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Prusac i njegove usmene predaje

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Osnovu ovog priloga čine usmene predaje zabilježene u Pruscu tokom terensko-istraživačkog rada, koji je obavljen u dva navrata 2008. i 2009. godine. Kroz rad se nastoji ukazati na lokalne specifičnosti usmenih predaja ovog prostora, ali i na njihovu uklopljenost u međunarodno raširene teme i motive.

Ključne riječi: Prusac, historijske usmene predaje, mitske usmene predaje

Važan segment ukupne historije jednog omeđenog i na različite načine organiziranog prostora predstavlja i usmena historija koja se najjasnije iskazuje kroz historijske i kulturnohistorijske usmene predaje. Ali, stranice "knjige predaja" jednog mjesta ne ispisuju samo kazivanja koja se oslanjaju, u jačoj ili slabijoj mjeri, na stvarne događaje i ličnosti, već i brojni drugi sadržaji koji se, prema međunarodno usvojenoj klasifikaciji, svrstavaju u etiološke i eshatološke predaje, potom u mitske ili demonološke predaje koje se zasnivaju na religijskom učenju.

Stoga će se u prilogu o predajama zabilježenim u Pruscu u toku terensko-istraživačkog rada, koji je obavljen 2008. i 2009. godine, pažnja usmjeriti na cjelokupan zabilježeni korpus predaja, koji nikako ne pretendira na potpunost, jer su ova etnološka istraživanja Prusca ustvari samo prva faza koja potpada pod rekognosciranje terena. S obzirom na vrlo ograničena finansijska sredstva, rad na terenu bio je limitiran. Uprkos tome, zabilježene predaje odlikavaju stanje usmene predaje u savremenom trenutku, na jednom po svemu specifičnom prostoru, u svijetu koliko zatvorenom u sebe toliko, po različitim osnovama, i otvorenom. Malo je mjesta u Bosni i Hercegovini čiji mještani na ovakav, reklo bi se profinjeni način njeguju lokalpatriotizam u pozitivnom smislu te riječi.

Prusac and its oral traditions

Original scientific paper
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This paper is based on the oral traditions recorded in Prusac during field research in 2008 and 2009. It seeks to highlight the specific local features of the area's oral traditions as well as the way they relate to internationally widespread themes and motifs.

Key words: Prusac, oral history, mythical oral traditions

Oral history is an important aspect of the history of a delineated area organized in a variety of ways, usually expressed through its historical and cultural oral traditions. But the pages of the "book of traditions" of a place are not written only by accounts based more or less directly on real events and personalities, but also by many other factors regarded in internationally agreed classification as etiological and eschatological traditions, mythical or demonological traditions, and those based on religious teachings.

This paper on the traditions collected in Prusac during field research in 2008 and 2009 will therefore focus on the entire recorded corpus, without pretensions to being complete, since these ethnological studies of Prusac are in fact just the first phase, no more than reconnaissance. The very limited funding available placed constraints on this field research. Even so, the traditions recorded reflect the state of oral tradition at this time, in a very specific place, in a world that is as much a closed system as it is open in various ways. There are few places in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the people have fostered local patriotism, in the positive sense of the word, in what could be called a sophisticated manner. The people of Prusac construct their self-awareness on the careful nurturing of their tradition relating to the importance of

Svoju samosvijest mještani Prusca grade na brižljivo njegovanoj tradiciji o značaju ovog mjesta u kulturnoj historiji Bosne 16. i 17. stoljeća, kada je Prusac predstavljao jedno od njenih važnih duhovnih središta. Današnji Prusac, opet, svoj značaj crpi iz Ajvatovice, najznačajnijeg muslimanskog dovišta na prostoru BiH i šire.

Dvije su najbrojnije skupine predaja zabilježene u Pruscu u toku spomenutog terenskog rada. To su historijske te mitske usmene predaje.

Kao što je to slučaj i u drugim sredinama u BiH, najstariji sloj historijskih usmenih predaja zabilježenih u Pruscu čine one koje kazuju o nekadašnjem, starom stanovništvu Bosne. Te predaje su vrlo kratke i obično se javljaju kao štire predaje-obavijesti. Tako se kazuje da na području Prusca postoji tzv. "grčko greblje", a "mještani pričaju da je tu nekad bila i crkva".¹ Povod za ovakva kazivanja potiče najvjerovatnije iz činjenice da se "na tom mjestu nalazi puno kamenja", a upravo različiti materijalni ostaci (usamljeni grobovi, kamenje neobičnog oblika, ostaci nekadašnjih građevina, itd.), obično su glavni povod za nastanak predaja ove i slične tematike, a sama kazivanja o grčkom greblju u Pruscu u potpunosti se uklapaju u široko rasprostranjene savremene predaje u kojima se davnašnje, staro stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine najčešće naziva Grcima. (Palavestra, 1991:44)

U taj najstariji sloj historijskog pamćenja, koji u sebi sadrži i elemente mitskog, spadaju i predaje o Mariji Tereziji koja je postala opće ime za vladaricu nekadašnjeg, starog naroda. Tako se pričalo "da je Marija Terezija bila na gornjem gradu u Pruscu". O Mariji Tereziji, austrijskoj carici, zabilježena su usmena kazivanja diljem Bosne i Hercegovine. U motivskom pogledu kazivanja o ovoj historijskoj ličnosti vrlo često se u potpunosti poklapaju sa predajama o vladarki starog mitskog naroda – Crnoj kraljici. Vezivanje istih, ili vrlo sličnih motiva za likove iz različitih i vremenski najčešće vrlo udaljenih perioda smatra se jednom od glavnih odlika bosanskohercegovačkih historijskih usmenih predaja. (Palavestra, 1991:46)

Na ovaj najstariji sloj historijske usmene tradicije nadovezuju se i predaje o postanku Prusca. U Pruscu se i danas, kao najrašireniji siže, kazuje kako su grad "osnovali Rimljani". Poticaj za ovakva

this place in the cultural history of Bosnia in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Prusac was one of the country's leading spiritual centres. Prusac still draws its importance from Ajvatovica, the most significant Muslim prayer site in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond.

The two most numerous kinds of tradition recorded in Prusac during this field research were historical and mythical oral traditions.

As elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the oldest layer of oral history recorded in Prusac is that relating to the old population of Bosnia. These traditions are very brief, and usually take the form of bareboned statements. Thus it is said that there is a "Greek burial ground" in Prusac, and that "locals say there was once a church there."¹ These statements probably derive from the fact that "there is a lot of stone there," and in fact physical remains (isolated graves, unusually-shaped stones, the ruins of buildings and so on) are the most common basis for the emergence of traditions on this and similar themes. The claim that there is a Greek burial ground in Prusac fits perfectly into the widespread modern tradition that the ancient people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were usually called Greeks. (Palavestra, 1991:44)

Another tradition belonging to that oldest stratum of historical memory, which also has elements of myth, is the tradition of Maria Theresa, which became the universal name for the ruler of the people of old. It is said that "Maria Theresa came to the fort in Prusac." Oral traditions relating to Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, have been recorded throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a motif, accounts of this historical figure often correspond exactly to traditions relating to the queen of an ancient, mythical people, the Black Queen. Conflating identical or very similar motifs of figures from different periods, often very far apart in time, is regarded as one of the main features of Bosnia and Herzegovina's oral history. (Palavestra, 1991:46)

Another tradition associated with this most ancient layer of oral history is one that recounts the origins of Prusac. Even now, the most common claim is that the town was "founded by the

¹ Imena i lični podaci kazivača poznati su zapisivaču, ali se iz etičkih razloga neće navoditi.

¹ The names and personal details of narrators are known to the author, will not be given for ethical reason.

kazivanja najvjerojatnije treba tražiti u pisanim izvorima. Na literarnom predlošku posigurno je nastalo i usmeno kazivanje, živo i danas među Prusćanima, o tome da je “prvu tvrđavu u Pruscu sagradio German Iktibe”.

Pod imenom Prusac ovo mjesto se prvi put spominje 1478. godine, odnosno 15 godina nakon što su ga zauzele Osmanlije. (Truhelka, 1911:50) U srednjem vijeku Prusac je nosio ime Biograd. (Čelebi, 1996:131) Ovaj narodni naziv Osmanlije su doslovno prevele, pa se u izvorima na turskom on naziva Akhisar (ak – bijeli; hisar – grad). Zane-marujući da se radi o doslovnom prevodu starog narodnog naziva Biograd, usmena tradicija je paralelno javljanje naziva Akhisar i Prusac dovodila u direktnu vezu sa Ajvaz-dedom i njegovom, po usmenom pamćenju, usrdnom četrdesetodnevnim molitvom da stijena na Ajvatovici raspukne kako bi Prusac dobio neophodnu vodu: “Prije se zvao Akhisar, a kad je rastrg’o kamen, onda se prozvao Prusac”. Ovakve i slične kratke predaje – obavijesti pokazuju da usmena tradicija ima svoju vlastitu logiku, koja u nizu primjera izmiče bilo kakvom na stvarnosti zasnovanom objašnjenju, odnosno, ono se u dugom protoku vremena ili zaboravilo ili u potpunosti izvitoperilo.

Posebno važan trenutak u usmenoj tradiciji naših prostora općenito jeste njihovo zauzimanje od strane Osmanlija. Prusac su, prema sačuvanoj usmenoj predaji, Osmanlije “osvojile tako što su tukle grad više dana dok nisu osvojili stare zidine i dok svi iz njega nisu pobjegli”. Isti kazivač je saopćio i sižejno vrlo rasprostranjenu predaju, sa nekoliko međunarodno raširenih motiva vezanih za osvajanja. U predaji se kazuje da su “kaštel – grad Turci oduzeli od Grka. Nikako ga nisu mogli zauzeti, a više su puta probali. Tada im se javila stara žena od osamdeset godina. Kaže, hranite konja koji nije uštrojen. Ne dajte mu piti vode sedam dana. Vodajte ga – gdje zakopa nogom, kopajte, presijećete im vodu i iseliće sami. Tako je i bilo. Oni su vodali konja, gdje je zakop’o i prvi je Alija naš’o vodu. Ta voda i danas postoji i zove se Alijina voda. Onda su Grci naopako potkovali konje, kao da dolaze u grad, a iselili su se. Postoji i sad staro groblje. Tu je Turcima došla pomoć od Prusca. Tu su se sreli i isjekli sabljama. Tu su Turci pobijedili i onda su sve svoje posebno pokopali, pa tu ima veliko groblje. A Grke su sve stavili na jedno mjesto, gdje i sad postoji uzvišenje.” Navedena

Romans.” The origins of this claim are probably to be found in written sources. A literary source is undoubtedly behind the oral tradition, also still very much alive among the people of Prusac, that the “first fort in Prusac was built by German Iktibe.”

