Da se obrezivanje može dovesti u vezu s kultom plodnosti, kako je naprijed spominjano, na to upućuju običaji kod zaostalih plemena, ali i kod nekih naprednih naroda starih kontinenata. Kultovi plodnosti kod Grka i Rimljana koji se odnose kako na ljude tako na stoku i usjeve (Cerera, Perzefona, Flora, Terra Mater, Dioniz i dr.) bili su među najvažnijim. Ranije je spomenuto da je uobičajeni nakit njihovih žena ima oblik muškog uda (falusa). Zavrjeđuje pažnju i mišljenje koje obrezivanje tumači kao zaostatak običaja kad se dijete žrtvovalo nekom od bogova ili duhu. Možda bi na to upućivao običaj kod nekih zajednica da se odrezana kožica pojede, spali ili se stavi u pepeo ili pijesak da se sačuva za duže vrijeme.

Kod nekih naroda odrezana kožica ima značenje ratnog trofeja. Naime, kad bi se sukobile dvije zajednice, od kojih jedna nije slijedila običaj obrezivanja, tokom borbe nastojalo se da se pobijeđenom ili ubijenom ratniku odsiječe kožica sa spolovila jer predstavlja pobjednički trofej. O tome govori i biblijsko predanje kada, naprimjer, kralj Saul traži na dar

meaning, but there is no satisfactory interpretation even to this day. The answer would be found if this practice was only related to one nation, one religion, or only one region. Given that it is a broad spatial and temporal phenomenon, it cannot be interpreted from one point of view. This question has drawn the attention of various professions, both archaeologists and historians, as well as doctors, psychologists, philosophers, etc. For researchers, it is confusing that circumcision was known to people who were isolated from the rest of the world for thousands of years. Such is the case with the inhabitants of the Pacific islands, the natives of Australia, and the natives of the American continents, about whom the world found out only after great geographical discoveries.

One of the oldest versions of the mythical story of Adam mentions Lilith, the first female creature who was an evil spirit that attacked newborns. According to this tale, the best protection is to circumcise the child, and if it is a female, to perform certain magical rituals. They used to draw a circle with natron or charcoal on the wall of the room where the mother and child lie and write the following words inside the circle: "Adam and Eve. Van Lilith!" Additionally, the names Senoy, Sansenoy, and Semangelof would be written on the door and the meaning of these names is not clear.³³

That circumcision can be associated with the cult of fertility, as mentioned above, is indicated by the customs of primitive tribes, but also of some advanced nations of the old continents. Fertility cults among the Greeks and Romans, which referred to people, livestock, and crops (Ceres, Persephone, Flora, Terra Mater, Dionysus, etc.), were among the most important. It was mentioned above that the jewelry of their women had the shape of male genitalia (phallus). Thus, circumcision can be interpreted as a remnant

³³ Grevs / Patai 1968, 67.

100 filistejskih obrezaka (Samuel, 18:25). Kralj David je, pak, sam rezao kožice s pobijedenih neprijatelja.

Običaju obrezivanja posvetili su pažnju i filozofi. Neki u obrezivanju vide simbol metaforičnog značenja, a drugi smatraju da je riječ o simboličnom duhovnom obrezivanju, o podložnosti Bogu, stanju svijesti i srca. (Stano, 1949: 1703) Također je čuveni psihoanalitičar Freud pokušao objasniti tu pojavu. To čini na osnovi učenja o Edipovom kompleksu, kad sinovi, da bi okajali zabranjenu ljubav prema majci i želju za smrću oca, sami sebe kažnjavaju kastriranjem. Iz tog rituala, po Freudu, razvio se običaj obrezivanja, kao nadomjestak za kastriranje, odnosno ublaženi oblik samo-kažnjavanja. (Freud, 1969: 179–180) To tumačenje otpada s obzirom na to da je pojava obrezivanja mnogo starijeg datuma od nastanka grčkih mitova, odnosno da vuče korijen iz prethistorijskog doba. Sama činjenica da se običaj obrezivanja zadržao u mnogim sredinama govori o dubini njegovog značaja.

U raspravama o postanku ovog običaja iznesena su razna tumačenja, od kojih pažnju zavrđuje ono koje kaže da je na svim stranama svijeta taj običaj nastao spontano prirodnim nagonom kao briga da se reprodukcijom, to jest rađanjem, održi i poveća zajednica. Taj nagon je nesumnjivo doveo ljude do spoznaje da je obrezani ud manje podložen upalama koje izazivaju zaostale kapi mokraće čije curenje sprečava kožica, odnosno suženi vrh prepucija. U povoljnim uvjetima, osobito u zonama toplije klime, to često izaziva jake i bolne upale (parafimozu) i teža oboljenja cijelog mokraćnog trakta. To dovodi do ograničene ili potpune nesposobnosti za općenje, bez čega nema ni obnavljanja zajednice. Da bi se to spriječilo, ljudi su već u dalekoj

of the custom when a child was sacrificed to one of the gods or a spirit. Additionally, some communities used to eat the foreskin, burn it or put in ashes or sand to preserve it for a long time.

For some people, the cut-off foreskin has the meaning of a war trophy. Namely, when two communities clashed, one of which did not follow the custom of circumcision, during the fight they tried to cut off the foreskin from the genitals of the defeated or killed warriors because it represented a victory trophy. This is also mentioned in the biblical tradition when, for example, King Saul asks for 100 Philistine circumcisions as a gift (Samuel, 18:25). King David, on the other hand, cut the foreskins of defeated enemies himself.

Philosophers also paid attention to the practice of circumcision. Some see circumcision as a symbol of metaphorical meaning, while others believe that it is a symbolic spiritual circumcision, representing submission to God, the state of consciousness, and the heart.³⁴ The famous psychoanalyst Freud also tried to explain this phenomenon. He did this based on the teachings about the Oedipus complex, when sons, in order to atone for their forbidden love for their mother and desire for their father's death, punish themselves by castration. From that ritual, according to Freud, the custom of circumcision developed, as a substitute for castration, or a milder form of self-punishment.³⁵ This interpretation falls away considering that the appearance of circumcision is much older than the creation of Greek myths, i.e., it has its roots in prehistoric times. The fact that the custom of circumcision has been preserved in many communities speaks of the depth of its significance.

There are different interpretations presented in the debates about the origin of

³⁴ Stano 1949, 1703.

³⁵ Freud 1969, 179 - 180.

prošlosti spontano došli do spoznaje da se to može izbjeći obrezivanjem.

Koliko se zna, prvi koji se kritički osvrnuo na običaj obrezivanja bio je grčki historičar Herodot iz 5. stoljeća st. e. Opisujući taj običaj kod Egipćana kaže da oni to isključivo rade zbog čistoće, pošto više cijene čistoću nego ljepotu (Herodot, II, 37).

S time u vezi je i stav savremene medicine da mušku novorođenčad treba obrezati da se izbjegnu upale i teži oblici do kojih u takvim slučajevima dolazi. (Gjanković, 1963) U pitanju su, dakle, higijensko-zdravstveni razlozi, što je razlog da sve veći broj zemalja u svijetu slijedi preporuku zdravstvene struke i primjenjuje obrezivanje, bez obzira na rasnu, nacionalnu i vjersku pripadnost.

circumcision, but the one that attracts attention says that in all parts of the world, it arose spontaneously out of a natural urge as a concern to maintain and increase the community through reproduction, that is, giving birth. This drive undoubtedly led people to the realization that a circumcised penis is less susceptible to inflammation caused by residual drops of urine whose leakage is prevented by the foreskin, i.e., the narrowed tip of the foreskin. Under certain conditions, especially in areas with a warmer climate, this often causes severe and painful inflammation (paraphimosis), and serious diseases of the entire urinary tract, and thus limited or complete inability to have intercourse, without which there is no regeneration of a community. In order to prevent this, people already in the distant past spontaneously discovered that this can be avoided with the described procedure.

As far as we know, Herodotus (5th century BC) was the first person who critically observed the custom of circumcision and looked for meaning. While describing that practice among the Egyptians, he stated that they followed this custom only for “cleanliness sake” because the Egyptians appreciated cleanliness more than beauty (Herodotus, II: 37).

In this regard, the position of modern medicine is that male newborns should be circumcised to avoid inflammation and the more severe forms that occur in such cases.³⁶ Therefore, this practice has hygiene and health reasons and consequently, there is an increasing number of countries in the world that follow the recommendation of the health profession about circumcision, regardless of racial, national, and religious affiliations – the same reasons why people started practicing it thousands and thousands of years ago.

³⁶ Gjanković 1963, 353, etc.

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O usmenoj bajci o nesretnoj i progonjenoj djevojci u bošnjačkoj usmenoj književnosti

Notes on the oral fairy tale of the unfortunate and persecuted girl in Bosnian oral literature

Brojnost sižejnih obrazaca o nesretnoj djevojci čiji je život ispunjen nezamislivim iskušenjima, a koje su sačuvane u rukopisnim i objavljenim zbirkama, pokazuje da je to jedan od postojanijih sižejnih obrazaca u bošnjačkoj usmenopronoj tradiciji. Ove priče dijele sižejne obrasce s pričama ostalih evropskih naroda, ali sadržavaju obilježja sredine koja ih prenosi i osigurava trajnost. Da je priča o nesretnoj i progonjenoj djevojci zanimljiva sudionicima lanca usmene tradicije u 21. st. pokazuje primjer zabilježen u februaru 2024. godine u Sarajevu. Kazivanje pod naslovom *Kamenčić suburčić* važno je jer pokazuje prisutnost usmenih bajki u pripovjedačkim repertoarima današnjih kazivača, čija analiza može upotpuniti predstavu o stilu i jeziku usmene bajke koja se pripovijeda danas. Polazna pretpostavka rada jeste da usmena bajka u 21. st. ima obilježja stila klasične usmene bajke. Ciljevi rada ogledaju se u teorijskim okvirima analize i propitivanju jezika i stila usmene bajke zabilježene u bošnjačkoj sredini. Nakon analize i interpretacije, komparativnom metodom rada na tekstu zaključuje se da bajke u 21. st. zadržavaju obilježja stila usmene bajke.

Ključne riječi: usmena bajka, nesretna i progonjena djevojka, kamen sabur

The prevalence of plot patterns featuring an unhappy girl, whose life is filled with unimaginable hardships, preserved in both manuscript and published collections, highlights this as one of the most persistent plot patterns in Bosniak oral tradition. These stories coincide with the oral stories of other European nations but also contain characteristics of the environment that transmit them and ensure their permanence. An example recorded in February 2024 in Sarajevo underpins the hypothesis that the story of an unhappy and haunted girl is interesting to the participants of the oral tradition chain in the 21st century. The story-telling under the title *Kamenčić suburčić* [*The little stone of patience*] is important because it shows the presence of oral fairy tales in the storytelling repertoires of today's tellers, whose analysis can complete the idea of the style and language of oral fairy tales told today. The starting assumption of the work is that the oral fairy tale in the 21st century has the characteristics of a classic oral fairy tale style. The goals of the work are reflected in the theoretical analysis and questioning of the language and style of oral fairy tales recorded in the Bosniak environment. The analysis and interpretation of fairy tales included working on the text, which made it possible to conclude,

U usmenoknjiževnim tradicijama na južnoslavenskom prostoru naziv *bajka* koristi se za kazivanje u kojem dominira čudesni sadržaj. U ovom radu polazi se od književnoteorijskog određenja usmene bajke koje je ponuđeno u leksikonu *Narodna književnost*, u kojem uz natuknicu *bajka* stoji da je to priča u kojoj se “na maštovit način simbolično iznosi kakav umetnički sadržaj; narodna pripovetka fantastične sadržine, služi zabavi” (Pešić, Milošević-Đorđević, 1984: 22). Kao što je slučaj i s ostalim usmenim pričama, uloga bajki mijenjala se tokom vremena. Za proučavaoca usmene književnosti Vida Latkovića (1982: 84) funkcija usmene bajke jeste da zadovolji potrebe publike za estetskim doživljajima. Istovremeno, ona ima funkciju da publika tokom slušanja bajki i doživljavanja iluzija zaboravlja na svakodnevnicu. Bajka je priča koje omogućava pripovjedačima da grade svijet u kojem je sve moguće – da kuća ima moć zabrane ulaska i izlaska stanařima, da živi i mrtvi borave u sobi jedni pored drugih, da umrlı ožive nakon što su godinama bili mrtvi itd. Da se bajke pripovijedaju i danas, pokazuje primjer zabilježen 2024. godine u Vogošći kod Sarajeva. Polazna pretpostavka rada jeste da usmena bajka u 21. st. ima obilježja stila klasične usmene bajke. Ciljevi rada ogledaju se u teorijskim okvirima analize i propitivanju jezika i stila primjera zabilježenog u bošnjačkoj sredini. U radu se najprije sažeto prohodi kroz dosadašnja istraživanja o ovoj temi, potom se analizira i interpretira usmena priča te se naposljetku predstavljaju zaključna promišljanja o stilu, strukturi, jeziku i značenju bajke *Kamenčić suburčić*.

using the comparative method, that fairy tales in the 21st century retain the features of the oral fairy tale style.

Keywords: oral fairy tale, unhappy and haunted girl, *kamen sabur* (a patience stone)

In the oral literary traditions of the South Slavic region, the term *bajka* (fairy tale) refers to a narrative characterised by wondrous and fantastical content. This paper begins with the literary-theoretical definition of the oral fairy tale provided in the lexicon *Narodna književnost*, where *bajka* is described as “a story that “symbolically presents artistic content in an imaginative way; a folk tale with fantastical elements, serving as entertainment” (Pešić, Milošević-Đorđević, 1984: 22). As with other forms of oral storytelling, the role of fairy tales has changed over time. According to oral literature scholar Vida Latković (1982: 84), the primary function of the oral fairy tale is to satisfy the audience’s need for aesthetic experience. At the same time, it allows listeners to immerse themselves in its illusions and temporarily escape the realities of everyday life. A fairy tale is a story that allows storytellers to create a world where anything is possible—where a house can forbid its occupants from entering or leaving, where the living and the dead share the same room, and where the deceased come back to life after years in the grave. The continued presence of fairy tales in contemporary storytelling is demonstrated by an example recorded in 2024 in Vogošća, near Sarajevo. The starting premise of this study is that oral fairy tales in the 21st century retain the stylistic features of the classic oral tradition. The goals of the paper are framed within the theoretical analysis of the language and style of the example recorded in the Bosniak oral tradition. The paper begins with a concise overview of previous research on this topic, followed by the

1. Književni teoretičari i historičari o usmenim bajkama

Usmena bajka kao vrsta usmene proze bila je predmet književnoteorijskog promišljanja brojnih istraživača. Među proučavaocima usmene književnosti koji su uveliko doprinijeli razumijevanju bajke, njezina stila, strukture i motiva ističu se Jacob i Wilhelm Grimm, Vladimir Propp, Max Lüthi, Bruno Bettelheim, Maja Bošković-Stulli, Nada Milošević-Dorđević i dr.

Za razumijevanje strukture bajke od važnosti je studija *Morfologija bajke* Vladimira Proppa (1982). Radi se o studiji u kojoj je autor na osnovu upoređivanja većeg broja ruskih bajki došao do određenih saznanja o strukturi ove usmenoprozne vrste. Privlači pažnju da, prema ovom autoru, ključni uvjet za pripadnost neke priče usmenim bajkama nije čudesni sadržaj, nego posebna struktura. Prema Proppu, u bajkama su prisutne stalne i promjenjive veličine. Stalno prisutno jeste radnja ili funkcija lika, a promjenjivi su nazivi likova. Bajke ne moraju imati sve funkcije likova, ali je redoslijed funkcija istovjetan. Usmene bajke posjeduju, prema ovom autoru, 31 funkciju koje čine morfologiju bajke. U najvećem broju funkcije su svrstane po parovima (zabrana – kršenje, raspitivanje – odavanje, borba – pobjeda...), a ostale su raspoređene po grupama ili su samostalne. Osim funkcija likova, u usmenim bajkama stalan je i broj uloga po kojima se određeni likovi raspoređuju u bajkama. Radi se o sljedećim likovima: protivnik, darivalac, pomoćnik, careva kćer, pošiljalac, junak i lažni junak (up. Propp, 1982).

Za razliku od Proppa, koji se bavio propitivanjem strukture, Max Lüthi (Liti, 1994) istraživao je stil bajke, a rezultate

analysis and interpretation of the oral tale. Finally, it presents concluding reflections on the style, structure, language, and meaning of the fairy tale *Kamenčić suburčić*.

1. Literary Theorists and Historians on Oral Fairy Tales

The oral fairy tale, as a form of oral prose, has been the focus of literary-theoretical inquiry by many scholars. Among those who have significantly contributed to understanding its style, structure, and motifs are Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Vladimir Propp, Max Lüthi, Bruno Bettelheim, Maja Bošković-Stulli, Nada Milošević-Dorđević, and others.

A key work in understanding the structure of fairy tales is *Morfologija bajke* [Eng. Morphology of the Fairytale] by Vladimir Propp (1982). In this study, Propp conducted a comparative analysis of a large number of Russian fairy tales and uncovered fundamental insights into the structural principles of this oral narrative form. It is noteworthy that, according to this author, the defining characteristic of an oral fairy tale is not its miraculous content, but its distinct structure. Propp argues that fairy tales contain both constant and variable elements. The constant element is the action or function of the character, while the variable elements are the names of the characters. While fairy tales do not necessarily include all character functions, the sequence of these functions remains consistent. According to Propp, oral fairy tales are made up of 31 functions, which together form the morphology of the fairy tale. In most cases, the functions are grouped into pairs (e.g., prohibition – violation, inquiry – betrayal, struggle – victory, etc.), while others are either categorised into groups or stand-alone. In addition to the character functions, oral fairy tales consistently

istraživanja objavio je u studiji *Evropska narodna bajka*. Na osnovu analize usmenih bajki Lüthi je zaključio da su ključna obilježja stila ove vrste: jednodimenzionalnost, nedostatak dubinske perspektive, apstraktni i izolirajući stil te sublimni odraz svijeta. Jednodimenzionalnost se ogleda u tome što ne postoji distinkcija između natprirodnog i prirodnog svijeta. Sve je u bajkama dio bajkovitog svijeta u kojem je sve moguće. Dubinska perspektiva prepoznaje se u oblikovanju likova, prostora i vremena. U bajkama likovi nisu psihološki nijansirani, oni nemaju prošlost niti budućnost. Pripovjedači se ne zadržavaju na opisima prostora, a čini se da ni vrijeme ne teče kao što je to slučaj u stvarnom svijetu.

Apstraktni stil, kako ga opisuje Lüthi, ogleda se u jednostavnom i sažetom načinu pripovijedanja, u kojem su svi elementi priče svedeni na osnovne oblike. Bajku odlikuje pojednostavljenje događaja, likova i predmeta. Radnja se iskazuje kroz najčešće trostruko ponavljanje epizoda koje su zatvorene i izolirane cjeline, ali su istovremeno nevidljivo povezane s ostalim dijelovima bajke. Kako se epizode ponavljaju, to kod slušalaca stvara osjećaj predvidljivosti. Međutim, apstraktni stil kazivanja osigurava ovoj proznoj vrsti upravo onu napetost potrebnu da pobuđuje znatiželju publike. U bajkama su važni brojevi poput tri, sedam, devet. Vrhunac apstraktnog stila jeste čudo koje se na najrazličitije načine ostvaruje u bajkama. Za Maxa Lüthija, ono što bajka omogućava junacima jeste mogućnost. Ona nudi junacima izbor, a pomaže onima za koje smatra da su vrijedni toga truda. Čudesni pomoćnici i darovi u bajkama sredstva su da junaci nastave svoju pustolovinu ostvarujući cilj (up. Liti, 1994).

Osim strukture i stila usmenih bajki, istraživači su se bavili i značenjima ove

assign specific roles to the characters, including the antagonist, the giver, the helper, the princess, the sender, the hero, and the false hero (cf. Propp, 1982).

Unlike Propp, who focused on structural analysis, Max Lüthi (Liti, 1994) investigated the style of fairy tales, presenting his findings in the *Evropska narodna bajka* [Eng. *The European Folktale*]. Based on his analysis of oral fairy tales, Lüthi identified key stylistic features of the genre, including one-dimensionality, a lack of deep perspective, an abstract and isolating style, and a sublime reflection of the world. One-dimensionality is evident in the lack of distinction between the supernatural and the natural worlds. In fairy tales, everything belongs to a magical realm where anything is possible. The absence of deep perspective is reflected in how characters, space, and time are portrayed. In fairy tales, characters are not psychologically nuanced; they have no past or future. Narrators do not dwell on descriptions of the setting, and it seems that time does not flow as it does in the real world.

The abstract style, as described by Lüthi, is reflected in the simple and concise manner of narration, where all elements of the story are reduced to basic forms. Fairy tales are characterised by the simplification of events, characters, and objects. The plot is often conveyed through the repeated tripling of episodes, which are self-contained and isolated units, yet subtly connected to other parts of the tale. This repetition creates a sense of predictability for the audience. However, the abstract style of storytelling provides the narrative with the tension necessary to engage the audience's curiosity. In fairy tales, numbers such as three, seven, and nine are of particular significance. The pinnacle of the abstract style in fairy tales is the miracle, which can manifest in many different ways. According to Max Lüthi, fairy tales

usmenoprozne vrste. Među autorima se svakako izdvaja Bruno Bettelheim (1979), koji je u knjizi *Značenja bajki* kroz prizmu psihoanalitičke teorije pisao o bajkama. Za Bettelheima bajke nisu samo priče koje imaju zabavnu funkciju nego one i pomažu djeci da savladaju nesigurnost i strahove tokom svog odrastanja. Vrijednost knjige *Značenja bajki* jeste u tome što je pokazala potencijal bajki, posebno u sferi mogućih značenja koje one sadržavaju, te njihovu aktuelnost u moderno doba.

Studija "Bajka" Maje Bošković-Stulli (1983) donosi pregled dotadašnjih istraživanja usmene bajke. Vrlo temeljito prohodći ne samo kroz književnu teoriju nego i kroz saznanja o bajkama utemeljenim u usmene tradicije evropskih naroda, autorica predstavlja ključna saznanja o ovoj vrsti. Bez namjere da nametne samo jedan postupak koji bi vodio razumijevanju usmene bajke, ovaj rad donosi prednosti i nedostatke najvažnijih pristupa usmenoj bajci koji su se razvili do druge polovine 20. stoljeća. Ono što je važno naglasiti jeste da je autorica iza sebe imala višegodišnje iskustvo u sakupljanju, bilježenju i istraživanju usmene književnosti, što se primjećuje na mnogim mjestima u tekstu. Dakle, o bajkama se pisalo iz perspektive znalca usmene književnosti.

Za razumijevanje teme rada od važnosti je i njena studija "O mizoginim pričama" (Bošković-Stulli 1999). Iako se autorica bavi prije svega primjerima usmene književnosti u kojima je žena predstavljena negativno – mizoginim pričama, u jednom dijelu teksta dotiče se i kazivanja o nevinoj i progonjenoj djevojci ili ženi koja su im na neki način komplementarna. Naime, priče o nevinim djevojkama i ženama poznate su u brojnim usmenoproznim tradicijama. Prema Bošković-Stulli (1999),

offer heroes possibilities. They provide heroes with a choice and assist those deemed worthy of the effort. The miraculous helpers and gifts in fairy tales are tools that enable the heroes to continue their journey and achieve their goals (cf. Lüthi, 1994).

In addition to studying the structure and style of oral fairy tales, researchers have also delved into the meanings behind this genre. One of the key authors in this area is Bruno Bettelheim (1979), who, in his book *Značenja bajki* [Eng. *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*], examined fairy tales through the lens of psychoanalytic theory. For Bettelheim, fairy tales are not just stories meant for entertainment; they also help children overcome uncertainty and fears during their growth. The value of his book *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* lies in demonstrating the potential of fairy tales, especially in terms of the meanings they contain, and their relevance in the modern world.

Maja Bošković-Stulli's study *Bajka* [Eng. *The Fairy Tale*] (1983) offers an overview of previous research on oral fairy tales. By thoroughly exploring not only literary theory but also the knowledge of fairy tales grounded in the oral traditions of European peoples, the author presents key findings about this genre. This work does not aim to impose a single approach to understanding oral fairy tales, but instead presents the advantages and disadvantages of the key approaches that developed up until the second half of the 20th century. It is important to highlight that the author draws on years of experience in collecting, recording, and studying oral literature, which is evident throughout the text. As a result, the writing of fairy tales comes from the perspective of a true expert in the field of oral literature.

To understand the topic of this paper, her study *O mizoginim pričama* [Eng. On

korijeni ovih kazivanja jesu srednjovjekovne legendarne pripovijesti i legende. U dužem vremenskom periodu iz pisanih izvora priče su dospjele u narod i dalje su se prenosile usmenim putem. Na osnovu propitivanja usmenoprozne građe zabilježene u evropskim tradicijama, izdvajaju se dvije skupine priča. Prvu skupinu čine kazivanja koja pripadaju krugu legendi u čijem su središtu pobožne, vjerne i nevino oklevetane djevojke i žene koje nakon svih patnji budu nagrađene za svoju moralnu čistoću i poštenje. Najčešće ove djevojke i žene progone zla maćeha, svekrva ili odbijeni muški nasrtljivac. Muž, koji obično nije prisutan u domu, iz daljine povjeruje lažima i naredi da se žena kazni smrću. Međutim, čudom Majke Božije, muž spozna ženinu nevinost i nastave živjeti sretno. Druga skupina priča jesu kazivanja o djevojci koja je izložena brojnim patnjama, a koju naposljetku izbavi prekrasan kraljević. U ovim pričama, bez obzira na to kojoj skupini pripadaju, savremena feministička kritika vidi “učvršćivanje poželjnih vrijednosti i normi ženskoga ponašanja, ideal pasivnosti i bespomoćna trpljenja sudbine” (Bošković-Stulli, 1999: 30). Međutim, Bošković-Stulli (1999: 30) primjećuje da su se pripovjedačice često identificirale s junakinjom pa se u podtekstu prepoznavala gorčina i optužbe zbog nepravde, kao i realno iskustvo iz porodičnih prilika prenijetih u bajku, stoga “pasivna trpnja u tim pričama s nagradom za sve prepaćeno značila je ne samo utjehu nego i pravedan trijumf” (Isto).

Važnost studija Vladimira Proppa, Maxa Lüthija i Maje Bošković-Stulli ogleda se u tome što su rezultati njihovih istraživanja omogućili bolje razumijevanje strukture, stila i značenja bajke, pokazavši da su usmene bajke, bez obzira na

Misogynistic Stories] (Bošković-Stulli, 1999) is also crucial. Although the author primarily examines examples of oral literature in which women are portrayed negatively—specifically, in misogynistic tales—she also addresses stories of innocent and persecuted girls or women, which serve as a complement to these narratives. Tales of innocent girls and women are prevalent in many oral prose traditions. According to Bošković-Stulli (1999), the roots of these narratives lie in medieval legendary tales and legends. Over time, these stories were passed from written sources to the people and continued to be transmitted orally. Based on the analysis of oral prose tradition in European cultures, two groups of stories are distinguished. The first group consists of tales that belong to the pool of legends centred on pious, faithful, and unjustly slandered girls and women who, after enduring great suffering, are rewarded for their moral purity and honesty. These girls and women are most often persecuted by an evil stepmother, mother-in-law, or a rejected male suitor. The husband, often absent, believes the false accusations from afar and orders that the woman be punished by death. However, through a miraculous intervention by the Virgin Mary, the husband comes to realise his wife’s innocence, and they are reunited to live happily ever after. The second group of stories centres around a girl who endures great suffering, only to be ultimately rescued by a handsome prince. In these stories, regardless of their classification, contemporary feminist criticism interprets them as reinforcing “desirable values and norms of female behaviour, the ideal of passivity, and helpless suffering in the face of fate” (Bošković-Stulli, 1999: 30). However, Bošković-Stulli (1999: 30) observes that female storytellers often identified with the heroine, and the subtext reveals bitterness and accusations of injustice, alongside real-life experiences from family

pripadnost različitim tradicijama i kulturama, vrlo slične.

Bošnjačka usmena bajka, za razliku od usmene poezije, nije bila predmet većeg interesa istraživača. O usmenim bajkama Bošnjaka pisali su, pored ostalih, Esma Smailbegović (1977), Aiša Softić (2001), Lada Buturović (2010), Sead Šemsović (2021).

U ovom radu kazivanje *Kamenčić suburčić* analizira se na osnovu saznanja o bajkama do kojih su došli prije svega Max Lüthi, Vladimir Propp i Maja Bošković-Stulli.

2. Analiza usmene bajke *Kamenčić suburčić*

Jedan od primjera usmene bajke zabilježene u novije doba jeste priča koju je kazivala Smaila (Musić) Kalajdžija (rođ. 1958), porijeklom iz okoline Rudog. Bajka pod naslovom *Kamenčić suburčić* u središtu ima međunarodno rasprostranjeni sižejni obrazac o nesretnoj i progonjenoj djevojci. Priču je kazivačica čula od svoje majke Bahrije Musić (rođ. Ražanica), koja je u večernjim satima, najčešće poslije dnevnih obaveza, u slobodno vrijeme, s namjerom da svojoj čeljadi priušti neku vrstu razonode, pripovijedala priče. Prema Smaili Kalajdžija, majka je kazivala priče s namjerom da se djeca smire i činilo se da je pripovijedanje bila neka vrsta nagrade za dječicu – dvije djevojčice i dječaka. Ova priča zabilježena je 2024. godine u Vogošći, gdje kazivačica danas živi. Tekst kazivanja pohranjen je u Odsjeku za duhovnu kulturu Etnološkog odjeljenja Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Fascikla XXVIII-G, br. 16544.

situations that were woven into the fairy tale. Thus, “the passive suffering depicted in these stories, rewarded with a just outcome, not only symbolises consolation but also signifies a moral victory” (ibid.).

The significance of the studies by Vladimir Propp, Max Lüthi, and Maja Bošković-Stulli lies in their contribution to a deeper understanding of the structure, style, and meaning of fairy tales. Their research demonstrates that oral fairy tales, despite originating from different traditions and cultures, share remarkable similarities.

Unlike oral poetry, Bosniak oral fairy tales have not been the subject of significant interest among researchers. However, Bosniak oral fairy tales have been discussed by scholars such as Esma Smailbegović (1977), Aiša Softić (2001), Lada Buturović (2010), and Sead Šemsović (2021).

In this paper, the tale *Kamenčić suburčić* is analysed based on insights into fairy tales primarily provided by Max Lüthi, Vladimir Propp, and Maja Bošković-Stulli.

2. Analysis of the Oral Fairy Tale *Kamenčić suburčić*

One example of an oral fairy tale recorded in recent times is the story told by Smaila (Musić) Kalajdžija (b. 1958), originally from the area around Rudo. The fairy tale *Kamenčić suburčić* follows a widely recognised international narrative pattern about an unfortunate and persecuted girl. Smaila Kalajdžija learned the story from her mother, Bahrija Musić (née Ražanica), who would often tell tales in the evening, typically after completing her daily chores, to entertain her children. According to Smaila Kalajdžija, her mother intended to calm the children, and the act of storytelling seemed to be a kind of reward for her little ones—two girls and a boy. This story was recorded in 2024 in Vogošća, where

U jednom mjestu u neimaštini, teško su živjele majka i kćerka. Djevojčica je svakog dana išla u mejtef. Jednog dana, prolazeći preko mosta, djevojčica začuje glas koji je upozorava: “Ti išla u mejtef, ili ne išla, ti ćeš sedam godina kod mrtvog ležati.” Kad ju je treći put glas upozorio na ono što joj je namijenila sudbina, ona kaže majci šta je čula i njih dvije pobjegnu. Međutim, u putu djevojčica zaista bude zatočena u kući u kojoj je bio mrtvac. Sedam godina junakinja je učila Kur'an pored mrtvaca, a nakon sedam godina on oživi. Međutim, u to vrijeme u kuću uđe Romkinja s kćerkama i kasnije se lažno predstavi oživjelom domaćinu. Ovaj, iz zahvalnosti, oženi se jednom od kćerki, a djevojka koja je sedam godina bila uz mrtvaca postane služavka. Jednog dana čovjek odluči poći na hadž i upita ukućane šta da im donese. Djevojka jedva pristane i kaže da želi kamen sabur. Čovjek po povratku s hadža kamen sabur zaista i donese. Nakon nekog vremena domaćin opazi kako se djevojka iskrala i odluči je pratiti. “A djevojka iza sijena negdje sjela, i uzela onaj kamen sabur u svoje ruke i gledala ga. I počela pričati: ‘Kamenčiću suburčiću! Ja sam bila dijete od sedam godina, kamenčiću suburčiću! Živjela sam sa svojom majkom, sama, pa sam, kad sam prolazila preko ćuprije, ja sam čula nečiji glas, kamenčiću suburčiću, kako mi sve govori da, išla u mejtef, ne išla, sedam godina ću kod mrtva ležati, kamenčiću suburčiću, pa smo počele bježati..., pa je ona sve to pričala, čitav svoj događaj..., sedam godina sam, kamenčiću suburčiću, bila sama, učila sam, i bio je trenutak da se čovjek probudio.’ A ovaj čovjek, što je bio, on je sve sluš'o to, on je iza nje se sakrio i sluš'o. A kako je ona pričala, od te tuge taj kamen sabur je sve rast'o, rast'o. I na kraju, kad je rekla

the storyteller currently resides. The text of the story is archived in the Intangible Heritage Section of the National Museum Ethnological Division in Sarajevo, Folder XXVIII-G, No. 16544.

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kako se on oženio, kako su je prevarile te Ciganke, i 'ja sam i dalje ostala sirota i dalje sam tu', kamen pukne, a ona kaže: 'E vidi, kamen puče, a srce moje ne može!'"

Potom djevojka odluči da sebi oduzme život. Međutim, u tome je spriječi gospodar kuće. On otjera Romkinju i njenu kćerke, a oženi se djevojkom.

2.1. O stilskim osobitostima analizirane verzije

Na tragu Lüthijeva pristupa usmenoj prozi uočava se da je kazivanje o nesretnoj i progonjenoj djevojci oblikovano kao usmena bajka. U primjeru prepoznamo jednodimenzionalnost, nedostatak dubinske perspektive, apstraktni stil, izolovanost, ali i sveopću povezanost tipičnog junaka bajke i lažnog junaka.

Jednodimenzionalnost se prepoznaje u načinu prikazivanja svijeta. U njemu je djevojčica zatočena u kući bez mogućnosti bijega. Pred junakinjom je svaki dan hrana čije je porijeklo nepoznato. Budući da je svijet bajke u jednoj dimenziji i da nema distinkcije između realnog i čudesnog, djevojci nije neobično što svakodnevno ima hranu, a ne zna odakle opskrba pristiže. Osim toga, ona sedam godina boravi u prostoriji uz mrtvaca, a ne pokazuje užas, jer u svijetu bajke mrtvi i živi dio su jedne dimenzije. U takvom svijetu mrtvac oživi, a tome se niko ne čudi.

Apstraktni stil bajke prepoznaje se u jednosmjernoj radnji koja povezuje epizode koje nisu čvrsto povezane. Nakon početne situacije u kojoj se donosi sastav porodice i njen ekonomski status, slijede bijeg od kuće, zatočeništvo djevojčice, njeno služenje u kući nakon oživljavanja mrtvaca, ispovijed kamenu saburu te kraj. Pripovjedni postupak čini nizan epizoda.

I na kraju, kad je rekla kako se on oženio, kako su je prevarile te Ciganke, i 'ja sam i dalje ostala sirota i dalje sam tu', kamen pukne, a ona kaže: 'E vidi, kamen puče, a srce moje ne može!'"

Potom djevojka odluči da sebi oduzme život. Međutim, u tome je spriječi gospodar kuće. On otjera Romkinju i njenu kćerku, a oženi se djevojkom.

2.1. On the Stylistic Features of the Analysed Version

Following Lüthi's approach to oral prose, it becomes apparent that the story of the unfortunate and persecuted girl is shaped as an oral fairy tale. In this example, we can identify characteristics such as one-dimensionality, the lack of depth perspective, abstract style, isolation, as well as the universal connection between the typical hero of a fairy tale and the false hero.

One-dimensionality is recognised in the way the world is depicted. The girl is trapped in a house with no possibility of escape. Every day, she is provided with food of unknown origin. In the one-dimensional world of the fairy tale, there is no distinction between the real and the magical. The girl finds it completely normal to receive food daily, despite not knowing where it comes from. Additionally, she spends seven years in a room with a corpse, yet shows no fear, as in the fairy tale world, the living and the dead exist within the same dimension. In such a world, a dead person can come back to life, and no one is surprised by it.

The abstract style of the fairy tale is evident in the linear progression of events, where episodes are loosely connected. After the initial situation, which establishes the family structure and their economic status, the story moves on to the girl's escape from home, her captivity, her service in the house after the dead person is revived, the confession to a patience stone,

Apstraktnost stila pojačana je upotrebom brojeva tri i sedam. Tri puta nepoznati glas upozorava djevojčicu, sedam dana majka hoda oko kuće ne bi li ušla u nju i bila s djetetom, dok sedam godina junakinja boravi uz mejita.

Izolovanost je vidljiva npr. u dionici priče kada majka djevojčici pomogne da uđe u nepoznatu kuću, a potom, kad se prozor kuće zatvori, ona nikako ne uspijeva ući u nju te “majka je, kažu, sedam dana hodala oko kuće i zvala je, ali djeteta više nije vidjela”. Nakon ovoga lik majke više se ne pojavljuje u priči. Ovakav postupak pripovjedača nije ništa neobično, jer su u bajkama likovi istovremeno i izolovani, ali postoji među svim pojavama sveopća povezanost.

Junakinja ove priče oblikovana je kao tipični junak. Djevojku na akciju potiču vanjski elementi – nepoznat glas koji je upozorava na ono što joj je sudbina, majka koja je potiče na bijeg od sudbine, nepoznate sile koje joj ostavljaju hranu i Kur'an, Romkinje i naposljetku domaćin. Ona strpljivo, poput svih nesretnih i progonjenih djevojaka usmene književnosti, podnosi udarce sudbine, jer je to njeno iskušavanje. Upravo takvo stanje priprema je za njen bolji život kasnije. Provjeravanje junakinje vodilo je stjecanju kamena sabura koji funkcionira u bajci kao čarobno sredstvo jer će omogućiti da čovjek sazna istinu. A strpljivost će joj donijeti spas.

Bajka koju je kazivala Smaila Kalajdzija, osim tipičnog, ima i lažnog junaka. To su Romkinja i njene kćerke, koje će privremeno preuzeti funkciju junaka bajke, ali će ih kasnije pravi junak razotkriti.

Ono po čemu se izdvaja ova priča u odnosu na ostale usmene bajke o nesretnoj djevojci jeste stav pripovjedačice, oblikovanje likova, koje je u nekim dionicama

and the conclusion. The narrative process consists of a sequence of episodes. The abstract nature of the style is reinforced by the use of the numbers three and seven. The girl is warned by an unknown voice three times, the mother walks around the house for seven days in an attempt to enter and be with her child, and the heroine spends seven years by the corpse.

The isolation is evident, for example, in the part of the story when the mother helps the girl enter an unfamiliar house, but when the window of the house is closed, the mother is unable to enter. “It is said that the mother walked around the house for seven long days, calling out for her child, but she never saw her again.” After this, the mother no longer appears in the story. This narrative approach is not unusual, as in fairy tales, characters are often both isolated and yet connected by an overarching unity among all things.

The heroine of this tale is shaped as a typical protagonist. The girl is driven into action by external forces – the mysterious voice warning her of her fate, her mother urging her to escape her destiny, unseen powers leaving her food, the Qur'an, the Romani women, and finally the host. She patiently endures the blows of fate, much like all the unfortunate and persecuted or haunted girls in oral literature, as this is her trial. It is through this suffering that she is ultimately prepared for a better life ahead. Her trials lead to the acquisition of the stone of patience, a magical object in the fairy tale that will reveal the truth to its possessor. Patience will bring her salvation.

The fairy tale told by Smaila Kalajdzija, in addition to the typical hero, also features a false hero. These are the Romani woman and her daughters, who temporarily take on the role of the fairy tale's hero but will later be unmasked by the true hero.

What sets this story apart from other oral tales of the unfortunate girl is the

bliže novelističkim pričama nego bajkama, i religijski kontekst kazivanja.

Naime, na više mjesta u priči kazivačica komentira postupke junakinje i unosi svoj stav. Ona se poziva na tradiciju i tako utječe na recepciju kazivanja kao mogućeg, što je u suprotnosti s općenitom recepcijom ove usmenoprozne vrste. Naprimjer: “tako mi je majka, Allarahmetile, pričala”, ili: “kaže, ona sve sad govori šta će kupiti, kaže, k'o ciganska posla: ‘Kupit ćeš mi ovo, kupit ćeš mi ono, kupit ćeš mi ono...’”

Što se tiče likova, oni su povremeno oblikovani kao likovi iz novelističkih priča: “onda je se djevojčica uplašila, i vratila se, nije taj dan otišla u mejtef, vratila se kući i majki rekla. I majka je, onaj, tako uznemirena, kaže”, ili: “kaže ona je, kad je došla, začudila se i stala”, ili: “njemu je to bilo sad čudo, i sve je razmišlj'o: ‘Bože mili, zašto je ovo, i šta će toj djevojci to?’” Uobičajeno je u bajkama da likovi ne pokazuju osjećanja, a u ovoj bajci o likovima saznajemo kroz njihove emocije i tako postaju bliži sudionicima usmene tradicije.

Kako je već spomenuto, priča je data u religijskom kontekstu. Naime, djevojčica je upozorena da, bez obzira na to šta činila, neće izbjeći sudbinu. Pažnju privlači podatak da djevojčica ide u nižu vjersku školu. Dakle, njeno će iskušenje biti, bez obzira na to što se odgaja u duhu vjere. Prema sadržaju priče, nakon što dospije u kuću mrtvaca, djevojka svakodnevno ima nafaku, a uz nju je i Kur'an. Ukoliko djevojka uči iz svete knjige, ona ima mogućnost da preživi situaciju u kojoj se našla. Vjerski motiv povezan je i s odlaskom na hadž, s kojega se donosi ključni pojam priče koji razrješava zapetljanu djevojačku sudbinu. Tako je dionica bajke u kojoj djevojka traži od čovjeka da joj donese kamen sabur s hadža ustvari mogućnost da nekome, odnosno

narrator's perspective, the shaping of characters, which in some parts leans more toward short stories than fairy tales, and the religious context of the narration.

Namely, in several places in the story, the narrator comments on the heroine's actions and inserts her viewpoint. She refers to tradition, thereby influencing the reception of the narration as something possible, which contrasts with the general reception of this oral prose genre. For example: “*tako mi je majka, Allarahmetile, pričala*” [Just as my late mother told me], or: “*kaže, ona sve sad govori šta će kupiti, kaže, k'o ciganska posla: ‘Kupit ćeš mi ovo, kupit ćeš mi ono, kupit ćeš mi ono ...’*” [..says, now she's listing everything he should buy her, says, it's gypsy's business: “You'll buy me this, you'll buy me that, ...].

