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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 kože 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 kože 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 kapi 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 kamenni reljefi i zidne slike. U svim slučajevima vjerno je prikazan taj čin. Reljef ovog sadržaja 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 noževe, 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 “bogobojazni”. 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. sofrā). 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 rođene 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 nacrtat 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 imao 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 imala 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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