The earliest reference to the town by the name of Prusac dates from 1478, fifteen years after it was taken by the Ottomans. (Truhelka, 1911:50) It was known as Biograd in mediaeval times (Čelebi, 1996: 131), a folk name that the Ottomans translated literally into Turkish as Akhisar (*ak* – white; *hisar* – fort), the name found in Turkish sources. Disregarding the fact that this is merely a literal translation of the old name Biograd, oral tradition associates the simultaneous appearance of the names Akhisar and Prusac directly with Ajvaz-dedo and his forty days of heartfelt prayer, as oral memory has it, that the rocks at Ajvatovica might split apart to provide Prusac with the water it needed. “At first it was called Akhisar, but when the rocks split apart, it began to be called Prusac.” This and many similar short traditions or statements have their own logic, which eludes any explanation based on reality, explanations that over the years have either been forgotten or become hopelessly distorted.

The capture of Prusac by the Ottomans is a particularly significant event in the oral tradition of this part of the world as a whole. This claims that the Ottomans “took it by pounding the walls for several days until they broke through and everyone fled.” The same speaker also related a very widespread tradition on the subject, echoing a number of international motifs relating to conquest. This says that “the Turks took the citadel from the Greeks. They could never take it, though they tried several times. Then an old woman of eighty years old came to them and said, feed a horse that hasn’t been groomed. Don’t give him water for seven days. Lead him out, and dig where he scrapes with his hoof, cut off their water, and they will leave of their own accord. And so it was. They led the horse, and Alija was the first to find water where he dug. This water still exists, and is called Alija’s water. Then the Greeks shod their horses back to front, as if they were coming to the fort, and left. There is still an old burial ground. The Turks came to the aid of Prusac, and they met there and crossed swords. The Turks were victorious and then buried their own separately, so there is a big burial ground there. And

predaja građena je na dva vrlo široko međunarodno poznata motiva – to je potkivanje konja naopako da se zavara trag neprijatelju (K 531. 1) i presijecanje vode po nagovoru starice (K 2293). Predaje skoro identičnog sižea o osmanskim osvajanjima poznate su i raširene i u brojnim drugim sredinama Bosne i Hercegovine.

Neposredno na predaje sa tematikom osmanskih osvajanja nadovezuju se predaje o šehidima koje, kao i predaje o evlijama, spadaju u skupinu historijsko-religijskih. Tako se u Pruscu za lokalitet Musala kazuje da je to “šehidsko mezarje iz perioda osmanskih osvajanja”.

U vezi sa šehidskim mezarjem na Musali u Pruscu je i slijedeća predaja: “Priča se da je nekada bila borba i da je šehidu neko odsjekao glavu. Šehid je nosio svoju glavu i vidjela su ga djeca koja su zavikala: ‘Vidi čovjeka, nosi svoju glavu!’ Tada je tu pao i na tom mjestu su ga zakopali.”² Iako je motiv kefaloforije (koji se u u Stith-Thompsonovom indeksu nalazi pod oznakom F511.014) prisutan i u legendama o mučenicima iz prvih stoljeća hrišćanstva, V. Palavestra stoji na stanovištu da se ovaj motiv u predajama sa područja BiH raširio tek nakon 1463. godine u čemu su presudnu ulogu odigrali derviši.

Diljem BiH rasuti su brojni usamljeni šehidski nišani ili pak šehitluci – greblja šehida. Tako se u Pruscu priča da “sa bilo koje strane da se dolazi, postoji muški šehid.”³

Poštivanje šehida, odnosno šehidskih mezara je redovna praksa, koja se iskazuje na razne načine. Iako ima sličnosti općenito sa poštivanjem mrtvih, u suštini to je potpuno samosvojno i u biti se kosi

they put all the Greeks in one place, where there is still a mound.” This tradition is based on two very widespread motifs known internationally – shoeing horses back to front so the hoofprints lay a false trail (Stith Thompson K 531.1), and cutting off a water supply at the instigation of an old woman (K 2293). Traditions almost identical in content relating to Ottoman conquests are widespread in many other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A tradition directly related to those on the subject of Ottoman conquests concerns shahids, which, like those relating to awliya, belong to the historico-religious group of traditions. In Prusac the place known as Musala is said to be “a shahids’ burial ground from the time of the Ottoman conquests.” Another tradition relating to the Musala in Prusac is as follows: “It is said there was a battle once and that someone cut off a shahid’s head. The shahid picked up his head and carried it with him, and some children who saw him cried out ‘Look at him, he’s carrying his own head!’ Then he fell, and they buried him there.”² Though the motif of the cephalophore, which features in Stith Thompson’s index under F511.0.4, is present in martyr legends dating back to the early centuries of Christianity, V. Palavestra holds the view that this motif became widespread in the traditions of Bosnia and Herzegovina only after 1463, and that dervishes played a crucial role in this.

There are numerous isolated shahid’s nišan gravestones or entire šehitluci – shahids’ burial grounds – scattered around Bosnia and Herzegovina. The saying in Prusac is “whatever direction you come from, there is a male shahid.”³

² Od istog kazivača zabilježen je i sljedeći sižea sa identičnim motivom: “Za Torokaliju se priča da ima dva turbeta. Jedno je u Torlakovcu, a drugo u Vincu. Navodno je u Vincu glava, a u Torlakovcu tijelo. Navodno je do Torlakovca došao na konju gdje su djeca povikala: ‘Eno Ale bez glave!’ On je tu pao i tu je napravljeno turbe.”

³ “Idući prema Ajvatovici, odnosno od Ajvatovice, odakle je nekakav Truta napao Prusac, ubili su stražara zavezanih ruku. Onda je Truta rekao da nisu trebali ubiti vezana čovjeka. ‘Nije bio vezan’. ‘Jeste’, kaže, ‘bio je vezan za namaz’. Oni su tada nastradali i danas postoji strana koja se zove Trutina strana. Taj vojnik koji je poginuo na namazu je šehid. Ima obilježen njegov mezar. Imamo kod Beganovića strane, idući od Kopčića, to je bio trgovački put od srednje Dalmacije do Bosne preko Prusca. Tu se nalazi šehid-vojnik, a tu je bila i tekija. Čak se priča da je on bio iz derviškog reda. Tu je poginuo na isti ili sličan način. Nije dao nikakav napad na Prusac.”

² The same narrator provided this saying, with the identical motif. “People said that Torokalija has two turbes [mausolea], one in Torlakovac and the other in Vinac. His head is said to be in Vinac and his body in Torlakovac. They say he came to Torlakovac on horseback, and there children shouted ‘Look at Ale without his head!’ There he fell and there a turbe was built.”

³ “Going to or coming from Ajvatovica, from the place where Truta attacked Prusac, they killed a guard whose hands were tied. Then Truta said they shouldn’t have killed a man who was tied. ‘He wasn’t tied.’ ‘Yes he was,’ he said, ‘he was tied for prayer.’ They were then killed, and there is still a place called Trutina strana. The soldier who was killed while at prayer is a shahid. His grave is marked. Near Beganović’s, coming from Kopčići, on the trade route from central Dalmatia to Bosnia via Prusac, there was a soldier shahid, and a tekke too. It is even said that he was a dervish. He was killed in the same or a similar way. He wouldn’t allow any attack on Prusac.”

sa strogim islamskim propisima koji izričito kažu da u islamu nema posrednika između Boga i čovjeka, pa stoga islam ne poznaje instituciju svetača, već se i Vjerovjesnik Muhammed smatra samo čovjekom. Svako obraćanje mrtvima za pomoć i posredovanje u islamu je svetogrđe. Pa ipak, tradicija je u ovom slučaju nadjačala dogmu – šehidski mezari su u naročitom poštovanju na našim prostorima, kao i mezari i turbeta evlija. Posljednja počivališta “običnih” smrtnika niti se masovno posjećuju, niti su za njih vezane posebne običajne radnje, a što je sa šehidskim mezarjima redovna praksa. Dok mezar “običnog” smrtnika eventualno s vremena na vrijeme, “od bajrama do bajrama”, posjeti samo najuža familija, šehidski mezari se posjećuju češće, u različitim prilikama, obično u nevolji. Tako je i u Pruscu običaj da “gdje god ima šehid, staneš, proučiš, ako imaš vremena proučiš Jasin”, što ustvari spada u uobičajeno sjećanje na mrtve. Molitva koja se uči na šehidskom mezarju, ali i pri posjeti ili samo prolasku kraj greblja čini se da se podjednako tiče i mrtvih i živih – kroz nju se iskazuje sjećanje na mrtve, odnosno održava veza sa precima, ali i sa vlastitom tradicijom općenito i traži mir duši pokojnika te upućuje molba Svevišnjem da bude nagrađen na Onom svijetu Džennetom, dok s druge strane, kroz istu molitvu živi se podsjećaju i na vlastitu prolaznost i sami nadaju nagradi i na Ovom, ali primarno na Onom svijetu. Iz saopćenja kazivača usmenih predaja sa ovom tematikom indirektno se nameće zaključak da je upravo bezimenost šehida jedan od važnih elemenata u pretvaranju njihovih mezara u kulturna mjesta, jer bi njihov stvarni identitet onemogućavao upravo takvu praksu – obraćanje za pomoć u različitim životnim nevoljama. Međutim, i u slučaju posjete šehidskim mezarjima i brizi o šehidskim nišanima isključivo je posrijedi ipak sevap – učeći dovu za dušu šehida, odnosno održavajući šehidske nišane, živi se nadaju da će kod Boga biti nagrađeni, odnosno zaraditi sevap. O toj u narodnoj predstavi važnoj činjenici – bezimenosti šehida kako bi uopće našao mjesto u običajnoj praksi, i to ne samo muslimanskog stanovništva Bosne, upravo govori i jedan primjer zabilježen također u Pruscu.⁴

Honouring shahids and their burial grounds is common, and is expressed in a variety of ways. Though there are similarities with the practice of honouring the dead, it is essentially quite distinct, and goes against the strict Islamic precept that explicitly says there is no intermediary between the individual and God and that therefore Islam does not recognize saints; even the Prophet Muhammad himself is regarded as a mere man. Turning to the dead for help or intercession, whatever form it takes, is regarded as blasphemy in Islam. And yet in this case, tradition is stronger than dogma – shahids' burial grounds are particularly venerated in this country, as are the graves and turbes of awliya. The last resting places of “ordinary” mortals are neither visited by large numbers of people nor associated with any particular customs, but this is common practice in the case of shahid's graves. The grave of an “ordinary” mortal will be visited only occasionally, “from Bajram [Eid] to Bajram,” and then only by the immediate family, but shahid's graves are visited more often on various occasions, usually when people are in trouble. It is the custom in Prusac that “wherever there's a shahid, you stop and recite, if you have time you recite Yasin,”⁴ which is the usual custom in memory of the dead. The prayer recited at a shahid's grave, and also when visiting or simply passing by a burial ground, seems to relate as much to the living as the dead – it is an expression of remembrance of the dead, and of maintaining one's links with one's forebears, but also with one's own tradition as a whole, a way of seeking peace for the soul of the deceased and a prayer to the Almighty that he enjoy the rewards of Jannah in the next world, while the same prayer reminds the living of the fleeting nature of their own lives and their hopes of reward in this world but above all in the next. To all appearances, one of the elements that count in transforming shahids' graves into places of veneration is their anonymity, for if their real identity were known it would make the practice impossible – asking for help, in the popular view, though in the case of visiting shahids' burial grounds and looking after their gravestones it is about *sawab*

⁴ “Šehid koji se nalazi na Ajvatovici je moj rođak. Bio je između Ovog i Onog svijeta, najbolji momak. Poginuo je sa oko dvadeset godina. On je nosio bajrak kroz kamen

⁴ Translator's note: it is the custom in Islam to recite al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Qur'an, when visiting someone's grave, so the first “recite” probably refers to this. Yasin is a longer sura in the Qur'an that is particularly recited for the dead.