As for the characters, they are occasionally shaped like those from novella-style stories: “The girl got scared and turned back; she didn't go to the school that day, instead, she returned home and told her mother about it (*“Onda je se djevojčica uplašila, i vratila se, nije taj dan otišla u mejtef, vratila se kući i majki rekla.”*). And the mother, all upset, says ...” (*I majka je, onaj, tako uznemirena, kaže*), or: “Says, when she arrived, she was surprised and stopped” (*kaže ona je, kad je došla, začudila se i stala*), or: “He found it strange, and he kept thinking about it: “Good Lord, what is this, and why does that girl need it?” (*njemu je to bilo sad čudo, i sve je razmišlj'o: ‘Bože mili, zašto je ovo, i šta će toj djevojci to?’*) In fairy tales, it is typical for characters not to display emotions, but in this tale, we learn about the characters through their feelings, making them more relatable to the participants of the oral tradition.

As previously mentioned, the story is set in a religious context. The girl is warned that, no matter what she does, she cannot escape her fate. A noteworthy

nečemu, iskaže istinu, tj. da dobije priliku da ispriča o nevolji koja ju je snašla. Ovdje treba istaći da je u usmenoj tradiciji Bošnjaka muslimana poznat sabur kamen, odnosno kamen strpljenja, koji ima mogućnost da preuzme težinu nesreće koja zadesi pojedinca.

2.2. O jezičkim osobitostima analizirane verzije

Jezički izraz i stilogenost usmenog postupka bajke koju je prenijela kazivačica ukazuju na potrebu isticanja pojedinačnih i specifičnih jezičkih crta usmenoga govora koji je, u to nema sumnje, nadahnut prije svega porodično-zavičajnom usmenom narativnom tradicijom kojoj je kazivačica pripadala, ali je sigurno i to da je odabir jezičkih sredstava u oblikovanju priče izrastao i iz idiolekatskog prosedea koji je uvjetovan i određenim modernim utjecajima kulture i standardnog jezika. Kad je posrijedi utjecaj jezičke tradicije, tome svjedoče jezički obrasci koji su zasnovani na organskom idiomu iz kojega kazivačica potječe, a on se tiče jugoistočnobosanskog govornog tipa po kojem je ovaj zavičajni govor prepoznatljiv i koji se smješta prema klasifikacijama dijalektoloških istraživanja u ijekavskoštakavske govore istočne Bosne (Jahić, 2002), odnosno gdje se konkretnija nomenklatura ovih govora dalje razvrstava u istočnobosanski govorni tip, gdje spomenuti zavičajni govor ustvari pripada južnoj skupini spomenutoga govora (Halilović, 2005: 34–35), koji ima svoje osobitosti koje se mogu pronaći i u samoj jezičkoj bazi bajke.

Dijalekatski markirani oblici koji su prisutni u naraciji javljaju se uglavnom na svim jezičkim nivoima, iako je riječ o relativno kratkoj usmenoj formi. Tako se na

detail is that she attends a junior religious school. Thus, her trial unfolds despite her upbringing in the faith. According to the story, once she is in the house of the deceased, the girl is provided with food every day, along with the Qur'an. By reciting from the holy book, she gains the strength to survive the difficult situation she faces. The religious motif is also linked to the pilgrimage, from which the key concept of the story is brought back to resolve the girl's tangled fate. In the section of the fairytale where the girl asks a man to bring her the "patience stone" from the pilgrimage, it is essentially a symbol of revealing the truth to someone or something — an opportunity for her to share the hardship she has endured. It is important to highlight that, within the oral tradition of Bosnian Muslims, the "*kamen strpljenja*" or the stone of patience, is well-known. It has the power to bear the weight of the misfortune that befalls an individual.

2.2. The Linguistic Features of the Analysed Version

The linguistic expression and stylistic features of the oral narrative of the fairytale as conveyed by the storyteller highlight the need to emphasise the individual and specific linguistic traits of oral speech. There is no doubt that this speech was primarily inspired by the family and local oral storytelling tradition to which the narrator belonged. However, it is also clear that the choice of linguistic means in shaping the story has been influenced by the idiolectic style of the storyteller, which has been shaped by modern cultural influences and the standard language. The influence of linguistic tradition is evident in the language patterns that stem from the storyteller's native idiom. This idiom is characteristic of the southeastern Bosnian speech type, which is distinct within the region. According to dialectological

akcenatskom nivou, pored nekih drugih, javlja specifična upotreba akcenta u leksemi “curica”, gdje se kaže *curíca* (“više sad cura postala, curica onako”). Na nivou fonetsko-fonoloških pojava bilježe se slučajevi u kojima dolazi do elizije krajnjih suglasnika, naročito u brojevima, npr. *šes* (“od šes do sedam godina”), *petne-šesnes* (“možda je imala tad petne-šesnes godina”); asimilacija vokalskih skupina na kraju riječi, naročito u oblicima pridjeva radnog: *pit’o* (“a onda je pit’o”), *razmišlj’o* i *rek’o* (“sad je on sve to razmišlj’o i rek’o”), *ne mog’o* (“opet ne mog’o proć”), *vrać’o* (“i vrać’o se i vratio se”), *razmišlj’o* (“i sve je razmišlj’o”), *rast’o* (“taj kamen sabur je sve rast’o, rast’o”); gubljenje suglasnika *h* u finalnoj poziciji: *odma* (“ova bi ti odma Ciganka rekla”); promjena inicijalne suglasničke skupine: *šćer* (“i vidjela je Ciganku sa dvije šćeri”; “ova moja šćer”); jekavsko jotovanje usnenozubnog suglasnika: *življeli* (“tako su življeli”); nezavršena dentalizacija u dativu jednine: *majki* (“zaboravila to majki reći”; “vratila se kući i majki rekla”). Na nivou morfologije javljaju se sljedeći dijalekatski markirani oblici: oblik pridjeva neodređenog vida u kosom padežu: *mrtva* (“sedam godina ću kod mrtva ležati”); oblik lične zamjenice 3. lica u akuzativu množine: *hi* (“zadesila hi je noć”); upotreba habituala: *bi rekla* (“ova bi ti odma Ciganka rekla”); upotreba krnjeg infinitiva: *proć’* (“opet ne mog’o proć”). Na sintaksičkom nivou, pored općih odrednica štokavske provenijencije, javlja se i nekoliko markiranih struktura, kao što su: slavenski genitiv: *ne vidjeti* + *G* (“djeteta nije vidjela”); sintaksičko ponavljanje u svrhu stilskog potenciranja: *rast’o, rast’o* (“taj kamen sabur je sve rast’o, rast’o”), *učila, učila* (“ona je sjela, i učila i učila”); svojevrsna

classifications, it falls under the *Ijekavian-Štokavian* dialects of eastern Bosnia (Jahić, 2002). More specifically, this dialect belongs to the southern group of the eastern Bosnian speech type (Halilović, 2005: 34–35). These linguistic features are clearly reflected in the language of the fairytale itself.

Dialectal forms present in the narration appear across various linguistic levels, even though the story is relatively short. For example, on the accentual level, there is a specific use of accent in the lexeme *curica*, where it is pronounced *curíca* (meaning “she has now become a girl”). At the phonetic-phonological level, we observe instances where elision of final consonants occurs, especially in numbers, e.g., *šes* (*od šes do sedam godina*), *petne-šesnes* (*možda je imala tad petne-šesnes godina*); assimilation of vowel groups at the end of words, particularly in the forms of verbal adjectives: *pit’o* (*a onda je pit’o*), *razmišlj’o* and *rek’o* (*sad je on sve to razmišlj’o i rek’o*), *ne mog’o* (*opet ne mog’o proć*), *vrać’o* (*i vrać’o se i vratio se*), *razmišlj’o* (*i sve je razmišlj’o*), *rast’o* (*taj kamen sabur je sve rast’o, rast’o*); loss of the consonant *h* in final position: *odma* (*ova bi ti odma Ciganka rekla*); change in the initial consonant cluster: *šćer* (*i vidjela je Ciganku sa dvije šćeri*; *ova moja šćer*); jekavian jotation of the alveolar consonant: *življeli* (*tako su življeli*); non-executed dentalisation in the singular dative: *majki* (*zaboravila to majki reći*; *vratila se kući i majki rekla*). At the morphological level, the following dialectally marked forms appear: the form of the indefinite adjective in oblique cases: *mrtva* (*sedam ću godina kod mrtva ležati*); form of the third-person plural pronoun in the accusative case: *hi* (*zadesila hi je noć*); use of the habitual form: *bi rekla* (*ova bi ti odma Ciganka rekla*); use of the truncated infinitive: *proć’* (*opet ne mog’o proć*). At the level of syntax, in addition to general features of Štokavian provenance, several

sintaksička redundantnost (“gled’o kud ova mala”); naporedna upotreba enklitika: *je se* (“onda je se djevojčica uplašila”; “tako je ta priča se završila”). Na planu leksičke ističe se upotreba nekih specifičnih leksičkih jedinica svojstvenih određenom govornom idiomu: *mejtef* (“mala je išla u mejtef”), *vazda* (“ona je sjela, i učila i učila i vazda je”), *nafaka* (“Allah valjda Dragi tako dao – nafaku”), *sirota* (“i ja sam i dalje ostala, ostala, ovaj, sirota”).

U domeni utjecaja standardnog jezika primjeri pokazuju tendenciju prilagođavanja jezičkog izraza zbog “izloženosti” formalnoj jezičkoj upotrebi, dajući nemali broj primjera koji su proizašli iz standarda, iako se nekad čak iste jezičke kategorije daju u skladu s organskim i u skladu s neorganskim idiomom. Na nivou fonetско-fonološkog sistema, primjetno je da kazivačica upotrebljava slučaj neizvršenog jekavskog jotovanja usnenozubnog suglasnika, pa je registrirano više slučajeva pridjeva radnog za ženski rod glagolska živjeti (“u velikoj bijedi, i siromaštvu živjele”; “i same su njih dvije živjele”; “sedam godina je živjela tako” itd.). Iako se registriraju i oblici proizašli iz govornog idioma s izvršenom promjenom, informantica varira i u slučajevima upotrebe pridjeva radnog za muški rod jednine, gdje ne dolazi do vokalske asimilacije: *rekao* (“neko joj rekao”), *ustao, pitao* (“Ustao i sjeo, i pitao”); standardni oblik radnog pridjeva jednine muškog roda glagola sjesti: *sjeo* (“sjeo, i pitao”). Na planu morfologije, kazivačica se koleba u upotrebi kosih padeža u oblicima pridjeva s obilježenim vidom, gdje se češće javljaju nastavci za oblike određenog vida (“ti ćeš sedam godina kod mrtvog ležati”), iako rjeđe ima i s neodređenim vidom, npr. *mrtva* (“sedam godina ću kod mrtva ležati”). Pridjev

marked structures appear, such as Slavic genitive: *ne vidjeti* + **G** (*djeteta nije vidjela*); syntactic repetition for stylistic emphasis: *rast’o, rast’o* (*taj kamen sabur je sve rast’o, rast’o*), *učila, učila* (*one je sjela, i učila i učila*); a form of syntactic redundancy: *gled’o kud ova mala*); parallel use of clitics: *je se* (*onda je se djevojčica uplašila; tako je ta priča se završila*). At the lexical level, there is a noticeable use of specific words and expressions characteristic of a particular dialect: *mejtef* (“mala je išla u mejtef”), *vazda* (“ona je sjela, i učila i učila i vazda je”), *nafaka* (“Allah valjda Dragi tako dao – nafaku”), *sirota* (“i ja sam i dalje ostala, ostala, ovaj, sirota”).

Examples in the domain of standard language influence show a tendency to adapt linguistic expressions due to “exposure” to formal language usage. Many of these examples are derived from the standard language, though at times, the same linguistic categories are presented according to both organic and non-organic idioms. In terms of the phonetic-phonological system, it is noticeable that the narrator uses instances of unexecuted jekavian palatalisation of the dental-labial consonant. This is seen in several examples of the feminine forms of the present participle of the verb *živjeti* (to live), such as (*u velikoj bijedi, i siromaštvu živjele, i same su njih dvije živjele, and sedam godina je živjela tako, etc.*) Although forms derived from the spoken idiom with a completed change are also observed, the informant shows variation in using the present participle for the masculine singular, where vocalic assimilation does not occur: *rekao* (to say) (*neko joj rekao, ustao, pitao*, and the standard form of the present participle in the masculine singular of the verb *sjesti* (to sit) is *sjeo* (*sjeo, i pitao*). On the morphological level, the storyteller hesitates with the use of oblique case forms of adjectives with marked definite form. Forms with

svakakav u obliku množine ne podliježe promjeni pa se čuva, u skladu s “pravilnošću”: *svakakve* (“Pored njega je bilo hrane, svakakve hrane”). Leksema *čovjek* također je sačuvana u standardnom obliku, iako se u govornom nizu nekad krnji, gubeći krajnji suglasnik (“A ovaj čovje, što je bio”; “a onda je pit’o ovaj čovje”; “i vidjela da je čovjek pokriven, čovjek leži, mrtav”; “da se, ovaj, čovjek probudio”). Ono što je posebno zanimljivo u jezičkoj analizi bajke jeste činjenica da ključna riječ, odnosno ključne riječi pokazuju varijaciju: oblik *sabur* javlja se u konstrukciji *kamen sabur*, dok se u deminutivnom obliku u vokativu ova navedena sintagma upotrebljava kao *kamenčić suburčić*, odnosno *kamenčiću suburčiću*, što je poseban pa i svojevrsni stilski postupak u markiranju izraza. Na sintaksičkom planu kazivačica također varira konstrukcije s modalnim i faznim glagolima i njihovim dopunama, tako da se javljaju i s dodatkom *da* + prezent (“šta tebi treba da kupimo”; “Ne može da prođe i gotovo”; “dva-tri puta pokušavala da se iskrade”) i s dodatkom infinitiva (“pa smo počele bježati”), s napomenom da je više struktura s dopunom *da* + prezent. Zanimljivo je da se uz glagol kretanja upotrebljava infinitiv, a ne konstrukcija *da* + prezent (“idemo mi sad bježati”). U bajci je registriran i jedan broj novih leksema, posuđenica internacionalnoga karaktera: *momen/a/t* (“u tom momentu”), *insistirati* (“Kad, toliko, onaj, insistiraš”).

Sigurno je također da je na jezičkom planu prisutna upotreba, uvjetno kazano, najvećeg broja neutralnih jezičkih osobina koje su u upotrebi i u organskom i u neorganskom idiomu, ali one nisu predmet posebne analize.

endings typical of the definite form appear more frequently (“*ti ćeš sedam godina kod mrtvog ležati*”), though there are occasional instances of the indefinite form, such as *mrtva* (“*sedam godina ću kod mrtva ležati*”). The adjective *svakakav* in its plural form remains unchanged, adhering to its “regularity”: *svakakve* (“*Pored njega je bilo hrane, svakakve hrane*”). The lexeme *čovjek* is also preserved in its standard form, although in spoken sequences it sometimes appears truncated, losing its final consonant (“*A ovaj čovje, što je bio*”; “*a onda je pit’o ovaj čovje*”; “*i vidjela da je čovjek pokriven, čovjek leži, mrtav*”; “*da se, ovaj, čovjek probudio*”). A particularly notable aspect of the linguistic analysis of the fairy tale is the variation in the use of the keyword or phrase: the term *sabur* appears in the construction *kamen sabur*, while its diminutive form is used in the vocative as *kamenčić suburčić* or *kamenčiću suburčiću*. This variation serves as a distinctive stylistic device, adding emphasis and nuance to the expression. On the syntactic level, the storyteller uses variations in constructions with modal and phase verbs and their complements. These constructions appear both with *da* + present tense (“*šta tebi treba da kupimo*”; “*Ne može da prođe i gotovo*”; “*dva-tri puta pokušavala da se iskrade*”) and with the infinitive (“*pa smo počele bježati*”). It is important to note that the *da* + present tense structure is more commonly used. It is noteworthy that the infinitive is used with verbs of motion instead of the *da* + present tense construction (“*idemo mi sad bježati*”). Additionally, the fairy tale includes many newly adopted lexemes, particularly loanwords of international origin: *momen/a/t* (“u tom momentu”), *insistirati* (“Kad, toliko, onaj, insistiraš”).

It is also clear that the language contains a significant number of neutral linguistic features that appear in both organic

3. Varijante

Uvidom u štampane i rukopisne izvore može se primijetiti da je sižejni obrazac o nesretnoj djevojci koja jedan dio života provodi s mejitom odranije poznat u bošnjačkoj usmenoj tradiciji. Jedno od kazivanja objavio je časopis *Behar* u svom drugom godištu, a potom istu bajku donosi A. Softić u svom izboru *Antologija bošnjačke usmene priče* (1997).

Bajka pod naslovom *Devet godina s mejitom bila* ima sličan sižejni obrazac. Razlika je u tome što je junakinja sultanova kći koja je devet godina bila s mejitom. Nakon devet godina, u kuću ulazi jedna robinja i, na sličan način kao i Romkinja i njene kćerke, lažno se predstavi gospodaru kuće koji je oživio te postane njegova žena, a sultanija služavka. Nakon što čovjek ode na hadž, sultanija služavka zamoli ga da joj s hadža donese tri kamena sabura. Sultanija, kad je dobila kamenje, sakrije se u jednu sobu i počne nabrajati svoje jade. Od silnih jada jedan po jedan kamen je pucao, a njeno srce je ostalo netaknuto. Za to vrijeme hadžija je, skriven, slušao njene jade. Na kraju čovjek, kad je čuo istinu, surovo kažnjava lažne junake.

Ako se uporede obje varijante, može se zaključiti da se radi o istom sižejnom obrascu, ali da je starija varijanta okrutnija. Mlađa varijanta više je u religijskom ozračju, emotivno je obojenija, a na više mjesta pripovjedačica, pozivajući se na tradiciju, sugerira istinitost kazivanja.

4. Zaključna razmatranja

Prema Maji Bošković-Stulli, jedan od čestih problema koji zaokupljaju pažnju proučavalaca usmene književnosti jeste odnos tradicije i inovacije. Tokom pripovijedanja

and non-organic idioms, although these are not the focus of this analysis.

3. Variants

An examination of printed and manuscript sources shows that the story of the unhappy girl who spends part of her life with a dead body is a familiar narrative in Bosnian oral tradition. One version of the tale was published in the second volume of *Behar*, and later the same fairy tale appeared in A. Softić's *Antologija bošnjačke usmene priče* (1997).

The fairy tale titled *Devet godina s mejitom bila* [Nine Years with the Dead Body] follows a similar plot. The main difference is that in this version, the heroine is the daughter of a sultan, and she spends nine years with the dead body. After nine years, a slave girl enters the house and, in a similar way to the Romani woman and her daughters, falsely introduces herself to the master of the house, who has been revived, and becomes his wife, while the sultan's daughter assumes the role of a servant. After the man goes on a pilgrimage, the sultana-servant asks him to bring her three stones of patience (sabor) from the pilgrimage. Once she receives the stones, the sultana hides in a room and begins recounting her misfortunes. Amidst her countless sorrows, each stone cracked one by one, but her heart remained untouched. Meanwhile, the pilgrim, hidden, listened to her complaints. In the end, upon hearing the truth, he ruthlessly punishes the false heroes.

When comparing both versions, it is clear that they follow the same basic plot. However, the older version is more brutal, while the newer version has a more religious tone, is emotionally richer, and frequently suggests the story's truthfulness by referencing tradition.

uvijek postoji napetost u odnosima između naslijeđenog okvira koji postavlja tradicija i kreativnosti pripovjedača. Ona nije sporedna pojava, nego pripada načinu postojanja priča. Kreativnost pripovjedača može se iskazivati u “načinu jezičkog izražavanja, u načinima upotrebe formulnih obrata, u izboru i donekle karakteriziranju likova, u izboru, variranju i kontaminiranju sižea, pa čak i u narušavanju kanona vrste, npr. naglašenijom opisnom realistikom u slikanju likova i sredine, premda pri tome u više slučajeva bajka već prestaje biti bajkom” (Bošković-Stulli, 1983: 125). Priča koju je kazivala Smaila (Musić) Kalajdžija odražava stil i strukturu usmene bajke. Kreativnost pripovjedačice ogleda se u naglašenijoj religijskoj komponenti, pozivanju na istinitost i psihološkoj karakterizacija lika koji su nenametljivo utkani u tekst i ne narušavaju kanon vrste. Pored zabavne funkcije koja je prisutna u bajkama, u ovom primjeru izražena je i njezina poučna strana. Primjer zabilježen u bošnjačkoj sredini pokazuje bliskost s primjerima o nesretnim i progonjenim djevojkama i ženama zabilježenim u drugim sredinama. Zajednički međunarodno rasprostranjeni sižejni obrazac sadrži obilježja sredine koja ga je prenosila u dugom lancu usmenog kazivanja. Naposljetku, treba istaći da bilježenje usmenih bajki u savremeno doba pokazuje da je sudionicima usmene tradicije bajka i dalje zanimljiva te da ona i danas živi u pripovjedačkim repertoarima usmenih pripovjedačica i pripovjedača.

4. Concluding remarks

According to Maja Bošković-Stulli, one of the recurring issues that occupy the attention of researchers in oral literature is the relationship between tradition and innovation. During storytelling, there is always tension between the inherited framework set by tradition and the creativity of the storyteller. This is not a secondary phenomenon, but rather an essential aspect of the way stories exist. The creativity of the storyteller can be seen in various aspects, such as “the way language is used, the employment of formulaic phrases, the selection and partial characterisation of characters, the variation and blending of plots, and even the bending of genre conventions. For example, an emphasis on descriptive realism when portraying characters and settings may cause the story to lose its traditional fairy tale qualities (Bošković-Stulli, 1983: 125). The story shared by Smaila (Musić) Kalajdžija reflects the style and structure of an oral fairy tale. The storyteller’s creativity is particularly evident in the heightened religious elements, references to truth, and the psychological depth of the characters, all of which are subtly woven into the narrative without disrupting the genre’s core structure. In addition to their entertaining function, fairy tales in this example also carry an educational message. The story recorded within the Bosniak context shares similarities with tales of suffering and persecuted women and girls found in other cultures. The widely shared narrative pattern reflects the characteristics of the community that has passed it down through generations of oral storytelling. Finally, it is worth noting that the continued recording of oral fairy tales today shows that they still captivate participants in oral tradition, remaining an integral part of the storytelling repertoires of modern narrators.

Prilog¹

Kamenčić suburčić

Bila je jedna djevojčica i bila je jedna majka koja je imala svoju djevojčicu, curicu malu, od šest do sedam godina. One su bile u velikoj bijedi, i u siromaštvu su živjele. Njih dvije same su živjele. Mala djevojčica je išla u mejtef. Jednog dana, prolazeći na potu do tog mejtefa, morala je preći preko nekog mosta. A onda je djevojčica čula da je nešto ispod mosta reklo:

“Ti išla u mejtef, ne išla, ti ćeš sedam godina kod mrtvog ležati”.

I mala je otišla u mejtef taj dan, vratila se, došla kući, i ponovo sutradan krenula u mejtef. I opet joj to isto nešto reklo isto što i prethodni dan, ali je ona to, kad je došla kući, zaboravila majki reći. Kad je treći dan išla i prelazila preko tog mosta, čula je opet glas:

“Išla ti u mejtef, ne išla, ti ćeš sedam godina kod mrtvog ležati”.

Onda se djevojčica uplašila i vratila se, te nije taj dan otišla u mejtef. Vratila se kući i majki ispričala. I majka je tako, uznemirena, kazala:

“Hajmo, šćeri moja, idemo mi sad bježati”.

I one su bježale nekud preko šuma, preko planina. Uglavnom, zadesila ih je noć, i one su vidjele negdje visoko jednu kuću gdje gori svjetlo. I polahko su išle, išle, išle, oko kuće hodale. Visoko je bilo, da bi majka podigla tu svoju curicu i kroz prozor je ubacila, i kako je ona ušla u tu kuću, taj se prozor zatvorio, a žena nije mogla izaći

¹ Na ovome mjestu objavljuje se stilizirana verzija bajke radi lakšeg čitanja i razumijevanja. Izvorni oblik dostupan je u Zemaljskom muzeju pod navedenim indeksom. Analiza bajke vršena je prema izvornom tekstu. Stilizacija teksta: Alen Kalajdžija.

Annex¹

The Little Stone of Patience

There was a little girl and there was a mother who had a young daughter, no more than six or seven years old. They lived in great hardship, in a world of poverty. The two of them lived alone. The little girl attended the school. One day, on her way to the school, she had to cross a bridge. As she crossed, the little girl suddenly heard a voice coming from beneath the bridge.

It said, “Whether you go to the school or not, you will lie by the dead for seven years.”

The little girl went on to school that day, returned home, and the next day, she set off for school again. And again, as she crossed the bridge, she heard the same voice, saying the same words as the previous day. But when she came home, she forgot to tell her mother. On the third day, as she was crossing the bridge once more, she heard the voice again:

“Whether you go to the school or not, you will lie by the dead for seven years.”

This time, the little girl became frightened and turned back, deciding not to go to school that day. She returned home and told her mother what had happened. Her mother, worried and upset, said:

“Come on, my dear daughter, let’s run away,” said the mother.

So, they ran through forests and over mountains, trying to escape. As nightfall approached, they spotted a house high up on a hill, with a light shining from it. Slowly, they made their way toward the house,

¹ A stylised version of the fairy tale is provided here for easier reading and understanding. The original version can be found at the National Museum under the specified index. The analysis of the fairy tale was based on the original text. Text Stylisation by: Alen Kalajdžija

gore da se popne u tu kuću. I majka je, kažu, sedam dana hodala oko kuće i zvala je, ali djeteta više nije vidjela.

Kad je djevojčica ušla, shvatila je da je došla u veliku prostranu kuću, gdje je bilo dosta prostorija, te je razgledala. Kad je ušla u jednu prostoriju, vidjela je pokriveno tijelo. Ona je to otkrila i vidjela da pokriven čovjek leži, mrtav. Pored njega je bilo hrane, svakakve hrane – Allah valjda Dragi tako dao – nafaku, i Kur'an. I ona je sjela, i učila i učila i vazda je učila, i kako je učila, tako je i rasla, i odrasla. Sedam godina je živjela tako, da je postala poodrasla cura.

I onda, kad je prošla sedma godina, kad se navršavala, ona je izašla u drugu prostoriju, a čula je napolju da se čuje neko. I onda, ona se popela na prozor i pogledala, te je vidjela Ciganku sa dvije šćeri – u snu se ne snile! I onda je ona, iz znatiželje, zvala njih, i one su ušle kroz prozor. I one su bile tu jedno vrijeme, i u međuvremenu, kad je ta djevojka, djevojčica, izašla negdje u drugu prostoriju, čovjek nad kojim je ona učila – probudio se. Ustao je, sjeo i pitao:

“Ko je meni sedam godina učio?” A ova bi ti odma Ciganka rekla: “Ova moja šćer.”

I, kad je ona tu došla, ta djevojčica, djevojka, možda je imala tad petn'est-šes'n'est godina – tako mi je majka, Allarahmetile, pričala – kaže, ona je, kad je došla, začudila se i stala, a onda je pit'o ovaj čovjek:

“A ko vam je ovo?”

“A to je naša sluškinja”, rekla Ciganka.

I, ona je tu bila živjela, a on sad kaže tako:

“Ti si meni tako učila pored mene i bila strpljiva”, pa će on uzeti nju za ženu. A mala je ostala da bude sluškinja, i tako su življeli jedno dvije-tri godine. I sad se on spremio, hoće da ide na hadž.

Kaže on: “Sve sad govori šta ću kupiti”, a kaže ona – k'o ciganska posla: “Kupit

walking, and walking around it. It was high up, so the mother lifted her little girl and pushed her through the window. As soon as the girl entered the house, the window closed, and the mother found herself unable to climb up and join her daughter inside. It is said that the mother walked around the house for seven long days, calling out for her child, but she never saw her again.

When the little girl entered, she realised she had come into a large, spacious house with many rooms, and she began to explore. Upon entering one of the rooms, she saw a body covered with a cloth. She uncovered it and saw that the man was lying there, dead. Next to him, there was food—plenty of food, of all kinds—perhaps Allah Almighty had willed it — as well as a Qur'an. She sat down, prayed and prayed, and always kept on praying, and as she prayed, she grew, and eventually she grew up. For seven years, she lived like this, until she had become a young woman.

Then, when the seventh year was coming to an end, she went into another room and heard a sound from outside. She climbed up to the window, looked out, and saw a Gypsy woman with two daughters—it was something unimaginable! And out of curiosity, she called to them, and they climbed through the window. They stayed for a while, and in the meantime, when the girl stepped into another room, the man she had been praying for all this time suddenly woke up. He sat up and asked:

“Who has been praying for me for seven years?” And right away, the Gypsy woman said: “It was this daughter of mine.”

When the little girl, now maybe fifteen or sixteen years old, arrived – as my late mother, told me – she was astonished and stopped in her tracks. Then the man asked,

“Who is this?”

“That's our servant,” the Gypsy woman replied.

ćeš mi ovo, kupit ćeš mi ono, kupit ćeš mi ono...”

I sad je on sve to razmišlj'o i rek'o: “Neću ništa zaboraviti!” A onda pit'o ovu curu – ona je sad pravo cura.

E sad, kaže: “Pošto ti nas dobro služiš i što si fina, hajde reci šta tebi treba da kupimo?”

Ona rekla: “Ma ne treba mi ništa!”

“A ne može, moraš nešto reći šta da ti kupim.”

E kaže: “Kad toliko insistiraš, ti meni kupi sabur kamen. A ako mi ne budeš kupio taj sabur kamen, zaboraviš, da Bog da, preko nekog mosta, neke ćuprije, opet ne mog'o proč'.”

“Dobro, neću ti ja to”, kaže, “ni slučajno zaboraviti.”

I onda je on otiš'o na hadž, obavio hadž, i vrać'o se i vratio se. Sve hadžije prelaze preko toga mosta, on – a-a. Krene, i ne da mu nešta. Krene, ne da mu nešta. Ne može da prođe i gotovo. Dva-tri dana tako (bio). Zaboravio on za taj kamen sabur, i onda se on sjetio šta je. I vrati se i kupi taj kamen. A taj kamen sabur je crne boje, mali kamenčić. Njemu je to bilo sad čudo, i sve je razmišlj'o:

“Bože mili, zašto je ovo, i što će toj djevojci to?”

I kad je on doš'o tamo, vratio se, sve je podijelio te darove, poklone, i sad sve gled'o kud ova mala. A ova mala je, ova djevojka, dva-tri puta pokušavala da se iskrađe, ali nije mogla, vidjela da je on prati. I jedan dan se iskrala, i iza sijena negdje sjela, i uzela onaj kamen sabur u svoje ruke i gledala ga. I počela pričati:

“Kamenčiću suburčiću! Ja sam bila dijete od sedam godina, kamenčiću suburčiću! Živjela sam sa svojom majkom, sama, pa sam, kad sam prolazila preko ćuprije, ja sam čula nečiji glas, kamenčiću suburčiću,

And the girl lived here, and the man then said:

“You prayed for me patiently and stayed by my side,” he said, “so I'll take her as my wife.” The little girl remained as a servant, and they lived like this for two or three more years. Now, he was preparing to go on a pilgrimage.

He said, “Tell me everything you want me to buy.” “You'll buy me this, you'll buy me that, ...”

He thought about it all for a moment and said, “I won't forget a thing!” Then he asked the girl—who was now a young woman.

And he asked: “Since you've been so good to us and you're so kind, tell me, what do you want me to bring back for you?”

She replied, “Oh, I don't need anything!”

“No, that's not possible. You have to tell me something you'd like me to buy for you.”

So she said, “If you're insisting so much, buy me a stone of patience. And if you don't bring me that stone of patience, if you forget it, may God never let you pass over a bridge or any crossing again.”

“Alright,” he said, “I won't forget that, not for anything.”

So he went on the pilgrimage, completed it, and turned back and headed home. All the pilgrims passed over the bridge, but he—no. He tried, but something stopped him. He tried again, but still couldn't pass. He couldn't pass, and that was that. For two or three days, he was stuck. He had forgotten about the stone of patience, but then he remembered it. He turned back to buy the stone. The stone of patience was small and black. He found it strange, and he kept thinking about it:

“Good Lord, what is this, and why does that girl need it?”

When he returned and distributed all the gifts, he kept an eye on the little girl. She,

kako mi sve govori da, išla u mejtef, ne išla, sedam godina ću kod mrtva ležati, kamenčiću suburčiću, pa smo počele bježati...”, pa je ona sve to pričala, čitav svoj događaj..., “sedam godina sam, kamenčiću suburčiću, bila sama, učila sam, i bio je trenutak da se čovjek probudio.”

A ovaj čovjek, što je bio, on je sve sluš'o to, on je iza nje se sakrio i sluš'o. A kako je ona pričala, od te tuge taj kamen sabur je sve rast'o, rast'o. I na kraju, kad je rekla kako se on oženio, kako su je prevarile te Ciganke, i “ja sam i dalje ostala sirota i dalje sam tu”, kamen pukne, a ona kaže:

“E vidi, kamen puče, a srce moje ne može!”

I bila ponijela nož – da se ubije. I onda ti je on skočio, uzeo je, i vratio se u kuću, i onda je rek'o:

“Hajde sad, sve da mi priznate”, toj ženi i toj punici, “da mi kažete šta je sad istina. Je li to i to, je li to i to, je li to i to?”

“Jeste, sve je istina...”

I onda je on njih otpremio, i rek'o: “Hajte, a ona će ostati moja žena.”

I tako je ta priča se završila.

on the other hand, tried two or three times to sneak away, but she couldn't, as she saw that he was following her. One day, she managed to slip away, found a spot behind the haystack, and sat down, holding the stone of patience in her hands and gazing at it. Then she began to speak,

“Oh, little stone of patience! I was just a seven-year-old child, oh little stone of patience! I lived alone with my mother, and when I crossed the bridge, I heard a voice, telling me that whether I went to the school or not, I would spend seven years lying with the dead, so we fled...” She continued to tell her whole story, “Oh little stone of patience, for seven years I was alone. I prayed and prayed, and then the moment came when the man awoke.”

The man who had awoken was hiding behind her, quietly listening to every word she spoke. As she poured out her story, the stone of patience began to grow and grow. When she reached the part about his marriage, the deception of the Gypsy women, and how she had been left behind to suffer in silence, the stone could bear no more—it shattered into pieces.

“Look,” she cried, “the stone has broken, but my heart cannot!”

In her despair, she had brought a knife with her, ready to end her own life. At that moment, he [the man] leaped forward, grabbed her, and brought her back into the house.

He turned to the woman and her mother and demanded, “Now, tell me the truth! I want to hear it all. Did this happen? Did that happen? Is everything she said true?”

“Yes, it's all true...”, they admitted.

With that, he sent them away and declared, “Leave this house—she will remain here as my wife.”

And so, the story came to an end.

Izvor / Source

Kamenčić suburčić (usmena bajka), Odsjek za duhovnu kulturu Etnološkog odjeljenja Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Fascikla XXVIII-G, br. 16544. Vrijeme bilježenja: 9. 2. 2024. godine. Mjesto: Sarajevo. Općina: Vogošća. Zapisao: Alen Kalajdžija, diktafonom. Kazivač: Smaila Kalajdžija, rođ. Musić. Mjesto i godina rođenja: 1958. Međeđa. Narodnost: Bošnjak. Vjera: muslimanka. Gdje živi: Sarajevo, BiH. Školska sprema i gdje je učio: Penzioner.

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Izgradnja zbirke Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine (1942–1945)

Prema Zakonskoj odredbi o dostavljanju dužnostnih primjeraka tiskovina Hrvatskoj narodnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu, Knjižnici hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu i Gradskoj knjižnici u Dubrovniku iz augusta 1942. godine, i Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine (tada preimenovana u Knjižnicu Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu) imala je odgovornost prikupljanja obaveznog primjerka, a cilj ovoga preliminar-nog istraživanja je utvrditi kojom dinamikom se gradila zbirka Biblioteke od donošenja spomenute Zakonske odredbe do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata, odnosno da li se gradila i po principu obaveznog primjerka. Dok se pregledavanjem odgovarajuće inventarne knjige Biblioteke te arhivske građe Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine saznaju izvjesne informacije o dinamici gradnje zbirke Biblioteke, ipak nije moguće navedenom konsultiranom dokumentacijom potvrditi prispjeće obaveznog primjerka u Biblioteku u ovom kraćem razmatranom vremenskom periodu. Stoga su, kada je tradicija obaveznog primjerka u Bosni i Hercegovini u pitanju, potrebna dodatna istraživanja o službi obaveznog primjerka u vrlo specifičnim okolnostima Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ključne riječi: izgradnja zbirke, obavezni primjerak, Bosna i Hercegovina, Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Drugi svjetski rat

The Development of the BiH National Museum Library Collection (1942–1945)

According to the legal regulation on legal deposit to the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb, the Library of the Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo, and the City Library in Dubrovnik from August 1942, the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (then renamed to the Library of the Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo) also had the responsibility of collecting legal deposit. This preliminary research aims to examine the dynamics of the Library's collection development from the adoption of this legal provision until the end of World War II, specifically investigating whether the collection was built through the legal deposit system. While reviewing the relevant inventory book of the Library and archival materials of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, certain information about the dynamics of the Library's collection development was obtained. However, based on the consulted documentation, it is not possible to confirm the arrival of legal deposits in the Library during the shorter period under consideration. Therefore, regarding the legal deposit tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina, additional research is needed on the legal deposit system within the specific circumstances of World War II.

Keywords: collection development, legal deposit, Bosnia and Herzegovina, The Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, World War II

Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, najstarija naučna ustanova u Bosni i Hercegovini, osnovan je 1888. godine, kada se osniva i njegova Biblioteka, koja i danas baštini neprocjenjivo kulturno blago. Stoga ne iznenađuje što je djelovanju, izgradnji zbirke i uslugama ove prve naučne biblioteke u Bosni i Hercegovini, od njena osnivanja do danas, pažnju posvetio veći broj radova. Tako o počecima rada Biblioteke u periodu austrougarske uprave Hadžiosmanović donosi osnovne informacije, pojašnjavajući da ova Biblioteka “prikupljala je i čuvala publikacije neophodne za rad naučnika i stručnjaka same matične ustanove. Bogat i raznovrsan pisani materijal obezbijedila joj je, velikim dijelom, razmjena njenih glasila s edicijama raznih eminentnih naučnih ustanova van Bosne i Hercegovine. Sa druge strane, Biblioteka je imala veliku materijalnu pomoć režima. Za razliku od ostalih biblioteka pokretanih privatnom inicijativom, uz društva ili samostalnih, koje su ovisele o dobroj volji pojedinaca, muzejska Biblioteka je bila oslobođena materijalnih briga i poteškoća. Njen fond je popunjavao sistematski, s vidljivim trudom da se nabave djela potrebna radnicima Muzeja” (Hadžiosmanović, 1980: 206).

Pored Lalević i Dautović (1998), koje također tematiziraju rad Biblioteke do 1897. godine, o djelovanju Biblioteke saznaje se i iz *Spomenice u proslavu 50-godišnjeg opstanka Zemaljskog muzeja Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Sarajevu 1888–1938*, prema kojoj je Biblioteka već koncem 1892. godine imala “a) iz arheološko-umjetničko-histor. struka 294 djela u 384 sveske sa 150 brojeva i separata; b) iz prirodnjačkih struka 302 djela u 512 svezaka i separata” (Mandić, 1938: 17), a ta će se zbirka odgovarajućom dinamikom u nadolazećem

The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the oldest scientific institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was founded in 1888, along with its Library, which to this day preserves invaluable cultural heritage. It is therefore not surprising that several papers have focused on the activities, collection development, and services of this first scientific library in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from its founding to the present day. In his work on the early operations of the Library during the Austro-Hungarian period, Hadžiosmanović provides key information, explaining that the Library “collected and preserved publications essential for the work of the institution’s scientists and experts.” A rich and diverse collection of written material was largely secured through the exchange of the Library’s publications with editions from various prominent scientific institutions outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, the Library received significant financial support from the regime. Unlike other libraries established through private initiative, by societies, or independently, which depended on the goodwill of individuals, the museum’s Library was free from financial concerns and difficulties. Its collection was systematically expanded, with a clear effort to acquire works needed by the Museum’s staff” (Hadžiosmanović, 1980: 206).

In addition to Lalević and Dautović (1998), who also discuss the Library’s activities up until 1897, information about the Library’s operations can also be found in the *Spomenice u proslavu 50-godišnjeg opstanka Zemaljskog muzeja Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Sarajevu 1888–1938* [Collections celebrating the 50th anniversary of the National Museum of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Sarajevo, 1888–1938]. According to this publication, by the end of 1892, the Library had “a) 294 works in 384 volumes with 150 issues and

periodu graditi, pa će, prema Pejanoviću, kada je period između dva svjetska rata u pitanju, Biblioteka prije početka Drugog svjetskog rata, odnosno 1938. godine, imati “13.295 inventarnih brojeva” (Pejanović, 1960: 42), što prenosi i Mandić (1938: 17).

Uslugama Biblioteke i njenom fondu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata pažnju su posvetili primjerice izvještaji o radu Biblioteke objavljeni u *Glasniku Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, između ostalog, za 1953. godinu, 1954. godinu, 1955. godinu, 1956. godinu, 1957. godinu (Biblioteka, 1954; 1955; 1956; Izvještaj o radu Biblioteke, 1957; L[opac], 1958), prilozi u *Analima Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu za 1961. godinu* (Ćurić, 1962), zatim u *Analima Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu za 1963. godinu* (Ćurić, 1964), ili *Analima Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu za godinu 1964, 1965. i 1966.*, u kojima H. Ćurić, šef Biblioteke, donosi informacije o kontinuiranom popunjavanju fondova (domaćim i stranim knjigama i časopisima) te razmjeni publikacija, *Glasnika* i knjiga, s ustanovama u zemlji i inostranstvu u ovom vremenskom periodu, kao i o drugim uslugama i aktivnostima Biblioteke (Ćurić, 1967).

Bibliotekom su se bavili i radovi objavljeni povodom drugih značajnih godišnjica Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, odnosno i Biblioteke, npr. u *Analima Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu: 1938–1962.* (Benac, 1963), a u *Biltenu Društva bibliotekara Bosne i Hercegovine*, kasnije preimenovanom u časopis *Bibliotekarstvo*, pored Ćurića (1968), o Biblioteci piše i Ljubičić (1985), koja podsjeća na neke od najznačajnijih inkunabula i rukopisa koje Biblioteka čuva, pri čemu Biblioteku tematiziraju u monografskim publikacijama

offprints from the archaeological, artistic, and historical fields; b) 302 works in 512 volumes and offprints from natural sciences” (Mandić, 1938: 17). This collection continued to grow steadily over time. According to Pejanović, by 1938, just before the outbreak of World War II, the Library had “13,295 inventory numbers” (Pejanović, 1960: 42), a figure also cited by Mandić (1938: 17).