Iako se ne objašnjava eksplicitno zašto je za šehida bolje da “ostane nepoznat nego poznat”, insistiranje na anonimnosti može se dovesti u vezu sa najstarijim slojem tradicije o šehidima na našim prostorima u kojoj se šehid nikada ne vezuje za ličnost sa konkretnim imenom i prezimenom, čak su i okolnosti u kojima je šehid izgubio život i zbog čega je svrstan od strane živih u skupinu šehida potpuno zanemarene i svedene na opća mjesta i tzv. lutajuće motive. Kad, kako i zbog čega je šehid stradao – ostaje tajna. Od svega se sačuvalo, u pridjevu šehidski, jasno sjećanje da je već odavno bezimni šehid život izgubio na pravdi.

Tako odrednica šehid u sebi sublimira mnogostruka i najdublja, ali i najsvjetlija značenja, pa se svako dodatno objašnjenje ili detalji nameću kao nebitni pred činjenicom smrti na Pravom (Božijem) putu – putu pravde, a put pravde je svaki onaj put na kojem je neko nevin stradao u odbrani domovine, naroda, porodice, imetka, života. Razlog zašto su stari šehidski nišani danas bezimni, odnosno zašto se nije sačuvalo ime pokojnika leži u činjenici dugog protoka vremena, odnosno zaborava, čemu je primarno potpomoglo nepostojanje prakse ispisivanja imena pokojnika na samim nišanima sve skoro do 19. stoljeća.

S obzirom da islam ne poznaje kult pokojnika, postavlja se pitanje da li je kult šehida još jedan vid kontaminacije naslijeđenog predislamskog i islamskog. Povod za ovu pretpostavku može se naći u dvije činjenice – prva je da se samo šehidski nišani (i evlija – bogougodnika) poštuju i da se samo kod nekih od njih javljaju tzv. kamenice, tj. udubljenja u koja se skuplja kišnica ili ulijeva obična voda, u periodu suše, kojoj se potom pripisuju lustrativna i apotropejska svojstva. Da ova običajna praksa predstavlja kontinuitet sa srednjovjekovnom pokazuju primjeri, registrirani diljem BiH, o postojanju istih takvih kamenica na stećcima. I drugo, struganje šehidskih nišana radi liječenja, posebno nekih kožnih bolesti, nastavak je

na Ajvatovici i u glavu ga je pogodio kamen, prošao je i kroz fes, pa je mladić bio na mjestu mrtav. Onaj koji je predvodio kolonu rekao je da se pripreme daske, a da se dženaza klanja kada se dova bude učila. Tako je i bilo. Njegov mezar je danas ograđen i on se naziva ‘Šehid’. Sad se govori da se ne zna ko je. Trebala su dva svjedoka da potvrde, i dva su se javila, ali je hadžija, kad su ga pitali da mu (šehidu) podignu turbe, rekao da nema potrebe jer je već ograđen, da mu se svakako uče Fatihe i *da je bolje da ostane nepoznat nego poznat.*” (Istakla A. S.)

[doing the right thing] – the living hope that if they say prayers for the soul of a shahid or look after his gravestone, God will reward them, that they will earn merit from their sawab. An example of the very important fact, in the popular view, that the anonymity of shahids is what gave them their place in common practice, not only among the Muslims of Bosnia, was also recorded in Prusac.⁵

Though there is no explicit explanation for why it is better for a shahid to “remain unknown than known,” the insistence on anonymity may be associated with the oldest stratum of tradition on shahids in this part of the world, in which a shahid is never associated with a specific person with his own name. Even the circumstances in which the shahid lost his life and on account of which he is regarded by the living as a shahid are disregarded or reduced to a commonplace, a wandering motif. When, how and why he died remains a mystery. All that remains, in the use of the word shahid, is a clear memory that some nameless shahid long ago lost his life for a just cause.

The word shahid thus encompasses multiple, profound and luminous meanings, and every additional explanation or detail seems irrelevant compared with the fact of dying in the way of God, on the path of justice, which is certainly the path on which an innocent person dies defending his homeland, people, family, property and life. The reason for old shahid nišan gravestones being nameless, so the name of the deceased remains unknown, is not only the passage of time, but also the fact that it was not the practice to inscribe the name of the deceased on the nišans almost until the 19th century.

Since Islam does not recognize the cult of the dead, this raises the question whether the veneration of shahids is yet another form of seepage from the pre-Islamic tradition into the Islamic. There are two

⁵ “A shahid at Ajvatovica was my relative. He was between this world and the next, the best of fellows. He was about 20 when he was killed. He was carrying the banner through the rocks at Ajvatovica and was hit on the head by a stone which went through his fez, killing him on the spot. The leader of the column said to prepare a bier and to pray the janaza [funeral] prayers when personal prayers were being said. And so it was. His grave now has an enclosure around it, and he is called a shahid. Now they say no one knows who he was. Two witnesses were supposed to confirm, and two came forward, but when they asked the hajji about building him [the shahid] a turbe, he said there was no need because there was already an enclosure, that people recite Fatiha for him in any case, and that it’s better to remain unknown than known.”

jednake prakse koja se do u savremenost sačuvala u vezi sa stećcima. Iako je u nauci već odavno uočeno da se najstariji nišani u BiH u graditeljskom pogledu direktno naslanjaju na stećke kao sepulkralne spomenike, kad je riječ o kontinuitetu običajne prakse od srednjeg vijeka pa nadalje, nužna bi bila detaljnija i sveobuhvatnija istraživanja.

Posebno važan segment jeste vezivanje i godišnjih i dova po potrebi – tzv. kišnih dova, jednako za pojedinačne šehidske nišane i za šehidska mezarja. Tradicija održavanja godišnjih dova u Bosni i Hercegovini održala se sporadično sve do danas. Ove godišnje dove, koje se održavaju u periodu od trenutka kada se posiju usjevi pa do trenutka njihovog zrenja i berbe, prema kazivačima, održavaju se sa ciljem zaštite usjeva, i od suše i od kiše, uz upućivanje molbe Stvoritelju za “berićet” (blagodat). Za mnoge kazivače godišnje dove su istovremeno i dove za kišu, mada se ove potonje održavaju i mimo godišnjih, koje su vezane za tačno utvrđen datum u narodnom kalendaru, odnosno onda kada se za to ukaže potreba – za vrijeme dugih sušnih perioda.

Da je riječ o kontinuitetu i prilagođavanju naslijeđene tradicije islamskom svjetonazoru, svjedoče primjeri dovišta na kojima su uz šehidske nišane smješteni i srednjovjekovni stećci. Za većinu kazivača u Pruscu Ajvatovica je i molitva za kišu. Slijedom iznesenog, može se pretpostaviti da ovo dovište svoje korijene vuče još iz bosanskog srednjovjekovlja, ali da je svoju fizionomiju prilagodilo islamskom svjetonazoru u vremenu kad je stanovništvo Prusca prihvatilo islam. U vezivanju Ajvatovice za Ajvaz-dedu i njegova čudotvorstva najvjerovatnije je presudnu ulogu odigrao Hasan Kjafo-efendija. U tom smislu može se promatrati i čin podizanja turbeta nad Ajvaz-dedinim mezarom, jer samo obilježen šehidski mezar ili mezar dobrog (evlije) može vezati i održavati običajne radnje.

Isključivo vezivanje dova za kišu uz šehidska mezarja živi i danas kod pojedinih kazivača u Pruscu, što oni jasno i navode. Tako se pedesetogodišnja kazivačica sjeća da je njen otac pričao da se još iz svog djetinjstva sjeća da su dovišta bila na šehidskim mezarjima i da “nakon što bi prouči dovu nikada se nije desilo da su se vratili a da kiša nije pala.”

U svijesti kazivača usmene tradicije ponekad su šehidi istovremeno i evlije, mada najčešće sami

possible reasons for this – first, that only shahids’ nišans (and those of *awliya* – the friends of God, saints) are venerated, and that some of their grave-stones bear a *kamenica*, a hollow where rainwater collects, or which are filled with ordinary water during dry spells; lustrative and apotropaic properties are then ascribed to the water. This demonstrates continuity with mediaeval practice, evidenced by examples from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina of similar hollows on stećak tombstones. Another practice, scrapings from shahid’s gravestones used in healing, particularly skin diseases, is also the continuation of an identical practice relating to stećaks that persisted into modern times. Though it has long been recognized by scholars that the earliest nišans in Bosnia and Herzegovina derive directly from stećaks as sepulchral monuments, more detailed and comprehensive research is needed into the continuity between mediaeval practices and those of later date.

A particularly important aspect is the association with seasonal prayers and special needs prayers – the rain prayers that are identical for individual shahid’s nišans and shahids’ burial grounds. The tradition of holding annual prayers has survived sporadically in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the present day. Narrators say that these annual prayers, which are held from sowing time to harvest, are to protect the crops from both rain and drought, and are also an appeal to the Creator for *berićet* (grace [Arabic *barakah*]). For many narrators, the annual prayers are also rain prayers, though the latter may also be held separately from the former, which are associated with precise dates in the folk calendar, while rain prayers are performed in case of need, in periods of severe drought.

Further evidence of continuity and of the adaptation of the inherited tradition to the Islamic world view is to be found in the presence of prayer sites where mediaeval stećaks stand next to shahids’ nišans. For most narrators in Prusac, Ajvatovica is also a prayer for rain. As a result, it may be assumed that the origins of this prayer site lie in Bosnia’s mediaeval period, but that it was adjusted to the Islamic world view when the people of Prusac embraced Islam. Hasan Kjafo-efendi probably played a crucial part in associating Ajvatovica with Ajvaz-dedo and his miraculous powers. The erection of a turbe over Ajvaz-dedo’s grave can be seen in the same light, for only a marked shahid’s grave or that of a good person (*waliy* [singular of *awliya*]) can connect and sustain customary actions.

kazivači prave jasnu distinkciju između ova dva pojma.

Suštinski, oni se zaista i u potpunosti razlikuju. Naime, da bi se stekla odrednica šehida, nužna je smrt, i to ne ma kakva, *već smrt na pravdi*, široko shvaćena (od pogibije za domovinu, pogibije za odbranu časti i imetka do pogibije u odbrani vjere). Šehid ne raspolaže nikakvim nadnaravnim moćima, ako se izuzme redovno spominjani motiv kefaloforije koji je u bošnjačkoj tradiciji vezan isključivo za šehide. On počinje bivati spona između Ovog i Onog svijeta tek sa činom smrti, a ta spona proističe iz vjerovanja, utemeljenog u islamu, da šehidi zapravo i nisu mrtvi.⁵

S druge strane, evlije ili dobri raspolažu nadnaravnim moćima koje se ispoljavaju u pravilu i najčešće samo dok su živi. To su moći činjenja kerameta ili čuda, moći da se učine nevidljivim (gajb) i moći da se u isto vrijeme bude na dva različita mjesta.

Posjećivanje grobova šehida u apsolutnoj je koliziji sa ortodoksnim islamskim učenjem koje zabranjuje bilo kakav kult mrtvaca općenito, dok "vjerovanje u evlije, pobožne i svete ljude i njihovu moć zasniva se na zvaničnom islamskom učenju prema kojem je i 'vilajet' svojstvo onih poslaničkih sljedbenika koji se u potpunosti vladaju po vjerskim propisima. Takvi se ljudi nazivaju 'veli' ili 'velije', ili kako se u narodu govori evlije. Oni mogu kao i sam Božiji Poslanik da čine nadnaravna čudesna djela. Razlika između Božijeg Poslanika i evlija ogleda se u tome što ovi pobožni ljudi za sebe ne smiju tvrditi da su poslanici, već moraju pozivati ljude da Poslanika slijede. Zato se ni vjernici ne mogu i ne smiju obraćati u molitvama nikome drugom osim samom Bogu. Pa ipak, u narodu postoji običaj da se u molitvama spominju različiti pirovi, evlije i drugi pobožni ljudi, 'koji, kako se vjeruje, štite i blagosivljaju ljude koji se za njih mole'. Posjećuju se grobovi lokalnih pobožnjaka i evlija, za njih se pale svijeće, o njima se pričaju različite priče koje ih karakteriziraju kao dobre i pobožne ljude." (Smailbegović, 1986: 75)

Najveći broj predaja iz skupine historijsko-religijskih koje su zabilježene u Pruscu, a koje za

Associating the rain prayer exclusively with shahids' burial grounds is still found among certain narrators in Prusac, as they themselves quite clearly state. A fifty-year-old narrator recalled that her father used to tell her, when she was a child, that prayer sites were at shahids' burial grounds and that "after the prayers were recited it never happened that people returned without the rain falling."

In the minds of narrators, oral traditions about shahids are sometimes equally about *awliya*, though narrators themselves usually made a clear distinction between the two. They are in fact quite different in essence. Death is an essential requirement for someone to be regarded as a shahid, and not just any death, but *death for a just cause*, in the broad sense – from dying for one's country or in defence of one's honour and property to dying for the faith. A shahid has no supernatural powers, unless one includes the motif of the cephalophore, which is associated solely with shahids in the Bosniac tradition. He begins to be a link between this world and the next only by dying, a link deriving from the belief, grounded in Islam, that shahids are not in fact dead.⁶

Awliya and the good, on the other hand, have supernatural powers that usually manifest themselves only while they are living. They have the power to perform *karamah*, miracles, to make themselves invisible (*ghayb*), and to be in two places at once.

Visiting shahids' graves is completely contrary to orthodox Islamic teachings, which forbid any kind of cult of the dead, whereas "belief in *awliya*, pious and holy people, and their powers is based on official Islamic teachings whereby '*wilayah*' is a feature of those followers of the Prophet whose conduct is governed entirely by religious precepts. Such people are called 'veli' [the local pronunciation of *waliy*] or, as the people call them, *evilja*. Like the Messenger of God himself, they can perform supernatural deeds. The difference between the Prophet and *awliya* is that these pious people cannot claim to be messengers, but must call upon people to follow the Prophet. This is why believers cannot and must not turn to anyone but God Himself in prayer. Even so, the popular custom exists of naming in prayer certain pirs, *awliya* and other pious people 'who, it is believed, protect and bless those who pray for them.' The graves of local pious people and *awliya* are visited, candles

⁵ "I ne recite za one koji su na Allahovom putu poginuli: 'Mrtvi su.' Ne, oni su živi, ali vi to ne osjećate." Kur'an: 2, 154

⁶ "And say not of those slain in God's way, 'they are dead'; rather they are living, but you are not aware." Qur'an: 2, 154

okosnicu imaju kazivanja o evlijama ili dobrim, vezano je za dvije ličnosti – Ajvaz-dedu i Hasan Kjafi-efendiju.

Za Ajvaz-dedu u historiji se ne zna ništa pouzdano. Džemal Hamidović navodi da je “Ajvaz Dedo došao u Bosnu sa njenim osvojiteljem sultanom Fatih Mehmedom II 1463. godine, i dobio zadatak da u Skoplju širi islam i naše djedove koji su primili islam upoznaje sa vjerskim propisima.” (Hamidović, 1940: 10) Ni okvirno vrijeme u kojem je živio nije poznato. S obzirom na činjenicu da mu je najznamenitiji Pruščak, Hasan Kjafi-efendija, podigao turbe možda može upućivati na pretpostavku da je Ajvaz-dedo ipak živio bliže Kjafijinom vremenu, tj. 16. stoljeću te da je sjećanje na Ajvaz-dedu bilo u Kjafijino doba vrlo svježije i živo. Zapravo, ključnu ulogu u zaživljavanju tradicije o Ajvaz-dedi posigurno ima sam Kjafi-efendija. Kao vrlo obrazovan čovjek, koji je svoje znanje prenosio i na druge, on je stalno bio u komunikaciji sa ljudima. Njegova sklonost ka tesavvufu također je mogla inicirati predaje o Ajvaz-dedinim čudotvorstvima. Naime, u nizu primjera je potvrđeno da su upravo tekije, odnosno derviški redovi bili mjesta iz kojih su se širili siže i koji su za okosnicu imali navodne nadnaravne moći njihovih pripadnika.

Kako ističe Alija Bejtić, koji se posebno osvrnuo na sarajevske evlije i njihove grobove kao kulturna mjesta, “nije uopće riječ o temeljnim zasadima islama, nego o manifestacijama koje prioritarno imaju karakter narodnog vjerovanja i od kojih su neke, čak, u potpunoj protivnosti s islamom kao monoteističkom religijom. Sve te pojave, zapravo, uvukli su na mala vrata u muslimansko društvo sufije ili derviši i pri tome izvršili tako snažan uticaj da nije bilo mjesta u muslimanskom svijetu u kojem se nisu nalazili grobovi evlija i navedeni prateći običaji; na islamskom Orijentu to se odvija i danas u svojoj prijašnjoj snazi.” (Bejtić, 1981: 111)

Zanimljivo je da najveći broj predaja o Ajvaz-dedi ima potpuno identičan siže, a srž im je međunarodno raširen motiv – ispunjenje molitve, koji se u Thompsonovom indeksu nalazi pod znakom V 316. Svi savremeni kazivači u Pruscu skoro do u detalje ponovili su istovjetnu predaju koja kaže kako je “Ajvaz-dedo četrdeset jutara bio na toj stijeni i klanj'o sabah-namaz. I da je četrdeseto jutro usnio da su se crni i bijeli ovan potukli. Kad

are lit for them, and tales are told about them that describe them as good and pious people.” (Smailbegović, 1986: 75)

Most historico-religious traditions recorded in Prusac relating to awliya or the good are associated with two people – Ajvaz-dedo and Hasan Kjafi effendi. Nothing certain is known of Ajvaz-dedo as a historical figure. Džemal Hamidović relates that “Ajvaz Dedo came to Bosnia with its conqueror, Sultan Mehmed II Fatih, in 1463, and was charged with spreading Islam in Skoplje, and with teaching the precepts of the faith to our forefathers who embraced Islam.” (Hamidović, 1940: 10) We do not even know when he lived. The fact that Prusac's most famous figure, Hasan Kjafi effendi, built a turbe to him may suggest that Ajvaz-dedo may have lived not long before Kjafi's time, the 16th century, and that the memory of Ajvaz-dedo was still fresh in Kjafi's time. In fact, Kjafi effendi himself certainly played a crucial part in developing the tradition relating to Ajvaz-dedo. A very educated man, who conveyed his knowledge to others, he was constantly in touch with people. His leanings towards *tasawwuf* could also have initiated the tradition of Ajvaz-dedo's miraculous powers. There are many examples demonstrating that it was tekkes and the Sufi orders that spread stories based on the supposedly supernatural powers of their followers.

As noted by Alija Bejtić, who focuses in particular on the awliya of Sarajevo and their graves as cult sites, “it is not about the fundamental tenets of Islam at all, but about manifestations that are primarily folk beliefs, some of which are completely contrary to Islam as a monotheistic religion. All these crept into Muslim Sufi or dervish society by the back door, yet exercised such a powerful influence that nowhere in the Muslim world was without awliya's graves and their accompanying customs; in the Islamic East this is still happening with the same intensity as before.” (Bejtić, 1981: 111)

It is interesting that most of the traditions about Ajvaz-dedo are identical in content, their essence being the widespread motif of prayers being answered, which comes under V 316, efficacy of prayer, in Stith Thompson's index. All the narrators in Prusac repeated the same tradition, almost down to the last detail, that “Ajvaz-dedo was at that rock for forty mornings to pray *sabah-namaz* [*fajr*, the pre-dawn prayer]. On the fortieth day

je se on probudio, da je ta stijena bila otvorena i da je ona bila prepreka. Za vodu. I stvorili su se uslovi da je dovede u Prusac.” Na održavanje i prenošenje ovog sižea sigurno je uticalo i to što je on iz usmene tradicije davno ušao i u pisane sižee u rasponu od Muvekitovog iz sredine 19. stoljeća pa do savremenih koji se i danas redovno javljaju u povodu Ajvatovice.⁶

Razlike u sižeiama zabilježenih predaja o Ajvaz-dedi su neznatne. Tako je u nekima iz sna, koji je ovdje u funkciji predskazanja, izostavljen motiv sučeljavanja crnog i bijelog ovna. Jedan od savremenih kazivača ovaj motiv je i dodatno objasnio navodeći da je, ustvari, borba ovnova “borba dobra i zla, simbol bijelog i crnog ovna.”