After World War II, the services and collection of the Library received attention in reports published in the *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* [Eng. Journal of the National Museum of Sarajevo], including those for the years 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957 (Biblioteka, 1954; 1955; 1956; *Izvještaj o radu Biblioteke*, 1957; L[opac], 1958), as well as in contributions to the *Anali Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu za 1961.* [Eng. Annals of the National Museum of Sarajevo for 1961 (Ćurić, 1962), *Anali Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu za 1963* [Eng. Annals of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1963] (Ćurić, 1964), and *Anali Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu za 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966* [Annals of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1964, 1965, and 1966], in which H. Ćurić, head of the Library, provided information about the continuous expansion of the collection (with domestic and foreign books and journals), the exchange of publications, *Journals* and books, with institutions both domestically and abroad during this period, as well as other services and activities of the Library (Ćurić, 1967).

The Library has been the focus of many works published to mark significant anniversaries of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Library itself, e.g., *Anali Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu: 1938–1962.* (Benac, 1963), *Bilten Društva bibliotekara Bosne i Hercegovine* [the Newsletter of the Library Society of

i Bašović (1977) ili pak u novije vrijeme Čeliković, prema kojem je Biblioteka 2010. godine imala “oko 250.000 bibliotekskih jedinica” (Čeliković, 2019: 433).

Biblioteka trenutno ima oko “300 000 svezaka publikacija (knjiga, časopisa novina)”.¹

Dok su radu Biblioteke prije i poslije Drugog svjetskog rata posvećeni navedeni odabrani radovi, o djelovanju i izgradnji zbirke Biblioteke tokom trajanja Drugog svjetskog rata poneke informacije su ponuđene u naprimjer *Spomenici stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888–1988*. Za *Spomenicu* Bašović (1988) priređuje opsežan tekst o historijatu Biblioteke, u kojem se dotiče i Drugog svjetskog rata, u kojem periodu poslovanje Biblioteke prati i donošenje Zakonske odredbe o dostavljanju dužnosnih primjeraka tiskovina Hrvatskoj narodnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu, Knjižnici Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu i Gradskoj knjižnici u Dubrovniku u augustu 1942. godine.

Prema ovoj Zakonskoj odredbi (čl. 1): “Svaki nakladnik dužan je Hrvatskoj narodnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu, knjižnici Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu i Gradskoj knjižnici u Dubrovniku dostaviti izravno i besplatno, u dobrom stanju i u najboljoj opremi po jedan primjerak od svega što se u njegovoj nakladi tiska ili na bilo koji način grafički umnožava na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ili izvan države. Nakladnik ima dostaviti dužnostni primjerak, čim se djelo počne prodavati ili inače razpačavati.” Dalje se u čl. 1 navodi: “Osim toga, dužan je svaki tiskar dostavljati Hrvatskoj narodnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu izravno, besplatno

Bosnia and Herzegovina], later renamed *Bibliotekarstvo*. Alongside Ćurić (1968), Ljubičić (1985) also wrote about the Library, highlighting some of its most important incunabula and manuscripts. The Library has also been explored in monographic publications by Bašović (1977) and, more recently, by Čeliković, who reported that in 2010, the Library held “around 250,000 library units” (Čeliković, 2019: 433).

The Library currently holds around “300,000 volumes of publications (books, journals, newspapers).”¹

While the above-mentioned selected works focus on the Library’s operations before and after World War II, some information about the Library’s activities and collection development during the war can be found in, for example, *Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888–1988* [The Centenary of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1888–1988]. In the *Spomenica*, Bašović (1988) provides an extensive overview of the Library’s history, including its activities during World War II. This period saw the adoption of the Legal Regulation on Legal Deposit of August 1942, which mandated the submission of legal deposits to the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb, the Library of the Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo, and the City Library in Dubrovnik.

According to this Regulation (Article 1): “Every publisher is required to directly and free of charge deliver one copy of everything published or reproduced in any graphic form within the Independent State of Croatia or abroad, in good condition and with the best possible binding, to the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb, the Library of the Croatian

¹ Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Biblioteka. <https://zermaljskimuzej.ba/bs/biblioteka> [5. 9. 2024].

¹ Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Biblioteka. <https://zermaljskimuzej.ba/bs/biblioteka> [5. 9. 2024].

i u dobrom stanju po jedan primjerak od svega, što on tiska ili na bilo koji način grafički umnožava. Tiskar ima dostaviti dužnostni primjerak, čim se djelo dotiska. Ta se odredba odnosi i na posebne odtiske” (Zakonska odredba, 1942: 154). Čl. 2 Zakonske odredbe pak pojašnjava da: “Na svakom djelu mora biti odtisnuta točna godina njegova izdanja, a kod djela, koje je namijenjeno prodaji, mora biti označena i cijena. Kod prevedenih djela mora biti naveden i izvorni naziv djela.” Dalje se u čl. 3 Zakonske odredbe navodi da: “Djelo, koje se ne dostavi knjižnicama u skladu sa propisima 1. i 2, smatrat će se kao da nije dostavljeno”, dok se u čl. 4 precizira da “propisi ove zakonske odredbe vriede i za one tiskovine, koje državna oblast zabrani” (Zakonska odredba, 1942: 155).

Prema ovoj Zakonskoj odredbi Nezavisne države Hrvatske (1941–1945) i Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, tada preimenovana u Knjižnicu Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu, pored ustanova u Zagrebu i Dubrovniku, prikuplja obavezni primjerak, a kako u postojećim istraživanjima i radovima posvećenim Biblioteci postoji puno nepoznanica o tome, cilj ovoga preliminarnog istraživanja je utvrditi kako se gradila zbirka Biblioteke od 1942. do 1945. godine, odnosno da li se zbirka Biblioteke gradila i po principu obaveznog primjerka u vrlo specifičnim okolnostima Drugog svjetskog rata.

Kako bi se ustanovilo kojom dinamikom se gradila zbirka Biblioteke te da li je i na koji način bio uređen sistem obaveznog primjerka u razmatranom vremenskom periodu, u okviru ovoga preliminarnog istraživanja pregledavale su se inventarne knjige Biblioteke, u maju i septembru 2024. godine, dok je uvid u arhivsku građu Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine

National Museums in Sarajevo, and the City Library in Dubrovnik. The publisher is required to deliver the legal deposit as soon as the work begins to be sold or otherwise circulated.” Further, Article 1 states: “Furthermore, every printer is obligated to deliver directly, free of charge, and in good condition one copy of everything he prints or reproduces in any graphic form to the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb. The printer is required to deliver the legal deposit as soon as the work is printed. This provision also applies to special editions” (Legal provision, 1942: 154). Article 2 further clarifies that: “Each work must indicate the exact year of publication, and for works intended for sale, the price must also be specified. In the case of translated works, the original title must be provided.” Article 3 states that: “Works that are not delivered to the libraries in accordance with the provisions of Articles 1 and 2 will be considered as not delivered,” while Article 4 specifies that “the provisions of this regulation also apply to those publications that are banned by the state authorities” (Regulation, 1942: 155).

Under this legal provision of the Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945), the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was renamed the Library of the Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo, was also required to collect mandatory copies, alongside the institutions in Zagreb and Dubrovnik. Given the many unknowns in existing research and works dedicated to the Library, this preliminary study aims to explore how the Library’s collection was developed between 1942 and 1945, and whether it followed the legal deposit principle under the unique circumstances of World War II.

To understand how the Library’s collection was developed and whether the legal deposit system was implemented during this period, this preliminary research involved

u Arhivu Bosne i Hercegovine, koji je za-primio kompletan arhiv Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, ostvaren u julu te septembru 2024. godine, pri čemu se konsultirala arhivska građa perioda od 1942. do 1945. godine, ali zbog potrebe istraživanja i građa iz 1940. godine.

1. Zbirka Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine tokom Drugog svjetskog rata

Nemilosrdne okolnosti Drugog svjetskog rata uticale su na sve baštinske ustanove Bosne i Hercegovine, pa i na Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, koji, kako Busuladžić pojašnjava “najnižu tačku djelovanja u svojoj dotadašnjoj historiji doživljava u periodu od 1941. do 1945. godine” (Busuladžić, 2009: 147), što se posljedično reflektira i na rad njegove Biblioteke.

Prema dostupnoj dokumentaciji, u periodu od 1941. do 1945. godine, iako nije u cijelosti zaustavljeno, odvijanje naučno-istraživačkog rada u Muzeju manjega je intenziteta (Dramušić, 1963: 51–53), što istovremeno prate i naponi da se zaštiti i sačuva kulturno blago Muzeja, pa se primjerice, zbog učestalog bombardovanja Sarajeva, 9. decembra 1943. godine pohranjuje vrijedna građa u trezor Zemaljske banke u Sarajevu, a uz Zapisnik o tome prilaže, između ostalog, i “Popis skupocijenih predmeta koji su pohranjeni u tresorima Zemaljske banke d.d. u Sarajevu”:

“1 knjiga ‘Hagara’ (sic!)

Povelja Kralja Tvrtka

3 zlatne spirale iz predpoviesnog doba i

1 veliki briljantni prsten” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 1262/43).

Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine Drugi svjetski rat dočekuje

reviewing the Library’s inventory books in May and September 2024. In addition, access was gained to the archival materials of the BiH National Museum Archive in July and September 2024. This allowed the examination of records from 1942 to 1945, as well as relevant materials from 1940, which were also essential for the study.

1. The Collection of the Bosnia and Herzegovina National Museum Library During World War II

The harsh realities of World War II impacted all heritage institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Busuladžić explains, the museum “reached its lowest point in its history” between 1941 and 1945 (Busuladžić, 2009: 147), and this downturn was also reflected in the operations of its Library.

According to available documentation, between 1941 and 1945, although the Museum’s scientific and research activities were not entirely halted, they were significantly reduced in intensity (Dramušić, 1963: 51–53). At the same time, efforts were made to protect and preserve the Museum’s cultural assets. For instance, due to frequent bombings in Sarajevo, valuable materials were stored in the vault of *Zemaljska banka* [National Bank] in Sarajevo on December 9, 1943. A report was created, which included, among other things, a “List of valuable items stored in the vaults of *Zemaljska banka* d.d. in Sarajevo”:

“1 knjiga ‘Hagara’ (sic!) [“1 book ‘Hagara’] Povelja Kralja Tvrtka [Charter of King Tvrtko]

3 zlatne spirale iz predpoviesnog doba, [3 golden spirals from the prehistoric period], and

1 veliki briljantni prsten [and 1 large diamond ring]” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 1262/43).

s reprezentativnom zbirkom. Biblioteka je 1941. godine, posjedovala “13295 svezaka, od toga 1841 orijentalnu knjigu, 303 geografske karte i 1400 svezaka u Turskom arhivu” (Bašović, 1977: 263), dok je u Biblioteci Derviš M. Korkut bio bibliotekar, kustos. Korkut je ranije, prema dostupnom “Zapisniku o primopredaji Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu”, Biblioteku preuzeo od Petra Đ. Markovića, 16. maja 1940. godine, kojom prilikom je napravljena i revizija Biblioteke (ABiH, ZMS, 1940, 438/40).

Usto, u Biblioteci tokom Drugog svjetskog rata “knjižničar je bio Viktor Živić (1942), a Turski arhiv je vodio kustos Hazim Šabanović (1941)” (Bašović, 1988: 378), s napomenom da tokom Drugog svjetskog rata, na samom kraju 1942. godine, dolazi i do manje poznate “upravljačke promjene” u radu Biblioteke. Naime, prema zapisniku iz 7. decembra spomenute godine, Derviš Korkut je predao dalje Biblioteku Josipu Korošecu, kustosu. Predaja je prema Zapisniku “izvršena na osnovi starog zapisnika od 3. ožujka 1939 bez revizije same knjižnice, jer je i primalac poznaje ispravnost knjižnice pošto je učestvovao u ranijoj reviziji.” Također: “Predaja je izvršena privremeno s tim da se dovrše zaostali poslovi oko unašanja u našastar i oko uređenja biblioteke, i da se kasnije povrati g. Derviš Korkutu” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 644/42). Ova predaja je zaista bila privremenog karaktera (iako nije dostupan Zapisnik o “vraćanju” biblioteke Korkutu) jer se u nadolazećem periodu, u konsultiranoj arhivskoj građi, kao upravitelj Biblioteke potpisuje Korkut.

Rad Biblioteke u Drugom svjetskom ratu karakterizirala su izvjesna ograničenja, odnosno njeno poslovanje se odvijalo u kontroliranim uslovima. Takve okolnosti

When World War II broke out, the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina possessed a significant collection. In 1941, the Library held “13,295 volumes, including 1,841 oriental books, 303 geographical maps, and 1,400 volumes in the Turkish archive” (Bašović, 1977: 263), with Derviš M. Korkut serving as the librarian and curator. According to the available “Record of the Handover of the Library of the National Museum in Sarajevo,” Korkut took over the library from Petar Đ. Marković on May 16, 1940, during which a review of the library was conducted (ABiH, ZMS, 1940, 438/40).

During World War II, “Viktor Živić served as the librarian (1942), while curator Hazim Šabanović (1941) managed the Turkish archive” (Bašović, 1988: 378). However, towards the end of 1942, there was an often-overlooked “administrative change” in the library’s operations. According to the record from December 7, 1942, Derviš Korkut handed over the library to Josip Korošec, the curator. The transfer, according to the record, was “carried out based on the old record from March 3, 1939, without a revision of the library itself, as the new curator was already familiar with its accuracy, having participated in the previous review.” Also: “The handover was temporary, with the understanding that the remaining tasks related to cataloguing and organising the library would be completed and that the library would later be returned to Mr. Derviš Korkut” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 644/42). This handover was indeed temporary (although the record of the “return” of the library to Korkut is not available), as in the subsequent period, the archival documents consulted show that Korkut is listed as the head of the library.

During World War II, the Library’s operations were marked by certain limitations, and its activities were carried out

dosta dobro ilustrira dopis Muzeja upućen Ministarstvu nastave, odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, u maju 1942. godine, s molbom sljedećeg sadržaja:

“Knjižnici ovih muzeja često se obraćaju mnoge naše naučne ustanove i osobe, koje se bave naukom s molbom za besplatno izdavanje muzejskih izdanja. Pošto se ta izdanja mogu izdavati besplatno samo uz odobrenje Ministarstva nastave, ovom je Upraviteljstvu čast zamoliti Ministarstvo da odobri, da se svim naučnim ustanovama mogu besplatno izdavati sva izdanja ovih muzeja i to u zamjenu za njihova izdanja, srednjim školama za njihove knjižnice, te pojedinim osobama, koje se bave naukom ili zgodimice u promičbene svrhe” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 436/42).

Iako se ova molba, iznenađujuće, odobrila (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 48719/42), već naredne godine uslijedit će donošenje nove zabrane koja se odnosi na pružanje bibliotečko-informacijskih usluga u Biblioteci. U aprilu 1943. godine Biblioteka se obavještava, po “nalogu g. ministra narodne prosvjete”, da “u buduće bez posebne pismene dozvole Ministarstva narodne prosvjete, odjela za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, knjige, časopise, novine i t.d. tiskane ćirilicom kao ni tiskopise marksistićkog sadržaja” ne smije posuđivati “nikome na uporabu”, te da: “Dozvole će se izdavati na temelju podnesene molbe, te pismenog i obrazloženog prijedloga glava-ra odnosno ustanove” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 29.583/43).

Dok se posudba građe Biblioteke odvija u kontroliranim uslovima, kada je izgradnja zbirke Biblioteke u pitanju, uključujući zbirke obaveznog primjerka, a nakon donošenja Zakonske odredbe o dostavljanju obaveznog primjerka i ovoj ustanovi, pored postojeće literature, i saćuvana dokumentacija u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i

under controlled conditions. The circumstances are clearly illustrated by a letter sent by the Museum to the Ministry of Education, Department for Higher Education and Scientific Institutes, in May 1942, with the following request:

“The library of these museums is frequently approached by several scientific institutions and individuals engaged in research, requesting free lending of museum publications. Since these publications can only be lent for free with the approval of the Ministry of Education, we respectfully request that the Ministry grant permission for the free lending of all museum publications to scientific institutions in exchange for their publications, to secondary schools for their libraries, and individuals engaged in research or for promotional purposes” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 436/42).

Although this request was surprisingly approved (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 48719/42), the following year a new ban was enacted, this time concerning the provision of library and information services at the Library. In April 1943, the Library was notified, “by order of the Ministry of National Education, that no books, magazines, newspapers, etc., printed in Cyrillic or any publications with Marxist content” were to be lent out to “anyone for use” without special written permission from the Ministry of National Education, Department for Higher Education and Scientific Institutions, and that: “Permits will be issued based on a submitted request, along with a written and reasoned proposal from the head or institution” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 29.583/43).

While the lending of materials from the Library occurred under controlled conditions, the development of its collection, including the legal deposit collections—followed the new legal provision requiring the delivery of such copies to this institution—the preserved documentation

Hercegovine tek donekle pomaže sticanju uvida u stanje i načine popunjavanja fondova Biblioteke od 1942. godine do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata, što je rezultat vrlo specifično vođenih inventarnih knjiga u Biblioteci. Naime, starije inventarne knjige Biblioteke djelimično su popunjavane, uključujući konsultiranu inventarnu knjigu III: 10401-15600, u kojoj su zavedene i publikacije koje su dospjele u Biblioteku, prema dostupnim, odnosno unesenim podacima u inventarnoj knjizi, između 30. 5. 1922. godine i (narednog unesenog datuma upisa u inventarnoj knjizi) 15. 10. 1945. godine. U spomenutu inventarnu knjigu unosili su se podaci o spremišnoj signaturi, struci, autoru, naslovu djela, izdanju, obliku (veličini) i slično, dok se nisu, ili su se rijetko unosili podaci koji se odnose na spomenuti datum upisa ili pak na način prispjeca građe u Biblioteku (način dobave – kupovina, poklon, zamjena). Nije dosljedno popunjavano ni polje napomene, usljed čega je teško ustanoviti na koji način (poklonima, kupovinom, razmjenom) i kada sva građa dolazi u Biblioteku, odnosno nemoguće je i na odgovarajući način dokazati da građa dolazi u Biblioteku i po principu obaveznog primjerka (između 30. 5. 1922. godine i 15. 10. 1945. godine).

S druge strane, sačuvana arhivska građa Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine sadrži neke informacije o dinamici i načinima izgradnje zbirke Biblioteke u navedenom vremenskom periodu. Tako o stanju fonda Biblioteke u 1942. godini saznajemo iz dopisa od 14. 7. 1942. godine, u okviru kojeg Uredništvu zbornika *Naša domovina* Muzej šalje popunjeni upitnik "Upitni arak br. 2 za sastav pregleda arhiva, muzeja i posebnih zbirki u prikazu 'Suvremeni kulturni život Hrvata' u zborniku 'Naša domovina' za g. 1942."

in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the existing literature, provides limited insight into the state and methods of collection development from 1942 until the end of World War II due to the very specific way inventory records were maintained in the Library. The older inventory books of the Library were only partially completed, including the consulted inventory book III: 10401-15600, which lists publications received by the Library between May 30, 1922, and October 15, 1945, according to the available data entered in the inventory. The inventory book in question recorded details such as shelfmark, subject, author, title, edition, and format (size), but rarely included information about the date of entry or the method of acquisition (purchase, donation, or exchange). The "Notes" field was inconsistently filled, making it difficult to determine how (through donations, purchases, or exchanges) and when the materials arrived at the Library. Consequently, it is impossible to reliably confirm that the materials were acquired under the legal deposit principle (between May 30, 1922, and October 15, 1945).

On the other hand, the preserved archival material of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina contains some information about the dynamics and methods of building the Library's collection during the specified period. The condition of the Library's collection in 1942 is documented in a letter dated July 14, 1942, in which the Museum sent a completed questionnaire titled "Questionnaire No. 2 for the Overview of Archives, Museums, and Special Collections in the Section 'Suvremeni kulturni život Hrvata' [Contemporary Cultural Life of Croats] in the 1942 Edition of the 'Naša domovina' Anthology to the editorial board of the anthology."

Potvrđujući, iako neznatno, što je opravdano i ratnim okolnostima, popunjavanje fonda Biblioteke u odnosu na naprimjer period iz 1938. godine, o kojem je izvijestio Pejanović (1960: 42), prema ovom ispunjenom upitniku:

“Muzejska biblioteka ima: u svemu 13629 knjiga na inventaru. Naših časopisa drži 11 stranih: 26.

Balkanski institut ima:

- 1) orijentalnu knjižnicu sa 2500 knjiga
- 2) biblioteku drugih knjiga sa 9.256 svezaka
- 3) zbirku klišeja od 236 komada
- 4) zbirku karata od 303 komada

Turski arhiv ima:

- 1) biblioteku *acta turcica* od 5108 svezaka
- 2) rukopisa i priručnih djela 1482 komada” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 803/42).

Uprkos ratnim nedaćama, i u nadolazećem periodu rada Biblioteke, sve do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata, a izvan sistema obaveznog primjerka, prema dostupnoj dokumentaciji, osim razmjenom građe s ustanovama, fond Biblioteke se dodatno bogati kupovinom i poklonima.

Godine 1943. Biblioteka tako dobiva iz Njemačke na poklon “jedan sanduk naučnih knjiga na stranom jeziku u mekom povezu” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 230/43), dok istovremeno, valja naglasiti, i Biblioteka poklanja knjige i izdanja Muzeja drugim ustanovama, o čemu svjedoči recimo dopis Medicinskog fakultetu u Sarajevu upućen Muzeju iz 1944. godine, u kojem se Fakultet zahvaljuje na dostavljenim izdanjima *Glasnika*, ali i knjigama (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 106/44).

Kada je kupovina građe u pitanju, primjera radi, u septembru 1942. godine nabavlja se čak 716 knjiga iz biblioteke Karla Malya za Botaničko odjeljenje, uz koju se

Confirming, albeit slightly, what can be justified by the wartime circumstances, the development of the Library’s collection compared to the period of 1938, as reported by Pejanović (1960: 42), according to this completed questionnaire:

“The Museum Library has a total of 13,629 books in its inventory. It holds 11 domestic, and 26 foreign journals 26.

The Balkan Institute has:

- 1) an oriental collection with 2,500 books
- 2) a collection of other books with 9,256 volumes
- 3) a collection of 236 printing plates
- 4) a collection of 303 maps

The Turkish Archive has:

- 1) a collection of 5,108 volumes of *Acta Turcica*
- 2) 1,482 manuscripts and reference works” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 803/42).

Despite the wartime challenges, the Library’s collection continued to grow throughout the remainder of World War II. In addition to the exchange of materials with other institutions, the collection was further enriched through purchases and donations, outside the legal deposit system, as indicated by the available documentation.

In 1943, the Library received a gift from Germany: “a crate of scientific books in a foreign language with soft covers” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 230/43). At the same time, it is important to note that the Library also donated books and publications to other institutions. This is exemplified by a letter from the Faculty of Medicine in Sarajevo to the Museum, dated 1944, in which the Faculty expresses its gratitude for the delivered publications of the *Glasnik* and books (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 106/44).

When it comes to acquisition, in September 1942, for example, the Library acquired 716 books from the library of

dostavlja i “Popis knjiga iz knjižnice g. Karla Maly-a iz Sarajeva, koja je kupljena za Botaničko odjeljenje Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 1116/42), a nešto ranije pokušala se otkupiti i zaplijenjena zbirka knjiga za Biblioteku.

Naime, kustos dr. Svetislav Plavšić u dopisu od 13. 5. 1942. godine upoznao je Muzej o tome da postoje tri velika sanduka zaplijenjenih knjiga “od vrijednosti” u Visokom, kao i “opasnost da te knjige budu prodate ni bud zašto, a možda i na kilu kao papir”, zbog čega moli da “Naslov učini sve što je moguće sa svoje strane da se ta tri sanduka knjiga predadu Muzeju u njegovo vlasništvo i da se pohrane u Muzejskoj biblioteci” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 458/42). Dok je Korkut temeljem te obavijesti kustosta Plavišića predložio da kustos Šabanović procijeni vrijednost i donese odluku o kupovini, navedena zbirka knjiga ipak ne postaje dijelom Biblioteke jer “prema uputama Državne riznice/ured za podržavljeni imetak/... sve knjige stavljene su na raspolaganje Državnom tajništvu u Zagrebu” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 572/42).

Iz prijedloga budžeta Muzeja je vidljivo da su planirana sredstva za nabavku građe za Biblioteku, iako nevelika. U prijedlogu Budžeta za 1943. godinu za Biblioteku su bila predviđena “Za nabavu i uvez knjiga, časopisa i novina” sredstva u iznosu od “60.000 kuna”, s pojašnjenjem da se u ratnim okolnostima “veoma teško dolazi do dobrih knjiga, a i te su neobično skupe, pa se sve potrebne knjige ne mogu nabaviti” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 1062/42).

U prijedlogu pak budžeta za 1944. godinu “Za nabavu i uvez knjiga, časopisa i novina” predviđeno je “100.000” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 881/43) kuna, a u prijedlogu budžeta Zemaljskog muzeja za 1945.

Karl Malya for the Botanical Department, along with a “List of books from Mr. Karl Malya’s library in Sarajevo, purchased for the Botanical Department of the Croatian National Museums in Sarajevo” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 1116/42). Earlier, there was also an attempt to purchase a confiscated book collection for the Library.

On May 13, 1942, curator Dr. Svetislav Plavšić informed the Museum about three large crates of confiscated books of “value” in Visoko. He expressed concern that “these books might be sold cheaply or even sold as scrap paper”. Therefore, he requested that “the authorities do everything possible on their part to transfer these three crates of books to the Museum’s ownership and to store them in the Museum’s library” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 458/42). Following Curator Plavšić’s notification, Korkut proposed that Curator Šabanović assess the value of the collection and make a decision regarding its purchase. However, the collection of books was not added to the Library, as “according to instructions from the State Treasury/Office for Property Nationalisation/... all the books were made available to the State Secretariat in Zagreb” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 572/42).

The Museum’s budget proposal indicates that funds were allocated for acquiring materials for the Library, although the amount was modest. The 1943 budget proposal allocated “60,000 kuna” for the acquisition and binding of books, magazines, and newspapers for the Library, with the explanation that due to wartime circumstances, “it is extremely difficult to obtain good books, and those available are exceptionally expensive, so not all the necessary books can be acquired” (ABiH, ZMS, 1942, 1062/42).

In the 1944 budget proposal, “100,000 kuna was allocated for the acquisition and binding of books, magazines, and newspapers” (ABiH, ZMS, 1943, 881/43). Meanwhile, in the 1945 budget proposal of

godinu, za sekciju nabave i uveza knjiga, časopisa i novina, “predviđeno je samo Kn 200.000” sa sljedećim pojašnjenjem: “Obzirom na ratne prilike, kada se teško dolazi do dobrih knjiga, a i te su veoma skupe, zadovoljili smo se sa prednjom svotom, da s njom nabavimo ono što je najpotrebnije” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 897/44).

Dok arhivska građa potvrđuje da se zbirka Biblioteke gradi kupovinom, razmjenom te poklonima, slično ranije spomenutoj inventarnoj knjizi Biblioteke, ona ne sadrži dokaze ili naznake prispjeca obaveznog primjerka u Biblioteku od 1942. godine do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata. Jedini spomen obaveznog primjerka pojavljuje se u dostupnoj pretraženoj arhivskoj građi (1942–1945) u prvoj polovini 1942. godine i ne odnosi se na Zakonsku odredbu iz 1942. godine (koja je donesena u augustu), kada se od Zemaljskog muzeja traži da “dva politička časopisa sedmična” objavljujavana u Tuzli iza 1929. godine dostavi na uvid Ministarstvu šumarstva i kumarstva, sa sljedećim pojašnjenjem: “Ovi se listovi u Tuzli više ne mogu dobiti. Ni državno tužiteljstvo ih više nema, jer iste primjerke nakon stanovitog vremena poništava. Prema izvještaju državnog tužiteljstva, tiskare su bile dužne dostaviti ove brojeve svoga lista i ravnateljstvu tog muzeja” (ABiH, 1942, tajni, 611/42).

U odgovoru na dopis D. Korkut piše da prema “jugoslovenskom Zakonu o štampi” Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja nije bila depozitarna ustanova: “Vraćajući dopis čast mi je izvijestiti da u muzejskoj knjižnici nema nijednog polit. sedmičnog časopisa, koji su izlazili u Tuzli, o čemu sam se uvjerio pregledavši vrlo pažljivo kartoteku svih stranih i domaćih časopisa. Koliko ja znam, nije tačno, što se kaže u izvještaju državnog tužiteljstva, da su tiskare

the National Museum, “only 200,000 kuna was designated for the same purpose”, accompanied by the following explanation: “Considering the wartime conditions, which make it difficult to obtain quality books and drive up their cost, we have settled for the allocated amount to acquire only the most essential materials” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 897/44).

While archival records confirm that the Library’s collection was expanded through purchases, exchanges, and donations, similar to the previously mentioned Library inventory book, they contain no evidence or indications of legal deposits being delivered to the Library from 1942 until the end of World War II. The only reference to legal deposit in the available archival records (1942–1945) appears in the first half of 1942 and does not pertain to the legal provision of 1942 (enacted in August). During this time, the National Museum was asked to submit “two weekly political journals” published in Tuzla after 1929 for review by the Ministry of Forestry and Mining, accompanied by the following explanation: These publications are no longer available in Tuzla. The state prosecutor’s office no longer possesses them either, as the copies are destroyed after a certain period. According to the state prosecutor’s report, the printing houses were obligated to deliver these issues to the museum’s administration” (ABiH, 1942, classified, 611/42).

In his response to the letter, D. Korkut wrote that, according to the Yugoslav Press Law, the National Museum Library was not a depository institution: “In reply to your letter, I have the honor to inform you that the museum library holds no political weekly magazines published in Tuzla, as I have carefully verified by reviewing the catalogue of all domestic and foreign periodicals. As far as I know, it is not correct, as stated in the report of the public prosecutor’s office, that printing houses were

bile dužne dostavljati ravnateljstvu naših Muzeja brojeve listova, koje su štampale. Po jugoslovenskom Zakonu o štampi pisci i tiskare su bili dužni besplatno slati svoje edicije samo nekolicini javnih knjižnica i ustanova u Beogradu, Zagrebu i Ljubljani, ali naša knjižnica nije dobivala ništa *ex officio* nego samo u zamjenu za Glasnik Zemalj. Muzeja, na poklon i za gotov novac” (ARBiH, ZMS, tajni, 1942, 18/42).

Ovdje se Korkut vjerovatno poziva na raniji Zakon o štampi iz 1925. godine, koji je revidiran 1929. godine, a u kojem se, u čl. 6, precizira: “Štampar je dužan pre početka rasturanja, da od svakih štampanih novina i povremenih spisa, dostavi po pet primeraka državnom tužiocu odnosno mesnoj državnoj policijskoj vlasti, od kojih će jedan primerak zadržati za sebe, jedan dostaviti Narodnoj Biblioteci u Beogradu, jedan Sveučilišnoj Biblioteci u Zagrebu, jedan Državnoj Licealnoj Biblioteci u Ljubljani, a jedan oblasnoj državnoj ili javnoj biblioteci” (Zakon o štampi, 1929: 7).

U odnosu na spomenuti izvještaj o fondu Biblioteke u 1942. godini, u posljednjoj godini Drugog svjetskog rata o stanju priručnih biblioteka tadašnjeg Geološkog, Entomološkog i Fitopatološkog odjela doznajemo iz izvještaja koji po nalogu Ćurčića tajnik Muzeja M. Martić podnosi na više stranica teksta, pri čemu u prilogu izvještaja dostavlja i niz pratećih popisa, kao dokaze utvrđenih nepravilnosti u predmetnim bibliotekama.

Tako 11. januara 1945. Martić potpisuje, odnosno donosi “Popis knjiga koje fale a zabilježene su u katalogu priručne biblioteke entomološke zbirke”, te “Popis klišeja i svjetlopisa u Fitopatološkoj knjižnici pri ovom Muzeju” (“Klišeji s nadpisom ali bez Inv. broja”; klišeji “bez nadpisa i bez Inv. broja”). Dana 14. 1. 1945. godine

required to send copies of the newspapers they printed to the management of our Museums. Under the Yugoslav Press Act, authors and printing houses were obligated to send their editions free of charge only to a few public libraries and institutions in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. However, our library did not receive anything *ex officio*; it only received publications in exchange for the *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, as gifts, or for cash” (ARBiH, ZMS, classified, 1942, 18/42).

Here, Korkut is likely referring to the earlier Press Act of 1925, revised in 1929, which specifies in Article 6: “Before distributing, the printer is required to deliver five copies of each printed newspaper and periodical to the state prosecutor or the local state police authority. Of these, one copy is to be kept by the printer, one delivered to the National Library in Belgrade, one to the University Library in Zagreb, one to the State High School Library in Ljubljana, and one to the regional state or public library” (Press Act, 1929: 7).

In relation to the earlier report on the Library’s collection in 1942, information about the state of the reference libraries of the Geological, Entomological, and Phytopathological Departments in the final year of World War II is provided in a report submitted by the Museum’s secretary, M. Martić, on the instructions of Ćurčić. The report, which spans several pages, includes a series of supporting lists as evidence of the identified irregularities in the respective libraries.

On January 11, 1945, Martić signed i.e., presented the “List of missing books recorded in the catalogue of the reference library of the entomological collection” as well as the “List of printing plates and photographs in the Phytopathological Library of the Museum” (“Printing plates with inscriptions but without inventory numbers”; Printing plates “without inscriptions and

potpisuje pak “Popis knjiga zaturenih u zbirci leptira, koje su pronađene dne 3-I-1945. g. a koje treba zvesti u popis glavne Muzejske biblioteke, te privremeno smjestiti područnu knjižnicu Entomološke zbirke”, a 15. 1. 1945. godine potpisuje “Popis knjiga, separata itd. u entomološkoj knjižnici sarajevskog muzeja, kojih nema u Katalogu odnosne priručne biblioteke, a niti nose kakav broj da bi bile zavedene” (uključujući geografske karte), “Popis knjiga iz Našastara u geološkoj zbirci / knjižnici / sarajevskog Zem. muzeja, koje se pri pregledu nisu našle”, “Popis knjiga koje se nalaze u geološkoj knjižnici Hrv. Drž. Muzeja u Sarajevu, a nisu nigdje zavedene, ili imaju samo Inv. broj Glavne muz. Biblioteke” te “Popis specialnih zemljopisnih Karata Bosne i Hercegovine u Geoložkom odjelenju ovoga Muzeja prema Inv. broju dotičnog Našastara”.

Klarićev izvještaj o pregledu priručnih biblioteka tadašnjeg Geološkog, Entomološkog i Fitopatološkog odjela, podnesen v. s. upravitelja Ćurčiću, koji ovaj dalje upućuje Ministarstvu narodne prosvjete, Odjelu za visoku nastavu (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 105/45), ukazuje možda na namjernu, planiranu “neuređenost” ovih priručnih biblioteka, koju je moguće čitati u kontekstu istraživanja Bašović, koja prenosi da je građa Muzeja tokom Drugog svjetskog rata sačuvana naporima direktora dr. Joze Petrovića, “a najviše zaslugom Derviša M. Korkuta”, dalje navodeći da je Korkut “najvrijednije stvari ostavio kamuflirane među desetine hiljada komada svezaka, dok je knjižni fond sakrio u podrum, da ne bi okupatori po katalogu mogli da proberu i odnesu najdragocjenije stvari” (Bašović, 1988: 378).

Tragom i spomenutog izvještaja, krajem 1944. godine uslijedit će zahtjev Ćurčića

inventory numbers”). On January 14, 1945, he signed the “List of books lost in the collection of butterflies, which were found on January 3, 1945, and should be recorded in the main Museum library catalogue and temporarily placed in the Entomological Collection’s branch library.” On January 15, 1945, he signed the following documents: the “List of books, off prints, etc., in the entomological library of the Sarajevo museum that are not in the catalogue of the relevant reference library and lack inventory numbers,” (including geographical maps), the “List of books from the *General inventory* in the Geological Collection/Library of the Sarajevo National Museum, which were missing during the inspection”, the “List of books in the Geological Library of the Croatian National Museum in Sarajevo that are not recorded anywhere or only have the inventory number of the Main Museum Library”; and the “List of special geographical maps of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Geological Department of the Museum, according to the inventory numbers of the respective General inventory.”

Klarić’s report on the inspection of the reference libraries of the Geological, Entomological, and Phytopathological Departments, submitted by the deputy director Ćurčić and forwarded to the Ministry of National Education, Department for Higher Education (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 105/45), suggests that the “disorganisation” of these libraries might have been intentional. This interpretation aligns with Bašović’s research, which highlights that the Museum’s collection during World War II was preserved through the efforts of Director Dr. Jozo Petrović, “and, most significantly, thanks to Derviš M. Korkut.” Bašović further explains that Korkut “camouflaged the most valuable items among tens of thousands of volumes, while the book collection was hidden in

upućen Korkutu za “en blok” predajom Biblioteke Don Mati Klariću, koji usto prati i ideja Ćurčića o spajanju biblioteka “matične muzejske i Balkanskog instituta” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 19/44), ali do predaje ključeva Biblioteke do završetka Drugog svjetskog rata neće doći.

Konačno, teški ratni period rada Biblioteke, odnosno Muzeja, završava se oslobođenjem zemlje i već 25. aprila postavljeni povjerenik Muzeja Dimitrije Sergejevski potpisuje Okružnicu o nastavku rada u Muzeju, u kojoj saopštava da je Muzej počeo s radom te, između ostalog, da “Komisijski zapečaćene prostorije direkcije i odjelenja, kancelarije i zbirke biće prema potrebi otvorene komisijski / drugovi: D. Korkut i S. Plavšić.” (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 203/45).

Već u narednom mjesecu maju započinje se i s aktivnostima oko popunjavanja zbirki Biblioteke u postratnom periodu. Naime, tada Povjerenik Zemaljskog muzeja upućuje Uredništvu *Oslobođenja* molbu za dostavljanje svih brojeva *Oslobođenja*, a u želji da Biblioteka bude “arhiv” izdanja *Oslobođenja*, odnosno sa sljedećim pojašnjenjem: “Muzejska biblioteka prikuplja ne samo knjige, nego i novine i časopise iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Naročito bi bilo od važnosti da imamo puni komplet svih brojeva “oslobođenja”. Zato molim Vas da, ako ima mogućnosti, budete toliko ljubezni pokloniti nam komplet već štampanih brojeva – naročito su zanimljivi, zapravo dragocjeni brojevi štampani prije dolaska u Sarajevo – i u buduće da nam besplatno dajete sve naredne brojeve” (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 256/45).

the basement to prevent the occupiers from identifying and removing the most precious items based on the catalogue” (Bašović, 1988: 378).

Following the mentioned report, at the end of 1944, Ćurčić sent a request to Korkut for the “*en block*” transfer of the library to Don Mato Klarić. This request is accompanied by Ćurčić’s idea to merge the libraries of the “main museum and the Balkan Institute” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, 19/44). However, the transfer of the library keys will not take place by the end of World War II.

Finally, the difficult wartime period for the Library and the Museum ends with the country’s liberation. On April 25, the appointed commissioner of the Museum, Dimitrije Sergejevski, signs a circular announcing the resumption of operations. Among other things, he informs that the “commission-sealed rooms of the directorate, departments, offices, and collections will be opened as needed by the commission/comrades: D. Korkut and S. Plavšić.” (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 203/45).

In the following month of May, efforts to replenish the Library’s collections in the post-war period begin. At that time, the Commissioner of the National Museum sent a request to the editorial board of *Oslobođenje* for the delivery of all issues of the newspaper, intending to make the Library an “archive” of *Oslobođenje* editions, providing the following explanation: The Museum Library collects not only books but also newspapers and periodicals from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It would be particularly important for us to have a complete set of all issues of *Oslobođenje*. Therefore, I kindly ask if it is possible to donate the complete set of already printed issues—especially the issues printed before the arrival in Sarajevo—and, in the future, to provide us with all subsequent

2. Zaključak

U vrlo specifičnim okolnostima Drugog svjetskog rata poslovanje Biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine nije bilo posve prekinuto, a odvijalo se u vrlo kontroliranim uslovima oko pružanja bibliotečko-informacijskih usluga, dok se zbirka Biblioteke gradila kupovinom, razmjenom te poklonima. To je period rada Biblioteke koji je u znaku spašavanja zbirki Biblioteke od strane savjesnih pojedinaca Muzeja, što od posljedica ratnih stradanja, što od otuđivanja građe neprocjenjivoga značaja, uprkos kojim naporima je građa Biblioteke, nažalost, nestajala, o čemu Korkut u dopisu iz 7. studenog 1944. godine obavještava, pojašnjavajući da ključeve Biblioteke ne može predati Klariću jer ne smije “preuzeti odgovornost za eventualni daljnji nestanak i drugih knjiga iz knjižnice kao što je nestalo cijele priručne knjižnice Etnografskog odjela koja je uvedena u inventar matične knjižnice”. Dalje u dopisu dodaje: “Knjižnica i Balkanski institut, u koji je neovlašćeno ulaženo po danu i po noći pomoću nesavjesnog noćnog čuvara i udešenih ključeva i tamo vršene krađe, koje su protuzakonito ‘zataškane’ / potrpene / i ukrivane od mene, iako sam mu ja starješina / chef / mogu se zapečatiti i u mom odsustvu” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, prijepis, 1089/44).

Kada je služba obaveznog primjerka u pitanju, konsultiranom dokumentacijom nije potvrđena izgradnja, odnosno postojanje zbirke obaveznog primjerka Biblioteke u razmatranom vremenskom periodu, od 1942. godine do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata, u okviru ovoga preliminarnog istraživanja.

No, s druge strane, u vezi s uređenjem obaveznog primjerka, a u smislu

issues free of charge” (ABiH, ZMS, 1945, 256/45).

2. Conclusion

During the challenging circumstances of World War II, the operations of the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not entirely halted. Rather, they continued under tightly controlled conditions, focusing on providing library and information services, while the library collection was expanded through purchases, exchanges, and donations. This period of the Library's operations is marked by the efforts of conscientious individuals within the Museum to save its collections, both from the devastating effects of the war and from the theft of invaluable materials. Despite these efforts, unfortunately, the Library's holdings continued to disappear. In a letter dated November 7, 1944, Korkut informed that he could not hand over the Library's keys to Klarić, as he could not “take responsibility for the potential further disappearance of books from the library, just as the entire collection of the Ethnological Department, which had been recorded in the main library's inventory, had vanished.” The letter further states: The library and the Balkan Institute were unlawfully accessed both during the day and at night with the help of an irresponsible night guard and forged keys. The thefts that occurred were ‘covered up,’ ‘hidden,’ and concealed from me, even though I am the chief, and these areas were sealed in my absence.” (ABiH, ZMS, 1944, transcript, 1089/44).