Kako je već u literaturi istaknuto, evlije se svojom funkcijom približavaju čudesnim pomoćnicima iz bajki. I motiv borbe crnog i bijelog ovna u predaji o Ajvaz-dedi također se može smatrati primarno motivom bajki, u kojima se

he dreamt that a black ram and a white ram were fighting. When he woke, the rock had parted, and it was that rock that was the obstacle to the water. And that made it possible for the water to be brought to Prusac.” The fact that long ago this oral tradition found its way into written records, from Muvekkīt in the mid 19th century to the present day, which often feature at the Ajvatovica event, doubtless helped to preserve and pass on this tradition.⁷

The differences in the way this tradition is related are insignificant. Some omit the fight between the black and white rams in the dream, which is prophetic. One contemporary relater of this tradition added the explanation that the fight between the rams was in fact “between good and evil, symbolized by the white and black rams.”

As already noted in the literature, awliya are functionally similar to the fairy godmothers of fairytales. The motif of the fight between the black

⁶ Muvekkīt, pravim imenom Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović, u svojoj Povijesti Bosne, bilježi slijedeće: “Poslije osvojenja Bosne, u Bosnu je došla jedna osoba pohvalnih svojstava iz krajeva Anadolije, po imenu Uvezj-dede. Tom prilikom naselio se u kasabi Prusac, koja se ubrajala među veće kasabe. Godinama je ulagao veliki trud u vjerskom prosvjećivanju stanovništva spomenute kasabe i širenju islamskog obrazovanja, i tako bio uzrokom prelaska na islam stanovnika toga kraja. Sve kršćansko stanovništvo sela Vesela, u spomenutom kadiluku, primilo je islam zahvaljujući poticajnom djelovanju spomenutog učenjaka. I njihov svećenik po imenu Panča učio je pred Uvezj-dedom i u jednoj godini uspio naučiti napamet Časni Kur’an, pa su ga tamo postavili za muallima u mektebu. On je Boga molio da njegovi potomci, s oca na sina, budu muslimani. Zaslugom spomenutog učenjaka, muslimansko stanovništvo navedene kasabe prilično se uvećalo, a i dalje se širi. Budući da nije bilo dovoljno vode za piće, mjesno stanovništvo se mučilo i oskudijevalo vodom. Nije bilo u blizini izvora koji bi se tamo doveo, a u mjestu Ajvatovici, pet čejreka sata hoda udaljenog od spomenute kasabe, izvornu vodu pregrađivala je jako velika stijena. Ova potreba stanovništva, koja se prenosi predajom, zadovoljena je pokretanjem duhovnih snaga spomenutog *šejha* (istakla A. S.). On se sklonio pod okrilje Božijeg spasa i svakog jutra, prije izlaska sunca, na spomenutoj stijeni izlazio je na brežuljak i tu boravio u pobožnosti, moleći da se spomenuta stijena Božijom svemoći, raspukne. Tako je činio punih četrdeset dana. Četrdesetu noć usnio je da se stijena rascijepala i da voda teče. U zoru se digao i sa *muridima* i *učenicima* (istakla A. S.) otišao do spomenute stijene i vidio kako je uistinu stijena prepukla i voda teče... Iza toga napravljeni su čunkovi i voda dovedena u kasabu Prusac”. Salih Sidki Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne*. Preveli Abdulah Polimac, Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Fehim Nametak i Salih Trako. Sarajevo 1999, str. 74-75.

⁷ Muvekkīt, whose real name was Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović, wrote in his History of Bosnia: “After the conquest of Bosnia, a person of excellent character from the Anadolia region, by the name of Uvezj-dede, came to Bosnia and settled in the town of Prusac, one of the larger *kasabas*. For years he made great efforts to teach the people of the town about Islam and to spread Islamic education, and was the reason the people of the area embraced Islam. The entire Christian population of the village of Vesela in the said kadiluk embraced Islam thanks to the encouragement of this scholar. Their priest, too, Panča, recited before Uvezj-dede and succeeded in memorizing the entire Holy Qur’an in a year, so he was appointed as *muallim* [teacher] in the *mekteb* [Qur’an school]. He prayed to God that his heirs be Muslims from father to son. Thanks to the said scholar, the Muslim population of the kasaba rose in numbers, and is still growing. Since there was not enough drinking water, the local people made every effort to save water. There was no nearby spring from which to bring water, but at Ajvatovica, five and a quarter hours’ walk from the town, a spring was blocked by great cliff. The people’s need, as tradition relates, was met by launching the spiritual powers of the *sheikh* [emphasis added], who took refuge under God’s salvation and every morning, before sunrise, went to the cliff and remained there praying that the power of God might split the rock apart. He did this for forty days. On the fortieth night he dreamed that the rock split apart and the water was flowing. He rose at dawn and went with his *murids* and *disciples* [emphases added] to the said rock and saw that it had indeed split asunder and that the water was flowing... Wooden pipes were made and the water was brought to Prusac.” Salih Sidki Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne*. Trans. Abdulah Polimac, Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Fehim Nametak and Salih Trako. Sarajevo 1999, pp. 74-75.

bijeli ovan vezuje za tzv. gornji svijet, a crni za "mrki" vilajet.⁷ Ovan je istovremeno i simbol snage i simbol plodnosti. Stoga se i povezivanje borbe crnog i bijelog ovna, pucanje stijene te oslobađanje vode također može dovesti u vezu sa plodnošću, odnosno vodom kao izvorom života. Također, ovan je začetnik stada, ali i naprave kojom se probijaju vrata i zidine opsjednutih gradova, da bi se otvorio oklop zajednice. (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1989: 469-470) Ako se ovako iščitava simbolika borbe crnog i bijelog ovna u predaji o Ajvaz-dedi, onda njihova borba predstavlja rušenje barijere, koja se u predaji predstavlja u vidu stijene, koja priječi dotok vode u Prusac. U tradiciji brojnih naroda, posebno u vezi sa posmrtnim običajima te od usmenih tvorevina naročito u bajkama vrlo je važan broj četrdeset. Njemu se pripisuju magijska svojstva, a prema nekim autorima taj broj označava završetak jednog ciklusa, što je primjenjivo i kad je riječ o predaji o Ajvaz-dedi, jer je upravo četrdeset dana trajala Ajvaz-dedina molitva. (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1989: 90)

Osnovna odrednica dobrih ili evlija je činjenje čuda. U slučaju Ajvaz-dede, to je čudesno rasprsnuće stijene i proticanje vode. Međutim, to svojstvo vrlo često ne prestaje fizičkom smrću evlije, već se prenosi po smrti na njegovo posljednje počivalište, obično turbe. Ovo "produženo" činjenje čuda ogleda se, kad je riječ o Ajvaz-dedi, u usmenim saopćenjima koja kazuju da "na prostoru Kugine vode, onaj ko je iskren i odan Bogu, postane zelen kada tuda prođe, bez obzira kako je obučen i da li je čovjek, ili naprimjer, konj". Ovu tvrdnju jedna od najstarijih kazivačica u Pruscu pretočila je u memorat, koji se temelji na općoj odrednici usmenih predaja – vjerovanju u istinitost ispričanog.⁸ Iako se ni u jednom ni u drugom zabilježenom primjeru izravno ne spominje Ajvaz-dedo, ipak se iz konteksta može razumjeti da je ova nesvakidašnja pojava povezana sa čudesnim moćima Ajvaz-dede, koje su se potom prenijele na sam lokalitet na kojem su se obznanile njegove

and white rams in the tradition of Ajvaz-dedo may also be seen primarily as a fairytale motif, in which the white ram is associated with the world above and the black with the "dark vilayet."⁸ The ram is a symbol of both strength and fertility, and the connection between the black and white rams fighting and the rock splitting apart may thus also be associated with fertility and with water as the source of life. The ram is not only "the inseminator of the flock but, in the shape of the battering-ram, was also the weapon which enabled besiegers to smash their way through the walls and gates of cities, and thus to shatter the protective shell of societies." (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1989: 788 [in the English translation]) If the symbolic fight between the black and white rams in the tradition of Ajvaz-dedo is seen in this light, their fight becomes a breaking down of the barrier, represented by the rock in the tradition, that prevents water reaching Prusac. The number forty is very significant in the traditions of many peoples, particularly in death rituals and oral literature, especially fairytales. Magic properties are ascribed to it, and some authorities claim it denotes the end of a cycle, which also applies to the Ajvaz-dedo traditions, since his prayers lasted for forty days. (Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1989: 401-402)

The essential property of the good or awliya is their ability to perform miracles. In Ajvaz-dedo's case, this was the miracle of the rock splitting to allow the water to flow. However, this ability often does not cease with the awliya's physical death, but is transferred to their last resting place, usually a turbe. This "extension" of the power to perform miracles is reflected in Ajvaz-dedo's case in oral traditions that claim that "at Kugina water those who are sincere and loyal to God turn green when they pass by, regardless of how they are dressed or whether they are a man or a horse, say." This was turned by one of the oldest narrators in Prusac into a memorate, based on a universal feature of oral tradition – belief that what one is saying is true.⁹

⁷ Uporedi npr. bajku Carev najmlađi sin. Hrvatske narodne pjesme i pripovjedke iz Bosne. Skupio i na svijet izdao Kamilo Blagajić. Zagreb 1886, str. 80-96.

⁸ "Je l' Ajvatovica, ne trebaš brinuti za kišu. Dolazio je jedan moj rođak iz Banje Luke i povelu su malu curicu koja je nosila bijelu haljinu. Kada su prolazili tuda, sva joj je haljina pozelenila i sandale. Pozeleniš tuda kad naiđeš."

⁸ Cf, for example, the fairytale of the Emperor's youngest son. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme i pripovjedke iz Bosne*. Skupio i na svijet izdao Kamilo Blagajić. Zagreb 1886, pp. 80-96.

⁹ "If it's Ajvatovica, you don't have to worry about rain. A cousin of mine came from Banja Luka and brought with him a little girl who was wearing a white dress. When they passed that way, her whole dress turned green, and her sandals. You turn green when you get there."

tajne moći. U nizu primjera zabilježeno je da evlije svoje veze sa ovim svijetom na različite načine produžavaju i nakon vlastite smrti. Međutim, siže zabilježen u Pruscu, a vezan za Ajvaz-dedu, donekle je specifičan, jer više ide u prilog “odabranosti” pojedinih živih, nego samog evlije. Siže iz Prusca zasniva se na, u ovom tematskom krugu, raširenom motivu pojave dobrog ili evlije u snu, s tim što je u ovom slučaju taj siže multipliciran komunikacijom između evlije i konkretne ličnosti, pri čemu se uputstva dobijena u snu doživljavaju kao obavezujuća.⁹ (F 1068.1.)