When it comes to the legal deposit, the documentation consulted within this preliminary research did not confirm the development or existence of the legal deposit collection of the Library during the

ranijeg Zakona o štampi (1925. i 1929), postavlja se pitanje da li ovdje spomenuti odgovor Korkuta na dopis Tužiteljstva iz 1942. godine u kojem se traže primjerci štampanog lista iz Tuzle zapravo razrješava u našoj literaturi prisutne nedoumice oko uređenja obaveznog primjerka u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu između dva svjetska rata? Prema Bašović, Biblioteka Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine “je svoje fondove kompletirala i obaveznim primjerkom štampanog materijala sve do početka drugog svjetskog rata, jer je u uslovima nepostojanja jedne centralne biblioteke na ovom području po svojoj tradiciji i fondovima imala i tu ulogu” (Bašović, 1977: 263). Također, prema Ljubičić, obavezni primjerak “po svoj prilici, a sudeći po knjižnom fondu (nemamo pouzdanih podataka), priman je i između dva svetska rata, kao i u periodu 1941. do 1945. godine” (Ljubičić, 1985: 58).

Osim što su potrebna dodatna istraživanja o sistemu obaveznog primjerka u periodu od 1942. do 1945. godine, i služba obaveznog primjerka u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu između dva svjetska rata predstoji dalje postati predmetom drugih neophodnih istraživanja tradicije obaveznog primjerka u Bosni i Hercegovini.

examined period, from 1942 until the end of World War II.

On the other hand, regarding the regulation of the legal deposit, and in the context of the earlier Press Act (1925 and 1929), the question arises whether the response from Korkut to the Prosecutor's Office letter from 1942, in which copies of a printed publication from Tuzla were requested, actually resolves the uncertainties present in our literature about the legal deposit regulation in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period between the two world wars. According to Bašović, the Library of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina “complemented its collections with legal deposits of printed materials until the outbreak of World War II. In the absence of a central library in the region, the Library traditionally played this role, contributing to its collections.” (Bašović, 1977: 263). According to Ljubičić, the legal deposit “was likely received, based on the book collection (although we do not have reliable data), both between the two world wars and during the period from 1941 to 1945” (Ljubičić, 1985: 58).

In addition to the need for further research on the legal deposit system from 1942 to 1945, the legal deposit service in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the inter-war period must also become the subject of further necessary research on the tradition of legal deposit in the country.

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Nurija Šahinpašić – narodni pjevač iz Pljevalja

Kolekcija muzičkih i plesnih zapisa folklornog arhiva Zemaljskog muzeja BiH sadrži i 265 pjesama koje su akademik Cvjetko Rihtman i Mustafa A. Mulalić, u okviru aktivnosti Instituta za proučavanje folkloru pri Zemaljskom muzeju, zabilježili prema pjevanju sandžackog pjevača Nurije Šahinpašića iz Pljevalja. Pored toga, Mustafa A. Mulalić zabilježio je i biografiju ovog pjevača te je sačuvao u arhivu narodnih predaja Zemaljskog muzeja. Nurija je bio stariji brat daleko poznatijeg pjevača i sakupljača narodnih pjesama Hamdije Šahinpašića, ali njegova samozatajnost jedan je od razloga što je ostao skoro pa potpuno nepoznat današnjim istraživačima. Repertoar mu je veoma bogat i vrijedan iz razloga što sadrži kako one poznate pjesme koje se i danas često pjevaju, tako i one koje se rijetko mogu čuti. Dodatna vrijednost ove zbirke jeste što se skoro pa u pravilu radi o rijetko pjevanim varijantama tih pjesama. Poseban nedostatak predstavlja nepostojanje zvučnih snimaka, što onemogućuje stvaranje slike o muzičko-stilskim osobenostima Šahinpašićeve interpretacije.

Ključne riječi: Nurija Šahinpašić, Narodne pjesme, Zemaljski muzej BiH

Nurija Šahinpašić – folk singer from Pljevlja

The collection of musical and dance recordings from the Folk Archive of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina includes 265 songs recorded by academician Cvjetko Rihtman and Mustafa A. Mulalić. These recordings were made as part of the Institute for the Study of Folklore's activities at the National Museum, based on the singing of the Sandžak singer Nurija Šahinpašić from Pljevlja. Additionally, Mustafa A. Mulalić recorded Nurija Šahinpašić's biography and preserved it in the archive of folk traditions at the National Museum. Nurija was the older brother of the much more famous singer and collector of folk songs, Hamdija Šahinpašić. However, due to his modest nature he has remained largely unknown to contemporary researchers. His repertoire is both rich and valuable, as it includes not only well-known songs that are still commonly sung today but also those that are rarely heard. The collection's added value lies in the fact that it primarily features rare versions of these songs. However, a significant limitation is the lack of audio recordings, which prevents a full understanding of the musical and stylistic qualities of Šahinpašić's interpretation.

Keywords: Nurija Šahinpašić, Folk Songs, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Izvori istraživanja

Folklorni arhiv Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine¹ sadrži više od 7.500 notnih zapisa narodnih pjesama. Za sakupljanje ove vrijedne građe posebno je značajan Institut za proučavanje folkloru u Sarajevu koji je nakon II svjetskog rata postojao pri Zemaljskom muzeju.² Pored terenskih istraživanja, Institut je pojedine kazivače dovodio i snimao u prostorijama samog Instituta. Jedan od njih bio je i do danas zaboravljeni pjevač Nurija Šahinpašić, od kojeg je zabilježeno 265 pjesama. Zapisivači su bili akademik Cvjetko Rihtman³ i Mustafa A. Mulalić.⁴

Research Sources

The Folk Archive of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹ contains over 7,500 musical notations of folk songs. A particularly significant contributor to the collection of this valuable material was the Institute for the Study of Folklore in Sarajevo, which existed within the National Museum after World War II.² In addition to field research, the Institute also brought some singers to its premises for recordings. One such singer was the largely forgotten Nurija Šahinpašić, from whom 265 songs were documented. The recordings were made by academician Cvjetko Rihtman³ and Mustafa A.

¹ Folklorni arhiv Zemaljskog muzeja BiH (u daljem tekstu FAZM) dio je građe koju čuva Odjeljenje za etnologiju Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine. U okviru odjeljenja djeluju Odsjek za materijalnu i Odsjek za duhovnu kulturu. Sa svojih oko 400 hiljada predmeta, Odjeljenje za etnologiju predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih izvora za sve vrste etnoloških istraživanja u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Filipović i Fekeža, 2008: 61)

² Institut za proučavanje folkloru u Sarajevu osnovan je 11. oktobra 1946. godine kao posebno odjeljenje pri Zemaljskom muzeju. Godine 1947. Institut se kao samostalna radna organizacija izdvaja iz Zemaljskog muzeja, a njegov rukovodilac bio je Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989). Osnovni zadaci ovog Instituta bili su prikupljanje, sređivanje i obrada folklorne građe za njeno dalje proučavanje, a poseban akcent bio je na organizaciji terenskih istraživanja. (Buturović i Kajmaković, 1988: 158)

³ Akademik Cvjetko Rihtman (Rijeka, 4. maj 1902 – Sarajevo, 1. juli 1989) bio je etnomuzikolog i kompozitor, te osnivač mnogih važnih kulturnih institucija u Sarajevu kao što su Opera i Balet Narodnog pozorišta, Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, Institut za proučavanje folkloru. Objavio je više etnomuzikoloških studija, a svoj kompozitorski rad prvenstveno je zasnivao na elementima tradicionalne narodne muzike.

⁴ Mustafa A. Mulalić (1898–1983) bio je etnograf, književnik i novinar. U Drugom svjetskom ratu

¹ The Folk Archive of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter referred to as FAZM) is part of the collection preserved by the BiH National Museum Ethnology Department. The Department consists of the Material Culture Section and Intangible Heritage Section. With approximately 400,000 items, the Ethnology Department is one of the most important sources for all types of ethnological research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Filipović and Fekeža, 2008: 61)

² The Institute for the Study of Folklore in Sarajevo was founded on October 11, 1946, as a separate department within the National Museum. In 1947, the Institute became an independent organisation, separating from the National Museum, with Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989) as its director. The main tasks of the Institute were to collect, organise, and process folklore materials for further study, with a particular focus on organising field research. (Buturović and Kajmaković, 1988: 158)

³ Academician Cvjetko Rihtman (Rijeka, May 4, 1902 – Sarajevo, July 1, 1989) was an ethnomusicologist and composer, as well as the founder of several key cultural institutions in Sarajevo, including the Opera and Ballet of the National Theatre, the Music Academy in Sarajevo, and the Institute for the Study of Folklore. He published several ethnomusicological studies, and his compositional work was primarily based on elements of traditional folk music.

Riječ je o zapisima stihova i melodija koji su načinjeni metodologijom koju je uspostavio Institut za proučavanje folklor. Svaki zapis je zabilježen na posebnom papiru koji je prethodno štampan s unaprijed organiziranim sistemom unošenja informacija. U te predviđene prostore zapisivač je svojeručno unosio: broj fascikle, redni broj zapisa, mjesto i vrijeme zapisa, ime i prezime zapisivača, ime i prezime kazivača s godinom i mjestom rođenja. Ispod tih podataka nalazio se linijski sistem u koji je zapisivač vlastitim rukopisom unosio transkripciju melodije s potpisanim tekstom prve melostrofe. Na drugom praznom papiru istih dimenzija unesen je ostali tekst pjesme s pojašnjenim manje poznatim riječima. Budući da su vršena intenzivna terenska istraživanja s velikim brojem kazivača, pjesme Nurije Šahinpašića nisu unesene na jednom mjestu, nego se nalaze u više fascikli: XXX (17 zapisa), XXXI (36 zapisa), XXXII (26 zapisa), XXXIII (22 zapisa), XXXIV (30 zapisa), XXXV (33 zapisa), XXXVI (21 zapis), XXXVII (8 zapisa), XXXVIII (52 zapisa), XXXIX (7 zapisa), XL (8 zapisa) i XLIII (5 zapisa).

Pored ove impozantne zbirke, Mustafa A. Mulalić je u muzejskom arhivu narodnih predaja, u periodu od 23. do 27. augusta 1950. godine, ostavio i dragocjeno

Mulalić.⁴ These include both lyrics and melodies, recorded using the methodology developed by the Institute for the Study of Folklore. Each record was written on special paper, and pre-printed with a system designed to organise the input of information. In the designated spaces, the recorder manually entered the following details: folder number, record number, place and time of the recording, the name of the recorder, and the name of the song narrator, along with their year and place of birth. Below this, there was a linear system where the recorder transcribed manually the melody, along with the signed lyrics of the first verse. On a second sheet of the same size, the remaining lyrics of the song were recorded, with explanations for less familiar words. Due to the extensive field research involving numerous narrators, Nuriya Šahinpašić's songs were not recorded in a single location but are spread across several folders: XXX (17 records), XXXI (36 records), XXXII (26 records), XXXIII (22 records), XXXIV (30 records), XXXV (33 records), XXXVI (21 records), XXXVII (8 records), XXXVIII (52 records), XXXIX (7 records), XL (8 records), and XLIII (5 records).

In addition to this impressive collection, Mustafa A. Mulalić left a valuable account of the life of this singer in the Museum's

djelovao je kao član Kraljeve vojske u otadžbini Draže Mihajlovića (Gašić, 2017), zbog čega su mu do kraja života bila uskraćena pojedina prava nakon 1945. godine, među ostalima i pravo na objavljivanje. Iz tog razloga je svoje radove u rukopisu pohranjivao u Arhiv Grada Sarajeva (današnji Historijski arhiv Sarajeva), gdje se danas čuva Fond Mustafe Mulalića. Od jedanaest tomova, u ovom tekstu će se spominjati onaj prvi, posvećen historijatu sevdalinskog pjevanja (u tekstu će se na njega referirati kao "Mulalić, 1960"). Akademik Cvjetko Rihtman Mulalića je angažovao na različitim istraživačkim projektima u okviru Instituta za proučavanje folklor.

⁴ Mustafa A. Mulalić (1898–1983) was an ethnographer, writer, and journalist. During World War II, he served in the Royal Army of Draža Mihailović (Gašić, 2017), which led to him being deprived of certain rights after 1945, including the right to publish, for the remainder of his life. For this reason, he stored his manuscript works in the Archives of the City of Sarajevo (now the Historical Archive of Sarajevo), where the Mustafa Mulalić Collection is kept. Of the eleven volumes, this text will focus on the first one, dedicated to the history of *sevdalinka* singing (referred to in the text as "Mulalić, 1960"). Academician Cvjetko Rihtman involved Mulalić in various research projects within the Institute for the Study of Folklore.

svjedočanstvo o životu ovog pjevača.⁵ Zapis je sačuvan na namjenski kreiranom formularu koji je sačinjen namjenski za bilježenje narodnih predaja.⁶ Međutim, od tih osnovnih informacija, Mulalić je tom prilikom unio samo podatke o kazivaču, te mjestu i vremenu zapisivanja. Pored toga što pruža dosta biografskih podataka, veći dio zapisa predstavlja Nurijsino kazivanje o njegovom pretku Hajdarbegu i pojedinostima iz njegovog života. Iako se iz tog dijela kazivanja ne može direktno saznati više o Nurijom pjevanju, ono ipak ukazuje na činjenicu da je Nurija imao emotivni odnos prema toj priči, te da je ona imala važnu ulogu u procesu formiranja njegove psihološke konstitucije, što svakako ima odraza i na odnos prema pjesmi. To je posebno jasno iz činjenice da je i sam Hajdarbeg bio sazlija i pjevao narodne pjesme. (Mulalić, 1950) Pored informativnosti, Mulalićev zapis po svom stilu ima i elemenata literarnog rada.

Prema biografskim podacima koje taj dokument pruža, dalo se naslutiti da je Nurija zapravo bio stariji brat daleko poznatijeg sandžačkog pjevača i sakupljača narodnih pjesama iz Pljevalja Hamdije Šahinpašića (1914–2003), iako

Folk Traditions Archive between August 23 and 27, 1950.⁵ The record was preserved in a specially designed form created for documenting folk traditions.⁶ However, beyond the basic information, Mulalić only recorded details about the narrator, along with the place and time of the recording. While the record includes some biographical information, the majority consists of Nurijs's account of his ancestor Hajdarbeg and various details about his life. Although this part of the narrative doesn't provide direct details about Nurijs's singing, it suggests that he had an emotional connection to the story, which likely played a significant role in shaping his psychological makeup and, in turn, influenced his approach to singing. This is especially evident from the fact that Hajdarbeg, his ancestor, was also a *saz* player and a singer of folk songs (Mulalić, 1950). In addition to its informative value, Mulalić's record also contains elements of literary style.

The biographical information in the document suggests that Nurijs was the older brother of the much more famous Sandžak singer and folk song collector from Pljevlja, Hamdija Šahinpašić

⁵ "Šahinpašić Nurijs (Biografija)", Zapisao: Mustafa A. Mulalić, Mjesto: Sarajevo (Institut), 23/27. 8. 1950, Neobjavljeni rukopis. FAZM. Fsc. I – G, Inv. br. 1128. U daljem tekstu citiran kao "Mulalić, 1950".

⁶ Formular za unošenje narodnih predaja pružao je mogućnost unošenja sljedećih informacija: Broj fascikle, redni broj zapisa, vrijeme zapisivanja, mjesto, opština, srez, ime zapisivača, kako je zapisano (rukom po diktatu, stenografijom, magnetofonom, po sjećanju), ime kazivača, mjesto i godina rođenja, narodnost, vjera, gdje živi, starinac, doseljenik, odakle i kada (priženio se, udala se), djed, otac, majka, školska sprema i gdje je učio, putovanja, gdje kada i od koga je kazivač čuo, mjesto objavljivanja i napomena.

⁵ "Šahinpašić Nurijs (Biography)," Recorded by: Mustafa A. Mulalić, Location: Sarajevo (Institute), August 23–27, August 1950, Unpublished manuscript. FAZM. Folder I – G, Inventory no. 1128. In the following text, cited as "Mulalić, 1950."

⁶ The form for recording folk traditions allowed for the entry of the following information: Folder number, record number, time of recording, place, municipality, district, name of the recorder, method of recording (written by hand, dictated, shorthand, by tape recorder, from memory), name of the narrator, place and year of birth, ethnicity, religion, where they live, whether they are an old settler or a newcomer, where they come from and when (married), grandfather, father, mother, level of education and where they studied, travels, where, when, and from whom the narrator heard the story, place of publication, and additional notes.

se to u tekstu direktno ne navodi.⁷ Tragom te pretpostavke, autor je obavio intervju sa Senijom Šahinpašić i Zuhrom Šahinpašić, kćerkama Hamdijinog i Nurijinog brata Omera.⁸ One su tu informaciju potvrdile, ali o Nurijinom muzičkom životu nisu imale mnogo toga reći, budući da su i same bile iznenađene informacijom da Zemaljski muzej posjeduje veliku zbirku zapisa njegovog pjevanja. Mnogo više su znale reći o Hamdiji, dok Nurijsko pjevanje pamte samo kroz neobavezna porodična druženja.⁹ To potvrđuje da Nurijsko interesovanje za pjesmu, bar u periodu od snimanja u prostorijama Instituta pa do smrti, nije bilo obilježeno željom za javnim eksponiranjem.

Ipak, ime Nurijske Šahinpašić susreće se i u još nekoliko izvora. Tu prije svega valja spomenuti prvi tom rukopisa Mustafe A. Mulalića, “Jugoslovenska mekamska narodna pjesma i svirka”, (Mulalić, 1960: 336) koji se čuva u Historijskom arhivu Sarajevo. Mulalić je Šahinpašića uvrstio u ovaj tekst svakako nakon obavljenih snimanja u Institutu, te ga svrstava “među najbogatije žive čuvare sevdalijskog blaga” (Mulalić, 1960: 336). Također, Mulalić ističe da se Šahinpašić nije profesionalno bavio muzikom.

(1914–2003), although this is not directly stated in the text.⁷ Based on this assumption, the author interviewed Senija and Zuhra Šahinpašić, the daughters of Omer, the brother of both Hamdija and Nurijsa.⁸ They confirmed this information, but they didn’t have much to say about Nurijsa’s musical life, as they were surprised to learn that the National Museum holds a large collection of recordings of his singing. They were much more familiar with Hamdija and recalled Nurijsa’s singing only from casual family gatherings.⁹ This suggests that, at least from the time of the recordings at the Institute until his death, Nurijsa’s interest in music was not motivated by a desire for public recognition.

However, the name Nurijsa Šahinpašić also appears in several other sources. One of the key references is the first volume of Mustafa A. Mulalić’s manuscript, “Yugoslav Mekam Folk Song and Performance” (Mulalić, 1960: 336), which is kept in the Historical Archive of Sarajevo. Mulalić included Šahinpašić in this work, likely after the recordings at the Institute, and categorised him “among the richest living guardians of *sevdalinka* heritage.” (Mulalić, 1960:336) Mulalić also notes that Šahinpašić did not pursue music professionally.

Citing the FAZM, Munib Maglajlić (1945–2015) mentions Šahinpašić as a

⁷ Tu pretpostavku autor je stekao na osnovu toga što su i Hamdija i Nurijsa porijeklom iz Pljevalja, te su im imena roditelja identična.

⁸ Intervju sa Senijom i Zuhrom Šahinpašić. Snimio: Zanin Berbić. 10. 2. 2023. FAZM.

⁹ Nakon obavljenog intervjua, Zuhra Šahinpašić me je telefonskim putem kontaktirala te pružila i informaciju koje se prilikom snimanja nije sjetila. Naime, Nurijsa Šahinpašić je ranih šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća komunicirao i sa Sejom Pitićem (1946–2023), popularnim izvođačem novokomponovanih i narodnih pjesama. Pitić mi je također putem telefonskog razgovora tu informaciju potvrdio, ali njegovo teško zdravstveno stanje, a ubrzo i smrt, spriječili su da realizujemo dogovoreno snimanje intervjua.

⁷ The author made this assumption based on the fact that both Hamdija and Nurijsa were from Pljevlja and shared the same parents’ names.

⁸ Interview with Senija and Zuhra Šahinpašić. Recorded by: Zanin Berbić. 10. 2. 2023. FAZM.

⁹ After the interview, Zuhra Šahinpašić contacted me by phone and shared additional information she had forgotten during the recording. She mentioned that, in the early 1960s, Nurijsa Šahinpašić had communicated with Sejo Pitić (1946–2023), a popular performer of newly composed and folk songs. Pitić also confirmed this in a phone conversation, but his deteriorating health, followed by his passing, prevented us from conducting the planned interview.



Nurija Šahinpašić. FAZM. Fsc. I – G. Inv. br. 1128.
Nurija Šahinpašić. FAZM. Folder I – G. Inventory no. 1128.

Pozivajući se na FAZM, Šahinpašića kao kazivača navodi i Munib Maglajlić (1945–2015) u svojoj zbirci *101 sevdalinka* (Maglajlić, 1978: 146). Također, pjevač narodnih pjesama Miralem Šahinpašić (nije u srodstvu s Nurijom), u razgovoru koji je sačuvan na MGT trakama u legatu akademika Cvjetka Rihtmana, ističe Nuriju Šahinpašića kao vrsnog pjevača.¹⁰ Interesantno je, također, da Hamdija Šahinpašić nikada nije isticao brata Nuriju kao poznavaooca velikog broja pjesama, što je svakako jedan od razloga što je Nurija ostao poprilično nepoznat današnjim istraživačima. No, u razgovoru koji je za Radio-televiziju Sarajevo s Hamdijom

singer in his *101 sevdalinka* collection (Maglajlić, 1978: 146). Additionally, folk singer Miralem Šahinpašić (unrelated to Nurija) highlights Nurija's exceptional singing ability in an interview preserved on MGT tapes in the archive of academician Cvjetko Rihtman.¹⁰ Interestingly, Hamdija Šahinpašić never emphasised his brother Nurija's extensive knowledge of songs, which may be one reason why Nurija remains relatively unknown to contemporary researchers. However, in an interview conducted by Munib Maglajlić for Radio-Television Sarajevo in 1983, Hamdija acknowledged that his four brothers were also familiar with many of these songs: "I had four older brothers. They all

¹⁰ Razgovor s Miralemom Šahinpašićem. Snimio Cvjetko Rihtman. Legat akademika Cvjetka Rihtmana. Arhiv Instituta za muzikologiju Muzičke akademije Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Traka 51. 19. januar 1968.

¹⁰ Interview with Miralem Šahinpašić. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Collection of Cvjetko Rihtman. Archive of the Institute of Musicology, Music Academy, University of Sarajevo. Tape 51. January 19, 1968.

obavio Munib Maglajlić 1983. godine, naglasio je ipak da su i njegova četiri brata također znali dosta tih pjesama: “Imao sam četvoricu braće, starijih od mene. Svi su oni te pjesme pjevali i ja sam imao od koga da ih naučim.” (“Predanja”, 1983). Moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je neke od pjesama Hamdija naučio baš od brata Nurije.

Ono što predstavlja naročit nedostatak u pogledu izvora jeste što u legatu akademika Cvjetka Rihtmana, nažalost, nije sačuvan niti jedan snimak Nurijinog pjevanja. Iako zbirka od 265 zapisa omogućuje dosta širok pogled, tonski zapis bi svakako pružio potpunu sliku njegovog pjevačkog umijeća, osjećaja za narodnu pjesmu i poznavanja stilskih osobenosti narodnog pjevanja.

Nurija Šahinpašić – biografija

Porodica Šahinpašić porijeklom je s Glasinca, ali se oko 1881. godine doselila u tadašnju Taslidžu (današnja Pljevlja), sklanjajući se pred okupacijom Bosne i Hercegovine od strane Habsburške monarhije (1878). Iako niko od te porodice, niti općenito od muslimana, nije ostao na Glasincu, svoje zemljišne posjede su ipak zadržali i s njih ubirali prihode sve do agrarne reforme u Kraljevini SHS. (Mulalić, 1950)

Nurija Šahinpašić rodio se 1898. godine u Pljevljima, gdje je proveo djetinjstvo te pohađao mekteb i ruždiju.¹¹ Budući da je porodica imala veliko imanje, Nurija se bavio zemljoradnjom. Godine 1912. za vrijeme Balkanskog rata, to je imanje opljačkano, što je porodicu dovelo u tešku finansijsku situaciju. Sva zaprežna stoka je odvedena pa se zemlja nije imala čime obrađivati, te

sang those songs, and I had them to learn from.” (“Predanja”, 1983). It can be assumed that Hamdija may have learned some of the songs from his brother Nurija.

A significant limitation regarding the sources is that, unfortunately, no recordings of Nurija’s singing have been preserved in the Cvjetko Rihtman collection. While the collection of 265 transcriptions offers a broad perspective, a sound recording would have provided a complete picture of his vocal talent, his sense of folk music, and his understanding of the stylistic features of traditional singing.

Nurija Šahinpašić – Biography

The Šahinpašić family is originally from Glasinac, but around 1881, they moved to what was then Taslidža (now Pljevlja), seeking refuge from the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878). Although no one from the family, nor generally from the Muslim population, remained in Glasinac, they retained their land holdings and continued to collect income from them until the agrarian reform in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. (Mulalić, 1950)

Nurija Šahinpašić was born in 1898 in Pljevlja, where he spent his childhood and attended *mekteb* [religious school] and *ruždija*.¹¹ Since his family owned a large estate, Nurija worked in agriculture. During the Balkan War in 1912, the estate was looted, plunging the family into financial hardship. All the draft animals were taken, leaving the land uncultivated, which forced them to lease it out to others. Over time, the family’s situation improved, and they managed to recover. To support his family, Nurija sold charcoal in town. (Mulalić, 1950)

¹¹ Ruždija – niža srednja škola (Škaljić, 1957: 637).

¹¹ Ruždija – a junior high (Škaljić, 1957). 637).

je drugima davana u zakup. Kada se situacija poboljšala, porodica se ipak oporavila. Nurija je u gradu prodavao ćumur i tako izdržavao porodicu. (Mulalić, 1950)

Tako je bilo sve do 1927. godine dok u porodici nisu nastupili izvjesni problemi, nakon čega je Nurija prešao u službu opštinskog trošarinca, a nešto kasnije, 1934. godine počinje raditi i kao opštinski stražar. Iste godine preseljava se u Bosnu, gdje je bio radnik u Zenici. Godine 1940. prelazi u Ustipraču, gdje počinje raditi kao pomoćni konzumer u "Šipadu". Ali već 9. oktobra 1941. godine ta pilana je zapaljena, a Nurija se ponovo vratio u Pljevlja. Međutim, već 1942. godine se vraća u Bosnu i dobija posao noćnog čuvara u Sarajevskoj pivari. U martu 1943. godine zapošljava se u sarajevskoj gradskoj opštini kao trošarinac.

Mulalić je u zapisu o Nurijinom životu ostavio i dragocjeno svjedočanstvo o ulozi pjesme u njegovom životu. Naime, ljubav prema narodnoj pjesmi njegovao je od ranog djetinjstva, te ga je ona pratila kroz cijeli život. Poznavanje velikog broja narodnih pjesama može se objasniti na osnovu Nurijinih riječi: "Svaka pjesma, koju god čujem, ostane mi nezaboravljivo urezana." (Mulalić, 1950). Prema vlastitom svjedočenju, najveći broj pjesama naučio je od svoje majke Šerife, rođene Šagić, iz Pljevalja. Da je Šerifa bila veliki poznavalac i zaljubljenik u narodnu pjesmu, jasno je iz svjedočenja Hamdije Šahinpašića, koji je od nje također zapamtio najveći broj njih: "Najbolji poznavalac tih starih pjesama bila je moja majka, a isto tako i otac." ("Predanja", 1983).

Koliko je pjesma imala značajnu ulogu u Šerifinom odgoju djece, jasno je iz Nurijinog svjedočenja:

This continued until 1927, when certain issues arose within the family, prompting Nurija to take a position as a municipal excise officer. A few years later, in 1934, he began working as a municipal guard. That same year, he moved to Bosnia and found work as a labourer in Zenica. In 1940, Nurija relocated to Ustiprača, where he worked as an assistant storekeeper at "Šipad." However, on October 9, 1941, the sawmill was burned down, forcing him to return to Pljevlja. By 1942, he moved back to Bosnia and took a job as a night watchman at the Sarajevo Brewery. In March 1943, Nurija began working as an excise officer for the Sarajevo city municipality.

Mulalić's account of Nurija's life offers valuable insight into the significance of song in his personal journey. Nurija's love for folk music began in early childhood and remained a defining part of his life. His remarkable knowledge of traditional songs can be understood through his own words: "Every song I hear becomes etched in my memory, never to be forgotten." (Mulalić, 1950). Nurija credited his mother, Šerifa Šagić from Pljevlja, as the primary source of his musical repertoire. Her deep knowledge and love for folk songs are further confirmed by Hamdija Šahinpašić, who also learned most of the songs from her: "The best expert on those old songs was my mother, and my father as well." ("Predanja", 1983).

The significant role of song in Šerifa's upbringing of her children is vividly illustrated through Nurija's testimony:

"My mother sang most often while rocking the cradle, soothing my younger brothers to sleep. She would also sing softly at night, even while half-asleep. She was such a heavy sleeper that my father had to wake her whenever a child started crying. The crying would go unnoticed for a while if it weren't for my father's intervention. Once he shook her awake, she would jump up,

“Mati mi je najviše pjevala uz bešiku, uspavljujući moju mlađu braću. Pjevala je i noću, kroz polusan. A bila je jako tvrda sna, pa bi je otac morao buditi kad bi se dijete rasplakalo. Po njoj bi djeca preplakala, nikad ne bi čula njihov plač, da nije bilo oca. Pošto bi je otac prodrmao, ona bi skočila prestravljena, sanjiva i, više instiktivno nego li svjesno, izvadila bi dojku i mjesto dječijoj glavi, prinijela bi je nogama. Tako bi držala neko vrijeme, a dijete bi uvijek plakalo, dok je otac ne bi pomjestio na pravi kraj bešike i dijete bi se odmah umirilo. Nadajala bi ga i pjevala. Ne bi znala šta, ali nikad ne bi griješila. Ne bi pjesmu ni završila, a već bi sama čvrsto zaspala. Kad bi je otac ponovo prodrmao jer se dijete rasplakalo, ona bi nastavila pjesmu na istom mjestu gdje je bila prekinula. U tome nikada ne bi pogriješila. Asli je s pjesmom uspavljivala i sebe i dijete.” (Mulalić, 1950)

Jasno je, dakle, da je Nuriya odrastao u okruženju u kojem je pjesma bila funkcionalno vezana za različite momente života, te da nije imala samo zabavnu funkciju. Međutim, još jedan citat iz Mulalićevog zapisa dosta govori o muzičkom ambijentu u kojem je Nuriya odrastao:

“U Pljevljima se najviše pjevalo i sviralo po svadbama i domaćim sijelima. U tursko vrijeme nije uopšte bilo profesionalnih svirača (cigana), pa su omladinci najviše pojedinačno svirali, a ponekad i udruženo po nekoliko različitih instrumenata. Najobičnije se pjesma pratila harmonikama, sazom i violinom. U najnovije vrijeme dolaze u obzir i tamburaški orkestri. Pošto nije bilo javnih priredaba, osim što bi turska vojna muzika koncentrirala najviše sa marševima, onda su domaća sijela bila vrlo zabavna i privlačna za omladinu. Praktikovala su se, pored svirke, pjesme i igre, još i razna posluženja kao: halva, pečen krompir i kajmak ili sir, kuhan kukuruz, kesten, mezeluci i rakija. Sijela su se održavala strogo u familijarnom

startled and still drowsy, and—acting more out of instinct than awareness—she would pull out her breast and, instead of bringing it to the child’s head, she would mistakenly offer it to their feet. She would hold it there for some time while the child kept crying, until my father repositioned her to the right end of the cradle, at which point the child would immediately calm down. She would breastfeed and sing, sometimes not remembering the exact song, but never missing a note. She would often fall asleep before finishing, but when my father woke her because the baby was crying, she would seamlessly pick up the song right where she left off. She never missed a beat. In fact, with the song, she would lull both herself and the child to sleep.” (Mulalić, 1950)

It is clear that Nuriya grew up in an environment where music was closely tied to various life events, not just for entertainment. Another quote from Mulalić’s account sheds light on the musical atmosphere in which Nuriya was raised:

“In Pljevlja, singing and music were most common at weddings and family gatherings. During the Ottoman period, there were no professional musicians (such as gypsies), so the youth would mostly play individually, and sometimes in small groups with different instruments. Songs were typically accompanied by accordions, *saz*, and violins. In more recent times, *tambura* orchestras have become popular. Since there were no public events, aside from the military music of the Turkish army, which mostly focused on marches, domestic gatherings became very entertaining and appealing to the youth. In addition to music, songs, and dances, various refreshments were also served, such as *halva*, roasted potatoes with *kajmak* or cheese, boiled corn, chestnuts, small appetizers, and *rakija*. These gatherings were strictly family-oriented, typically held at one home one week, and at another the following week.” (Mulalić, 1950)

krugu, danas kod jednog, do heftu kod drugog.” (Mulalić, 1950)

Dakle, intimna druženja po svadbama i sijelima predstavljala su glavnu “muzičku scenu” na kojoj se predstavljao svako ko je imao afiniteta za pjesmu i svirku. U tim prilikama Nurija ne samo da je učio nove pjesme nego je to bio vrlo pogodan ambijent da i sam ispolji svoja umijeća. Kako je već istaknuto, nakon snimanja za potrebe Instituta za proučavanje folklor, Nurija se nije profesionalno bavio muzikom. Prema podacima koje pruža internet-ska stranica *pokop.ba*, čovjek po imenu Nurija Šahinpašić (1898. godište) umro je 21. 9. 1973. godine te je ukopan na gradskom groblju “Bare” u Sarajevu.

Repertoar Nurije Šahinpašića

Sliku o repertoaru Nurije Šahinpašića moguće je stvoriti samo na osnovu zapisa koji su sačuvani u FAZM-u, budući da se s njegovim pjevanjem ne susrećemo u drugim izvorima. Da li je prilikom snimanja u Institutu za proučavanje folklor Nurija otpjevao sve pjesme koje je znao ili je to samo dio njegovog repertoara, može se samo pretpostavljati. Međutim, iz raznolikosti pjesama može se između ostalog zaključiti da on oslikava kako Šahinpašićev tako i repertoar (ili barem njegov dio) koji se krajem 19. i u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća njegovao na svadbama i privatnim sijelima, koja je u ranijem citatu Nurija isticao kao ambijente u kojima je između ostalog usvajao pjesme. (Mulalić, 1960: 336)

Valja naglasiti da je prilikom uvida i bilo kakve analize i promišljanja o melodijskim zapisima Nurijinog pjevanja potrebno biti dodatno oprezan uzevši u obzir da je notni zapis uvijek djelo individualiteta svakog zapisivača. Kako je Nurija

Intimate gatherings at weddings and family reunions were the main “musical stages” where anyone with a passion for singing or playing could showcase their talents. These occasions not only allowed Nurija to learn new songs but also provided him with an ideal environment to express his own musical abilities. As previously noted, after his recordings for the Institute for Folklore Studies, Nurija did not pursue music professionally. According to the website *pokop.ba*, a man named Nurija Šahinpašić (born in 1898) passed away on September 21, 1973, and was buried at the “Bare” city cemetery in Sarajevo.

Repertoire of Nurija Šahinpašić

The full scope of Nurija Šahinpašić’s repertoire can only be inferred from the recordings preserved in the FAZM, as his singing is not found in other sources. It is unclear whether the songs he recorded at the Institute for Folklore Studies represent the entirety of his repertoire or just a selection. However, the variety of songs suggests that his repertoire reflects not only his personal preferences but also the broader collection of songs commonly performed at weddings and private gatherings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries—environments that Nurija himself mentioned as places where he learned new songs. (Mulalić, 1960: 336)

It is important to emphasise that when examining and analysing the melodic recordings of Nurija’s singing, one must exercise caution, as the musical notation is always the product of the individual perspective of the transcriber. The question remains: how did Nurija perform the songs, and how did the transcriber hear and document them? Without the original recordings, we can only speculate about what the transcriber considered the main

otpjevao, a opet, kako je to zapisivač čuo i zapisao, svakako je pitanje. Šta je zapisivač čuo kao osnovnu melodijsku liniju, a šta kao ukras, na koji je način osjetio ritam, kod većine zapisa se bez snimka može samo pretpostavljati.

Zapisivači Mulalić i Rihtman najčešće nisu bilježili od koga, gdje i kada je pjesme naučio Nuriya Šahinpašić. No, neki od zapisa nam pružaju podatak o kakvoj se pjesmi radi i u kojoj se prilici izvodila. Tako su kao “svatovske” obilježene pjesme *Redom po redom jasenje*,¹² *Cmilj djevojka u gorici brala*¹³ i *Šućur Bogu, snahu dovedosmo*,¹⁴ što svakako ukazuje na to da ih je Nuriya naučio ili sam izvodio prilikom prisustva na svadbenim običajima. Uz zapis pjesme *Pokraj Lima bačva vina*¹⁵ stoji podatak da ju je naučio u Bijelom Polju. Može se također pretpostaviti da je uspavanku *Spavaj, sine, u šikali beši*¹⁶ naučio od svoje majke. Kao pjesma koja se izvodi u kolu zabilježena je *Sitna travo zelena*.¹⁷

Ono što je veoma važno naglasiti jeste da su pjesme zabilježene prema pjevanju Nuriye Šahinpašića interesantne i zbog činjenice da se pretežno radi o rijetko pjevanim varijantama. To je posebno jasno kada se u obzir uzmu one pjesme koje su nekada bile, a i danas su, dosta popularne i omiljene u repertoarima brojnih, kako profesionalnih, tako i onih manje poznatih pjevača. Najbolji primjer jeste i danas jedna od najpopularnijih narodnih pjesma *Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu*. Varijanta koju je pjevao

melody versus embellishments, and how the rhythm was perceived.

Additionally, the transcribers, Mulalić and Rihtman, rarely documented where and who taught Nuriya the songs or the specific occasions on which they were performed. Nevertheless, some of the transcriptions provide useful information about the type of songs and the contexts in which they were sung. Songs such as *Redom po redom jasenje* (*Ash trees lined one by one*)¹², *Cmilj djevojka u gorici brala* (*Girl picked germander in the mountain*)¹³, and *Šućur Bogu, snahu dovedosmo* (*Thank God, we brought our daughter-in-law*)¹⁴ are marked as “wedding songs”, which clearly indicates that Nuriya either learned them or performed them during his participation in wedding ceremonies. Along with the recording of the song *Pokraj Lima bačva vina* (*Barrel of wine by the Lim River*)¹⁵, there is a note stating that he learned it in Bijelo Polje. It can also be assumed that Nuriya learned the lullaby *Spavaj, sine, u šikali beši* (*Sleep my son in your ornate crib*)¹⁶ from his mother. The song *Sitna travo zelena* (*Small green grass*)¹⁷, which is performed in a circle dance, has also been recorded.

It is particularly important to emphasise that the songs recorded from Nuriya Šahinpašić’s singing are noteworthy because they represent rarely performed variants. This is especially evident when considering songs that were once, and still are, very popular and cherished in the repertoires of both professional and

¹² Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXX, 2460.

¹³ Ibidem. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman i Ljuba Simić. Fsc. 2461.

¹⁴ Ibidem. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXII, 2468.

¹⁵ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXIII, 2675.

¹⁶ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXII, 2623.

¹⁷ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXI, 2562.

¹² Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXX, 2460.

¹³ Ibidem. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman and Ljuba Simić. Folder 2461.

¹⁴ Ibidem. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXII, 2468.

¹⁵ Ibidem. Folder XXXIII, 2675.

¹⁶ Ibidem. Folder XXXII, 2623.

¹⁷ Ibidem. Folder XXXI, 2562.

INSTITUT ZA PROUČAVANJE FOLKLORA - SARAJEVO

Fsc. XXXII : .Сарајево, 10 мај 1950 red. br. 2623 fol. Цвјетко Рихтер

Mjesto i vrijeme zps. : Шахинпашић Нурија, р. 1898 у Плевалима Zps. :

Pjevao: (Izvodio na instr.) Успаванка

Спавај, сине, у шикали беши

Zapis uspavanke *Spavaj, sine, u šikali beši*, prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića.
FAZM, Fsc. XXXII, 2623.

The record of the lullaby *Spavaj, sine, u šikali beši*, as sung by Nurija Šahinpašić.
FAZM, Folder XXXII, 2623.

Nurija Šahinpašić svojom melodijom, ali i tekstom se dosta razlikuje od opštepoznate koju su izvodili Nada Mamula (1927–2001), Zaim Imamović (1920–1994), Safet Isović (1936–2007) i drugi popularni izvođači narodnih pjesama.

Varijanta iz zbirke 101 sevdalinka (Maglajlić, 1978: 95)

Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu,
Mujo kuje, a majka ga kune:
“Sine Mujo, živ ti bio majci,
ne kuju se konji po mjesecu,
već po danu i jarkome suncu.”
“Ne kuni me, moja mila majko,
jer kad meni na um padne draga,
ja ne gledam sunca ni mjeseca,
nit’ moj doro mraka nit’ oblaka,
već me nosi dragoj pod pendžere!”

lesser-known singers. A prime example is *Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu* (*Mujo is shoeing his horse in moonlight*), which remains one of the most beloved folk songs to this day. The version sung by Nurija Šahinpašić stands out for its distinct melody and lyrics, setting it apart from the widely known renditions performed by Nada Mamula (1927–2001), Zaim Imamović (1920–1994), Safet Isović (1936–2007), and other renowned folk singers.

The version from the collection *101 Sevdalinka* (Maglajlić, 1978): 95)

(*Mujo is shoeing his horse in moonlight,
Mujo is shoeing, and his mother is cursing:
“Mujo, my son, may you live long for your mother,
horses are not shoed in moonlight,
But during the day and in bright sun light.”
“Do not curse my, my dear mother,
for when my beloved enters my mind,*

Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića¹⁸

Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu,
 Mujo kuje, a majka ga kune:
 “Sine Mujo, ne živio majci,
 ne kuju se konji po mjesecu,
 već po danu i jarkome suncu.”
 “Prodi me se, ostarjela majko,
 prodi me se, ti ne znaš sevdaha.
 Kada meni na um padne draga,
 ja ne pazim mraka ni oblaka,
 nit’ ja pazim sunca ni mjeseca,
 već ja idem dragoj pod pendžere.
 Burmom kucam u džamli pendžere.
 Draga moja, jesi li mi doma?”
 “Jesam doma, ali nisam tvoja.
 Tvoja me je majka potvorila,
 da sam tebi sibir učinila.
 Nisam, dragi, života mi moga,
 života mi i moga i tvoga,
 Samo što sam ti stopu okružila,
 i u stopu neven posadila.”¹⁹

U tom kontekstu, među brojnim sandžackim pjesama,²⁰ kao primjer je interesantno istaći pjesmu *Tamo dolje niz mahale*,²¹ koja je poznata u interpretaciji

*I do not care about the sun and the moon,
 and my horse does not care about darkness
 and clouds,
 but carries me to my darling's window!”)*

The version of Nuriya Šahinpašić¹⁸

*(Mujo is shoeing his horse in moonlight,
 Mujo is shoeing, and his mother is cursing:
 “Mujo, my son, may you be dead to your
 mother;
 horses are not shoed in moonlight,
 But during the day and in bright sun light.”
 “Leave me alone, my old mother,
 leave me alone, you do not know what love is.
 When my beloved enters my mind,
 I do not care about darkness and clouds,
 nor do I care about the sun and the moon,
 But I go to my beloved's window,
 I knock at the glass panel with a ring,
 My darling, are you at home?”
 “I am at home, but I am not yours,
 your mother falsely accused me
 of putting a spell on you.
 I did not, my darling, I swear by my life,
 by my life and yours,
 I only carved out your footstep,
 and I planted marigold in it.)¹⁹*

In this context, among the many songs from Sandžak²⁰, the song *Tamo dolje niz*

¹⁸ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Fsc. XXXI, 2563.

¹⁹ Najsljedniju varijantu ove pjesme izvodili su Behija Behka Topčić i Igbal Ljuca. Vidi: <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/behka-i-igbal-ljuca-mujo-kuje-konja-po-mjesecu>.

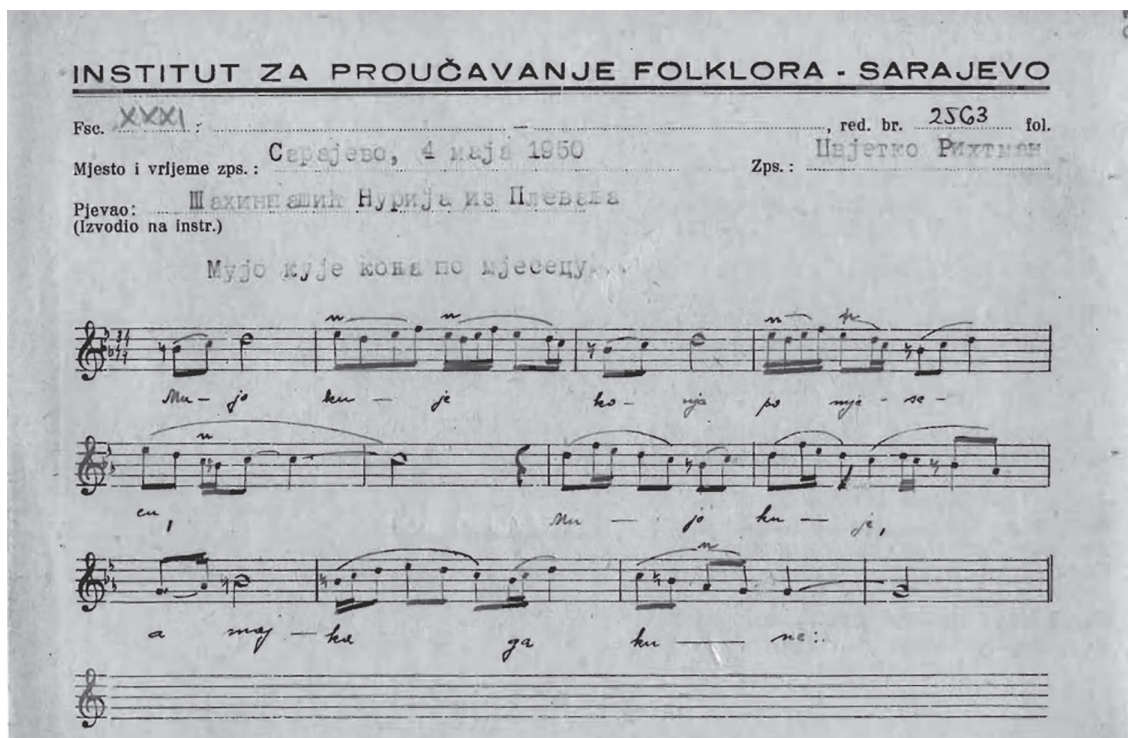
²⁰ Neke od poznatih pjesama iz Sandžaka u repertoaru Nurije Šahinpašića su: *Kahvu mi, draga, ispeci* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXX, 2464), *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno, il' je tamna noć* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2537), *Tavna noći, tavana li si* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2543), *Izvor voda izvirala* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2546), *Moćevčiču, mali Carigradu* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2552), *Poletjela šarka ptica, perja šarena* (Zap. C. R. XXXI, 2564), *Što će tebi, lolo, ahmedija* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXII, 2672), *Po Taslidži pala magla u zeman* (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XXXV, 2920), *Oj moja ružo rumena* (Zap. M. M. Fsc. 3145) i druge.

²¹ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXII, 2591.

¹⁸ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Folder XXXI, 2563.

¹⁹ The most similar version of this song was performed by Behija Behka Topčić and Igbal Ljuca. See: <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/behka-i-igbal-ljuca-mujo-kuje-konja-po-mjesecu>.

²⁰ Some of the well-known songs from Sandžak in Nuriya Šahinpašić's repertoire include: *Kahvu mi, draga, ispeci* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXX, 2464), *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno, il' je tamna noć* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2537), *Tavna noći, tavana li si* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2543), *Izvor voda izvirala* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2546), *Moćevčiču, mali Carigradu* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2552), *Poletjela šarka ptica, perja šarena* (Recorded by C. R. XXXI, 2564), *Što će tebi, lolo, ahmedija* (Recorded by C. R.



Zapis pjesme *Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu*, prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića.
FAZM Fsc. XXXI, 2563.

The record of the song *Mujo kuje konja po mjesecu*, as sung by Nurija Šahinpašić.
FAZM Folder XXXI, 2563.

crnogorske pjevačice Ksenije Cicvarić (1929–1997). Snimila ju je 1981. godine na LP izdanju *Oj vesela veselice* uz orkestar Dragana Aleksandrića (1949–).²² Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića je svojom melodijom slična Ksenijinoj, dok se tekstom nešto više razlikuje.

Varijanta Ksenije Cicvarić

Tamo dole niz mahale,
omilje mi komšinica.
Ni zbog čeg mi ne omilje,
već što mi se često javljaš.
Moja kono, sandži bolje,
da mi te je premamiti,
u mom dvoru obljubiti.
Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića
Tamo dolje niz mahalu,

mahale (There down the streets)²¹ stands out as particularly noteworthy, especially in the rendition by the Montenegrin singer Ksenija Cicvarić (1929–1997). She recorded it in 1981 on the LP *Oj vesela veselice*, accompanied by Dragan Aleksandrić's orchestra (1949–).²² Nurija Šahinpašić's version is similar to Ksenija's in melody, while the lyrics differ somewhat.

Folder XXXII, 2672), *Po Taslidži pala magla u zeman* (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXV, 2920), *Oj moja ružo rumena* (Recorded by M. M. Folder 3145) and other.

²¹ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXII, 2591.

²² Cicvarić, Ksenija. LP. *Oj vesela veselice*. Jugoton. LSY-61585. 1981. <https://www.discogs.com/release/4202575-Ksenija-Cicvari%C4%87-Oj-Vesela-Veselice>.

²² Cicvarić, Ksenija. LP *Oj vesela veselice*. Jugoton. LSY-61585. 1981. <https://www.discogs.com/release/4202575-Ksenija-Cicvari%C4%87-Oj-Vesela-Veselice>.

omilje mi komšo momče.
 Ni zbog šta mi ne omilje,
 sem što mi se lijepo javi.
 On se meni ne ponosi,
 ni on meni, ni ja njemu.
 Kad ja pođem u hazbašču,
 u hazbašču pod naranču,
 on me gleda sa čardaka,
 a u sebi pomišljaje:
 da mi te je prevariti,
 u svoj čardak umamiti,
 da mi treptiš po čardaku,
 baš ko zlato na čagetu.

Nezaobilazno je kod promišljanja o Nurijinom repertoaru uzeti u obzir sličnosti i razlike između njegovog i repertoara Hamdije Šahinpašića. Razlog za to su već spomenute činjenice da su bili braća i da su potekli iz iste sredine, što bi moglo voditi ka pretpostavci da su njegovali približno sličan repertoar. Ipak, vrlo je interesantno što se njihovi repertoari ne podudaraju u onolikoj mjeri koliko bi se to očekivalo. Pored toga što nema mnogo zajedničkih pjesama, ni zajedničke nisu identične po svojoj melodiji niti tekstu. Dakle, radi se o različitim varijantama.²³

²³ Neke od zajedničkih pjesama u repertoarima Hamdije i Nurije Šahinpašića su: *Kahvu mi, draga, ispeci* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXX, 2464), *Izvor-voda izvirala* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2546), *Polećela dva vrana gavrana* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2551), *Povila se vita loza vinova* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2560), *L'jepo ti je rano uraniti* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2642), *Drijemala, kunjala, mlada gospoja* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXIII, 2741), *Zumro moja, dušo moja* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXV, 2877), *Padaj, padaj, Šar-planino* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2536), *Zagleda se mlado momče i devojčica* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2538), *Kreni kolo, kolovođa* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2559), *Umri, tetka, da pođem za tetka* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2588), *Turci Maru zarobiše* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXI, 2626), *Kosovo polje zeleno* (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXIII, 2676), *Koliko je Nevesinje ravno* (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XXXV, 2911), *Kad mašina iz*

Ksenija Cicvarić's version:

*(There down the streets
 I grew fond of my neighbour
 I grew fond of you for nothing else
 but because you greet me often.
 My dear neighbor, my heart's pain
 I wish I could lure you,
 make love to you in my home.)*

Nurija Šahinpašić's version:

*(There down the streets
 I grew fond of my neighbour boy
 I grew fond of him for nothing else
 but because he greets me nicely.
 He does not look down on me,
 nor do I look down on him.
 When I go to the garden
 to the garden to pick an orange,
 he looks at me from his room,
 and he thinks to himself:
 I wish I could trick you,
 lure you into my room,
 so you may shine in my room,
 just like gold on paper.)*

When considering Nurija Šahinpašić's repertoire, it is important to take into account the similarities and differences between his repertoire and that of Hamdija Šahinpašić. This is especially relevant given that they were brothers and came from the same cultural background, which might suggest they shared a similar musical repertoire. However, interestingly, their repertoires do not align as closely as one might expect. Not only are there a few shared songs, but even the ones they both performed differ in melody and lyrics. In other words, they represent different variants of the same songs.²³

²³ Some of the shared songs in the repertoires of Hamdija and Nurija Šahinpašić include: *Kahvu mi, draga, ispeci* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXX, 2464), *Izvor voda izvirala* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2546), *Polećela dva vrana gavrana* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2551), *Povila se vita loza vinova* (Recorded by



Zapis pjesme *Tamo dolje niz mahalu* prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića.

FAZM. Fsc. XXXII, 2591.

The record of the song *Tamo dolje niz mahalu*, as sung by Nurija Šahinpašić.

FAZM. Folder XXXII, 2591.

Pjesma koju su i jedan i drugi Šahinpašić izvodili u vrlo sličnoj melodijskoj i tekstualnoj varijanti je *Ja se popeh na najviše visine*. Hamdija Šahinpašić je ovu pjesmu snimio 1962. godine za potrebe fonoteke Radio-Beograda uz pratnju Narodnog orkestra Radio-Beograda pod upravom Vlastimira Pavlovića Carevca (1895–1965).²⁴ Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića Duga

The song *Ja se popeh na najviše visine* (I climbed to the greatest heights) was performed by both Hamdija and Nurija Šahinpašić in very similar melodic and

Mostara dođe (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XXXV, 2998),
U subotu predveče (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XXXVIII,
3139), Što no cvili u mramorju gradu (Zap. M.
M. Fsc. XXXVIII, 3180).

²⁴ Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac bio je jedan od najznačajnijih srpskih muzičara narodne muzike 20. stoljeća. Po struci je bio diplomirani pravnik, a kao violinist djelovao je kao šef Narodnog orkestra Radio-Beograda od njegovog osnivanja 1929. godine. Do svoje smrti, 10. januara 1965. godine, s orkestrom Radio-Beograda ostavio je veliki broj snimaka u fonoteci Radio-Beograda.

C. R. Folder XXXI, 2560), *L'jepo ti je rano uraniti* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2642), *Drijemala, kunjala, mlada gospođa* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXIII, 2741), *Zumro moja, dušo moja* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXV, 2877), *Padaj, padaj, Šar-planino* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2536), *Zagleda se mlado momče i devojčica* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2538), *Kreni kolo, kolovođa* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2559), *Umri, tetka, da pođem za tetka* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2588), *Turci Maru zarobiše* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXI, 2626), *Kosovo polje zeleno* (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXIII, 2676), *Koliko je Nevesinje ravno* (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXV, 2911), *Kad mašina iz Mostara dođe* (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXV, 2998), *U subotu predveče* (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXVIII, 3139), *Što no cvili u mramorju gradu* (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXVIII, 3180).

Bosna i široka, Jajce i Travnik²⁵ počinje stihom koji Hamdija nije pjevao, dok njegovi posljednji stihovi Dadoše mi ranjenika da liječim / ja joj sterem mehak dušek da legne / neće hasta u duške bez mene nedostaju u Nurijinoj varijanti. Kada je o melodiji riječ, obje varijante su veoma slične, s tim što Hamdijina na početku uvijek sadrži eksklamaciju ah.

Varijanta Hamdije Šahinpašića²⁶

Ja se popeh na najviše visine,
pa pogledah u najniže nizine.
Gdje jeleni i košute planduju,
mladi momci i djevojke vraguju.
Skidoh pušku sa desnoga ramena,
da ubijem vitorogog jelena.
Ne pogodih vitorogog jelena,
već pogodih pod prstenom djevojku.
Dadoše mi ranjenika da liječim.
Ja joj sterem mehak dušek da legne,
neće hasta u duške bez mene.

Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića

Duga Bosna i široka, Jajce i Travnik.
Ja se ispeh na najviše visine,
te pogledah u najniže nizine,
đe jeleni i košute planduju,
mladi momci i djevojke vraguju.
Skidoh pušku sa desnoga ramena,
da ubijem vitorogu jelena.
Ne pogodih vitorogu jelena,
već pogodih pod prstenom djevojku.

Još jedna poznata sandžačka pjesma može poslužiti kao primjer razlika u repertoaru između dva Šahinpašića, a to je Il' je vedro, il' oblačno. Ovu pjesmu Hamdija Šahinpašić je također snimio 1962. godine

lyrical versions. Hamdija Šahinpašić recorded this song in 1962 for the Radio Belgrade phonothèque, accompanied by the National Orchestra of Radio Belgrade, under conductorship of Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac (1895–1965).²⁴ In Nurija Šahinpašić's version of *Duga Bosna i široka (Long and broad Bosnia), Jajce i Travnik (Jajce and Travnik)*²⁵, the opening line differs from Hamdija's rendition, while the final lines—*Dadoše mi ranjenika da liječim / ja joj sterem mehak dušek da legne / neće hasta u duške bez mene (They gave me the wounded to treat her / I laid out a soft bed for her to lie down / the patient won't lie down without me)*—are absent from Nurija's version. Musically, the two versions are very similar, with the main difference being that Hamdija's version always begins with the exclamation "ah".

The version of Nurija Šahinpašić²⁶

*(I climbed to the tallest heights,
and I looked down at lowest lowlands,
where deer and does lay down,
young boys and girls make mischief.
I took the rifle off my right shoulder,
to shoot the antlered deer,
I missed the antlered deer,
but I hit the girl ready for marriage.
They gave me the wounded to treat her.*

Smatra se jednim od najvećih poznavalaca narodne muzike na Balkanu. (Berbić, 2021)

²⁵ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXIV, 2825.

²⁶ Šahinpašić, Hamdija. "Ja se popeh na najviše visine". Arhiv Radio-Beograda. 1962. <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/hamdija-ahinpa-i-ja-se-popeh>.

²⁴ Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac was one of the most significant Serbian folk musicians of the 20th century. Although he was trained as a lawyer, he was a violinist and served as the head of the National Orchestra of Radio Belgrade from its founding in 1929. Until his death on January 10, 1965, he made many recordings with the Radio Belgrade Orchestra, leaving a rich legacy in the Radio Belgrade phonothèque. He is regarded as one of the foremost experts on folk music in the Balkans. (Berbić, 2021)

²⁵ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXIV, 2825.

²⁶ Šahinpašić, Hamdija. "Ja se popeh na najviše visine". Archive of Radio Belgrade. 1962. <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/hamdija-ahinpa-i-ja-se-popeh>.



Zapis pjesme *Duga Bosna i široka* prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića. Fsc. XXXIV, 2825.
The record of the song *Duga Bosna i široka*, as sung by Nurija Šahinpašić. Folder XXXIV, 2825.

uz pratnju Narodnog orkestra Vlastimira Pavlovića Carevca za potrebe fonoteke Radio-Beograda. Nuričina i Hamdijina varijanta se ne razlikuju toliko u melodiji, koliko svojim tekstem.

Varijanta Hamdije Šahinpašića²⁷

Il' je vedro, il' oblačno, il' je tamna noć,
il' je sunce, il' je mjesec, il' je bijel' dan.
Nit' je vedro, nit' oblačno, nit' je tamna noć,
nit' je sunce, nit' je mjesec, nit' je bijel' dan.
Već je ono Sokolović, mlad Ibrahimе,
koji ljubi sultaniju, sultan-Zulejhu.
Govori mu sultanija, sultan-Zulejha:
"Pusti mene, Ibrahimе, da idem doma.
Sad će doći stara majka, naći će nas tu,
pa će kasti mome bratu, sultan-Ahmedu."

*I laid out a soft bed for her to lie down,
the patient won't lie down without me)*

Nurija Šahinpašić's version:

*(Long and broad Bosnia, Jajce and Travnik.
I climbed to the tallest heights,
and I looked down at lowest lowlands,
where deer and does lay down,
young boys and girls make mischief.
I took the rifle off my right shoulder,
to shoot the antlered deer,
I missed the antlered deer,
but I hit the girl ready for marriage.)*

Another well-known Sandžak song that highlights the differences in the repertoires of the two Šahinpašić brothers is *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno* (*Is it sunny or is it cloudy*). Hamdija Šahinpašić also recorded this song in 1962, accompanied by the National Orchestra of Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac, for the Radio Belgrade phonothèque. The versions by Nurija and Hamdija do not differ as much in melody as they do in their lyrics.

²⁷ Šahinpašić, Hamdija. "Il' je vedro, il' oblačno", Arhiv Radio-Beograda. 1962. <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/hamdi-beg-sahinpasic-il-je-vedro-il-oblacno>.

Varijanta Nurije Šahinpašića

Il' je vedro, il' oblačno, il' je tamna noć,
 il' je sunce, il' je mjesec, il' je bijel' dan.
 Nit' je vedro, nit' oblačno, nit' je tamna noć,
 nit' je sunce, nit' je mjesec, nit' je bijel' dan.
 Već je ono Sokolović, mlad Ibrahime.
 Zanio se u najviši i najljepši grad,
 te on gleda sultaniju, sultan-Zulejhu.
 Govori mu sultanija, sultan-Zulejha:
 "Pusti mene, Ibrahime, da idem u dvor.
 Sad će doći stara majka, naći će nas tuj,
 pa će kasti mome bratu, sultan-Ahmedu."
 U to doba stiže Ahmed, dođe Ibru glas.
 "Kako smiješ, bolan Ibro, mome dvoru doć,
 a kamoli s mojom sekam da ašikuješ?"
 "Kaži, Zulko, kaži, dušo, šta sam tebi ja?"
 "Ti si, Ibro, sunce žarko, što nada mnom sja."

Postojanje mnogih tipičnih bosanskih pjesama u Nurijinom repertoaru može navesti na razmišljanje da su te pjesme u vrijeme njegove mladosti bile popularne u Pljevljima. Međutim, također se može pretpostaviti da je neke od njih naučio i usvojio kasnije, kada se preselio u Bosnu i Hercegovinu. U tom smislu posebno je važno naglasiti primjer tzv. ravnog ili poravnog²⁸ pjevanja u njegovom repertoaru, koje inače nije bilo mnogo zastupljeno u Sandžaku. To je pjesma Što no mi se Travnik zamaglio²⁹ uz koju u zapisu stoji

²⁸ Termin ravno pjevanje, goniti u ravan ili pod ravno označava specifičnu melodiju koja se pojavljuje u više varijanti, a na koju se izvodi više različitih tekstova. Akademik Vlado Milošević navodi da je to pjevanje "...silabično-recitativno, uskog obima, koje se ne odmiče mnogo od svog osnovnog tona. (...) Vremenom i uticajima kojima je teško uhvatiti porijeklo i početak, to arhaično pjevanje se širilo horizontalno, a naročito obimom, vertikalno. Ta proširena, ekspresivna i ukrašena bogata popijevka, izgubila je karakteristike svoje osnove, ali je zadržala stari prvobitni naziv, mada su sadržaj i forma izmijenjeni." (Milošević, 1984: 8)

²⁹ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXVIII, 3163.

The version of Hamdija Šahinpašić²⁷

*(Is it sunny or is it cloudy, or is it the dark night,
 is there sun, or is there moon, or is it a bright day.
 It is neither sunny, nor it is cloudy, nor is it dark night,
 There is no sun, nor moon, nor bright day.
 That is young Ibrahim Sokolović,
 who is in love with the sultana, sultana Zulejha.
 The sultana, sultana Zulejha tells him:
 "Ibrahim, let me go home,
 My old mother will come now, she will find us here,
 and she will tell my brother, sultan Ahmed.")*

Nuriya Šahinpašić's version:

*(Is it sunny or is it cloudy, or is it the dark night,
 is there sun, or is there moon, or is it a bright day.
 It is neither sunny, nor it is cloudy, nor is it dark night,
 There is no sun, nor moon, nor bright day.
 That is young Ibrahim Sokolović,
 He wondered into the tallest and most beautiful city,
 and he is looking at the sultana, sultana Zulejha.
 The sultana, sultana Zulejha tells him:
 "Ibrahim, let me go to the palace.
 My old mother will come now, she will find us here,
 and she will tell my brother, sultan Ahmed."
 At that moment Ahmed arrived, Ibro heard the voice.
 "How dare you, Ibro, come to my palace,
 let alone court my sister?"
 "Say Zulka, say dear, what am I to you?"
 "You, Ibro, are the bright sun that shines upon me.")*

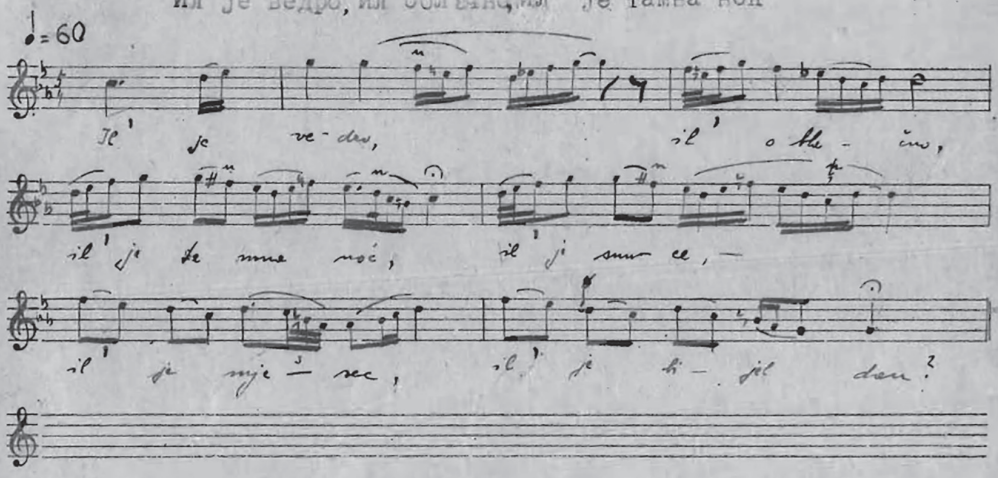
²⁷ Šahinpašić, Hamdija. "Il' je vedro, il' oblačno", Archive of Radio Belgrade. 1962. <https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/hamdi-beg-sahin-pasic-il-je-vedro-il-oblacno>.

INSTITUT ZA PROUČAVANJE FOLKLORA - SARAJEVO

Fsc. XXXI : red. br. 2537 fol.
Sarajevo, 24 aprila 1950
Mjesto i vrijeme zps. : Zps. :
Pjevao: Шахинпашин Нурџа из Плевља
(Izvodio na instr.)

Ил' је ведро, ил' облачно, ил' је тамна ноћ

$\text{♩} = 60$



Zapis pjesme *Il' je vedro il' oblachno*, prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića.

FAZM. Fsc XXXI, 2537.

The record of the song *Il' je vedro, il' oblachno*, as sung by Nurija Šahinpašić.

FAZM. Folder XXXI, 2537.

“Bosanska kajda / Uravan”. Pored nje, treba istaći i još neke poznate bosanske pjesme: Sini, žarko sa istoka sunce,³⁰ Dockan pojdoch gorom Romanijom,³¹ Kraj potoka bistre vode,³² Kroz bašču mi potok teče,³³ Uzeh đugum i maštrafu, odoh na vodu,³⁴ Pšeničice, sitno sjeme,³⁵ Zvijezda tjera mjeseca,³⁶ MOŠĆANICA – Na Obhođi prema Bakijama³⁷ i druge. Pored bosanskih, mogu se u njegovom repertoaru

The presence of many typical Bosnian songs in Nurija's repertoire suggests that these songs may have been popular in Pljevlja during his youth. However, it is also possible that he learned and adopted some of them later, after moving to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context, it is particularly important to highlight the example of the so-called “*ravno* or *poravno* singing”²⁸ in his repertoire, a

³⁰ Ibidem. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XLIII, 3551.

³¹ Ibidem. 3549.

³² Ibidem. Fsc. XXXVIII, 3161.

³³ Ibidem. 3156.

³⁴ Ibidem. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. 3147.

³⁵ Ibidem. 3144.

³⁶ Ibidem. 3140.

³⁷ Ibidem. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XXXVII. 3089.

²⁸ The term *ravno pjevanje* (or *goniti u ravan* or *pod ravno*) refers to a specific melody that appears in multiple variations, to which different lyrics are sung. Academician Vlado Milošević describes this style of singing as “...syllabic-recitative, with a narrow range, remaining close to its fundamental tone. (...) Over time, and through influences whose origins are difficult to pinpoint, this archaic form of singing spread horizontally and, especially, expanded vertically. This expanded, expressive, and ornamented style of song lost the characteristics of its original form but retained its old name,

pronaći i pjesme iz Srbije,³⁸ Crne Gore³⁹ i s Kosova.⁴⁰

U prilog tome da je Nuriya neke od pjesama naučio nakon odlaska iz Pljevalja su i pjesme novijeg datuma, kao što je Pluća su mi bolna.⁴¹ Autor je Dragiša Nedović (1916–1966), poznati srpski kompozitor pjesama u narodnom duhu, a prvi su je izvodili Zaim Imamović i Nada Mamula.⁴² Moglo bi se u tom smislu pretpostaviti da je pojedine pjesme Nuriya usvojio u vrijeme kada je počela ekspanzija radioprograma te gramofonskih ploča.

Pored pjesama, među zapisima repertoara Nurije Šahinpašića nalazi se i Džezair.⁴³ Riječ je o instrumentalnoj kompoziciji koja je bila veoma popularna među sazlijama. Međutim, na kojem ga je instrumentu Nuriya izvodio nije poznato, budući da taj podatak nije naveden u zapisu. Ipak, uz notni zapis stoji da se Džezair kao prva programska tačka "...odsvira uvijek kao uvod u muziciranje (pjevanje), a završava se sa 'Rastankom' ili sa 'Plevnamaršem'".⁴⁴ Džezair⁴⁵ se također izvodio i uz pratnju ćemaneta (violine), o čemu svjedoči nastavak zapisa:

style not widely represented in Sandžak. One such song is *Što no mi se Travnik zamaglio* (*Why is Travnik immersed in smoke*)²⁹, which is noted with the annotation "Bosanska kajda / Uravan" in the record. In addition to this, several other well-known Bosnian songs should also be mentioned: *Sini, žarko sa istoka sunce* (*Shine, bright sun from the east*),³⁰ *Dockan pojdoh gorom Romanijom* (*I went late through the Romanija mountain*),³¹ *Kraj potoka bistre vode* (*By the brook with clear water*),³² *Kroz bašču mi potok teče* (*Brook flows through my garden*),³³ *Uzeh džugum i maštrafu, odoh na vodu* (*I took the pitcher and the jug, went to fetch water*),³⁴ *Pšeničice, sitno sjeme* (*Small seeds of wheat*),³⁵ *Zvijezda tjera mjeseca* (*Star is chasing moon*),³⁶ *MOŠĆANICA – Na Obhođi prema Bakijama* (*At Obhođa towards Bakije*)³⁷ and other. In addition to Bosnian songs, his repertoire also includes songs from Serbia³⁸, Montenegro³⁹, and Kosovo⁴⁰.

despite changes in both content and structure." (Milošević, 1984: 8)

³⁸ Višnjičica rod rodila (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXIII, 2728), S one strane Morave (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XXXIV, 2810), Što s' Morava zamutila (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXIV, 2826).

³⁹ Mlada Jelka ljubi Janka (Zap. M. M. Fsc. XL, 3296).

⁴⁰ Kosovo polje zeleno (Zap. C. R. Fsc. XXXIII, 2676).

⁴¹ Ibidem. Fsc. XL, 3302.

⁴² Mamula, Nada. Singl "Pesma o harmonici / Pluća su mi bolna". Jugoton (Jugoton C – 6601), 1957. <https://www.discogs.com/release/13696238-Nada-Mamula-Pesma-O-Harmonici-Plu%C4%87a-Su-Mi-Bolna>.

⁴³ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XXXIV, 2797.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Više o Džezairu vidjeti u: Imamović, 2022.

²⁹ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXVIII, 3163.

³⁰ Ibidem. Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XLIII, 3551.

³¹ Ibidem. 3549.

³² Ibidem. Folder XXXVIII, 3161.

³³ Ibidem. 3156.

³⁴ Ibidem. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. 3147.

³⁵ Ibidem. 3144.

³⁶ Ibidem. 3140.

³⁷ Ibidem. Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XXXVII. 3089.

³⁸ Višnjičica rod rodila (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXIII, 2728), S one strane Morave (Recorded by M. M. Folder XXXIV, 2810), Što s' Morava zamutila (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXIV, 2826).

³⁹ Mlada Jelka ljubi Janka (Recorded by M. M. Folder XL, 3296).

⁴⁰ Kosovo polje zeleno (Recorded by C. R. Folder XXXIII, 2676).

“Džezair su donijele vojničke turske muzike i svirale kao marš i od njih su naši svirači na ćemanetima naučili i uveli u običaj da ga sviraju kao početnu tačku programa. Slijepi svirač Alija Bibić iz Sarajeva pripovijedao je da je Džezair donio njegov učitelj sviranja na ćemanetu, (...) Sarajevski brijač, koji je služio u askeru, negdje u Tripolisu, i tamo ga naučio.”⁴⁶

Šahinpašićev repertoar sadrži i pojedine pjesme koje su sasvim izvjesno nastajale u kafanskim ambijentima, naročito u periodu između dva svjetska rata, te šlagere: Kad pijemo, a što ne pjevamo,⁴⁷ Ja đevica, majka udovica,⁴⁸ S one strane Drine vode,⁴⁹ Pastiri, pastiri,⁵⁰ Otkud u lijepom vrtu uveho bačen cvijet,⁵¹ Kako si krasna, dušice moja,⁵² S neba su zvijezde sjale.⁵³ Treba istaći i pojedine rijetko pjevane pjesme koje se mogu susresti i u drugim izvorima, kao što je Javor se zeleni.⁵⁴ Nalazimo je u sličnoj varijanti i u fonoteci Radija Bosne i Hercegovine, na snimku iz 1960. godine u izvedbi grupe pjevača Radio-Sarajeva, uz pratnju dueta harmonika Alajbegović – Petković i tri člana Tamburaškog orkestra.⁵⁵ Jednu varijantu pjesme Mitrovačko

The inclusion of newer songs in Nuriya's repertoire, such as *Pluća su mi bolna* (*My lungs hurt*)⁴¹, suggests that he may have learned some of his songs after leaving Pljevlja. This particular song was composed by Dragiša Nedović (1916–1966), a renowned Serbian composer of folk music, and was first performed by Zaim Imamović and Nada Mamula.⁴² It can be inferred that Nuriya likely adopted certain songs during the period when radio broadcasts and gramophone records became more widespread.

In addition to songs, Nuriya Šahinpašić's repertoire includes *Džezair*⁴³, an instrumental composition that was very popular among *saz* players. However, it is not clear which instrument Nuriya used to perform it, as this detail is not mentioned in the record. The musical notation notes that *Džezair*, as the opening piece, was “...always played as an introduction to the music (singing) and concludes with “Rastanak” [Eng. Parting] or “Plevna March.”⁴⁴ *Džezair*⁴⁵ was also performed with the accompaniment of *ćemanet*, as indicated by the continuation of the record:

“Džezair was brought by military Turkish music and was played as a march. Our violin players learned them and eventually adopted the custom of playing them as the opening piece of the program. The blind musician Alija Bibić from Sarajevo recounted that it was his music teacher at the *ćemanet* who brought the *Džezair*, (...) as a Sarajevo barber, who had served in the

⁴⁶ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XXXIV, 2797.

⁴⁷ Ibidem. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXII, 2622.

⁴⁸ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXIV, 2817.

⁴⁹ Ibidem. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić, Fsc. XXXV, 2913.

⁵⁰ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXVII, 3179.

⁵¹ Ibidem. Fsc. XL, 3298.

⁵² Ibidem. 3299.

⁵³ Ibidem. Fsc. XLIII, 3552.

⁵⁴ Ibidem. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXIII, 2674.

⁵⁵ Javor se zeleni, MGT. 4858. 7. januar 1960. Katalog magnetofonskih traka narodne muzike fonoteke Radio-televizije Bosne i Hercegovine (Digitalna kopija).

⁴¹ Ibidem. Folder XL, 3302.

⁴² Mamula, Nada. Singl “Pesma o harmonici / Pluća su mi bolna”. Jugoton (Jugoton C – 6601), 1957. <https://www.discogs.com/release/13696238-Nada-Mamula-Pesma-O-Harmonici-Plu%C4%87a-Su-Mi-Bolna>.

⁴³ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XXXIV, 2797.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ For more on *Džezair* see: Imamović, 2022.

ravno polje⁵⁶ nalazimo i u rukopisnoj zbirci Muhameda Hadžijahića Sarajevske narodne pjesme koja se čuva u FAZM-u.⁵⁷ Zanimljive su i pjesme Povilo se Nevesinje ravno,⁵⁸ Ja ću ti, draga, skoro umrijeti,⁵⁹ Vedro bješe pa se naoblači,⁶⁰ Dockan pođoh iz mejhane.⁶¹

Zaključak

Fundus od 264 pjesme koje su Cvjetko Rihtman i Mustafa A. Mulalić zabilježili prema pjevanju Nurije Šahinpašića iz Pljevalja te sačuvali u FAZM-u jasno dokazuje da je Šahinpašić bio veliki poznavalac narodnih pjesama. Šarolik repertoar u kojem se nalaze kako one rijetko pjevane tako i poznate pjesme Šahinpašić je usvajao prvenstveno od svoje majke, ali i u okolini u kojoj je odrastao i živio. Isticao je sijela i svadbe na koje je često odlazio,

army somewhere in Tripoli, and learned it there.”⁴⁶

Šahinpašić's repertoire also features songs that almost certainly originated in tavern settings, especially during the period between the two world wars, along with popular hits: *Kad pijemo, a što ne pjevamo* (When we drink, why don't we sing),⁴⁷ *Ja đevica, majka udovica* (I'm a virgin, my mother is a widow),⁴⁸ *S one strane Drine vode* (On the other side of the Drina river),⁴⁹ *Pastiri, pastiri* (Shepherds, shepherds),⁵⁰ *Otkud u lijepom vrtu uveho bačen cvijet* (Why is there a wilted thrown-away flower in beautiful gared),⁵¹ *Kako si krasna, dušice moja* (How are you, my lovely soul),⁵² *S neba su zvijezde sjale* (Stars shone from the sky).⁵³ It should also be noted that some rarely performed songs can be found in other sources, such as *Javor se zeleni* (Green maple)⁵⁴. We find it in a similar version in the Radio Bosnia and Herzegovina archive, in a 1960 recording performed by a group of Radio Sarajevo singers, accompanied by the accordion duet Alajbegović – Petković and three members of the Tambura Orchestra⁵⁵. Another version of the song *Mitrovačko ravno polje* can be found in the manuscript collection *Sarajevske narodne pjesme* (Folk songs of

⁵⁶ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Cvjetko Rihtman. Fsc. XXXIII, 2675.

⁵⁷ Sarajevske narodne pjesme. Rukopisna zbirka. Folklorni arhiv Zemaljskog muzeja. Ms. 58.

⁵⁸ Ibidem. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XXXV, 2911. U različitim varijantama pjesma se nalazi i u repertoarima Hamdije Šahinpašića, repertoaru Avdije Avdića (<https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/avdija-avdic-razvilo-se-nevesinje-uzivo>) te u aranžmanu Spase Beraka (1938–2013) koju je snimila Ljubica Berak u okviru projekta revitalizacije narodnih pjesama. (<https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/ljubica-berak-sirilo-se-ravno-polje-zeleno>).

⁵⁹ Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a. Zapisao Mustafa A. Mulalić. Fsc. XXXVI, 2957. Ivan Zovko zabilježio je varijantu pod nazivom Umrin dragi, ja ću te žaliti (Zovko 1888, pjesma broj 58).

⁶⁰ Ibidem. 2950. Jedna varijanta nalazi se i u Bosanskoj vili, godina I, broj 13, 1886. (Zbirka Đorđa Petrovića).

⁶¹ Ibidem. Fsc. XXXIV, 2813. Jedna varijanta nalazi se i u Bosanskoj vili, godina VII, broj 22–23, 1892. (“Šerli pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine”, sakupio od Omolja Živko).

⁴⁶ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XXXIV, 2797.

⁴⁷ Ibidem. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXII, 2622.

⁴⁸ Ibidem. Folder XXXIV, 2817.

⁴⁹ Ibidem. Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić, Folder XXXV, 2913.

⁵⁰ Ibidem. Folder XXXVII, 3179.

⁵¹ Ibidem. Folder XL, 3298.

⁵² Ibidem. 3299.

⁵³ Ibidem. Folder XLIII, 3552.

⁵⁴ Ibidem. Recorded by Cvjetko Rihtman. Folder XXXIII, 2674.

⁵⁵ *Javor se zeleni*, MGT. 4858. January 7, 1960. Catalogue of reel-to-reel tapes of folk music from the Radio and Television Bosnia and Herzegovina archive (Digital copy).

kao glavnu scenu na kojoj se izvodila i nje govala pjesma u njegovoj mladosti. Neke od pjesama usvajao je i kasnije, nakon preseljenja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, a ne ke vjerovatno i putem radija i gramofon skih ploča.

Pored toga što je bio brat daleko po znatijeg pjevača i sakupljača narodnih pje sama iz Sandžaka Hamdije Šahinpašića, Nurija je ostao skoro pa potpuno nepo znat današnjim istraživačima. Međutim, zahvaljujući Mustafi A. Mulaliću, u arhi vu narodnih predaja FAZM-a sačuvano je i dragocjeno svjedočanstvo o njegovom životu.

Iako njegov repertoar sadrži i dosta po znatih pjesama, pa čak i onih koje su novi jeg datuma te čiji su autori poznati, može se tvrditi da je riječ o veoma vrijednoj zbirci pjesama. U prilog toj tvrdnji ide či njenica da se i u slučaju poznatih pjesama uvijek radi o rijetko pjevanim varijantama. To je jasno iz komparacije njegovog, te re pertoara Hamdije Šahinpašića. Pored toga što su odrasli u istoj sredini, nisu gajili sli čan repertoar u mjeri u kojoj bi se to očeki valo, što znači da je život narodne pjesme u tom kraju bio izuzetno bogat, te da se jedna pjesma često nje govala u više razli čitih varijanti.

Nedostatak koji onemogućava stvara nje potpune slike o Nurijinom pjevanju je ste nepostojanje zvučnih snimaka koji bi pružili jasniju sliku o njegovim pjevačkim kvalitetima i osjećaju za narodnu pjesmu. No, ne treba isključiti mogućnost da će bu duća istraživanja i uvidi u privatne ostav štine i druge arhive otkloniti spomenuti nedostatak.

Sarajevo) by Muhamed Hadžijahić, which is kept at the FAZM.⁵⁶ Also interesting are the songs *Povilo se Nevesinje ravno* (*Flat Nevesinje was bent*)⁵⁷, *Ja ću ti, dra ga, skoro umrijeti* (*My darling, I will die soon*)⁵⁸, *Vedro bješe pa se naoblači* (*It was sunny, and it turned cloudy*)⁵⁹, and *Dockan podoh iz mejhane* (*I left tavern late at night*)⁶⁰.

Conclusion

The collection of 264 songs record ed by Cvjetko Rihtman and Mustafa A. Mulalić, based on the singing of Nurija Šahinpašić from Pljevlja and preserved in the FAZM archive, clearly demonstrates that Šahinpašić was a great connoisseur of folk songs. His diverse repertoire, which includes both rarely performed and well known songs, was primarily learned from his mother, but also from the surrounding

⁵⁶ *Sarajevske narodne pjesme*. Manuscript collection. Folk Archive of the National Museum. Manuscript 58.

⁵⁷ Ibidem. Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XXXV, 2911. The song can be found in different variations in the repertoires of Hamdija Šahinpašić and Avdija Avdić (<https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/avdija-avdic-razvilo-se-nevesinje-uzivo>), and in an arrangement by Spaso Berak (1938–2013), which was recorded by Ljubica Berak as part of the folk song revitalisation project. (<https://soundcloud.com/semir-vranic/ljubica-berak-sirilo-se-ravno-polje-zeleno>).

⁵⁸ Archive of Music and Dance Recordings (FAZM). Recorded by Mustafa A. Mulalić. Folder XXXVI, 2957. Ivan Zovko recorded a version titled *Umrin dragi, ja ću te žaliti* (Zovko 1888, song number 58).

⁵⁹ Ibidem. 2950. One version can also be found in *Bosanska vila*, Volume I, Issue 13, 1886. (Collection of Đorđe Petrović).

⁶⁰ Ibidem. Folder XXXIV, 2813. One version can also be found in *Bosanska vila*, Volume VII, Issue 22–22, 1892. (“Šcherli pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine”, collected by Omolja Živko).

community in which he grew up and lived. He highlighted gatherings and weddings, which he frequently attended, as the main stage where songs were performed and cherished during his youth. Some of the songs were learned later, after he moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina, while others were likely introduced through the radio and phonograph records.