Neki kazivači u svojim iskazima ostaju na razini šturog obavještenja, ali po osobinama evlijanstva dovode u istu ravan Ajvaz-dedu i Hasana Kjafigu, ističući da su obojica bili “dobri”, bez detaljnijih objašnjenja.¹⁰ Kad je riječ o Kjafigi efendiji, najčešći siže koji potvrđuje njegova svojstva evlije građen je, kao i u slučaju Ajvaz-dede, na djelotvornosti njegove molitve, čija suština je opće dobro. Siže predaje je sljedeći – Kjafiga je, prije smrti, pitao svoje komšije kakvu će hajir-dovu da im ostavi. Kako oni nisu znali, on je rekao da će im ostaviti dov “da im bude vrime s vrimenom – kiša s kišom, sunce sa suncem”, pa stoga, po vjerovanju, “Prusac nikada nije ubilo vrijeme”. I u ovom primjeru predaje o Kjafigi-efendiji susrećemo se s motivom koji je međunarodno poznat, a u Stith Thompsonovom Motif-Indexu nalazi se pod oznakom V 316. Drugi siže koji potvrđuje Hasan-Kjafigina svojstva dobrog odnosi se na njegovu sposobnost rješavanja teškog zadatka. Ovaj motiv u prusackoj predaji ne proističe primarno iz vidovitosti, već se prije oslanja na sferu “znanja”.¹¹

⁹ “Bila je neka nena iz Tešnja i neka iz Arnauta koje su dolazile i govorile da im je Ajvaz-dedo reko šta će raditi. Kao da ona plati čovjeka da je na konju dovede gore u kamen, pa iz kamena u turbe”.

¹⁰ Kazivao Helja Rašid.

¹¹ U ovoj sižeju razvijenoj predaji se kazuje kako je “kad je Kjafigi-efendija bio živ, u Carigradu umro jedan čovjek, bogataš, i ostalo je iza njega veliko imanje. Iza njega je ostala žena udovica i malo djeteta, za koje je njegova porodica rekla da nije njegovo, jer su htjeli da preuzmu njegovo bogatstvo. Car je naredio da se javi ko zna je li to istina, a ko se javi, a ne zna,ne, posijeće ga. Tako je ferman došao i Kjafigi-efendiji da on odgonetne, a ako ne odgonetne, Bog zna šta će biti s njim. Kad je Kjafigi-efendija došao u Carigrad, iskupila se ta porodica i to djeteta koje se rodilo, a što su govorili da nije od tog čovjeka. Kjafigi-efendija ih je upitao gdje je ukopan taj čovjek. Kad su mu oni rekli gdje, rekao je da idu tamo i da povedu sa sobom djeteta koje im

Though Ajvaz-dedo is not explicitly mentioned in either recorded example, it is clear from the context that this extraordinary phenomenon is associated with the miraculous powers of Ajvaz-dedo, transferred to the site itself where his mysterious powers manifested themselves. Many examples were recorded of awliya prolonging their connection with this world in various ways even after their own death. However, the story recorded in Prusac relating to Ajvaz-dedo is rather specific, suggesting rather that certain living people are “chosen” rather than actually being a waliy. The tale from Prusac is based in this widespread motif with the appearance of a good person or waliy in a dream, but in this case it is multiplied by the communication between the waliy and an actual person, so the directions given in the dream are experienced as binding.¹⁰ (F 1068.1)

Some narrators confined themselves to brief statements, but in terms of what constitutes a waliy, they put Ajvaz-dedo and Hasan Kjafigi on the same level, saying that both were “good,” without going into further detail.¹¹ The most common tales indicating that Kjafigi effendi was a waliy were based, like those of Ajvaz-dedo, on the effectiveness of his prayers, the essence of which was the general welfare. The story is as follows: before his death, Kjafigi asked his neighbours what kind of *hajir-dova* [Ar. *khair*, blessing, and *du’a*, prayer] he should leave them. Since they did not know, he said that he would leave them a prayer “that they would have time with time, rain with rain, sun with sun,”¹² so that the belief was, “Prusac never killed time.” Here too we find an internationally familiar motif, V 316 in Stith Thompson’s index. Another that reveals Hasan Kjafigi’s nature as a good man relates to his ability to perform difficult tasks. In the Prusac tradition this does not derive primarily from prescience or second sight, but is based rather on “knowledge.”¹³ This lengthy tradition, a fab-

¹⁰ “There was an old lady from Tešanj and one from Arnaut who came and said Ajvaz-dedo had told them what to do. That they must pay a man to take them on horseback up to the rock, and from the rock to the turbe.”

¹¹ Recounted by Helja Rašid.

¹² Translator’s note: there seems to be a play on words here, as in Bosnian, as in French for example, the word for time and is the same as the word for weather.

¹³ This elaborate tradition relates that “when Kjafigi effendi was alive, a young man, a rich man, died in Istanbul, leaving a large estate, a widow and a small child, of whom

Mada je ova opširna predaja – fabulat donekle slična bajci, ona se ipak od bajke jasno i odvaja – najprije na razini protagonista: u predaji su to stvarne ličnosti, a potom na značenjskoj ravni, što i jeste suštinska razlika između bajke i predaje općenito: u predaji traganje za istinom nije u sferi iracionalnog, već treba da posluži za razrješenje konkretnog i mogućeg problema iz života.

Zanimljivo je da se u predajama koje se odnose na žene-evlije u različitim dijelovima BiH susreće skoro identičan siže. Riječ je o ženama koje su svoje osobine evlije zadobile zbog ustrajnog trpljenja muževljevog zlostavljanja. Ovakve predaje mogu se tumačiti kao vid nastojanja da se ženama, koje su nerijetko bile žrtve zlostavljanja, na neki način olakša i da im se pokaže da je Božija nagrada za zlo pretrpljeno na ovom svijetu neupitna na Onom, a što se počinje ostvarivati već za života kroz sticanje nadnaravnih moći koje omogućavaju da ove žene u predajama žive dvije stvarnosti – jednu javnu i krhku, i drugu skrivenu i nadnaravnu. Za jedan usamljeni mezar u Pruscu priča se da je mezar nepoznate žene, koju kazivači imenuju i evlijom, ali i šehidom. Kazuje se da je “imala vrlo tersli čovjeka, kojeg je trpila, marljivo radila, brinula se o njemu, sebi i porodici. Pričaju da je nju Allah toliko nagradio što je to trpila, da je viđena kod Bejtulaha da mete po Kabi.” Drugi kazivač ističe da se priča kako i “dan-danas ide da čisti Kabu”, što govori u prilog indirektnom isticanju njene “vječnoživosti”, što korespondira sa poimanjem šehida kao onih koji su i nakon fizičke smrti živi, samo mi to ne osjećamo jer su šehidi živi na jedan drugi način od uobičajenog pojma “živ”.

Predaje o ženi-evliji iz Prusca građene su na potpunom kontrastu – s jedne strane niko ne zna ko je ona, njen identitet je potpuno zaboravljen; njeno vezivanje za vrijeme Kjafi-efendije je više po inerciji, jer se na taj način nalazi uporište za isticanje istinitosti ispričanog, na čemu se u predajama osobito insistira; s druge, pak, strane u

ulation somewhat similar to a fairytale yet clearly distinct, is mainly about protagonists, who are real people, but at the semantic level, which is the essential difference between a fairytale and tradition as a whole, the quest for truth is not in the domain of the irrational, but is intended to help solve a specific and potential problem in real life.

Interestingly, traditions relating to women as awliya are almost identical in content throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. These are women who acquired the status of waliy after enduring their husband's abuse without complaint. Such traditions could be seen as an attempt to offer some comfort to women, who were often the victims of abuse, and to show them that they will certainly receive their reward from God in the next world for the suffering they endured in this. This begins during their lifetime by their acquisition of supernatural powers that enable these women in the traditions to live two realities – one public and vulnerable, the other hidden and supernatural. One isolated grave in Prusac is said to be the grave of an unknown woman whom narrators called a waliy, but also a shahid. They say that “she had a very surly husband, whom she put up with; she worked hard and took care of him, herself and the family. They say that Allah rewarded her so generously for what she had endured that she was seen at the Baytullah sweeping the Kaba.” Another narrator said that “even now she goes to clean the Kaba,” an indirect way of expressing her “immortality,” corresponding to the notion of the shahid who lives on after his physical death, though we are not aware of it because shahids are alive in

his family said that it was not his, because they wanted his wealth for themselves. The emperor ordered anyone who knew the truth to come forward, but if anyone came forward but did not know, he would slay him. The firman reached Kjafi effendi so he could decipher it, but if he failed, God knew what would happen to him. When Kjafi effendi came to Istanbul, he assembled the family and the child that was born about which they said it was not the dead man's. He asked them where the man was buried, and when they told him, he said they were to go there and take with them a child that was not related to them and the child they said was not his. When they reached the grave, Kjafi effendi told them to open it and take the man's leg. He took the leg, cleaned it and took the child that was not related to them. He made a cut, the blood poured out and would not stop. He then asked them to give him the child that they said was not the dead man's child. When he cut the leg, whenever the blood oozed, it was all absorbed by the bone. Kjafi effendi received a generous reward for this.

nije ništa i dijete za koje kažu da nije njegovo. Kad su došli na mezar, Kjafi-efendija im je rekao da ga otkopaju i da mu izvade nogu od tog čovjeka. On je uzeo nogu, očistio je i uzeo dijete koje im nije ništa. Uzeo je i narezao je, a krv je sletila, nigdje se nije zaustavila. Poslije je tražio da mu daju dijete za koje su govorili da nije dijete tog čovjeka. Kada je narezao nogu, kad god je krv kapala, sve je upijala u kost. Za to je Kjafi-efendija dobio veliku nagradu.

svim predajama se ističe da se ona viđala ili da se i danas viđa oko Kabe, u Meki, svetom muslimanskom mjestu. Zapravo, usmena predaja kao žanr i ne opisuje, ne bavi se svim detaljima, već samo bira jedan, najznačajniji i najkarakterističniji oko kojeg se gradi siže. Poznato je da se u predajama o evlijama vrlo često ističe njihova sposobnost čudesnog i brzog putovanja kroz prostor (D 2121.5.), što se ovaploćuje, između ostalog, i u mogućnosti da u isto vrijeme budu na dva potpuno različita i vrlo udaljena mjesta. Upravo taj motiv je jedan od osnovnih u predaji o ženi-evliji iz Prusca, iako su ga kazivači uobličili na jedan posredan način. Naime, žena-evlija iz Prusca svoju čudesnu sposobnost da u isto vrijeme bude na dva vrlo udaljena mjesta ne demonstrira za života, već tek nakon smrti. Međutim, i takvo njeno viđenje kod Kabe upućuje da je ona u svijesti kazivača zapravo istovremeno na dva mjesta – u Pruscu, u osamljenom mezaru izvan greblja, gdje su njeni zemni ostaci, i u Meki, u svom potpunom živom obličju. Preplitanje stvarnog i nestvarnog i istovremeno stalno pomjeranje granica čudesnog, jedna je od općih odlika predaje o evlijama ili dobrim. Mada se vidovitost često vezuje upravo uz evlije, u svijesti kazivača obično sama po sebi vidovitost nije dovoljna da bi određena osoba, za koju se smatra da posjeduje tu osobinu, bila smatrana evlijom. Zapravo, jedan znatno viši stupanj vidovitosti, koji zadire u polje, može se reći, apsolutne nedokučivosti, taj je koji se vezuje za evlijanstvo.