Despite being the brother of the far more famous singer and collector of folk songs from Sandžak, Hamdija Šahinpašić, Nurija remained almost completely unknown to today's researchers. However, thanks to Mustafa A. Mulalić, a valuable testimony about his life has been preserved in the FAZM archive of folk traditions.

Although his repertoire contains many well-known songs, some even from more recent times with known authors, it can be said that this is an extremely valuable collection of songs. Supporting this claim is the fact that even well-known songs in Nurija Šahinpašić's repertoire are rare variants. This is evident when comparing his repertoire with that of Hamdija Šahinpašić. Despite growing up in the same environment, they did not share a similar repertoire to the extent one might expect, which suggests that folk music in that region was exceptionally diverse, with individual songs often being preserved in multiple variations.

A key limitation in fully understanding Nurija's singing is the absence of audio recordings, which would provide clearer insight into his vocal qualities and his sensitivity to folk music. However, future research and access to private collections and other archives may address this gap.

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Arhivi / Archive

Arhiv Fondacije SEVDAH

Arhiv muzičkih i plesnih zapisa FAZM-a

Arhiv narodnih predaja FAZM-a

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Folklorni arhiv Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine

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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, ri-ba 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 melanholijske 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 melanholijske 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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Safet-bega Bašagića 99

Prilog poznavanju zdravstvenih prilika u Sarajevu koncem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća: higijenski objekti, korištenje vode, hamam, šadrvan i prve apoteke

Uspostava austrougarske uprave te stupnjevi razvoja i stanje u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg perioda i u Sarajevu rezultirali su, između ostalog, spoznajama o načinu življenja lokalnog stanovništva, navikama u korištenju vode, česmi, hamama, i konačno o novom obliku liječenja, otvaranjem apoteke. U radu se govori o dvije privatne apoteke u Sarajevu, i to prvoj modernoj apoteci vlasnika Eduarda Pleyela (1877) i nešto kasnije otvorenoj apoteci Hinka Šlezingera (zgrada projektovana 1902). Prije toga, korištenje ljekaruša, voda i njeno korištenje, briga o vodi i presvođavanje bile su česte poveznice za vrijeme turske uprave. Nedostatak školovanih liječnika, do otvaranja novih zdravstvenih ustanova, učinio je da su liječenja bolesnika najčešće obavljana načinima prezentiranim u sveskama ljekaruša i uz asistenciju narodnih ljekara. U novom periodu društvenog prilagođavanja i tranzicije, dolaskom austrougarske uprave, zadržani su raniji elementi, najviše vezani za vodu, objekti kao što su hamami zadržali su svoju funkciju, ali ono što je novo u pitanju objekata i u liječenju stanovništva svakako je prvi moderni koncept apoteka u Sarajevu. Tako su dopu-

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Safet-bega Bašagića 99

A Contribution to the Knowledge about the Health Conditions in Sarajevo at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century: Sanitary Facilities, Water Usage, Hamams, Shadirvans, and the First Pharmacies

The establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration and the levels of development and conditions in the Ottoman-era Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in Sarajevo, resulted in, among other things, insights into the lifestyle of the local population, habits related to water usage, fountains, hammams, and, finally, a new form of medical treatment with the opening of pharmacies. This paper discusses two private pharmacies in Sarajevo: the first modern pharmacy owned by Eduard Pleyel (1877) and the pharmacy of Hinko Šlezinger, which opened a little later (the building was designed in 1902). Prior to this, the use of herbal remedies, water and its usage, water care, and water conduits were common practices during the Ottoman rule. The lack of trained doctors, until the opening of new healthcare institutions, meant that patient treatment was mostly carried out using methods presented in herbal remedy notebooks and with the assistance of folk healers. In the new period of social adjustment and transition, with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian adminis-

njena ranije primljena i prakticirana iskustva u liječenju i obogaćen korpus zdravstvene kulture Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: voda, česma, hamam, apoteka, zdravstvena kultura

Među značajne priloge za proučavanje historije Sarajeva mogu se uvrstiti oni radovi koji pripadaju oblasti zdravstvene kulture krajem turske vladavine i pred dolazak i početkom austrougarske uprave, objavljeni i u stručnoj i u popularnoj publicistici. U njima se govori o korištenju vode, higijeni i higijenskim objektima u osman-skodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg vremena, gdje, osim bolnice, prve apoteke zauzimaju važno mjesto u predstavljanju zdravstvenih prilika i navika lokalnog stanovništva.

Bilo da se radi o objektima, načinima liječenja, njegovanju određenih navika vezanih za vodu, higijenu i slično, isprepliću se narodna medicina i počeci modernog doba i načina liječenja, kao što je otvaranje apoteka s dolaskom austrougarske uprave. Ako posmatramo ranije načine liječenja, svakako da ljekaruše zauzimaju posebno mjesto, jer se mogu promatrati u svjetlu savremene fitoterapije.

Osim toga, kao naslijeđe iz orijentalne medicine, u liječenju se, prema Sokoloviću (1945), koriste i hemikalije, kamfor, sumpor, živa, ulja (riblje, ružino, karanfilovo, od metvice), maze ili mehlemi, eteri i druga sredstva, kao tubla (vruća cigla ili kamen), zavoji, flaster (jakija), sirovi pamuk, spužva (sunder) itd.

U takvom okruženju još se obilato koriste hamami, a presvođene vode teku iz česmi i šadrvana. Razvijanje i njegovanje koncepta upotrebe vode, njegovanja higijenskih navika, koje su reper ranije uprave,

earlier elements were preserved, most notably those related to water. Structures such as hammams retained their function, but what was new in terms of facilities and treatment of the population was undoubtedly the first modern concept of pharmacies in Sarajevo. Thus, earlier practices and experiences in treatment were supplemented, enriching the corpus of healthcare culture in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: water, foundation, hammam, pharmacy, healthcare culture

Significant contributions to studying the history of Sarajevo include works that belong to the field of healthcare culture at the end of the Ottoman rule, and prior or immediately after the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian rule, which were published both in the professional and popular publications. They mention the use of water, hygiene and hygiene facilities in the Ottoman-era Bosnia and Herzegovina of the later period, where apart from hospitals, the first pharmacies also play an important role in representing healthcare conditions and habits of the local population.

In terms of facilities, methods of treatment, the cultivation of certain habits related to water, hygiene, and the like, folk medicine and the beginnings of the modern era methods of treatment intertwine, as reflected in the opening of pharmacies with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration. If we look at earlier methods of treatment, herbal remedy books certainly occupy a special place, as they can be viewed in the context of modern phytotherapy.

In addition, according to Sokolović (1945), other methods of treatment which are the legacy of the oriental medicine were also used, including chemicals, camphor, sulfur, mercury, oils (fish, rose, clove, mint), ointments, ethers and other

te korištenje sveski medžmu'a – ljekaruša, kao dio orijentalnog naslijeđa u liječenju bolesti, sada se susreću s novim oficijelnim načinima liječenja, novim zdravstvenim ustanovama, što ujedno predstavlja susret civilizacijskog momenta istočne i zapadne varijante, specifične za Sarajevo. Ovaj rad je prilog dokumentarnoj građi u koju spada i tema liječenja u okvirima zdravstvene kulture i prilog materijalnoj, kulturnoj baštini Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine.

U radu su, pored ostalih, korištene fotografije fasada zgrada u kojima su bile smještene apoteke i koje je izradila autorica, dok su ostale reprodukovane fotografije iz publikacije *Spomenica povodom 400 godina GHB* (Sarajevo, 1932). Podaci koje je dao prof. Ibrahim Krzović o dvije apoteke potječu iz njegove knjige *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, a oslanjaju se na podatke Zavoda za planiranje razvoja grada Sarajeva (ZPRGS). Bilo je neophodno dodati i nove nazive ulica, tačnije lokacija objekata predstavljenih u radu.

Hamami, šadrvani i česme

U radu o knjigama iz svoje biblioteke, opisujući kompletan krajolik življenja, Sokolović napominje da su "po gradovima bili i hamami (javna kupatila), a samo Sarajevo ih je imalo sedam". (Sokolović, 1945: 5). Isa-begov hamam, poznat i kao *Careva banja*, izgradio je Isabeg Ishaković, u blizini Careve džamije. Kreševljaković (1932a) piše da je izgrađen prije 1461. godine, a da je porušen 1889. i sazidan novi sa spomenutim imenom. Jedan dio zgrade je urađen po uzoru na stari, dok je drugi dio moderno kupatilo zapadnog tipa (Kreševljaković, 1991: 53). Kreševljaković nabraja još tri banje koje su sagradili tri sandžakbega, prije

agents such as hot bricks or stones, bandages, patches, raw cotton, sponges etc.

In this environment, hammams are still widely used, and water carried by covered canals flows from shadrvans and taps. Developing and nurturing the concept of using water, cultivating hygienic habits which were the standard under the previous administration, and the use of remedy notebooks as part of the oriental heritage in the treatment of diseases, are now combined with the new official methods of treatment, new health institutions, which at the same time represents the meeting of the civilizational moment of the eastern and western variants, specific to Sarajevo. This work is a contribution to documentary material, which also includes the topic of treatment within the framework of health culture, and a contribution to the material, cultural heritage of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The paper uses photographs of the facades of buildings which used to house the pharmacies shot by the author, as well as reproduces photographs from the publication *Spomenica povodom 400 godina GHB (Memorial book on the occasion of 400th anniversary of Gazi Husrev Bey Library)* (Sarajevo, 1932). The information provided by prof. Ibrahim Krzović about the two pharmacies are from his book *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Secession architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, and they rely on data of the Institute for Planning of Development of the City of Sarajevo. It was also necessary to add the new street names and locations of facilities presented in the paper.

Hammams, shadrvans and taps

In his paper about the books from his library, describing the entire landscape of life, Sokolović notes that "there were hammams (public baths) in the cities, and Sarajevo alone had seven of them."

1521: Ajasbeg, na lokaciji današnjeg hotela “Central” u Sarajevu, Firuz-beg 1509, na lokaciji Čulhan, i Gazi Balibeg na Bistriku, od kojih su dvije propale početkom 19. stoljeća, a Ajasbegova banja je stradala u poznatom velikom požaru 1697. Husrevbegova banja je hamam sagrađen poslije 1537. Prednost u opisu ovog hamama Kreševljaković daje pisanju Ćire Truhelke (1865–1942), koji pripada prvoj generaciji stručnjaka Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu. On je “naš historik i pisac monografije slavnog Gazije” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71). U jednoj od faza svog istraživačkog rada, Truhelka “usmjerava svoju pažnju i na građu turskog perioda i problematiku ovog vremena, i dao je niz studija koje su se odnosile na značajne ličnosti (npr. Husrev-beg), na tursko zakonodavstvo ili propise, na porijeklo bosanskih Muslimana, ili na pojedine tursko-slovenske spomenike Dubrovačkog arhiva uopšte” (Miletić, 1988: 43). Prema pisanju Truhelke, jedna od najzanimljivijih građevina iz turskog doba je upravo Husrevbegova banja, locirana na uglu ulica Ćemaluše i Pehlivanuše, gdje posjetilac postepeno prolazi kroz sistem odaja, u kojima temperature postepeno raste, te je, prema tome, i parna atmosfera u njima raznog stepena. Ova banja je bila zanimljiva i kao građevina sa svoje dvije velike kupole i cijelim nizom manjih, koje su sve pokrivene olovnim krovom. Imala je dva ulaza, muški i ženski, iz dvije različite ulice, a sami dijelovi banje su bili isti i za žene i za muškarce. Prvo se ulazilo u kvadratičan prostor s kubetom, zvani šadrvan, jer se u sredini bio lijep vodoskok (šadrvan). Iz šadrvana se ulazilo u *kapaluk*, s nešto većom temperaturom, a odatle u potkupolnu prostoriju “*mejdan*”. Iz mejdana se išlo u tri prostorije različite temperature

(Sokolović, 1945: 5). Isa Bey’s hamam, also known as the Emperor’s Bath, was built by Isa Bey Ishaković, near the Emperor’s Mosque. Kreševljaković (1932a) writes that it was built before 1461, that it was destroyed in 1889. And a new one built under the abovementioned name. One part of the building was modelled after the old building, while the other part houses a modern Western-style bath.c(Kreševljaković, 1991: 53). Kreševljaković mentions another three baths built by three sanjak-beys before 1521: Ajas Bey’s at the location of present-day Hotel ‘Central’ in Sarajevo, Firuz Bey’s built in 1509 at the location of Čulhan, and Gazi Bali Bey’s in the Bistrik district. Two collapsed in the early 19th century, and Ajas Bey’s bath was destroyed by the infamous great fire of 1697. Husrev Bey’s bath is a hammam built after 1537. Kreševljaković prefers the description of this hammam provided by Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), who belonged to the first generation of experts of the National Museum in Sarajevo. He is “our historian and author of the monograph about the famous Gazi (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71). At some stage of his research, Truhelka “focuses his attention to the archives of the Ottoman period and the problems of that era, and he gives us a series of papers pertaining significant persons (Husrev Bey for example), Ottoman legislation and laws, origins of Bosnian Muslims, or certain Turkish-Slavic documents of the Dubrovnik Archives in general”. (Miletić, 1988: 43). According to Truhelka, one of the most interesting Ottoman era buildings is the Husrev Bey bath, located at the corner of Ćemaluša Street and Pehlivanuša Street, where the visitor passes through a system of rooms in which the temperature gradually rises, and the level of steam varies in them accordingly. This bath was interesting as a building as well, with two large domes and a series of smaller ones,

za kupanje. Pored kapaluka se nalazio rezervoar tople vode, a prostor za grijanje vode nalazio se ispod kapaluka, mejdana i halvata. U hamamu su se nalazile sobe za kupanje s pet korita i odjeljenje za brijanje.

Nadalje, Truhelka piše da je pred šadrvanom bio ćošak za odmor, pušenje i kafu, sve do velikog požara 1879. (Kreševljaković, 1991: 70–71) Moglo bi se reći da je ovo bio kutak za relaksaciju, a u današnjim wellness-spa centrima, hammami se također znaju nalaziti u ponudi sadržaja tih objekata. Posljednji veći popravak obavljen je 1898. “Ovom su zgodom napravljeni i oni dućani pred njom, a uvedena je i voda iz gradskog vodovoda. Ovaj hamam je služio svojoj osnovnoj funkciji do 1914.” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71)

Ostali objekti vezani za vodu: šadrvani i česme

Prema pisanju Seida Strika (1933–2010), predočeni opis šadrvana može dočarati i istaći važnost objekata vezanih za vodu i njeno blagotvorno djelovanje. Ovdje nije iznesen samo fizički aspekt, ili kako to traže vjerski propisi higijene, već i djelovanje na mentalni aspekt individue, ili ono što se nekada naziva razgovorom s prirodom (Krehić-Fočak, 2021). Zato šadrvani služe kao mjesta gdje se odmara, gdje ima hladovine, a od posebne važnosti je slušanje žubora vode. Kako je voda jedna od osnovnih ljudskih potreba, prvobitno se vodilo računa da kod izgradnje naselja postoji dotok vode, da bi se na Bliskom i Srednjem Istoku, usljed nedostatka voda, razvio kult vode, što se zapaža u kulturi i građevinskim stilovima Orijenta.

Cjevovodi (akvadukti) rađeni su za funkciju i potrebe dostave vode, dok

all covered with led roofs. It had two entrances, for men and women, from two different streets, and the sections in the bath were the same for women and men. The visitors first entered a square room with a dome, called šadrvan (the fountain), because there was a beautiful fountain in the middle. From šadrvan, the visitors moved on to *kapaluk*, with somewhat higher temperature, and then to the domed room called *mejdan*. From *mejdan*, one could go to three rooms with different bath temperatures. Next to the *kapaluk*, there was a warm water reservoir, and the space where the water was heated was located under the *kapaluk*, *mejdan* and *halvat*. The hammam also contained bathrooms with five tubs and a shaving section.

Furthermore, Truhelka writes that until the great fire of 1879, there was a kiosk for resting, smoking and coffee next to the šadrvan. (Kreševljaković, 1991: 70–71). One might say that this way a space for relaxation, and modern wellness and spa centers often have hammams in their offer. The last major renovation was carried out in 1898. “On this occasion, the shops in front of it were built, and water from the city water supply system was brought in. This hammam served its primary purpose until 1914.” (Kreševljaković, 1991: 71)

Other water-related facilities: shadirvans and taps

According to the writings of Seid Strik (1933–2010), the provided description of the fountain can evoke and emphasize the importance of the water-related facilities and its beneficial effects. Here, not only the physical aspect is presented, or the requirements of the religious hygiene regulations, but also the effects on the mental aspect of an individual, or what is sometimes called a conversation with nature.

gradske urbane sredine imaju šadrwane, čime voda postaje dio kulture i estetike. Objašnjenje značaja šadrvana Strik formuliše na sljedeći način: “Šadrvan je danas najlakše shvatiti kao fontanu, a fontana je vodena ustava, najčešće u kamenom izdubljenom ili ozidanom prostoru. Šadrvani imaju dovod i odvod, tako da je voda uvijek svježa. Šadrvani imaju i česme koje predstavljaju odvod. Česme kod nekih šadrvana stalno teku.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Strik naglašava da je specifičnost ili uslov svakog šadrvana kretanje vode, jer ono što je okosnica svega je žubor koji se čuje kretanjem vodenog toka, bilo da pada pri dolasku, punjenju, prelijevanju, ili postoji sistem slapova, ako je šadrvan stepenast, i slično. “Nekada su šadrvani građeni, ne samo izvan već i unutar džamija, ali se vodilo računa da se treba čuti žubor vode, iako se zna da je njihova glavna funkcija bila da služe kao izvor vode. Pri gradnji se vodilo računa da voda mora žuboriti.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Prema podacima iz Strikove ostavštine, šadrvani su u Evropu došli kasno, prenese ni iz Španije, pa se u evropskim dvorcima većinom nalaze šadrvani fontane.¹ Razlika između šadrvana i fontane je u tome što fontana liči na bazen, gdje se ne čuje šum. “Šadrvan mora imati šum, žubor. Kasnije u 19. i 20. stoljeću usavršeni su vodoskoci što se danas može postići pumpama (elektropumpa).” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 90). Prema Striku, najvredniji i najbolji šadrvan koji ima umjetničku vrijednost je onaj u dvorištu Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu (sl. 1).

¹ Knjiga *Život i djelo Seida Strika* autorice Senelle Krehić Fočak nastala je 2021. godine, iz zbirke sakupljenih autorskih članaka Seida Strika, koji se nalaze u fundusu Tekije Potok u Sarajevu, Fascikla br. 7.

(Krehić-Fočak, 2021). That is why shadirvans serve as places to rest, where there is shade, and listening to the murmur of water is of particular importance. Since water is one of the basic human needs, great care was taken to ensure that there was a water supply when building settlements, and so, due to the scarcity of water, a cult of water developed in the Near and Middle East. It is noticeable in the culture and architectural styles of the Orient.

Pipelines (aqueducts) were made for the purpose of water supply, while the urban areas had shadirvans, which made water a part of culture and aesthetics. Strik provides the following explanation of the significance of fountains: “Today, the shadirvan is easiest to understand as a fountain, and a fountain is a water dam usually in a hollowed-out stone or walled space. The shadirvans have an inlet and outlet, so the water is always fresh. Shadirvans also have taps that provide drainage. The water is constantly flowing from some shadirvans.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90). Strik emphasizes that the specificity or requirement of every fountain is the movement of water, because the essence of everything is the murmur created by the movement of the water flow, whether it falls upon arrival, or it is filling, or overflowing, or there is a system of waterfalls, if the fountain is stepped, and similar. “Fountains were once built not only outside but also inside mosques, but care was taken to make the murmur of the water audible, although it is known that their main function was to serve as a source of water. During construction, care was taken to ensure that the water created the murmur.” (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 89–90).

According to works from Strik’s legacy, shadirvans came to Europe late, brought over from Spain, so European castles mostly feature fountain shadirvans.¹ The difference

¹ The book *Život i djelo Seida Strika* (Life and Work of Seid Strik) by author Senella Krehić

Iako ima više džamija sa šadrvanima, ovaj kameni, ugaoni šadrvan u Gazi Husrev-begovoj džamiji predstavlja najljepše ostvarenje dalmatinskih graditelja majstora nastalo uporedo s gradnjom džamije. Na njemu se nalaze rozete oko vodotoka česme i kaskadne posude za prelijevanje vode koja daje šum. Za ovaj šadrvan voda je dovedena s izvora Crnil (Donje Biosko). Spomenuti izvor služio je sve do 1954. godine, kada je Crnil priključen na gradski vodovod Mošćanice, kao i sam šadrvan. Kao što je već naprijed izneseno, Husrev-begova banja je također imala dio sa šadrvanom (vodoskokom). Strik naglašava još jednu razliku između šadrvana i česmi, a to je da su česme gradili dobrotvori, ili bogatiji ljudi višeg standarda, ili koji su imali veći standard od običnih dobrotvora. U opisu Gazi Husrev-begove medrese, ustanove edukativnog karaktera, stoji i sljedeće: "Na sredini dvorišta je mali šadrvan, s kojim čitava zgrada daje utisak jednostavne, ali vrlo ugodne, arhitektonski zaokružene cjeline." (Dizdar, 1932). Ovaj komentar je možda najbolji i najkraći komentar vrijednosti šadrvana (slika 2).

Kako bi se zadovoljio tradicionalni način održavanja higijene, česme su se nalazile, kako u privatnim prostorima kakve su avlije ili dvorišta kuća, tako i u mahalama – ulicama, dakle na javnim mjestima, dok se atraktivnim smatraju one koje se nalaze kod šadrvana i sebilja.

Što se tiče česmi, prema pisanju Sokolovića "vode su većinom bile razvedene čunkovima po mahalama, a svaka mahala je imala bar jednu česmu. Zanimljivo je da se kod nas nije sačuvao, niti se u našoj sredini čuje kakav drugi naziv za uhvaćenu i kroz cievi ili žlijeb (lijevak) propuštenu vodu, osim 'česma'." (Sokolović, 1945: 3)

between the shadirvan and the fountain is that the fountain resembles a pool, where no murmur is audible. "A shadirvan must create noise, murmur. Later in the 19th and 20th centuries, jumping jet fountains were perfected, and today the effect can be achieved using pumps (electric pumps)" (Krehić-Fočak, 2021: 90). According to Strik, the most valuable and best shadirvan in terms of artistic value is the one located in the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev Bey mosque in Sarajevo (Image 1).

Although there are several mosques with shadirvans, the angular shadirvan made of stone outside the Gazi Husrev Bey mosque represents the most beautiful work of Dalmatian master builders that was created simultaneously with the construction of the mosque. It features rosettes around the watercourse and cascading containers for overflowing water, which creates a noise. The water for this fountain was brought from the Crnil spring (Donje Biosko). The aforementioned spring served until 1954, when Crnil was connected to the city water supply system of Mošćanica, as was the fountain itself. As mentioned above, the Husrev Bey bath also had a section with a shadirvan.

Strik emphasizes another difference between a shadirvan and public taps, and that is the fact that the taps were built by benefactors, or wealthy people of higher standard, or those who enjoyed a higher standard than ordinary benefactors. The description of the Gazi Husrev Bey madrasa, and educational institution, contains the following: "In the middle of the courtyard there is a small shadirvan, with which the entire building gives the impression of a simple, of a simple yet very pleasant, architecturally complete unit." (Dizdar,

Fočak was written in 2021, based on the collection of papers authored by Seid Strik, which can be found in the archives of the Potok dervish lodge in Sarajevo, Volume No. 7.

Prve apoteke

S pojavom prvih apoteka ranije djelovanje travara (*attara*) odlazi u drugi plan, a preferira se novi način liječenja medikamentima. Ovom prilikom će biti izneseni podaci o apotekama, odnosno zgradama, gdje su bile locirane u vrijeme njihovog osnivanja i otvaranja. To su apoteke Eduarda Pleyela i Hinka Schlezingera. Kuća i apoteka Hinka Schlesingera nalazila se na današnjoj adresi Ferhadija 27, a stambena zgrada i apoteka Eduarda Pleyela (1894) u današnjoj Štrosmajerovoj 6. Sliku zdravstvenih prilika u Sarajevu i šire u Bosni i Hercegovini krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća upotpunjuje mali broj apoteka. Ranije su se lijekovi kupovali kod *attara* “koji su imali svoju čaršiju” (Sokolović, 1945: 4), odnosno u biljnim apotekama. Prva moderno uređena apoteka krajem 19. stoljeća u Sarajevu bila je vlasništvo doseljenog farmaceuta Eduarda Playela iz 1877. godine. Kasnije će se pojaviti još nekoliko apoteka, sa školovanim apotekarima i uređenim zakonodavstvom, koje će nova uprava donijeti početkom 20. stoljeća, s obzirom na neophodnost obrazovanja kadrova. Ove dvije izabrane apoteke, kako je već rečeno, posebne su radi objekata u kojim su bile smještene, specifičnim po svojoj bogatoj arhitekturi.

Kuća i apoteka Hinka Schesingera projektovana je 1902. godine.² Prema pisanju

1932). This comment is perhaps the best and shortest commentary on the value of the shadirvan (Image 2).

In order to secure the traditional way of maintaining hygiene, taps were located both in private spaces such as courtyards or gardens of houses, as well as in mahallas - streets, i.e. in public places, whereby those located near shadirvans and fountains were considered more attractive.

As far as taps are concerned, according to Sokolović, “the water was mostly distributed by clay pipes to the mahallas, and each mahalla had at least one public tap. It is interesting that there is no other name used or preserved in our region for water that has been caught and passed through a pipe or through a funnel other than ‘česma’ (tap)”. (Sokolović, 1945: 3)

First pharmacies

With the emergence of the first pharmacies, the earlier role of herbalists (*attar*) was pushed into the background, and a new way of treatment with medications was preferred. Here, we will present data about pharmacies, i.e. the buildings where they were located at the time of their establishment and opening. These include the pharmacies of Eduard Pleyel and Hinko Schlezinger. The house and pharmacy of Hinko Schlezinger were located at present day address Ferhadija Street No. 27, while the residential building and pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel (1894) were located in the Štrosmajerova Street No. 6. The picture of health conditions in Sarajevo and broader Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is complemented by a small number of pharmacies. Previously, medicines were bought from *attars* “who had their own marketplace” (Sokolović, 1945: 4), meaning herbal pharmacies. The first modern

² Lit: Zinshaus mit Apotheke des Herrn Heinrich Schlesinger und ein Gasthaus zu Sarajevo, Der bautechniker, Wien, XXIV, 16, 15. IV 1904, 1; Wohnhaus mit Apotheke des Herrn Heinrich Schlesinger in Sarajevo, Beilag zum Bautechniker, Wien, 24. VII 1904. Izvor, ZPRGS. Vlasnik nekretnina na ovom mjestu 1886. godine je porodica Sumbulović. Godine 1902. nekretnine je kupio Hinko Schlesinger, pok. Adama, ljekar iz Sarajeva. Od 1918. je u vlasništvu Friedricha

Ibrahima Krzovića, Josip Vancaš 1902. projektuje “stambenu najamnu kuću za apotekara Hinka Schlesingera, koja je kao zgrada stereotipna, ali ima vrlo bogato ukrašenu fasadu. Zapravo, kompozicija dekorativnih sadržaja teče po nekoj kružnoj ili ovalnoj šemi, dok je cijela fasada pravougaona. Mekoću ovala pospješuje suptilno izvedena floralna dekoracija, koja se sastoji od cvjetova i lišća ljekovitog bilja, tankih pruća i bobica, pa zajedno s likovima Higije i Eskulapa u medaljonima, simbolično govori o sebi, a možda i više od toga, jer bi se koncepcija i nivo izvedbe ove fasade mogli mjeriti s takvim djelima Wagnerove škole.” (Krzović, 2004: 57–59) (sl. 3).

Veoma je važno istaći reljefe fasade s likovima Eskulapa i Higije, simbola liječenja i potpunog zdravlja. Iz grčke mitologije poznato je da je Apolon bio zaštitnik svih umjetnosti i nauka, a njegov sin Eskulap (Asklepije) poznat je kao zaštitnik medicine. U knjigama je Eskulap (Asklepije) obično predstavljen sa zmijom obavijenom oko štapa. Prema nekim saznanjima Eskulap je pomoću zmije i štapa primjenjivao šok-terapiju za oboljele od epilepsije, dok je prema nekim drugim izvorima zmija zapravo vrsta crva i simbolizuje uzročnika različitih bolesti uključujući u tom kontekstu i teoriju zubnog crva (Ferk, 2015: 4). Ovaj Eskulapov znak zmije sa štapom preko kulturnih uticaja prenosio se u naslijeđe drugih naroda i danas, u svjetskim razmjerama, predstavlja prihvaćen simbol medicine i stomatologije.³

Schlesingera, pokojnog Heinricha iz Sarajeva. Od 1948. društvena svojina.

³ “Pričajući legendu o Asklepiju i njegovom naukovanju kod kentaura Kirona, pjesnik opisuju medicinsku praksu: Svi oni što su dolazili k njemu s ranama od rođenja što mjed im svijetla izranila tijelo, ili kamenje iz pračke što se izdaljine baca, ili je sunčanica groznicom njihovo

pharmacy in Sarajevo at the end of the 19th century was owned by the immigrant pharmacist Eduard Playel, established in 1877. Later, several more pharmacies would appear, with trained pharmacists and regulated legislation, which the new government would pass at the beginning of the 20th century, considering the necessity of educating staff. These two selected pharmacies, as already mentioned, are special due to the buildings in which they were located, distinctive for their impressive architecture.

The house and pharmacy of Hinko Schlesinger were designed in 1902. According to Ibrahim Krzović's writings, Josip Vancaš designed “a residential rental house for pharmacist Hinko Schlesinger in 1902, which, as a building, is stereotypical, but has a very richly decorated façade. In fact, the composition of decorative elements follows a kind of circular or oval pattern, while the entire façade is rectangular. The softness of the ovals is enhanced by the subtly executed floral decoration, which consists of flowers and leaves of medicinal herbs, thin twigs, and berries. Together with the figures of Hygeia and Asclepius in medallions, it symbolically speaks for itself, and perhaps even more, as the concept and level of execution of this façade could be compared to similar works from the Wagner school.” (Krzović, 2004: 57–59) (Image 3). It is very important to highlight the reliefs on the façade featuring the figures of Asclepius and Hygeia, symbols of healing and complete health. It is known that in the Greek mythology, Apollo was the protector of all arts and sciences, and his son Asclepius was known as the protector of medicine. In books, Asclepius is usually depicted with a snake wrapped around a staff. According to some sources, Asclepius used the snake and staff to apply shock therapy to those suffering from epilepsy, while other sources suggest that the snake is actually a type

Zanimljivo je da su Eskulapovi najbliži srodnici imali ulogu zaštitnika iz pojedinih oblasti medicine (hirurgije i interne medicine). Kćerka Higija bila je zaštitnik higijene (čistoće), a Panacea terapije. Njihova imena koristimo i danas, a riječ “higijena” usko je vezanu za čistoću. Riječ “panacea” ostaje sinonim univerzalnog lijeka, koji liječi sve bolesti. Zgrada na čijoj fasadi se nalaze reljefi Eskulapa i Higije trebala bi biti posebno zapažena, i označena zbog ovih izuzetnih detalja koji svakodnevno podsjećaju na higijenu i liječenje (sl. 5).

Stambena zgrada i apoteka Eduarda Pleyela danas se nalazi na adresi Štrosmajerova 6. Vlasnik nekretnina na ovom mjestu 1894. godine postao je Eduard Pleyel, a 1911. kuću je darovao kćerima: Kamili, udatoj Šimet, Mathildi, udatoj Studnička, Mery i Heleni. Do 1962. bila je u vlasništvu porodice Pleyel, potom postaje društvena svojina. (Krzović, 2004: 67–69) Fasada apoteke Eduarda Pleyela starija je i predstavlja primjer stila neobaroka, pripada ranijoj fazi graditeljstva koji se skupno naziva historicizam. Zgrada je projektovana i izvedena 1894. godine, a bečka secesija osnovana je 1897. godine. Ovu zgradu (sl. 6) s više detalja posebno ukrašava medaljon, smješten unutar floralne dekoracije, na spoju iznad dva prozora. Postavljanjem dekoracije – medaljona u kojem su ispisani inicijali vlasnika apoteke Eduarda Pleyela (EP) upotpunjeno je pročelje zgrade, a ujedno može označiti reklamu za tu apoteku (sl. 7).⁴

tijelo tresla, ili ga je studen oslabila, svima je njima pronašao lijek za njihove patnje. Jedne je bajanjem liječio blagim, a druge napicima, dok trećima je obavijao uda travama, koje je posvuda skupio, dok nekima zahvatom noža zdravlje je vratio.” (Grmek, 1989: 56)

⁴ Apoteka Eduarda Pleyela prvo se nalazila u Ulici Franje Josipa, a kasnije (1896) u ulici Rudolfova 8. Svoju apoteku je reklamirao

of worm and symbolizes the cause of various diseases, including the theory of the tooth worm (Ferk, 2015: 4). This symbol of Asclepius, the snake and staff, spread through cultural influences into the heritage of other peoples and today, on a global scale, it represents an accepted symbol of medicine and dentistry.² It is interesting that Asclepius’ closest relatives played the role of protectors in specific areas of medicine (surgery and internal medicine). His daughter Hygeia was the protector of hygiene (cleanliness), and Panacea was the protector of therapy. Their names are still used today, and the word “hygiene” is closely associated with cleanliness. The word “panacea” remains a synonym for a universal remedy that cures all diseases. The building with the reliefs of Asclepius and Hygeia on its façade should be particularly noted and marked due to these exceptional details, which remind us daily of hygiene and healing (Image 5).

The residential building and pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel is located at Štrosmajerova Street No. 6. In 1894, Eduard Pleyel became the owner of the property at this location, and in 1911, he gifted the house to his daughters: Kamila, with the married name Šimet, Mathilda, with the married name Studnička, Mery, and Helena. Until 1962, it was owned by the Pleyel family, after which it became public property. (Krzović, 2004: 67–69) The façade

² “Telling the legend of Asclepius and his apprenticeship with the centaur Chiron, the poet describes medical practice: All who came to him with wounds since birth, whose bodies were wounded by the bright brass, or by stones from a slingshot thrown from a distance, or those struck by sunstroke with fever shaking their bodies, or those weakened by cold, he found a remedy for all their suffering. Some he healed with gentle incantations, others with potions, while he wrapped the limbs of some with herbs he had gathered everywhere, and for some, with the use of a knife, he restored their health.” (Grmek, 1989: 56)

Atraktivne dekoracije, iznad i između nadsvodenih prozora, mnoštvo detalja, kao da su simbolički povezane s odlikom preciznosti i istančanosti, kakav je praktični rad spravljanja lijekova, pa izgleda kao da se te dvije činjenice ovako međusobno reflektiraju. Ovo je bila prva moderna apoteka otvorena u Sarajevu 1877. Na oba zdanja u kojim su bile apoteke može se primijetiti da je razvijen poseban arhitektonski izraz baziran na preplitanju historijskih i elemenata vezanih za praktični rad apoteke. Ovi originalni primjeri arhitekture u Sarajevu još se vide prisutni u svom izvornom izgledu. Zanimljivo je da su danas preostale zgrade ili dijelovi građevina, sada sa drugom namjenom, ali još prisutne, smještene na maloj razdaljini. Promatrano iz današnje perspektive, ako je u Sarajevu poznati orijentir Katedrala, prešavši ulicu s gornje strane, naći ćemo se pred nekadašnjom Husrev-begovom banjom. Krenemo li niz ulicu, ispred Katedrale, vrlo brzo ćemo se naći pred nekadašnjom apotekom Eduarda Pleyela, a lijevo od Katedrale, ulicom Ferhadija, pred zgradom nekadašnje Šlezingerove apoteke. S obzirom na sadržaj rada, ovaj rezultat promatranja čini se važnim radi prostornog sagledavanja blizine građevina iz različitih epoha, ali i zbog arhitektonskih odlika, koje kulturno oblikuju javni prostor i mapu grada. Ove zgrade predstavljaju reprezentativne primjerke javne arhitekture. Arhitektonski elementi na zgradama imaju i simboličko i funkcionalno značenje – to su ukrasi usklađeni sa stilom građevine (floralni elementi, medaljoni s likovima Eskulapa i Higije, medaljoni s inicijalima vlasnika prvog apotekara “EP”). Iako bi hronološki bilo logičnije predstaviti prvo apoteku Eduarda Pleyela,

of Eduard Pleyel’s pharmacy is older and represents an example of the Neo-Baroque style, belonging to an earlier phase of architecture known as historicism. The building was designed and completed in 1894, while the Vienna Secession was founded in 1897. This building (Image 6) is particularly adorned with a medallion, placed within floral decoration, above the two windows. The decoration—the medallion, which bears the initials of the pharmacy owner Eduard Pleyel (EP)—completes the building’s façade and can also serve as an advertisement for the pharmacy (Image 7).³

The appealing decorations above and between the vaulted windows, with the abundance of details, seem symbolically connected to the qualities of precision and refinement, much like the practical work of preparing medicines, so it appears as though these two aspects reflect each other in this way. This was the first modern pharmacy opened in Sarajevo in 1877. It is noticeable on both buildings which housed the pharmacies that a special architectural expression was developed, based on the intertwining of historical elements and those related to the practical work of pharmacies. These original examples of architecture in Sarajevo are still visible in their original appearance. Interestingly, the remaining buildings or sections of buildings, now with different purposes but still present, are located at a short distance from each other. Viewed from today’s perspective, if we take the Cathedral as a famous landmark in Sarajevo, if we cross the street from the upper side, we will find ourselves in front of the former Husrev Bey bathhouse. If we head down the street along the Cathedral, we will quickly find ourselves in front of the former pharmacy of Eduard

kao najstariju u gradu. (*Bosanski glasnik – Bosnischer Bote* za 1908. Sarajevo, 1908, 401)

³ The pharmacy of Eduard Pleyel was first located in the Franjo Josip Street, and later (1896) in the Rudolfova Street No. 8. He advertised his pharmacy as the oldest in the city. (*Bosanski glasnik – Bosnischer Bote* 1908. Sarajevo, 1908, 401)

fasada Schlezingerove apoteke ima više ukrasa koji plijene svojom simbolikom, te je korisna za lakše prepoznavanje simbola vezanih za liječenje i zdravlje. Ova fasada predstavlja primjer stila bečke secesije koji se ističe bogatim floralno-figurativnim sadržajem.

Ako se tom okruženju preteča modernih apoteka doda otvaranje Zemaljske bolnice na Koševu 1. jula 1894. i nastanak prvih medicinskih časopisa, kao što je *Godišnjak – Jahrbuch des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesspittales* (1897, izlazio do 1900), može se donijeti zaključak i o počecima razvoja medicinske znanosti u ovom periodu. (Praštalo i Ćukac, 1993) Iako s nesigurnom godinom početka izlaženja, ovaj godišnjak je prvi medicinski časopis u BiH, publiciran na njemačkom jeziku, čiji su autori bili ljekari iz Austrije na službi u Sarajevu.⁵ Tako se potvrđuje sinteza ranijih i novih elemenata u zdravstvenoj kulturi i liječenju stanovništva Sarajeva, te ukazuje na važnost isticanja podataka u vezi zdravstvenih prilika kod nas, u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg perioda, kada su se desile osebujne promjene na društvenopolitičkom i kulturnom planu, koje su posljedično donijele promjene u gotovo svim vidovima djelovanja pojedinca i društva.

Zaključak

Zdravstvene prilike i zdravstvene navike u Sarajevu krajem osmanske i početkom austrougarske uprave, odnosno krajem 19. i

Pleyel, and to the left of the Cathedral, on Ferhadija Street, in front of the building that once housed Schlesinger's pharmacy. Given the content of this paper, this result of observation seems important in order to spatially understanding the proximity of buildings from different eras, but also for the sake of architectural features that culturally shape the public space and the city map. These buildings are representative examples of public architecture. The architectural elements on the buildings have both symbolic and functional significance – they are decorations that align with the style of the building (floral elements, medallions with the figures of Asclepius and Hygeia, medallions with the initials of the first pharmacist's owner "EP"). Although it would be chronologically logical to present Eduard Pleyel's pharmacy first, the façade of Schlesinger's pharmacy has more decorations that captivate with their symbolism, making it useful for easier recognition of symbols related to healing and health. This façade represents an example of the Vienna Secession style, distinguished by its rich floral-figurative content.

If we add to this environment the opening of the State Hospital in Koševo on July 1, 1894, and the publishing of the first medical journals, such as the *Godišnjak – Jahrbuch des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesspittales* (1897, published until 1900), we can make conclusions about the beginnings of the development of medical science in this period. (Praštalo and Ćukac, 1993). Although with an uncertain year of first publication, this yearbook is the first medical journal in Bosnia and Herzegovina, published in German, with authors who were doctors from Austria serving in Sarajevo.⁴ This confirms the

⁵ Ovaj Godišnjak je imao i opšti i specijalni dio; opšti dio se odnosio na administrativne članke (npr. Izvještaj o gradnji i adaptaciji Zemaljske bolnice, 1897–1900), a specijalni dio na stručne radove sa različitih bolničkih odjela. (Praštalo i Ćukac, 1993: 9–13)

⁴ This Yearbook had a general and a specialist section; the general section contained administrative papers (such as the Report on Construction and Renovation of the Provincial Hospital, 1897–1900), and the specialist section

početkom 20. stoljeća, prožimaju se u vremenu historijske promjene vlasti. To je i period prilagođavanja tranziciji i uklapanja u nove društvene tokove. Turska uprava je za sobom ostavila dosta praktičnih izmjena na planu korištenja voda. Voda je presvođena kroz česme i šadrwane, a Sarajevo ima vodovod od 1532. godine. Upotreba hamama je bila veoma poznata u Sarajevu. Bilo ih je nekoliko, a posljednji, Husrev-begova banja, prestaje s radom 1914. godine. Osim za kupanje, funkcija hamama – banje značila je i određeni vid relaksacije. Česme i šadrvani imaju svoje mjesto ne samo u pogledu korištenja vode, kako zahtijevaju vjerski propisi o čistoći, već i u pogledu relaksacije koju donosi žubor vode, a pravi primjer je šadrvan u dvorištu Gazi Husrev-begove džamije u Sarajevu. S novom, austrougarskom upravom, apoteke dolaze kao oficijelni objekti kupovine lijekova, tada u privatnom vlasništvu. Nova, austrougarska uprava, donosi promjene na planu liječenja, otvara nove zdravstvene ustanove, pored apoteke, i pokreće prve medicinske časopise, te bi se moglo zaključiti da je cijeli sektor zdravstva u tranziciji. Prve apoteke zauzimaju važno mjesto u predstavljanju zdravstvenih prilika i navika lokalnog stanovništva. Zgrade tadašnjeg Sarajeva u kojima su bile smještene dvije privatne apoteke imaju bogatu arhitekturu, o čemu svjedoči primjer stila bečke secesije floralno-figurativnih sadržaja na apoteci Hinka Schlesingera. Užim odabirom objekata u ovom radu sačinjen je prilog dokumentarne građe koja ulazi u temu zdravstvene kulture u Sarajevu, a i šire na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine. Za ovakva istraživanja važno je kompleksno prezentiranje činjenica, o čemu svjedoče arhitektonski objekti, koji se odlikuju različitim stilskim i historijskim podacima, te se tako pruža mogućnost realne rekonstrukcije

synthesis of earlier and new elements in the health culture and medical treatment of the population of Sarajevo, and highlights the importance of emphasizing data related to health conditions in our region, in late Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, a period when distinctive changes occurred in the socio-political and cultural spheres, which consequently brought changes in almost all aspects of individual and societal activities.