Siže predaja o evlijama ili dobrim iz Prusca vezani su za tri ličnosti – Ajvaz-dedu, čiji je identitet sve do danas ostao upitan, potom za Hasana Kjafi-efendiju, historijski potvrđenu ličnost, te za bezimenu ženu-evliju. Iako ne tako brojne, ove predaje o evlijama u potpunosti se, u tematsko-motivskom pogledu, uklapaju u opće odrednice koje su tipične za ovu skupinu predaje. U njima se također javljaju i oni motivi koji su vrlo rasprostranjeni i odavno zastupljeni u međunarodnim indeksima motiva.

Pored ovih historijsko-religijskih, i predaje iz kruga pravih historijskih i historijsko-mitoloških pokazuju sve karakteristike koje se u okviru historijskih predaja susreću na različitim prostorima BiH. To se, prije svega, odnosi na predaje o starom stanovništvu BiH, pri čemu je historijski anahronizam jedna od osnovnih značajki ovih predaja, potom predaje o osmanskim osvajanjima BiH,

a way that is different from what we usually understand as being “alive.”

The traditions of the woman waliy in Prusac are based on competing notions. On the one hand, no-one knows who she was, her identity has been utterly forgotten, and the belief that she lived at the time of Kjafi effendi has arisen by inertia, since it provides a basis for asserting the truth of the story, which is particularly emphasized in traditions. But on the other hand, all the traditions claim that she used to be or is still seen around the Kaba in Mecca, the holiest place in Islam. In fact, as a genre oral traditions do not describe or go into every detail, but select the single most important feature, around which the story is constructed. It is well known that traditions on awliya often highlight their ability to travel through space with miraculous speed (D 2121.5), which manifests itself, among other things, in the ability to be in two different, very remote places at once. This is one of the basic motifs in the tradition of the woman waliy from Prusac, though narrators stated it in indirect form. The woman waliy from Prusac does not demonstrate her ability to be in two different places at once during her lifetime, but only after her death. However, her being seen at the Kaba suggests that in the mind of those who recount the story she is in fact simultaneously in two places – in Prusac, at the isolated grave beyond the burial ground, where her mortal remains lie, and in Mecca, exactly as she was in life. The intermingling of the real and the unreal, and the constant shifting of the boundaries of the miraculous, are among the universal features of the tradition of awliya or the good. Though clairvoyance is often associated with awliya, in the narrator's mind clairvoyance in itself is not enough for a person believed to have second sight to be regarded as a waliy. In fact, a much higher degree of clairvoyance, touching on what might be described as absolutely unfathomable, is associated with being a waliy.

The traditions relating to awliya or the good in Prusac are associated with three figures – Ajvaz-dedo, whose identity remains uncertain; Hasan Kjafi effendi, a historical figure; and the nameless woman waliy. Though not very numerous, these traditions correspond exactly in theme and motif to the general features typical of this group of traditions. They also include motifs that are very widespread and have long been represented in international motif indexes.

sa motivom tajnog pomagača kao središnjim, te predaje koje govore o određenim ličnostima, mahom lokalno poznatim i značajnim, sa izuzetkom epskog junaka Alije Đerzeleza – ličnosti o kojoj su kazivanja raširena među bošnjačkim stanovništvom općenito. (I u predaji zabilježenoj u Pruscu on je junak nadnaravne snage, koji je stijenu koja se nalazi nedaleko od Kupresa, i koju narod naziva Đerzelez-Alijina stijena, navodno donio na jednom prstu.) Stoga se može reći da historijske usmene predaje zabilježene u Pruscu posjeduju koliko lokalne toliko i šire rasprostranjene sižee.

Ajvatovica i Ajvaz-dedo, pa potom Hasan Kjafi-efendija su u potpunosti odredili i usmjerili historijske, odnosno u tom okviru historijsko-religijske usmene predaje Prusca. Da su se kazivali i drugi i drugačiji sadržaji potvrđuju i primjeri koji su spomenuti u ovom radu. Stoga je moguće pretpostaviti da bi dalji terenski rad, koji bi išao u pravcu sinhronije, tek dao potpunu i pravu sliku o raznovrsnosti usmene tradicije Prusca. Tada bi vjerovatno i kazivači bili oslobođeni svojevrstnog podsvjesnog pritiska da moraju govoriti samo o Ajvaz-dedi i o Ajvatovici, što bez sumnje jeste jedan od glavnih elemenata njihove lokalne tradicije, ali bi isto tako mogli pokazati da njihovu tradiciju čini mozaik sastavljen od vremena, događaja i ličnosti prije Ajvaz-dede i onoga što slijedi poslije, sve do danas. Stoga se u razgovoru sa kazivačima doima da su oni na izvjestan način pod stegom Ajvaz-dede, pri čemu, u usporedbi sa njegovim čudesnim sposobnostima, potvrđenim istina samo kroz jedan jedini, ali nevjerovatno upečatljiv čin – kroz rasprsnuće stijene, sve ostalo se doima manje značajnim i manje vrijednim.

Pa ipak, uz ove, najbrojnije, zabilježeno je u toku terensko-istraživačkog rada u Pruscu i više predaja koje spadaju u skupinu mitskih. Upravo su ove dvije skupine predaja – historijske i mitske, među sobom i najsrodnije.

Ono što ih razdvaja jeste činjenica da historijske usmene predaje u pravilu svoj poticaj imaju u stvarnom događaju i stvarnim ličnostima, odnosno sižei ovih predaja potiču iz realnog svijeta. Iako su u historijskim predajama elementi fantastičnog prisutni na različite načine, to fantastično nikako nije dominantno, što je opet slučaj sa mitskim predajama čija je osnovna odlika upravo susret sa onostranim. Mitske ili demonološke predaje naglašeno zadiru u svijet iracionalnog, u

Like these historico-religious traditions, true historical and historico-mythological traditions display all the characteristics to be found among historical traditions in various parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This pertains above all to traditions on the country's ancient population, in which historical anachronism is one of the basic features, but also to traditions of the Ottoman conquests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the heart of which is the motif of the mysterious helper, and those that relate to specific figures, mainly of local significance. The epic hero Alija Đerzelez, about whom tales are widespread among the entire Bosniac population, is an exception in this regard. In traditions recorded in Prusac, too, he is a hero with supernatural powers, who supposedly carried on one finger the rock near Kupres popularly known as Đerzelez-Alija's rock. It may be said, therefore, that the historical oral traditions recorded in Prusac are as much local as widespread in content.

Ajvatovica and Ajvaz-dedo, like Hasan Kjafi effendi, dictated and defined the historical oral traditions of Prusac. Examples of other, different elements being narrated are confirmed by examples referred to in this paper, suggesting that further field research aimed at synchrony would provide a full and true picture of the diversity of oral traditions in Prusac. Narrators would probably be freed from a certain subconscious pressure to speak only about Ajvaz-dedo and Ajvatovica, which is undoubtedly one of the principal elements of their local tradition, but could also demonstrate that their tradition is a mosaic composed of times, events and persons preceding Ajvaz-dedo and from after his time, right up to the present. Discussions with narrators give the impression that they are in some way under Ajvaz-dedo's spell, with everything seeming less significant or worthwhile by comparison with his miraculous powers, evidenced by a single but extremely striking event – the splitting of the rock.

Yet along with these, which are the most numerous, several mythical traditions were recorded during field research in Prusac. These two groups – historical and mythical – are in fact most closely related to each other. What differentiates them is that historical oral traditions are based as a rule on a real event and real people; in other words, their subject-matter derives from the real world. Elements of the fantastic are present in various

njima se na jedan poseban način prepliću realnost i onostranost. U demonološkim predajama mitska bića i konkretni ljudi ne žive odvojenu stvarnost, već dijele istu stvarnost ulazeći na izvjestan način u stvarnost jedni drugih, njihova djelovanja su uzajamna, a kontakti bliski i neposredni. Najupečatljiviji primjer takve "dvostruke" zbilje jesu predaje o vilama, omiljenim mitskim bićima ne samo bošnjačke i uopće južnoslavenske usmene tradicije, već i tradicije drugih evropskih naroda. Iako se javljaju i u bajkama i u epskim i u lirskim pjesmama, njihovo mjesto i uloga posebno su zanimljivi u skupini mitskih predaja.

Predaje o vilama zabilježene u Pruscu kreću se u rasponu od tzv. eliptičnih predaja pa do potpuno sižejno razvijenih predaja-hronikata.¹² U pravilu, vile se doživljavaju kao čovjeku naklonjena bića, koja, iako znaju kazniti one što su im nanijeli zlo, nikada to ne čine bez razloga. Iz saopćenja zabilježenog u Pruscu vidljivo je da su vile stavljene u kontekst tzv. nečistih sila, iako se zna da su one mitska bića sa kojima ljudi, po narodnom vjerovanju, mogu stupiti u neposredne intimne veze i čak imati zajedničko potomstvo. Vjerovanje zabilježeno u Pruscu da se na lokalitetu Vilinje kolo može ograjisati najvjerovatnije svoje ishodište ima u dalekoj starini. U vezi s tim, Slobodan Zečević navodi da bi "neoprostivu uvredu čovek mogao naneti vilama ako 'nagazi', nabasa na njihovo igrište, večeru, ako ih slučajno ugleda pri kupanju ili ih bilo kako prekine u njihovim uživanjima. Na prvi pogled, ovo su beznačajni prekršaji u odnosu na stroge kazne. Međutim, ovo se smatralo najtežim prestupom pošto su u svojoj suštini vilinski obredi nekada bili misterije kojima neposvećeni nisu smeli da prisustvuju. Održavale su se na određenim mestima koja su bila tabuisana za smrtnike. Ako bi čovek prekršio zabranu i našao se na takvim mestima bio bi kažnjem oduzimanjem nekih telesnih funkcija – vida, sluha, paralizom udova pa i smrću". (Zečević, 1981: 44-45) Primjer iz Prusca o lokalitetu Vilinje kolo i opasnosti koje

ways, but are not their dominant feature, unlike mythical traditions, the basic feature of which is the encounter with another world. Mythological or demonological tradition touches on the world of the irrational; in them, reality and the other world invade each other. In demonological traditions, mythical beings and specific people do not live separate realities, but share the same world, in some way entering into each other's reality; they interact, in direct, close contact. The most striking examples of this "dual" reality are traditions about fairies, those mythical beings dear not only to Bosniac and to south Slav oral tradition in general, but also to the oral traditions of other European peoples. Though they also appear in fairytales and in epic and lyric poems, their place and role in mythical traditions are of particular interest.