Conclusion

Healthcare conditions and healthcare habits in Sarajevo at the end of the Ottoman and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule, that is, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, are intertwined with a period of historical political change. This is also the period of adaptation to transition and integration into new social currents. The Ottoman administration left behind many practical changes regarding the use of water. Water was channeled through public taps and shadirvans, and Sarajevo has had a water supply system since 1532. The use of hammams was very common in Sarajevo. There were several of them, and the last one, the Husrev Bey's bathhouse, ceased operations in 1914. Fountains and shadirvans played a role not only in terms of water usage, as required by religious cleanliness regulations, but also in terms of the relaxation brought by the sound of flowing water, with the best example being the shadirvan in the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque in Sarajevo. With the new Austro-Hungarian administration, pharmacies became official establishments for purchasing medicines, at that time privately owned. The new Austro-Hungarian government brought changes in treatment methods, opened new healthcare

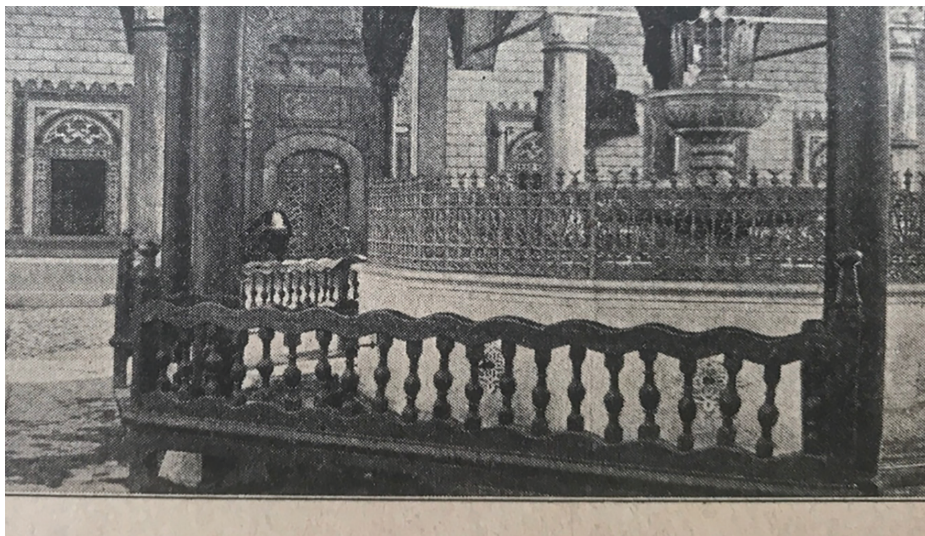
contained scientific papers of different hospital departments, (Praštalo and Ćukac, 1993: 9–13)

prošlosti Sarajeva. Kroz analizu zdravstvenih prilika i navika moguće je profilirati vezu između narodne medicine i oficijelnog liječenja, koncept kojim se ostvaruje potpuniji pogled na praktične komponente liječenja u Sarajevu, u osmanskodobnoj Bosni i Hercegovini kasnijeg vremena. Generalno uzevši, spajanje Istoka i Zapada otvara prostor za napredovanje u pravcu multidisciplinarnog pristupa u temama koji povezuje naslijeđeni orijentalni utjecaj s novim, zapadno orijentiranim, što ostvaruje integrativnu ulogu u pogledu kulture, tradicije i znanja. Ujedno, ovo je pokušaj da se predstavi jedan segment života u Bosni i Hercegovini s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća i napravi pristup kulturološkom segmentu, higijeni i liječenju uopće, te poveže sa širom kulturnom javnosti u pogledu zdravstvene kulture.

institutions, alongside pharmacies, and launched the first medical journals, leading to the conclusion that the entire healthcare sector was in transition. The first pharmacies occupied an important place in representing the healthcare conditions and habits of the local population. The buildings of Sarajevo at the time, which housed two private pharmacies, feature rich architecture, as evidenced by the example of the Vienna Secession style with floral-figurative content on Hinko Schlesinger's pharmacy. Through a more focused selection of objects in this work, a contribution has been made to the documentary material that addresses the theme of health culture in Sarajevo, and more broadly in the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In such research, it is important to present facts in a comprehensive manner, as evidenced by architectural objects that feature various stylistic and historical details, thus providing the opportunity for a realistic reconstruction of Sarajevo's past. Through the analysis of healthcare conditions and habits, it is possible to profile the connection between folk medicine and formal medical treatment, a concept that enables a more complete view of the practical components of medical treatment in Sarajevo, in late Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina. Generally speaking, the merging of East and West opens the space for progress towards a multidisciplinary approach in fields that connect the inherited oriental influence with the new, Western-oriented one, thereby fulfilling an integrative role in terms of culture, tradition, and knowledge. At the same time, this is an attempt to present a segment of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and create an approach to the cultural segment, hygiene, and medical treatment in general, linking it with the broader cultural public in terms of healthcare culture.

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Prilozi⁶Addendum⁵

Slika 1. Šadirvan u dvorištu Begove Džamije (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 42)

Image 1. Shadirvan in the courtyard of the Bey Mosque (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 42)



Dvorište u Kuršumlji medresi

Slika 2. Dvorište Kuršumli Medrese u Sarajevu s malim šadirvanom i česnama (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 51)

Image 2. Courtyard of the Kuršumli madrasa in Sarajevo with the small shadirvan and taps (*Spomenica Gazi Husrefbegove četiristogodišnjice*, 1932: 51)

⁶ Fotografije 2–7 su rad autorice urađene posebno za prezentirani rad.

⁵ Photographs 2–7 were taken by the author especially for the this paper.



Slika 3. Današnji izgled pročelja zgrade nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Schlesingera
Image 3. Present-day appearance of the façade of the former pharmacy of Hinko Schlesinger



Slika 4. Pročelje većeg dijela zgrade nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Schlesingera
Image 4. Façade of the larger portion of the former Hinko Schlesinger pharmacy building



Slika 5. Medaljoni na pročelju zgrade: Higija i Eskulap na zgradi nekadašnje apoteke Hinka Šlezingera, Ferhadija 27, Sarajevo

Image 5. Medallions on the building's façade: Hygeia and Asclepius on the building of the former Hinko Schlesinger pharmacy, Ferhadija Street 27, Sarajevo



Slika 6. Pročelje zgrade porodice Pleyel
Image 6. Façade of the Pleyel family's building



Slika 7. Medaljon s inicijalima apotekara Eduarda Pleyela
Image 7. Medallion with the initials of pharmacist Eduard Pleyel

PRIKAZI / REVIEWS

Aiša Softić, *Obećani čas – Običaji bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana vezani za smrt*.
Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 2016, 326 str.

Knjiga *Obećani čas* autorice dr. Aiše Softić, čiji je izdavač Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, izašla je iz štampe 2016. godine i predstavlja antropološku studiju koja se bavi analizom običaja vezanim za smrt koje provode bosanskohercegovački muslimani, i to u širokom rasponu koji obuhvata običaje i situacije kojima se pojedinac i njegova okolina pripremaju za smrt pa do sjećanja na umrle koja se provode također u porodici i u zajednici.

U pisanju ove knjige autorica je koristila više izvora kako bi na sveobuhvatan način predstavila ove važne običajne prakse kroz koje čovjek pokušava proniknuti u tajnu smrti koja mu je oduvijek bila nepoznanica. Prvi od izvora su radovi i istraživanja koji su objavljeni, zatim neobjavljena arhivska građa, te terenska istraživanja koje je provela autorica na prostoru cijele Bosne i Hercegovine.

Knjiga je koncipirana na način da kroz tri osnovne cjeline u kojima se razrađuje više tema autorica prolazi kroz sve spomenute izvore i razrađuje teme koje su obrađene u ovoj knjizi.

Prvi dio knjige govori o prostoru doma u kojem se ljudi pripremaju za smrt, i to na spiritualni način, ali i u materijalnom smislu. U ovom dijelu posebno se obrađuju običaji koji su vezani za pripreme za smrt, oglašavanje smrti, čuvare mrtvih i živih, darova i uzdarja, svijeća i svjetla, vode i vatre, hljeba i halve, novorođenih i još nerođenih i puteva živih i puteva mrtvih. Po svim ovim nabrojanim temama u knjizi su naslovljena i poglavlja u kojima autorica kroz svoje izvore razrađuje navedene teme.

Opisujući ove običaje autorica navodi i u kojoj se mjeri neki od običaja zadržao ili izgubio, pa tako imamo npr. običaj kupovanja

Aiša Softić, *Obećani čas – Običaji bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana vezani za smrt*
(*Promised Hour – Death-Related Customs of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina*) Sarajevo:
National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2016, 326 pgs.

Knjiga *Obećani čas* (Promised Hour) by dr. Aiša Softić was published by the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016, and it represents an anthropological study analyzing the death-related customs practiced by Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, covering a wide range, starting with customs and situations with which individuals and their communities prepare for death, and finishing with the commemoration customs honoring the dead in their families or communities.

Working on this book, the author used multiple sources to comprehensively present these important customary practices through which people try to penetrate the mystery of death that has always been unknown to them. Her primary sources are published works and research, as well as unpublished archival materials, and field research conducted by the author throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Conceptually, the book is divided in three parts, each elaborating several topics, and author goes through all the aforementioned sources and elaborates on the topics covered in this book.

The first part of the book deals with the space of the home in which people prepare for death, both spiritually and materially. This part specifically addresses customs related to preparations for death, announcing death, guardians of the dead and the living, gifts and offerings, candles and light, water and fire, bread and halva, newborns and unborn, and the

ćefina koji je gotovo nestao, iako je opremanje mejta u ćefine nezaobilazni dio dženaze jer su u savremeno doba ćefini uključeni u uslugu koju pruža pogrebno preduzeće.

U drugom dijelu knjige koji nosi naslov Prostor groba autorica obrađuje više tema koje su također podijeljene u poglavlja pa tako imamo naslove poglavlja: Od zemlje si stvoren. U zemlju ćeš opet; Drvo, kamen, sjećanje – Bašluk od drveta i nišan od kamena, Drvo poslije smrti; Kamen koji govori, Smrt i svadba; Na baštini, i pred svojim pragom; Grobni prilozi.

Treći dio knjige pod naslovom Prostor sjećanja govori o običajima koji se provode nakon smrti i ovaj dio opisuje običaje koji se provode nekada i dugo godina nakon smrti i dženaze, a vezani su za groblja i njihovo održavanje, kurban koji se žrtvuje za mrtve, kao i obavljanje hadždža za osobu koja je umrla.

Kroz izneseni sadržaj autorica analizira posmrtno običaje i zaključuje kako su upravo običaji koji su vezani za smrt zadržali najviše starih, arhaičnih elemenata koji sežu čak u prethrišćansko i predislamsko doba na ovim prostorima. Za neke od običaja je ustanovljeno čak da sadrže tragove koji se povezuju s ilirskim naslijeđem. Također, autorica pronalazi mnoge sličnosti u ovim običajima između muslimana, katolika i pravoslavaca u Bosni i Hercegovini. To potvrđuje činjenicu da običaji koji su vezani za smrt nisu isključivo vezani za vjerske rituale, što nam daje nedvosmislene potvrde o kontinuitetu i trajanju te o tome da je domicilno stanovništvo prihvatilo i usvajalo neke običaje iz raznih kultura s kojima je dolazilo u doticaj.

Običaji vezani za smrt predstavljaju važno obilježje identiteta svakog naroda, pa tako i bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana. Veliki broj običajnih praksi preživio je do našeg doba upravo zbog toga što su ljudi imali posebne emocije kada je u pitanju smrt, a između ostalog značili su i potvrdu pripadnosti kulturi i civilizaciji islama, pa čak i kada ti običaji nisu imali uporišta u islamskom učenju. Također, radnje koje se poduzimaju nakon smrti vrlo često su povezane i s prostorom u smislu zavičaja, te nije rijedak slučaj da se i stvarno

paths of the living and the paths of the dead. The book also has chapters titled after all of these listed topics, in which the author elaborates on the aforementioned topics through her sources.

Describing these customs, the author also states to what extent some of the customs have been preserved or lost, so we have, for example, the custom of buying shrouds that has almost disappeared, although wrapping the dead in shrouds is an inevitable part of the funeral, because in modern times, the shrouds are included in the service provided by the funeral companies.

In the second part of the book, entitled *The Space of the Grave*, the author covers several topics that are also divided into chapters, so we have the following chapter titles: You were made of earth. To earth you shall return; Wood, stone, memory – A wooden marker and a headstone; A tree after death; A talking stone; Death and wedding; On one's own land and doorstep; Grave offerings.

The third part of the book, entitled *The Space of Memory*, tells about customs that are carried out after death, and this part describes customs that are sometimes carried out many years after the death and funeral, and are related to cemeteries and their maintenance, the qurban animal sacrificed for the dead, as well as performing the hajj pilgrimage for the person who has died.

Through the presented content, the author analyzes posthumous customs and concludes that it is precisely the customs related to death that have retained the most old, archaic elements that go back as far as the pre-Christian and pre-Islamic times in this region. Some of the customs have even been found to contain traces that are associated with the Illyrian heritage. The author also finds many similarities in these customs among Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This confirms the fact that customs related to death are not exclusively related to religious rituals, which gives us unequivocal confirmation of continuity and duration and that the native population accepted

i simbolično zatvori životni krug u mjestu u kojem se umrli rodio.

Knjiga *Obećani čas* autorice Aiše Softić rasvijetlila nam je na sveobuhvatan način običaje oko smrti uzimajući u svoje središte običnog čovjeka koji se na različite načine pokušavao pripremiti za smrt, bilo ličnu, bilo za smrt neke bliske osobe. Bez obzira na to, smrt se uvijek doživljavala dramatično upravo zbog toga što se nikada nije ticala samo pojedinca nego je na različite načine pogađala i zajednicu, koja je poduzimala brojne običajne radnje kako bi se lakše nosila s gubitkom. Sve spomenute cjeline i teme koje su obrađene u ovoj knjizi obuhvatile su prostor cijele Bosne i Hercegovine i na taj način nam omogućile potpuni uvid u običaje bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana koji su vezani za smrt.

and adopted some customs from various cultures with which it came into contact.

Customs related to death are an important part of the identity of every people, including Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims. A large number of customary practices have survived to our time precisely because people attached special emotions to death, but also because they represented a reaffirmation of belonging to the culture and civilization of Islam, even when these customs had no basis in Islamic teachings. Also, actions taken after death are very often connected to space in the sense of homeland, and it is not uncommon for the circle of life to close both actually and symbolically in the place where the deceased was born.

The book *The Promised Hour* by Aiša Softić sheds light on the customs surrounding death in a comprehensive way, focusing on an ordinary person trying to prepare for death in various ways, whether their own death or the death of a beloved one. Nevertheless, death was always experienced dramatically because it never concerned only the individual, but also affected the community in various ways, which undertook numerous customary actions to cope with the loss. All of the aforementioned chapters and topics covered in this book cover the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus providing us with a complete insight into the customs of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims related to death.

Violeta Kovačević, *Zapisi o vremenu i ljudima derventskog kraja*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost-BH print, 2023, 331 str.

U Sarajevu je 2023. godine u vlastitoj nakladi autorice Violete Kovačević objavljena knjiga *Zapisi o vremenu i ljudima derventskog kraja*. Rezultat dugotrajnog i upornog rada na istraživanju svega što je zapisano i objavljeno o derventskom kraju u vrijeme osmanske i austrougarske uprave u BiH je ova jedinstvena monografija.

U knjizi o rodnom gradu Derventi, koristeći arhivsku građu pohranjenu u adekvatnim institucijama Turske, Austrije, Mađarske, Srbije, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine i drugim evropskim institucijama, objavljene stručne i naučne radove, putopise, administrativne izvještaje, novinske članke, fotografije, crteže i drugo, autorica je formirala ogromnu bazu podataka, koju je naučno sistematizovala i podijelila na dva hronološka dijela: Osmanski i Austrougarski period. Autorica je na 350 stranica, uz više od stotinu fotografija i 1300 imena sugrađana koji su različitim djelatnostima doprinijeli razvoju ovog mjesta, predstavila sve značajne događaje iz historijskog, političkog, socijalnog, kulturološkog i svakodnevnog života derventskog kraja u dugom vremenskom periodu od sredine petnaestog stoljeća do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata.

Kako bi postigla vremenski i prostorni kontinuitet, autorica u uvodnom dijelu knjige čitaoca ukratko upoznaje s arheološkom građom i materijalnim ostacima prošlosti na brojnim lokalitetima u okolini Dervente, koji svjedoče o kontinuitetu življenja od prethistorije do savremenog doba. Upoznajući čitaoca s osobnom kartom Dervente, autorica ukratko opisuje nastanak i razvoj malih sela Gornja i Donja Ukrina, iz kojih se protokom vremena razvila kasaba i varoš Derventa. Kratkim crtama

Violeta Kovačević, *Zapisi o vremenu i ljudima derventskog kraja* (*Records about the Time and People of the Derventa region*). Sarajevo: Svjetlost-BH print, 2023, 331 pgs.

The book *Zapisi o vremenu i ljudima derventskog kraja* (*Records about the Time and People of the Derventa region*) region was self-published by the author Violeta Kovačević in Sarajevo, in 2023. This unique monograph is the result of extensive and persistent work on the research of everything that was written and published about the Derventa region during the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The book about her hometown of Derventa, using the archival material stored in adequate institutions of Turkey, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and other European institutions, as well as expert and scientific works, travelogues, administrative reports, newspaper articles, photographs, drawings etc, the author created a huge database, which she scientifically systematized and divided into two chronological parts: the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods. On 350 pages, along with more than a hundred photographs and 1,300 names citizens who contributed to the development of this place through various activities, the author presented all significant events from the historical, political, social, cultural and everyday life of the Derventa region over a long period of time from the middle of the 15th century until end of the World War I.

In order to achieve continuity of time and space, in the introductory part of the book, the author briefly introduces readers to the archaeological findings and physical remains of the past at numerous sites in the vicinity of Derventa, which testify to the continuity of life

objašnjava okolnosti u kojima se kraljevina Bosna zatekla sredinom petnaestog stoljeća (neorganizirana i razapeta između svjetovne vlasti, pravoslavlja s jedne i katoličanstva s druge strane). Kao takva postala je lagan plijen Osmanlijama, a nakon ubistva posljednjeg kralja Bosne Stjepana Tomaševića (20. juna 1463), prestala i postojati.

U nekoliko poglavlja osmanskog dijela knjige: Stanje i formiranje Bosanskog ejaleta; Bosanski vilajet; Velika istočna kriza, do ulaska Austrougarske vojske kod Broda na Savi, detaljno upoznaje čitaoca sa svakodnevnim životom derventskih žitelja: i muslimana, i hrišćana i Jevreja, te različitim temama iz organizacionog, političkog, vojnog, kulturnog, vjerskog, obrazovnog segmenta življenja kroz istoriju dugu više od 400 godina.

Ovaj dio knjige obuhvata formiranje kasabe Derventa, popis naselja, stanovništva, poreskih obveznika, kmetova, feudalaca, razvoj saobraćaja i izgradnju puteva, karavan-saraja i hanova, razvijanje trgovine, zanatstva, školstva, administrativnih institucija, sudova, izgradnju vjerskih objekata i mnoštvo drugih relevantnih podataka.

V. Kovačević donosi i podatke o kulturi stanovanja, ishrani, poljoprivredi, voćarstvu, kulturi odijevanja, zanatskim funkcionalnim predmetima, praznovjerju i još brojnim drugim segmentima života, kao npr. izvornoj pjesmi, sevdalinci, muzičkim instrumentima itd. Autorica navodi i podatke o migracijama muslimanskog i hrišćanskog stanovništva predvođenog franjevačkim svećenicima. Istovremeno navodi podatke i o namjerama susjeda da se prošire prema Bosni, pa i derventskom kraju, što je uočila i Porta. Iz strateških razloga Osmanlije početkom 18. stoljeća podižu tvrđavu u samom centru današnje Dervente, te formiraju kapetaniju koja je vremenom i ukinuta.

Buran i sadržajan period osmanske vladavine ostavio je značajnog traga u ovom kraju. Kriza Osmanskog carstva, često uslovljena i brojnim ljudskim spletkama, prouzročila je pokret za autonomiju Bosne, što je dovelo i do carskih reformi, Pop-Jovičine bune, do aktivnosti hajduka Kike i Zelića i njihovih jataka. Istaknuta je i uloga Omer-paše Latasa koji je

from prehistory to the modern era. Introducing the reader to a personal map of Derventa, the author briefly describes the founding and development of the hamlets of Gornja Ukrina and Donja Ukrina, from which the village and later the town of Derventa developed over time. In brief, she explains the circumstances in which the Kingdom of Bosnia found itself in the mid-15th century (disorganized and torn between secular authority, Orthodoxy on the one hand and Catholicism on the other). As such, it became an easy prey for the Ottomans, and after the murder of the last king of Bosnia, Stjepan Tomašević (June 20, 1463), it ceased to exist.

Several chapters of the Ottoman part of the book: State and Formation of the Bosnian Eyalet; Bosnian Vilayet; The Great Eastern Crisis until the Entry of the Austro-Hungarian Army near Brod on the Sava, introduce the reader in detail to the daily life of Derventa residents: Muslims, Christians and Jews, as well as various topics from the organizational, political, military, cultural, religious, educational segment of life throughout the over 400 years long history.

This part of the book includes the establishing of the town of Derventa, the list of districts, residents, taxpayers, serfs, feudal lords, the development of traffic and the construction of roads, caravanserais and taverns, the development of trade, crafts, education, administrative institutions, courts, the construction of religious buildings and many other relevant data.

V. Kovačević also provides information on the culture of housing, nutrition, agriculture, fruit growing, clothing culture, functional craft items, superstitions and numerous other segments of life, such as original songs, sevdalinka, musical instruments, etc. The author also provides information on the migrations of the Muslim and Christian population led by Franciscan priests. At the same time, she also provides information on the intentions of the neighbors to expand towards Bosnia, including the Derventa region, which was also noticed by the Sublime Porte. For strategic reasons, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Ottomans built a fortress in the very center of today's

predvodio sultanovu vojsku protiv muslimanskog plemstva, ali i kažnjavanje za neposluh. Npr. begovi iz Bosanskog Broda i Šamca, Orašja i Dervente bili su zaduženi da motre na granicu i na pokrete austrougarske vojske, a kako nisu pravovremeno dojavili o pohodu Eugena Savojskog 1697. godine, pozvani su u Sarajevo na odgovornost, gdje su i osuđeni, te pogubljeni. Prema legendi, ukopani su u Turbetu "7 braće".

U drugom dijelu knjige obuhvaćen je period austrougarske uprave, prezentiran putem poglavlja: Prilike i razvoj derventskog kotara, Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine, te Prvi svjetski rat, koja su hronološki podijeljena po temama.

Autorica detaljno i precizno dokumentira političke okolnosti koje su dovele do slabljenja vlasti Osmanskog carstva u Bosni, kao i historijske i političke događaje nakon okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine od strane Austro-Ugarske monarhije. Uspostavom austrougarske uprave, nekadašnji kajmakam Abdulah efendija Halilikić postaje gradonačelnik Dervente.

U ovom dijelu knjige autorica prati novu organizaciju uprave, sudsku administraciju, uvođenje katastra i grunta, izgradnju vodovoda, urbanizaciju grada, donošenje trgovačkog zakona, izgradnju željeznice, modernizaciju privrede, zdravstvene zaštite, izgradnju bolnice, unapređenje školstva (vjerskog i svjetovnog), izgradnju vjerskih objekata, osnivanje dobrotvornih društava, rješavanje nacionalnog pitanja, iseljavanje muslimana itd. Osnivanje Direkcije željeznica za Bosnu i Hercegovinu u Derventi dalo je snažan zamah razvoju grada i počecima industrijalizacije.

Isječci iz novinskih članaka i putopisa daju novu sliku Dervente i okoline, koja se razvija pod uticajem zapadne kulture, ali i predstavlja simbiozu istoka i zapada, što se uočava u arhitekturi, običajima, seoskoj i gradskoj odjeći, vjerskim praznicima, osnivanju političkih stranaka i radničkih pokreta, čitaonicama, bibliotekama, pjevačkim i vatrogasnim društvima, prvim fotografskim radnjama (npr. fotograf Jozef Svačko je svojim aparatom zabilježio mnoge značajne trenutke iz života Dervencana, ali i po cijeloj Bosni

Derventa, and formed a captaincy, which was eventually abolished.

The turbulent and eventful period of the Ottoman rule left a significant mark on this region. The crisis of the Ottoman Empire, often impacted by numerous human intrigues, resulted in the movement for the autonomy of Bosnia, which led to imperial reforms, the Priest Jovica's rebellion, the activities of the outlaws Kiko and Zelić and their supporters. The role of Omer Pasha Latas, who led the sultan's army against the Muslim nobility, is also highlighted, as well as the punishment for disobedience. For example, the beys from Bosanski Brod and Šamac, Orašje and Derventa were responsible for guarding the border and monitoring the movements of the Austro-Hungarian army, and since they did not report the campaign of Eugene of Savoy in 1697 in a timely manner, they were summoned to Sarajevo to be held accountable, where they were convicted and executed. According to a legend, they were buried in the 'Mausoleum of seven Brothers'

The second part of the book covers the period of the Austro-Hungarian rule, presented through the chapters: Opportunities and Development of the Derventa Region, Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and World War I, which are divided chronologically by topics.

The author provides a detailed and precise description of the political circumstances that led to the weakening of the power of the Ottoman Empire in Bosnia, as well as the historical and political events after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1878. With the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration, former governor Abdulah Efendi Halilikić became the mayor of Derventa.

In this part of the book, the author outlines the new organization of administration, court administration, introduction of cadastre and land registers, construction of the water supply system, urbanization of the town, adoption of commercial law, construction of the railway, modernization of economy, healthcare, construction of the hospital, improvement of

i Hercegovini, a učestvovao je i na izložbi u Parizu, 1900. godine) itd. U ovom periodu je srušena tvrđava, koja je u osmanskim periodu više puta obnavljana. Jedan zid je i danas sačuvan, kao sjećanje na simbol grada.

Autorica nas u ovom dijelu knjige dokumentirano informira o aneksiji Bosne (1908. godine), raspadu monarhije i početku Prvog svjetskog rata. Uz poglavlje o Prvom svjetskom ratu dat je između ostalog i tabelaran spisak ranjenih i poginulih s ovog područja. Dodatak knjizi su kratke zabilješke o značajnim Dervenćanima, koji su svojim aktivnostima obilježili ovaj grad.

Popis literature, manje poznate riječi, indeks imena i popis lokaliteta čine završnicu ove izvanredne knjige, koja odslikava jedan dio naše domovine Bosne o Hercegovine.

Knjiga je promovirana u Derventi i Sarajevu, a Internacionalni međureligijski interkulturni centar (IMIC) iz Dervente simbolično je nagradio autoricu dodijelivši joj godišnju nagradu "Derventsko srce".

education (religious and secular), construction of religious facilities, establishment of charitable societies, solving the national question, emigration of Muslims, etc. The establishment of the Directorate of Railways for Bosnia and Herzegovina in Derventa provided a strong impetus to the development of the town and the beginnings of industrialization.

Clippings from newspaper articles and travelogues show a new picture of Derventa and its surroundings, which developed under the influence of Western culture, but also represented a symbiosis of East and West, which can be seen in the architecture, customs, rural and urban clothing, religious holidays, the founding of political parties and labor movements, reading rooms, libraries, singing and firefighting societies, the first photographic activities (for example, photographer Jozef Svačko used his camera to record many significant moments in the lives of the people of Derventa, but also throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he also participated in an exhibition in Paris in 1900), etc. During this period, the fortress which was rebuilt several times during the Ottoman period, was demolished. One wall is still preserved today, as a reminder of the symbol of the city.

In this part of the book, the author provides us with documented information about the annexation of Bosnia (in 1908), the collapse of the Monarchy, and the beginning of World War I. The chapter on World War I includes, among other things, a tabular list of the wounded and killed from this region. The book is supplemented by short notes on notable Derventa residents left a mark on the town with their activities.

A list of referenced literature, lesser-known words, an index of names, and a list of localities complete this extraordinary book, which depicts a part of our homeland, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The book was promoted in Derventa and Sarajevo, and the International Interreligious Intercultural Center (IMIC) from Derventa symbolically rewarded the author by awarding her the annual "Derventa Heart" award.

Hana Younis, *Žene u sudskim spisima 1878–1914. Odbjegle, preljubnice, rentijerke, zemljovlasnice*. Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Institut za historiju, 2023, 338 str.

Autorsko djelo u formi historijske monografije koje se nalazi pred nama posvećeno je “Mojoj tetki Devleti i kćerki Mejsun”, kako to navodi sama autorica, i predstavlja rezultat dugogodišnjih istraživanja autorice dr. sc. Hane Younis, naučne savjetnice Instituta za historiju Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Autorica H. Younis u svom Predgovoru kaže da je “Pisati o ženama izuzetno... teško, posebno ako ste žena” (str. 9). Također na početku donosi dvije zanimljive rečenice, čime približava čitaocima svoj motiv za istraživanje ove teme, a koje glase: “U svijet žena koje su se pojavljivale pred sudovima krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća uplovila sam sasvim slučajno. Toliko sam bila fascinirana da sam ostala godinama.” (str. 9). Predgovor, nezaobilazno, sadrži i riječi zahvalnosti upućene porodici, kolegicama, kolegama, recenzentima te osoblju kulturnih, odnosno baštinskih institucija u Bosni i Hercegovini.

U uvodnom dijelu knjige autorica sama sebi postavlja krupno pitanje: “Da li je moguće oslikati svakodnevicu krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz glas žene koja se našla u sudskoj prostoriji?” (str. 11). Upravo u uvodnim redovima teksta autorica sebi postavlja nekoliko ključnih pitanja na koja želi dati što konkretnije odgovore, naravno, pritom se oslanjajući na historijske izvore koji svjedoče o konkretnim slučajevima, tj. stvarnim ženama, s imenom i prezimenom, realnim problemom i konkretnim događajem iz njihovog života. Autorica H. Younis se u pisanju ove knjige obilato i vješto koristila dostupnom arhivskom građom Vrhovnog

Hana Younis, *Žene u sudskim spisima 1878–1914. Odbjegle, preljubnice, rentijerke, zemljovlasnice (Women in court records 1878–1914. Runaways, adulteresses, rentiers, landowners)*. Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo – Institute for History, 2023, 338 pgs.

The author’s work in the form of a historical monograph presented here is dedicated to “My Aunt Devleta and Daughter Mejsun”, as the author herself states, and is the result of many years of research by the author, Ph.D. Hana Younis, a scientific advisor at the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo. In her Foreword, the author H. Younis says that “writing about women is extremely... difficult, especially if you are a woman” (pg. 9). She also writes two interesting sentences at the beginning, explaining her motive for researching this topic, which read: “I entered the world of women who appeared before the courts in the late 19th and early 20th century quite by accident. I was so fascinated that I stayed for years.” (pg. 9). The Foreword, inevitably, also contains words of gratitude addressed to family, colleagues, reviewers, and staff of cultural heritage institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the introductory part of the book, the author asks herself a big question: “Is it possible to portray everyday life in the late 19th and early 20th century in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the voice of a woman who found herself in a courtroom?” (pg. 11). It is in the introductory lines of the text that the author asks herself several key questions to which she wants to provide as concrete answers as possible, of course, relying on historical sources

šerijatskog suda Bosne i Hercegovine, Okružnog suda u Sarajevu, kotarskih sudova u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Ljubuškom, Trebinju, Doboju, Bosanskom Brodu, Tešnju, Maglaju, Gračanici, Bugojnu, Tuzli, kotarskih šerijatskih sudova u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Ljubuškom, Tuzli, Doboju, Maglaju i Tešnju. Zapravo, koristila je dostupne fondove neobjavljene arhivske građe iz Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine, Arhiva Republike Srpske, Arhiva Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona, Kantonalnog arhiva Travnika, Arhiva Tuzlanskog kantona, Historijskog arhiva Sarajeva, Orijentalnog instituta UNSA i Srpske pravoslavne opštine Sarajeva. Naravno, autorica je također prilikom istraživanja i pisanja koristila objavljene izvore, štampu koja je nastala u razmatranom periodu krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, te sekundarnu stariju i noviju literaturu. Dr. H. Younis ističe da “je ova studija... drugačija od klasičnih historijskih na koje smo navikli, značajno je nadograđena u odnosu na teorijske analize koje promišljaju ili zamišljaju i često predstavljaju isključivo odraz savremenih pogleda na te događaje” (str. 12). Autorica navodi da “Brojni primjeri koje ćemo spomenuti u knjizi kao i oni mnogobrojni koji su ostali nespomenuti, a ukazuju na isto, jasno potvrđuju da su žene u Bosni i Hercegovini u posljednjim decenijama 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća živjele poput žena širom Austro-Ugarskog carstva, ali i mnogo šire” (str. 15). U konačnici, cilj je bio, kako sama autorica kaže, “da stvarnim ženama damo priliku i kroz njihove riječi uvidimo kakvo je to doba bilo. Stoga knjiga obiluje primjerima koji od pojedinačne slike u konačnici stvaraju složen mozaik života žena u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu austrougarske okupacije i uprave. Autorica naglašava važnost sudskih spisa kao historijskih izvora, pri čemu je ova knjiga, a u to će se uvjeriti svaki pažljiviji i stručniji čitalac napisanog teksta između njenih korica, eklatantan primjer kako se mogu i trebaju koristiti izvori sudske provenijencije u svrhu pisanja naučne monografije.

Drugo poglavlje pod naslovom Porodični odnosi (str. 21–136) predstavlja, kako sama autorica navodi na jednom mjestu, razne aspekte porodičnog života, u kojem donosi

that testify to specific cases, i.e. real women, with names and surnames, real problems and specific events from their lives. In writing this book, the author H. Younis used abundantly and skillfully the available archival materials of the Supreme Sharia Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the District Court in Sarajevo, district courts in Sarajevo, Mostar, Ljubuški, Trebinje, Doboj, Bosanski Brod, Tešanj, Maglaj, Gračanica, Bugojno, Tuzla, the district Sharia courts in Sarajevo, Mostar, Ljubuški, Tuzla, Doboj, Maglaj and Tešanj. In fact, she used the available sources of unpublished archival materials from the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Archives of Republika Srpska, the Archives of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, the Cantonal Archives of Travnik, the Archives of Tuzla Canton, the Historical Archives of Sarajevo, the Oriental Institute of the University of Sarajevo and the Serbian Orthodox Municipality of Sarajevo. Of course, during research and writing, the author also used published sources, the press published in the researched period at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and secondary older and newer literature.

Dr. H. Younis points out that “this study... is different from the classic historical ones we are used to, it is significantly upgraded in relation to theoretical analyzes that reflect or imagine and often represent only a reflection of contemporary views on these events” (pg. 12). The author notes that “the numerous examples that we will mention in the book, as well as the numerous ones that remained unmentioned, and which all point to the same, clearly confirm that women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th century lived like women throughout the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and beyond” (pg. 15). Ultimately, the goal was, as the author herself says, “to give real women a chance and see through their words what that era was like.” Therefore, the book abounds with examples that ultimately create a complex mosaic of women’s lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration. The author emphasizes the importance of court records as historical

mnoštvo detalja iz ženske svakodnevnice, a konkretno obrađuje pitanja kroz jako zanimljive podnaslove: Mladenke – voljne i otete; Od bigamije do poliandrije; Razvjenčane i odbjege; Odustajanje od razvoda; Alimentacija; Preljubnice; Čedomorke; Tutorstvo; Zapostavljanje djece; Imovina; Dug unutar porodice; Umrle i Odsutne. U ovom poglavlju autorica je, kroz niz primjera žena koje se pojavljuju u sudskim spisima, ilustrovala realnost privatnog života i porodičnih problema žena u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu od 1878. do 1914. godine.

Naslov trećeg poglavlja u knjizi dr. H. Younis glasi Javni život (str. 137–222). U njemu se autorica bavi problemima žena u javnom životu viđenim kroz sudske spise. Autorica je obradila u nizu zanimljivih podnaslova razne aspekte javnih problema iz života žena Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu od 1878. do 1914. godine: Na ulici; Kradljivice i pokradene; Bludnice; Silovane; Ubistva s neprijateljskim namišljajem; Dug; Plate i zasluge; Kirija i Vlasnice kmetskih selišta. Ovaj aspekt života žena je “ostao uglavnom zamagljen u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji” (str. 139). Uloga žene u ovom periodu bosanskohercegovačke historije je, prema riječima autorice, ili prešućivana ili ignorisana.

U četvrtom poglavlju pod naslovom Ugledne građanke: gospođe i hanume (str. 223–255) autorica donosi zanimljiv pogled na nekoliko žena, pripadnica najviših društvenih struktura, i detalje s njihovih sudskih parnica. Kroz ove primjere uglednih građanki iz perioda austrougarske okupacione uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini autorica je otkrila svijet i svakodnevnicu odabranih žena iz ondašnjeg “visokog društva”. Učinila je to kroz sudske dokumente koji otkrivaju “njihovu svakodnevnicu, kretanje, troškove i privatne odnose koji su često obilježeni netrpeljivošću prema drugoj strani koja je nerijetko član porodice” (str. 225). Autorica je u ovom poglavlju značajki izdvojila primjere višegodišnjih parnica koje su vodile Savka Despić, Mulija-hanuma Čomara i Ašida-hanuma Smailbegović.

U završnom dijelu knjige nalaze se, prema ustaljenom metodološkom obrascu, Zaključak

sources, and this book, as any observant and professional reader of the written text between its covers will be convinced, is a striking example of how sources of court provenance can and should be used for the purpose of writing a scientific monograph.

The second chapter entitled Family relations (pgs. 21–136) presents, as the author herself states in one place, various aspects of family life, in which she brings many details from women's everyday life, and specifically deals with issues through very interesting subtitles: Brides - Willing and Abducted; From Bigamy to Polyandry; Divorced and Runaway; Waiver of Divorce; Alimony; Adulterers; Child Murderers; Tutelage; Child Neglect; Assets; Debt Within the Family; Dead and Absent. In this chapter, the author illustrated the reality of the private life and family problems of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1878 to 1914 through a series of examples of women appearing in court records.

The title of the third chapter in Dr. H. Younis's book is Public Life (pgs. 137–222). In it, the author deals with the problems of women in public life as seen through court records. The author has covered various aspects of public problems from the lives of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1878 to 1914 in a series of interesting subtitles: On the Street; Thieves and Theft Victims; Harlots; Raped; Murders with Hostile Intent; Debt; Salaries and Merits; Rent and Owners of Serf Settlements. This aspect of women's lives “has remained largely obscured in Bosnian-Herzegovinian historiography” (pg. 139). The role of women in this period of Bosnian-Herzegovinian history was, according to the author, either glossed over or ignored.

In the fourth chapter, entitled Distinguished Citizens: Ladies and Khanum (pgs. 223–255), the author provides an interesting look at several women, members of the highest social structures, and details from their court cases. Through these examples of distinguished citizens from the period of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the author reveals the world and everyday life of selected women from the “high society” of the

na bosanskom, engleskom i arapskom jeziku (str. 257–302), u kojem dr. H. Younis u kratkim crtama sumira svoju studiju, te posebno naglašava značaj sudskih dokumenata kao historijskih izvora za sagledavanje pravnog položaja i generalno života žena u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu od 1878. do 1914. godine. Zatim, dati su Prilozi (str. 303–310), Izvori i literatura (str. 311–316), Popis fotografija i priloga (str. 317–319), Indeks ličnih imena (str. 321–331), Indeks geografskih pojmova (str. 333–335) i O autorici (str. 337).

O ovdje prikazanom i razmatranom djelu možemo uopšteno kazati da je Younis načinila zanimljivo štivo koje se čita s uživanjem, što zorno pokazuje da je autorica dr. H. Younis, koja iza sebe ima impozantnu naučnu karijeru historičarke, uspjela prilagoditi svoj stil i onima koji se direktno ne bave ovom vrstom nauke. Sigurni smo da je ovo djelo ispunilo sve potrebne uslove da postane važan dio ukupnog korpusa naučne produkcije bosanskohercegovačke historiografije te da će biti nezaobilazno u svim budućim istraživanjima koja se budu bavila ili bar doticala ove teme.

time. She did this through court records that reveal “their everyday life, movements, expenses and private relationships, which are often marked by intolerance towards the other party, who is often a family member” (pg. 225). In this chapter, the author skillfully singles out examples of long-standing lawsuits pursued by Savka Despić, Mulija khanum Čomara and Ašida khanum Smailbegović.

In the final part of the book, according to the established methodological pattern, there is a Conclusion in Bosnian, English and Arabic (pgs. 257–302), in which Dr. H. Younis briefly summarizes her study and especially emphasizes the importance of court records as historical sources for looking at the legal position and life of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general in the period from 1878 to 1914. Then, there are Appendices (pgs. 303–310), Sources and Literature (pgs. 311–316), List of Photographs and Attachments (pgs. 317–319), Index of Personal Names (pgs. 321–331), Index of Geographical Terms (pgs. 333–335) and Author’s Biography (pg. 337).

Considering the work at hand, we can generally say that Younis has written an interesting book that is read with pleasure, which clearly shows that the author, dr. H. Younis, who has an impressive scientific career as a historian, managed to adapt her style to make it enjoyable even to reads who do not directly deal with this type of science. We are sure that this work has fulfilled all the necessary conditions to become an important part of the entire body of scientific output of Bosnian historiography and that it will be indispensable in all future research that will deal with or at least touch upon this topic.

Astrida Bugarski, *Bosanske brvnare: drvo – čuvar najstarijih graditeljskih vještina stanovnika Bosne*. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej, 2009.

Astrida Bugarski, “*Bosnian log cabins: wood – the guardian of the oldest construction skills of the people of Bosnia*”. Sarajevo: National Museum, 2009.

Knjiga *Bosanske brvnare: drvo – čuvar najstarijih graditeljskih vještina stanovnika Bosne* autorice Astride Bugarski predstavlja opsežno istraživanje o značaju drvene arhitekture u ruralnim područjima Bosne i sjeverne Hercegovine. Istraživanje obuhvata historijski pregled korištenja drveta kao osnovnog građevinskog materijala, razvoj brvnara u dinarskoj regiji i društveno-kulturne aspekte njihovog nastanka i opstanka.

Bugarski je hronološkim redom izložila podatke iz literature i vlastitih terenskih istraživanja, oslanjajući se na arheološke nalaze i istraživanja istaknutih stručnjaka, kao što su B. Čović i J. Cvijić. Značajan dio knjige posvećen je dinarskoj brvnari, koja se ističe specifičnim arhitektonskim rješenjima, prilagođenosti eksterijera/interijera i izuzetnim konstruktivnim tehnikama kao što su spajanje brvnara pomoću zasjeka.

“Sve zgrade koje je seosko stanovništvo Bosne nazivalo drvenim, neovisno od toga da li su izgrađene isključivo od drvenog materijala ili od drveta u kombinaciji sa drugim materijalima (zemljom ponajprije), prema načinu gradnje zidnog platna bile su brvnare, bondručare, odnosno zgrade skeletne zidne konstrukcije ili pletare.” (str. 5)

Gradnja brvnara je obično uključivala jednog samoukog majstora (drvodjelju), uz pomoć odraslih članova porodice i prijatelja. Svi su zajedno radili zbog intenzivnosti poduhvata. Koristili su se jednostavni alati poput sjekira, ručnih pila, bradvi, tesli i sl.

Na početku svog djela, Bugarski nas vodi kroz bogatu šumsku prirodu Bosne i

The book *Bosanske brvnare: drvo – čuvar najstarijih graditeljskih vještina stanovnika Bosne* (Bosnian log cabins: wood – the guardian of the oldest construction skills of the people of Bosnia) by Astrida Bugarski represents a comprehensive research on significance of wooden architecture in the rural areas of Bosnia and northern Herzegovina. The research covers a historical overview of the use of wood as a basic construction material, the development of log cabins in the Dinaric region, as well as the socio-cultural aspects of their origin and survival.

Bugarski presented data from literature and her own field research in chronological order, relying on archaeological findings and studies by prominent experts such as B. Čović and J. Cvijić. A significant portion of the book is dedicated to the Dinaric log cabin, which stands out for its specific architectural solutions, the adaptation of exteriors/interiors, and exceptional construction techniques such as the joining of logs using notches.

“All buildings that the rural population of Bosnia referred to as wooden, regardless of whether they were constructed solely from wood or from wood combined with other materials (primarily earth), were log cabins, bundwerk cabins, or buildings with a skeletal wall structure or wattle and daub, depending on the method of construction of the wall fabric”. (pg. 5)

The construction of a log cabin usually involved one self-taught craftsman (carpenter),

Hercegovine, objašnjavajući zašto je drvo dominiralo u izgradnji seoskih kuća. Drvene građevine bile su pristupačne i praktične, a njihov dizajn prilagođen klimatskim uslovima u planinskim regijama poput Dinarida.

Djelo je podijeljeno u poglavlja koja ukazuju na fokus vremenske strukture, pri čemu se istražuju promjene u gradnji od prahistorijskog do modernog doba, s posebnim detaljnim osvrtom na 19. i 20. stoljeće.

Istražujući korijene bosanske drvene arhitekture, naglašava se da se brvnare prvi put javljaju u prahistorijskom periodu, što je dokazano arheološkim nalazima. Drvo je korišteno za gradnju kuća već u neolitiku, a tokom bronzanog doba bilo je osnovni materijal za zidnu strukturu. Nalazište Velika gradina kod Varvare predstavlja jedan od dokaza, gdje su zidovi građeni od drvenih stupova i pletera. Ovi podaci potvrđuju dugotrajan kontinuitet upotrebe drveta kao osnovnog građevinskog materijala na ovom prostoru.

Pored toga, autorica naglašava austrougarsko razdoblje kao bitan period (prekretnicu) za očuvanje tradicionalne gradnje i njeno istraživanje. Uspostavljaju se prvi sistematski istraživački projekti i etnološka istraživanja sela. U to vrijeme, djela tadašnjih putopisaca i etnografa doprinijela su očuvanju vrijednih informacija, između ostalog i o bosanskim brvnarama i specifičnostima seoske gradnje. Također, analizira se uticaj društvenih promjena, poput uvođenja savremenih materijala (posebno s fokusom na 20. stoljeće), na postepeno napuštanje tradicionalnih tehnika gradnje.

Bugarski razlikuje nekoliko glavnih tipova drvenih zgrada: brvnare, bondručare i pletare. Dok su brvnare bile najraširenije u šumovitom dinarskom području, bondručare i pletare javljale su se u nizinskim i sušnim krajevima, kao pristupačne kuće za siromašno stanovništvo.

Također, posebna pažnja je usmjerena na prilagođavanje arhitektonskih oblika prirodnim i društvenim uslovima, kao i na ulogu pravoslavnog stanovništva u očuvanju tradicije drvene gradnje. Na primjer, među poznate dugovječne brvnare spadaju i drvene pravoslavne crkve iz zapadne Bosne, izgrađene polovinom 18. i 19. stoljeća.

with the help of adult family members and friends. Everyone worked together due to the intensity of the undertaking. Simple tools were used such as axes, hand saws, hatchets, planes, etc.

At the beginning of her work, Bugarski takes us through the abundant forests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, explaining why wood dominated the construction of village houses. Wooden buildings were affordable and practical, and their design adapted to the climatic conditions in mountainous regions such as the Dinarides.

The work is divided into chapters that indicate the focus of the temporal structure, exploring changes in construction from prehistoric to modern times, with particular detailed attention to the 19th and 20th centuries.

Investigating the roots of Bosnian wooden architecture, she emphasizes that log cabins first appeared in the prehistoric period, which is proven by archaeological finds. Wood was used to build houses as early as the Neolithic, and during the Bronze Age it was the basic material for wall structures. The Velika Gradina site near Varvara provides evidence for walls being built of wooden posts and wickerwork. These data confirm the long-term continuity of the use of wood as a basic building material in this area.

In addition, the author emphasizes the Austro-Hungarian period as an important period (a turning point) for the preservation of traditional construction and its research. The first systematic research projects and ethnological surveys of villages are carried out. Back then, the works of travel writers and ethnographers of the time contributed to the preservation of valuable information, among other things, about Bosnian log cabins and the specifics of rural construction. She also analyzes the impact of social changes, such as the introduction of modern materials (with a special focus on the 20th century), on the gradual abandonment of traditional construction techniques.

Bugarski distinguishes several main types of wooden buildings: log cabins, bundwerk houses and wattle and daub houses. While log cabins were the most widespread in the forested Dinaric area, bundwerk cabins and

Pravoslavne kuće – brvnare izgrađene su kao prilagodba težim životnim uslovima. One su (određeni period) bile jednostavne, funkcionalne i skromne, bez mnogo dekoracija ili suvišnih detalja. U razdobljima nesigurnosti i siromaštva, kuće – brvnare su građene tako da ih se može lako napustiti i ponovo izgraditi. Vremenom je stabilnija ekonomija omogućila prelazak s jednostavnijih kuća – brvnara na kvalitetnije, prostranije i trajnije domove u 20. stoljeću s postepenim “gubitkom tradicije”. Pravoslavno stanovništvo BiH, kao i stanovništvo u cjelini, počelo je napuštati tradicionalne kuće u korist onih građenih od čvršćih materijala, npr. kamena i betona. Ovo je omogućilo veće i funkcionalnije kuće s čvrstim krovovima i većim prozorima koji su pružali više prirodnog svjetla.

Astrida Bugarski u suštini svojim radom dokumentuje/istražuje kulturnu baštinu dinarske brvnare te ukazuje na potrebu njenog očuvanja u kontekstu savremenih izazova. *Bosanske brvnare* je djelo koje predstavlja vrijedan doprinos proučavanju i očuvanju bosanskog graditeljskog naslijeđa, pokazujući kako je drvo u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz “brvnaru” postalo univerzalni simbol tradicije, životnog stila i povezanosti sa zemljom, kako u prirodnom, tako i u kulturnom smislu. Knjiga je izuzetno korisna za etnologe, arhitekte i sve zainteresovane za tradicionalnu graditeljsku baštinu Bosne i Hercegovine, pružajući dragocjen uvid u najstarije vještine gradnje koje, moglo bi se reći, svjedoče o skladnom suživotu ljudi s prirodom.

wickerwork houses appeared in lowland and arid regions, as affordable houses for the poor population.

Also, special attention is paid to the adaptation of architectural forms to the natural and social conditions, as well as to the role of the Orthodox population in preserving the tradition of wooden construction. For example, some of the famous long-lived log cabins are the wooden Orthodox churches from western Bosnia, built in the mid-18th and 19th century.

Orthodox houses - log cabins were built as an adaptation to difficult living conditions. They were (for a certain period) simple, functional and modest, without many decorations or superfluous details. In periods of insecurity and poverty, the log cabin homes were built so that they could be easily abandoned and rebuilt. Over time, a more stable economy enabled the transition from simpler houses - log cabins to higher quality, more spacious and more durable homes in the 20th century with a gradual “loss of tradition”. The Orthodox population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the population as a whole, began to abandon traditional houses in favor of those built from stronger materials, e.g. stone and concrete. This allowed for larger and more functional houses with solid roofs and larger windows that provided more natural light.

In essence, Astrida Bugarski's work documents/researches the cultural heritage of the Dinaric log cabins and points to the need for their preservation in the context of contemporary challenges. *Bosanske brvnare* is a work that represents a valuable contribution to the study and preservation of Bosnian architectural heritage, showing how wood in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the “log cabin” has become a universal symbol of tradition, lifestyle and connection to the land, both in a natural and cultural sense. The book is exceptionally useful for ethnologists, architects and anyone interested in the traditional architectural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing a valuable insight into the oldest building skills that, one could say, testify to the harmonious coexistence of people with nature.

IN MEMORIAM

Prof. dr. Munib Maglajlić
(1945–2015) – In memoriam

O posebnim ljudima koje sretnemo na ovom svijetu, a koji nas dotaknu svojom dobrotom, svakako treba ostaviti zapis i posvjedočiti da su jednom živjeli. Munib Maglajlić bio je redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, književni historičar i književni kritičar usmene književnosti, bivši predsjednik BZK “Preporod”, direktor Instituta za bošnjačke studije BZK “Preporod”. Rođen je 24. 3. 1945. godine u Banjoj Luci. Osnovno i srednje obrazovanje završio je u rodnom gradu. Diplomirao je na Višoj pedagoškoj školi u Banjoj Luci 1966. godine i na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu, na Odsjeku za istoriju jugoslovenskih književnosti i srpskohrvatskog jezika 1970. godine. Magistarsku radnju *Sevdalinka (književnohistorijsko i književnoteorijsko određenje jednog kratkog usmenog oblika sa bosanskohercegovačkog prostora)* odbranio je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu 1974. godine, a doktorsku disertaciju *Književnohistorijsko i književnoteorijsko određenje muslimanske narodne balade* odbranio je 1980. godine na istom fakultetu. Nakon diplomiranja, zaposlio se u Institutu za izučavanje jugoslovenskih književnosti u Sarajevu, gdje je proveo dvadeset dvije godine, prvo kao naučni istraživač, a kasnije direktor, sve do 1992. godine, kada prelazi na Filozofski fakultet, gdje je izabran u zvanje redovnog profesora na Odsjeku za južnoslavenske književnosti. Bio je saradnik Fakulteta islamskih nauka, Pedagoške akademije i Muzičke akademije. Kao stipendist DAAD-a, boravio je na studijskim istraživanjima u Njemačkoj, zatim je učestvovao na brojnim naučnim simpozijima u regionu i inozemstvu: Turskoj, Njemačkoj i Engleskoj, te folklorističkim skupovima i kongresima Saveza udruženja folklorista u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Bio je član Redakcije *Godišnjaka* Instituta za književnost, urednik

Prof. dr. Munib Maglajlić
(1945–2015)

We should definitely leave a record of the special people we meet in this world, who touch us with their kindness, and testify that they once lived. Munib Maglajlić was a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, a literary historian and literary critic of oral literature, former president of the Bosniak Cultural Community “Preporod”, director of the Institute for Bosniak Studies of the Bosniak Cultural Community “Preporod”. He was born on March 24, 1945 in Banja Luka. He completed his primary and secondary education in his hometown. He graduated from the Higher Pedagogical School in Banja Luka in 1966 and from the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, Department of History of Yugoslav Literatures and Serbo-Croatian Language in 1970. He defended his master’s thesis *Sevdalinka (književnohistorijsko i književnoteorijsko određenje jednog kratkog usmenog oblika sa bosanskohercegovačkog prostora)* (“Sevdalinka (literary-historical and literary-theoretical determination of a short oral form from Bosnia and Herzegovina)”) at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1974, and his doctoral dissertation *Književnohistorijsko i književnoteorijsko određenje muslimanske narodne balade* (“Literary-historical and literary-theoretical determination of a Muslim folk ballad”) in 1980 at the same faculty. After graduation, he worked at the Institute for the Study of Yugoslav Literatures in Sarajevo, where he spent twenty-two years, first as a scientific researcher and later as director, until 1992, when he transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy, where he was elected to the title of full professor at the Department of South Slavic Literatures. He was an associate of the Faculty of Islamic Sciences, the Pedagogical Academy and the Academy of Music. As a DAAD scholarship holder, he spent time in

za Bosnu i Hercegovinu bibliografske edicije *Jahresbibliographie*, koja je objavljivana u Freiburgu i Ljubljani, član Uredništva časopisa *Rad* Kongresa Saveza udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije, saradnik drugog izdanja *Enciklopedije Jugoslavije* Jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda u Zagrebu, *Leksikona pisaca Jugoslavije* u izdanju Matice srpske iz Novog Sada, urednik časopisa *Radovi* Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, te član Redakcije edicije *Bošnjačka književnost u 100 knjiga* koju objavljuje BZK "Preporod". Maglajlićeva životna interesovanja su bila veoma raznovrsna te ih možemo podijeliti u četiri oblasti: naučna istraživanja u oblasti usmene književnosti, profesorski nastavno-pedagoški rad, kulturno-društveni angažman u BZK "Preporod" i saradnja s Fondacijom "Mulla Sadra".

Najduže i najtemeljitiše se bavio historijsko-kritičkim proučavanjima u oblasti usmene književnosti, gdje je njegov doprinos proučavanju historije i nastanka sevdalinke i muslimanske balade veoma značajan i prepoznatljiv. Njegov naučnoistraživački rad je veoma plodan: objavio je šest stručnih autorskih knjiga, 20 priređivačkih, 12 uredničkih, te 338 naučno-stručnih radova. Ovom prilikom navest ćemo samo autorske knjige, a profesorova bibliografija koju sam uradila za njegovu 70. godišnjicu rođenja je posebno objavljena.¹ Šest njegovih autorskih knjiga su: *Bibliografija radova o narodnoj književnosti*, (5): *bibliografija i kratki sadržaji radova o narodnoj književnosti u periodici Jugoslavije: Behar* (Sarajevo, 1900–1910). *Gajret* (Sarajevo, 1906–1941), *Novi behar* (Sarajevo, 1927–1945), *Razvitak* (Banja Luka, 1910–1941), *Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije* (Beograd, 1934–1939). Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979. (Posebna izdanja / ANUBiH; knj. 41. Odjeljenje za književnost i umjetnost; knj. 6); *Od zbilje do pjesme: ogledi o usmenom pjesništvu*. Banjaluka: Glas, 1983. (Biblioteka Osvjetljenja); *Muslimanska usmena balada*. Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša", 1985; *Usmeno pjesništvo od stvaralaca do*

Germany on study research, then participated in numerous scientific symposia in the region and abroad: in Turkey, Germany and England, as well as in folklore gatherings and congresses of the Federation of Folklorist Associations in the former Yugoslavia.

He was a member of the Editorial Board of the *Yearbook* of the Institute of Literature, editor for Bosnia and Herzegovina of the bibliographic edition *Jahresbibliographie*, which was published in Freiburg and Ljubljana, a member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Rad* of the Congress of the Associations of Folklorists of Yugoslavia, a contributor to the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia* by the Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute in Zagreb, the *Lexicon of Writers of Yugoslavia* published by Matica Srpska in Novi Sad, editor of the journal *Radovi* of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Bosniak Literature in 100 Books* edition published by the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod". Maglajlić's interests were very diverse and can be divided into four areas: scientific research in the field of oral literature, teaching and pedagogical work as a professor, cultural and social engagement in the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod" and cooperation with the "Mulla Sadra" Foundation.

His longest and most comprehensive work was on the historical and critical studies in the field of oral literature, where his contribution to the study of the history and origin of sevdalinka and Muslim ballads is very significant and outstanding. His scientific research work was very fruitful: he published six expertise books, prepared 20 compilations, edited 12 books, and published 338 scientific papers. Here, we will only list the author's books, and the professor's bibliography that I compiled on the occasion of his 70th birthday has been published separately.¹ The six books he authored are: *Bibliografija radova o narodnoj književnosti*, (5): *bibliografija i kratki sadržaji radova o narodnoj književnosti u periodici Jugoslavije:*

¹ Isma Kamberović, *Munib Maglajlić (1945–2015) – bibliografija i literatura*. Sarajevo: BZK "Preporod", 2017.

¹ Isma Kamberović, *Munib Maglajlić (1945–2015) – bibliografija i literatura*. Sarajevo: BZK "Preporod", 2017.

sakupljača. Tuzla: Univerzal, 1989. (Biblioteka Studije, eseji, kritike); *Usmena lirski pjesma, balada i romansa*. Sarajevo: Institut za književnost: Svjetlost, 1991. (Prilozi za istoriju književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine; knj. 3); *Bošnjačka usmena balada*. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 2018.

Profesorsko-pedagoški rad trajao je dvadesetak godina. Pored održavanja nastave na predmetima Usmena književnost i Bošnjačka književnost I, bio je član brojnih komisija i mentor za izradu magistarskih i doktorskih radnji. Pod njegovim mentorstvom svoje magistarske i doktorske radnje uradili su brojni postdiplomci i doktoranti, a spomenut ćemo sljedeće: Aida Arnaut, Sead Šemsović, Nirha Efendić, Amira Dervišević, Mirsad Kunić, Aiša Softić i dr.

Dvadeset i pet godina se bavio promicanjem kulturnih i nacionalnih bošnjačkih pitanja pri Bošnjačkoj zajednici kulture "Preporod". Bio je bliski prijatelj i saradnik prof. dr. Muhsina Rizvića, te su zajedno podnijeli teret obnavljanja tadašnjeg Kulturnog društva Muslimana "Preporod" 1990. godine, gdje je prvo obavljao dužnost direktora tadašnjeg Centra za bosansko-muslimanske studije (danas Institut za bošnjačke studije), u okviru kojeg su započeti važni istraživački projekti: *Bošnjaci: enciklopedijski presjek*, *Bošnjački biografski leksikon*, edicija *Bošnjačka književnost u 100 knjiga*, te formirana specijalna Biblioteka Instituta za bošnjačke studije za podršku naučnoistraživačkih projekata pri "Preporodu". Šest godina obavljao je funkciju predsjednika BZK "Preporod", od 1994. godine do 2000. godine, a kasnije je ponovo bio dugogodišnji direktor Instituta za bošnjačke studije.

Posljednjih desetak godina profesor Maglajlić je uspostavio prijateljsku saradnju s Fondacijom "Mulla Sadra", gdje je dao veliki doprinos njihovoj izdavačkoj djelatnosti kao urednik. Gotovo sva njihova brojna izdanja, koja su uglavnom islamskog i filozofskog sadržaja, prošla su kroz njegove uredničke stručne zahvate.

Godine 2010. napunio je 65 godina života te je umirovljen kao redovni profesor. U 2015. godini napunio je 70 godina života, a na veliku

Behar (Sarajevo, 1900–1910). *Gajret* (Sarajevo, 1906–1941), *Novi behar* (Sarajevo, 1927–1945), *Razvitak* (Banja Luka, 1910–1941), *Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije* (Beograd, 1934–1939). Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1979. (Posebna izdanja / ANUBiH; knj. 41. Odjeljenje za književnost i umjetnost; knj. 6); *Od zbilje do pjesme: ogledi o usmenom pjesništvu*. Banjaluka: Glas, 1983. (Biblioteka Osvjetljenja); *Muslimanska usmena balada*. Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša", 1985; *Usmeno pjesništvo od stvaralaca do sakupljača*. Tuzla: Univerzal, 1989. (Biblioteka Studije, eseji, kritike); *Usmena lirski pjesma, balada i romansa*. Sarajevo: Institut za književnost: Svjetlost, 1991. (Prilozi za istoriju književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine; knj. 3); *Bošnjačka usmena balada*. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 2018.

His teaching work lasted for about twenty years. In addition to teaching the courses Oral Literature and Bosnian Literature I, he was a member of numerous committees and a mentor for the preparation of master's and doctoral theses. Under his mentorship, numerous postgraduate and doctoral students completed their master's and doctoral theses, including: Aida Arnaut, Sead Šemsović, Nirha Efendić, Amira Dervišević, Mirsad Kunić, Aiša Softić, and others.

For twenty-five years, he was engaged in the promotion of cultural and national Bosniak issues at the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod". He was a close friend and associate of Prof. Ph.D. Muhsin Rizvić, and together they bore the burden of restoring the Muslim Cultural Society "Preporod" in 1990, where he first served as the director of the then Center for Bosnian-Muslim Studies (today the Institute for Bosniak Studies), within which important research projects commenced: *Bošnjaci: enciklopedijski presjek*, *Bošnjački biografski leksikon*, *Bošnjačka književnost u 100 knjiga* series, and a special library of the Institute for Bosniak studies to support scientific research projects of "Preporod" was established. For six years, he served as the president of the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod", from 1994

žalost svih nas, u istoj godini nas je i napustio. O njegovom ugledu i poštovanju koje je zaslužio uživao svjedoči, između ostalog, i komemorativni skup koji su zajedno organizirali BZK "Preporod" i Filozofski fakultet, zatim, "Javni čas – Hommage prof. Munibu Maglajliću" u organizaciji Odsjeka za muzikologiju/etnomuzikologiju Muzičke akademije i Muzikološkog društva FBiH, čas sjećanja na prof. Maglajlića u organizaciji Fondacije "Mulla Sadra" te časovi sjećanja u mnogim "Preporodovim" općinskim društvima.

Nakon dvadesetak godina dobre poslovne saradnje i podrške u "Preporodu", naglašavam da je kao predsjednik "Preporoda" i kao direktor Instituta za bošnjačke studije BZK "Preporod" puno pomogao u opremanju i formiranju biblioteke. Stvorili smo bogatu Biblioteku s preko 22.000 biranih naslova, koja uveliko pomaže naučnoistraživačke projekte pri BZK "Preporod" i ostale samostalne projekte izvan "Preporoda". Još dok je profesor bio živ, odlučila sam uraditi njegovu bibliografiju za njegov sedamdeseti rođendan i, kada sam mu rekla da radim njegovu bibliografiju, nasmijao se i veselo rekao: "Uh, nije valjda dotle došlo". "Preporod" je bio njegov drugi dom, u kojem je uradio puno dobrih djela. Bio je primjer moralnog, poštenog, pravednog, korektnog, ljubaznog i dobro odgojenog čovjeka kojem smo se obraćali zbog nekih nedoumica ili problema, koje je on svojim autoritetom, mudrošću i savjetima uspješno rješavao.

Nakon profesorove smrti, njegova supruga, gospođa Medhija Maglajlić, poklonila je Biblioteci BZK "Preporod" njegovu privatnu biblioteku, odnosno sve što se nalazilo u njegovoj kancelariji u "Preporodu". Prema želji gospođe Maglajlić, profesorova biblioteka je smještena u posebne vitrine i vodi se kao poseban fond s nazivom *Biblioteka prof. dr. Muniba Maglajlića*, a na svakoj knjizi je utisnut pečat s istim tekstom. Njegova ostavština se sastoji iz 1.531. naslova, od toga: 1096 knjiga te 435 kataloga, separata, oglada, seminarskih, diplomskih, magistarskih i doktorskih radova te različitih brojeva listova, časopisa, mašinopisa, kopija rijetkih knjiga i fascikla s različitim sadržajem. Ova građa se može

to 2000, and later he was again the long-term director of the Institute for Bosniak Studies.

Over the last ten years, Professor Maglajlić has established a friendly cooperation with the "Mulla Sadra" Foundation, where he made a great contribution to their publishing activities as an editor. Almost all of their numerous publications, which are mainly of Islamic and philosophical content, have undergone his editorial expertise.

In 2010, he turned 65 and retired as a full professor. In 2015, he turned 70, and to the great sadness of all of us, he left us in the same year. His reputation and the respect he deservedly enjoyed are evidenced, among other things, by the commemorative gathering jointly hosted by the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod" and the Faculty of Philosophy, the "Public Class – Hommage to Prof. Munib Maglajlić" organized by the Department of Musicology/Ethnomusicology of the Music Academy and the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a class commemorating Prof. Maglajlić organized by the "Mulla Sadra" Foundation, and classes commemorating him in many "Preporod" municipal chapters.

After twenty years of good cooperation and support in "Preporod", I emphasize that as the president of "Preporod" and as the director of the Institute for Bosniak Studies of the Bosniak Cultural Society "Preporod", he helped a lot in equipping and establishing the Library. We created a rich library with over 22,000 selected titles, which greatly helps scientific research projects at the Bosniak Cultural Society "Preporod" and other independent projects outside of "Preporod". While the professor was still alive, I decided to compile his bibliography for his seventieth birthday and, when I told him that I was working his bibliography, he laughed and cheerfully said: "Uh, it hasn't come to that already, has it". "Preporod" was his second home, where he did many good deeds. He was an example of a moral, honest, just, fair, kind and well-mannered man to whom we turned to help us resolve doubts and problems, which he successfully solved with his authority, wisdom and advice.

koristiti u naučnoistraživačke svrhe samo u čitaonici.

I na kraju, radovi u njegovoj bibliografiji govore o njegovim obimnim i značajnim istraživanjima usmene književnosti. Pamtit ćemo ga kao predanog proučavaoca sevdalinke, balade i romanse, važnih tema iz usmene književnosti, i velikog čovjeka, baš onakvog kako ga je opisao Vehid Gunić: "Nisam do sada susreo ni dražeg, ni umnijeg, ni blažeg, ni rječitijeg, ni skromnijeg, ni dobronamjernijeg čovjeka od dobrog čovjeka Muniba Maglajlića..."²

Umro je 19. 10. 2015. godine u 70. godini života, a pokopan je na Ravnim Bakijama, u blizini kćerkinog mežara.

After the professor's death, his wife, Mrs. Medhija Maglajlić, donated his private library to the Library of the Bosniak Cultural Community "Preporod", that is, everything that was in his office in "Preporod". According to Mrs. Maglajlić's wish, the professor's library is placed in special display cases and is kept as a special fund under the name *Library of Prof. Dr. Munib Maglajlić*, and each book is stamped with the same text. His legacy consists of 1,531 titles, including: 1,096 books and 435 catalogs, extracts, essays, seminar, graduation papers, master's and doctoral theses, as well as various issues of newspapers, magazines, typescripts, copies of rare books and folders with various contents. These materials can be used for scientific research purposes only in the reading room.

Finally, the works in his bibliography speak of his extensive and significant research into oral literature. We will remember him as a dedicated scholar of sevdalinka, ballads and romances, important themes in oral literature, and a great man, just as Vehid Gunić described him: "I have never met a more charming, intelligent, gentle, eloquent, modest or well-intentioned man than the good man Munib Maglajlić..."²

He died on October 19, 2015, at the age of 70, and was buried at the Ravne Bakije cemetery, near his daughter's grave.

² Vehid Gunić, *Ljudi dobre zemlje Bosne*. Tuzla: Bosnia Ars, 2001, str. 170–171.

² Vehid Gunić, *Ljudi dobre zemlje Bosne*. Tuzla: Bosnia Ars, 2001, pg. 170–171.

Mevlida Serdarević (1942–2024)

Mevlida Serdarević rođena je 1942. godine u Dubrovniku, završila je osnovno i srednje obrazovanje u istom gradu, a potom je diplomirala na Pravnom fakultetu u Sarajevu 1966. godine.

Pravna struka omogućila joj je da se tokom karijere posveti pravnoj zaštiti kulturnih dobara i zakonodavnom okviru u oblasti kulturnog naslijeđa, doprinoseći razvoju savremenih standarda i praksi u ovoj oblasti. Svoj radni vijek je posvetila zaštiti kulturnog naslijeđa, posebno u Zavodu za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu, gdje je radila na pravnoj zaštiti kulturne baštine.

U Zavodu se istakla kao stručnjak, radeći na očuvanju spomenika, vakufa, sakralnih objekata i drugih vrijednih elemenata historijskog i kulturnog značaja. Njen rad je predstavljao osnove za očuvanje kulturnih dobara i u izazovnim vremenima kroz koje je Bosna i Hercegovina prolazila. Mevlida Serdarević dala je ključan doprinos u pravnoj zaštiti kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa kroz rad na prijedlogu Zakona o zaštiti kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Republike Bosne i Hercegovine tokom 1975–1985. Kao jedini pravni stručni savjetnik u ovoj oblasti u RBiH tokom osamdesetih, postavljena je na mjesto stručnog savjetnika za pravnu zaštitu kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa, čime je još više doprinijela očuvanju i razvoju pravnog okvira koji je štitio kulturne vrijednosti države.

Mevlida Serdarević se istakla saradnjom s vladinim i nevladinim organizacijama u cilju zaštite materijalnog i nematerijalnog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine. Kroz unapređenje zakonodavnog okvira, podržavala je umrežavanje i jačanje kapaciteta nevladinih organizacija, doprinosivši tako boljoj zaštiti i promociji kulturnog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine.

Mevlida Serdarević (1942–2024)

Mevlida Serdarević was born in 1942 in Dubrovnik, where she completed primary and secondary education, and then graduated from the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo in 1966. The legal profession allowed her to dedicate her career to the legal protection of cultural assets and the legislative framework in the field of cultural heritage, contributing to the development of contemporary standards and practices in this field. She spent her career protecting cultural heritage, especially at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, where she worked on the legal protection of cultural heritage.

At the Institute, she distinguished herself as an expert, working on the preservation of monuments, endowments, sacral architecture and other valuable elements of historical and cultural significance. Her work provided the basis for the preservation of cultural assets even in the most challenging times Bosnia and Herzegovina went through. Mevlida Serdarević made a key contribution to the legal protection of cultural-historical and natural heritage through her work on drafting of the proposal of the Law on the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1975-1985. As the only expert legal advisor in this field in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1980s, she was appointed expert advisor for the legal protection of cultural and historical heritage, thereby contributing even more to the preservation and development of the legal framework that protected the cultural values of the state.

Mevlida Serdarević distinguished herself by cooperating with governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to protect the tangible and intangible heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the improvement

Paralelno sa svojim pravnim radom, Mevlida Serdarević se posvetila i promociji kulturnog naslijeđa i kulture naroda Bosne i Hercegovine. Njene organizacione sposobnosti posebno su došle do izražaja tokom rata, kada je 1992. godine osnovala Asocijaciju za interkulturalne aktivnosti i spašavanje naslijeđa (AIASN-a). Ova Asocijacija, okupljajući stručnjake i entuzijaste, od studenata arhitekture do historičara i arheologa, koordinisala je očuvanje fundusa i rad svih kulturnih ustanova u gradu, čime je značajno doprinijela zaštititi naslijeđa uprkos teškim ratnim uslovima.

Mevlida Serdarević pokazala je izuzetnu posvećenost promociji i očuvanju kulturnog naslijeđa Bosne i Hercegovine tokom svog života i rada. Paralelno s dugogodišnjim radom u pravnoj zaštiti kulturnih dobara, neumorno je radila na promociji i očuvanju bogate kulturne baštine i kulture naroda Bosne i Hercegovine. Njena organizacijska i vizionarska uloga došle su do izražaja naročito tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini, kada je kulturno naslijeđe Sarajeva bilo pod stalnom prijetnjom uništenja.

Organizacija AIASN funkcionisala je kao ključni oslonac u ratnim uslovima, koordinirajući aktivnosti i pružajući podršku ustanovama kao što su muzeji, galerije, arhivi i biblioteke, koje su bile pogođene ratnim dejstvima i u stalnoj opasnosti od razaranja.

Asocijacija je vrlo brzo postala zvanično priznata, a zahvaljujući podršci odbrambenih struktura grada i gradskih vlasti, mogla je efikasnije obavljati svoje aktivnosti. AIASN je osiguravala zaštitu, skladištenje i očuvanje umjetničkih kolekcija, historijskih dokumenata i arhivskih materijala, čime je spriječena neprocjenjiva šteta za kulturno-historijsko naslijeđe Sarajeva, ali i cijele Bosne i Hercegovine.

Godine 1993. Mevlida Serdarević je bila među osnivačima Obnoviteljskog sabora Islamske zajednice, čime je dala doprinos obnovi i jačanju vjerske zajednice u teškim ratnim vremenima.

Nakon toga, usmjerila je energiju na osnivanje Unije ženskih asocijacija, organizacije koja je imala za cilj okupljanje, podršku i osnaživanje žena u Bosni i Hercegovini, pružajući

of the legislative framework, she supported networking and capacity building of non-governmental organizations, thus contributing to better protection and promotion of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In parallel with her legal work, Mevlida Serdarević devoted herself to the promotion of the cultural heritage and culture of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her organizational skills were particularly evident during the war, when in 1992 she founded the Association for Intercultural Activities and Heritage Rescue (AIASN). This Association, bringing together experts and enthusiasts, from architecture students to historians and archaeologists, coordinated the preservation of the collections and the work of all cultural institutions in the city, which significantly contributed to the protection of heritage despite the difficult war conditions.

Mevlida Serdarević showed exceptional commitment to the promotion and preservation of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout her life and career. Parallel to her many years of work in the legal protection of cultural property, she worked tirelessly to promote and preserve the rich cultural heritage and culture of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its organizational and visionary role came to the fore especially during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, when the cultural heritage of Sarajevo was under constant threat of destruction.

The AIASN functioned as a key support in wartime conditions, coordinating activities and providing support to institutions such as museums, galleries, archives and libraries, which were affected by the war and in constant danger of destruction.

The Association was soon officially recognized, and thanks to the support of the city's defense structures and city authorities, it was able to perform its activities more efficiently. AIASN ensured the protection, storage and preservation of art collections, historical documents and archival materials, thus preventing incalculable damage to the cultural and historical heritage of Sarajevo, as well as the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

im platformu za zajednički rad na socijalnim, kulturnim i obrazovnim projektima u zajednici.

Od 1998. do 2007. godine Mevlida Serdarević obavljala je dužnost direktorice Muzeja Sarajeva, gdje je unaprijedila rad i djelovanje ove institucije, s posebnim akcentom na očuvanje multietničkog karaktera Sarajeva. Kao dugogodišnja aktivistica, bila je posvećena ideji zajedništva i tolerancije različitih etničkih i vjerskih zajednica. Bila je posvećena naučnom istraživanju i podržavala je saradnju s domaćim i međunarodnim institucijama. Pod njenim vodstvom, muzej je postao mjesto gdje su se okupljali istraživači i stručnjaci, razmjenjujući ideje i metode za očuvanje kulturnih dobara.

Po odlasku u penziju, Mevlida Serdarević nastavila je svoj rad na očuvanju kulturne baštine kroz izučavanje historijskih dokumenata, predaja i genealogije, s posebnim fokusom na porijeklo hercegovačkih porodica. Njena istraživanja obuhvatila su detaljan rad na prikupljanju informacija o historijskim vezama i običajima, uz analizu porodičnih tradicija i naslijeđa koje je smatrala ključnim za razumijevanje kulturne baštine. To je rezultiralo serijom monografija koje su postale značajan doprinos na polju proučavanja bošnjačke historije, kulture i društvenih veza, a njen rad na ovim temama obuhvatio je porodične priče, legende i specifičnosti koje se prenose kroz generacije.

Sav rad Mevlide Serdarević bio je usmjeren na očuvanje i prezentaciju kulturno-historijskog i umjetničkog naslijeđa naroda Bosne i Hercegovine, smatrajući ga temeljem zajedništva različitih etničkih i vjerskih zajednica koje su na ovom prostoru kroz stoljeća dijelile zajedničku historiju i kulturne vrijednosti. Kao neumorna čuvarica baštine, svojim trudom je doprinosila očuvanju jedinstvene multietničke i multikulturalne baštine Bosne i Hercegovine, ostavljajući neizbrisiv trag u razvoju i zaštiti kulturnih vrijednosti.

Njena smrt predstavlja veliki gubitak za Sarajevo i Bosnu i Hercegovinu, jer je sa njom otišao strastven i posvećen borac za kulturno-historijsko naslijeđe, neumoran stvaralac i predan zaštitnik bogatog naslijeđa naše zemlje. Mevlida Serdarević ostavlja za sobom

In 1993, Mevlida Serdarević was one of the founders of the Renewal Assembly of the Islamic Community, thereby contributing to the renewal and strengthening of the religious community in difficult times of war.

After that, she focused her energy on establishing the Confederation of Women's Associations, an organization whose goal was to bring together, support and empower women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing them with a platform for collaboration on social, cultural and educational projects in the community.

From 1998 to 2007, Mevlida Serdarević worked as the Director of the Museum of Sarajevo, where she improved the work and activities of this institution, with a special emphasis on preserving the multi-ethnic character of Sarajevo. As a long-time activist, she was committed to the idea of unity and tolerance of different ethnic and religious communities. She was committed to scientific research and supported cooperation with domestic and international institutions. Under her leadership, the Museum became a place where researchers and experts gathered, exchanging ideas and methods for the preservation of cultural assets.

After retiring, Mevlida Serdarević continued her work on the preservation of cultural heritage by researching historical documents, traditions and genealogy, with a special focus on the origins of Herzegovinian families. Her research included detailed work on gathering information on historical links and customs, along with the analysis of family traditions and legacies, which she considered crucial for understanding cultural heritage. This resulted in a series of monographs that provided a significant contribution to the study of Bosniak history, culture and social ties, and her work on these topics included family stories, legends and specifics that are passed down through the generations.

All Mevlida Serdarević's work was focused on preserving and presenting the cultural, historical and artistic heritage of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, considering it the foundation of unity among different ethnic and religious communities that have shared a common history and cultural values in this region for centuries. As a tireless guardian of heritage,

naslijeđe u vidu brojnih inicijativa, publikacija i zakonskih temelja, koje će nastaviti da služe kao inspiracija budućim generacijama u očuvanju kulturne baštine.

Izbor iz bibliografije Mevlide Serdarević

1. *Pravna zaštita kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa BiH sa posebnim osvrtom na staro urbano jezgro Sarajeva (nastajanje, očuvanje, destrukcija)*. Sarajevo: Međunarodni centar za mir, 1997.

2. *Pedeset godina Muzeja Sarajevo*. Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, 1999.

3. *Bošnjačka kultura ponašanja*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 2000. (u koautorstvu s A. Omanić)

4. *Bošnjačka kultura ponašanja*. Drugo dopunjeno izdanje. Sarajevo: Art 7, 2009. (u koautorstvu s A. Omanić)

5. *Priče i legende trebinjskih Bošnjaka*. Knj. 1. Sarajevo: Art 7, 2012.

6. *Priče i legende trebinjskih Bošnjaka*. Knj. 2. Sarajevo: Art 7, 2015.

7. *Priče i legende bošnjačkih porodica – Mehmedbašići iz Stoca*. Sarajevo: Art 7, 2018.

8. *Priče i legende bošnjačkih porodica iz Hercegovine i Bosne (Gacko, Trebinje, Sokol kraj Gračanice, Kulen-Vakuf, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Visoko)*. Sarajevo: Blicdruk, 2019.

9. Dječiji Bonton. Sarajevo: NVO AIASN-a, 2019. (u koautorstvu s A. Abdulović)

10. *Priče i legende bošnjačkih porodica – Serdarevići iz Ljubinja*. Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2020.

Umrula je 30. 10. 2024. u Sarajevu u 82. godini života. Ukopana je na mezarju Ravne Bakije.

she contributed to the preservation of the unique multiethnic and multicultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina with her efforts, leaving an indelible mark on the development and protection of cultural values.

Her death represents a great loss for Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, because with her, we lost a passionate and dedicated fighter for cultural and historical heritage, a tireless creator and devoted protector of the rich heritage of our country. Mevlida Serdarević leaves behind a legacy in the form of numerous initiatives, publications and legal foundations, which will continue to serve as an inspiration to future generations in the preservation of cultural heritage.

A selection from Mevlida Serdarević's bibliography

1. *Pravna zaštita kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa BiH sa posebnim osvrtom na staro urbano jezgro Sarajeva (nastajanje, očuvanje, destrukcija)*. Sarajevo: Međunarodni centar za mir, 1997.

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8. *Priče i legende bošnjačkih porodica iz Hercegovine i Bosne (Gacko, Trebinje, Sokol kraj Gračanice, Kulen-Vakuf, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Visoko)*. Sarajevo: Blicdruk, 2019.

9. Dječiji Bonton. Sarajevo: NVO AIASN-a, 2019. (coauthored by A. Abdulović)

10. *Priče i legende bošnjačkih porodica – Serdarevići iz Ljubinja*. Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2020.

She died on October 30, 2024 in Sarajevo at the age of 82. She was buried at the Ravne Bakije cemetery.

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Bugarski, 2005: 10

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Bugarski, Astrida. 2005. *Tragovi ramskog graditeljstva*. Sarajevo: Hrvatsko katoličko dobrotvorno društvo.

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Černelić, Milana; Rajković, Marijeta; Rubić, Tihana (ur.). 2008. *Živjeti na krivom putu*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za etnologiju.

- 1.2) POGLAVLJE U KNJIZI VIŠE AUTORA

Bilješka u tekstu:

Pletenac, 2006: 78-84

U popisu literature:

Pletenac, Tomislav. 2006. Zrcaljenje kulture. *Zbornik radova Etnologija i kulturni turizam*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za etnologiju.

- 2) ČLANAK U ČASOPISIMA

Bilješka u tekstu:

Buturović, 1968: 89

U popisu literature:

Buturović, Đenana. 1968. "Epska narodna tradicija istočne Hercegovine". Sarajevo: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine n.s. E* 23: 77-131.

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Pletenac, Tomislav. 2006. Zrcaljenje kulture. *Zbornik radova Etnologija i kulturni turizam*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za etnologiju.

- 2) PAPER IN A JOURNAL

Textual notes

Buturović, 1968:89

Bibliography

Buturović, Đenana. 1968. "Epska narodna tradicija istočne Hercegovine". Sarajevo: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine n.s. E* 23: 77-131.

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