Traditions relating to fairies recorded in Prusac range from elliptical traditions to fully developed chronicates.¹⁴ Fairies are usually seen as favourably disposed towards people and, though they are known to punish those who harm them, they never do so without reason. Statements recorded in Prusac reveal that fairies are placed in the context of impure forces, though they are known to be mythical beings with whom, in popular belief, people can become closely associated or even have children. The belief, recorded in Prusac, that one can encounter them at the place called Vilinje kolo [*vila* – a fairy] probably has its roots in the remote past. In this regard, Slobodan Zečević says that "the worst injury one can do to a fairy is to stumble upon their playground in the evening, accidentally to see them bathing, or to interrupt their pleasures in any way. At first glance, these are minor infractions by comparison with such harsh punishment. Yet this is regarded as the most heinous offence because in essence fairy rites were once a mystery that the uninitiated were not allowed to attend. They were held at certain sites that were taboo for mortals. Anyone who violated the ban and found himself at such places would be punished with the loss of some of

¹² Upravo u toponimu Vilinje kolo sadržan je jedan od primjera nerazvijene predaje obavijesti, koji podrazumijeva da je lokalitet dobio ime "po tome što su tu bile vile, imale viliinje kolo, te da su se na tom mjestu 'čule'", što saznajemo u nešto proširenijoj, eksplanatornoj predaji zapisanoj od drugog kazivača. Istina, ni ovaj kazivač ne objašnjava način na koji su se vile oglašavale, ali je zanimljiva njegova opaska "da ako bi ko ograjisao, bilo je žena koje su znale to da liječe".

¹⁴ The toponym Vilinje kolo itself is an example of a tradition that has not been elaborated, meaning as it does that the site gained its name "from the fact that the fairies had a fairy kolo there which could be heard there," as we learned from a rather longer, explanatory tradition recorded from another narrator. True, this narrator was equally unable to explain how the fairies made themselves known, but made the interesting observation that "if someone did get sick, there were women who knew how to cure it."

prijete ukoliko se na nj nabasa (ograiše) upravo je na fonu ovog Zečevićevog zapažanja. U zapisu iz Prusca nema detaljnijeg opisa o načinu liječenja, ali se ističe da je bilo žena koje su znale da liječe, što znači da se bolest povezivala upravo sa zabranom pristupa tabuisanom mjestu. U nekim primjerima predaja koji potiču sa drugih južnoslavenskih prostora detaljno su opisane radnje koje su poduzimane u cilju liječenja onoga ko se namjerio na vilino kolo. (Zečević, 1981: 45)

Sižei predaja sa tematikom zahvalnosti koju iskazuju vile čovjeku koji im je učinio dobro vrlo su rašireni i vezuju se kako za lokalne ličnosti tako i za pojedine epske junake. U svim ovim predajama vile su na strani slabijih i nemoćnijih, koji se, upravo zahvaljujući blagonaklonosti ovih mitskih bića, preobražavaju u snažne i jake. Stoga se vile u predajama sa ovom tematikom mogu promatrati kao svojevrсни magični pomoćnici. Dok magične moći vile leže u njenom okrilju, nadnaravna snaga sa vile na određenog junaka prenosi se preko vilinog mlijeka. Upravo o takvom primjeru je riječ i u kazivanju zabilježenom u Pruscu.¹³

Prenošenje snage preko mlijeka, prema nekim istraživačima, treba dovesti upravo u vezu sa srodstvom po mlijeku, jer se vjerovalo da dijete dobija neke od osobina žene koja ga zadoji. Treba napomenuti da je u bošnjačkoj tradiciji srodstvo po mlijeku naročito poštovano te da predstavlja nepremostivu prepreku za brak. U ovim predajama suština nije u čudotvornosti vilinog mlijeka, već je riječ o tome da su ova mitska bića tako postajale pomajke odabranih, odnosno onih koji su svojim gestom zadužili vilu, drugim riječima da su stupili u oblik vještačkog srodstva – srodstva po mlijeku sa vilom.

Vile su općenito metafora za izvanrednu žensku ljepotu. Međutim, od svih atributa kojima se iskazuje nesvakidašnja ljepota ovih mitskih bića, jedino je sveprisutna duga raščesljana kosa. Stoga su vile više apstraktan pojam, nego fizički jasno definirana bića. Bezbroj je primjera u kojima je

his bodily functions – sight, hearing, paralysis of the limbs – or even death.” (Zečević, 1981: 44-45) The example from Prusac about Vilinje kolo and the risk to one’s health there underlies this observation by Zečević. There is no detailed description of how to heal these ills in the Prusac story, but it is said that there were women who knew how, which means that the sickness is connected with the ban on approaching a place that is taboo. Other traditions, from different areas in the south Slav region, provide a detailed description of the steps taken to heal someone who had profaned a fairy kolo. (Zečević, 1981: 45)

Traditions concerning expressions of gratitude by fairies are very widespread, and associated both with local figures and with certain epic heroes. In all these traditions, the fairies are on the side of the weak and powerless who, thanks to the benevolence of these mythical beings, become mighty and strong. In traditions on this theme, therefore, fairies may be seen as magic helpers. While the magical powers of a fairy are under its aegis, supernatural strength is transferred from the fairy to a hero in the fairy’s milk. There is one such example in the stories recorded in Prusac.¹⁵

Some narrators said that the transfer of strength by milk is connected with milk kinship, for it was believed that a child acquired some of the characteristics of the woman who breast-fed it. In the Bosniac tradition, milk kinship is held in particular regard, and is an insuperable barrier to marriage. The essence of these traditions is not the miraculous powers of fairy milk as such, but the fact that these mythical beings thereby become the foster mothers of the chosen, of those to whom the fairy is indebted. This creates a kind of artificial kinship, milk kinship with a fairy.

Fairies are a universal metaphor for exceptional female beauty. Of all the attributes that express the unusual beauty of these mythical beings, however, the only one that is invariably present is their long, well-combed hair. Fairies are thus more of an

¹³ “Bio jedan mršav, slabašan momak u Prozoru, odakle je moja mati, koga su stalno zadirkivali. Jednom je pomogao jednoj vili. Ona je rekla da će mu zauzvrat pomoći kad mu bude najteže. Momci su tako bacali kamenje da se vidi ko će dalje dobaciti i biti veći junak. Vila je zato zovnula tog momka i rekla da dođe na određeno mjesto. Tu mu je tri puta dala svoga mlijeka. Na tom mjestu je bio veliki kamen. Vila mu je rekla da potegne da vide može li ga izvaliti. On je poslije toga bio među najjačima.”

¹⁵ “There was a thin, weak fellow in Prozor, where my mother comes from, who was constantly being teased. One day he helped a fairy. She said she would repay him by helping him when things were at their worst. The lads were throwing stones to see who could throw the furthest and be the greatest hero. The fairy called the young man and told him to come to a certain place. There she gave him her milk three times. There was a big stone at that place. The fairy told him to give it a tug to see if he could pull it out. After that he was one of the strongest.”

opisan navodni susret čovjeka i vile, bilo da je riječ o vlastitom doživljaju ili doživljaju kazivaču bliske osobe, ali svi ti opisi ostali su najčešće na razini apstraktnog, nečega što izmiče čvrstim konturama stvarnosti. Naspram kose, kao simbola ljepote i ženstvenosti, u predajama kozije noge (ili kopita ili papci) narušavaju idealnu ljepotu vila, što se smatra jednom od totemističkih karakteristika vile. Međutim, možda bi se u ovom slučaju trebalo uzeti u obzir široko rasprostranjeno vjerovanje o uroku. U usmenoj tradiciji ovo vjerovanje naročito je vezano za ženu – brojne su balade u kojima junakinje stradavaju zbog uroka kojeg je prouzročila upravo nesvakidašnja ljepota. Stoga je i ljepota vila morala biti narušena neprimjerenim nogama, kako bi se pogled odvratilo od onoga što je savršeno i usmjerio na ono što to savršenstvo skrnavi.

Vjerovanje u istinitost kazivanog sadržaja, što je jedna od najbitnijih odrednica usmenih predaja, ostvaruje se na razne načine. Kada je riječ o predajama o vilama, čini se da je u bošnjačkoj tradiciji posebno omiljen sljedeći siže koji se sa neznatnim varijantskim odstupanjima susreće diljem BiH, i među seoskim i među gradskim stanovništvom. Naime, u predaji o Pruscu se kazuje kako su se vile skupile da prave halvu, a od prisutnih se tražilo da svako donese ponešto što je u kući ostavljeno bez bismille. Kada su umiješale halvu, jedna od prisutnih zatraži da se donese i Hadžihanumina duga anterija. Kako su, po varijanti ove predaje, skupu vila prisustvovali kao nezvani gosti i neki mladići iz Prusca, jedan od njih je halvom dotaknuo anteriju. Upravo taj trag je poslužio kao poveznica između onostranog i stvarnog, ali i potvrda da se susret sa vilama zaista i dogodio, jer je navodno na anteriji ostao vidljiv otisak ruke. Više varijanti ove predaje zabilježeno je u različitim dijelovima BiH, i, što je zanimljivo, došlo je do izvjesnog prožimanja naslijeđenog pradavnog vjerovanja u vile i islamskog, koje se očituje kroz vjerovanje da su sve stvari ili postupci koji nisu učinjeni sa Božijim blagoslovom (bismillom) nečisti i stoga podložni različitim negativnim uticajima. Na istom načelu počiva i široko rasprostranjeno vjerovanje među Bošnjacima da se, kad se prilazi vodi u nedoba (kasno uveče ili rano ujutro) treba nazvati selam (pozdrav – mir s tobom), a koje se moguće nadovezuje na vjerovanja u vile pošto se, kao njihova staništa, između ostalih, navode izvori, odnosno vode općenito.

abstract notion than a clearly defined physical being. There are numerous examples describing an alleged encounter between a human and a fairy, whether from personal experience or that of someone close to the narrator, but these almost invariably remain abstract, something that eludes the solid contours of reality. In contrast to the hair as a symbol of beauty and femininity, in the traditions they have the legs of a goat (or hooves, or cloven hooves), detracting from the fairies' ideal beauty, which is regarded as one of their totemic characteristics. Maybe, however, one should consider here the widespread belief in magic spells and the evil eye. In oral tradition, this belief is associated in particular with women – there are many ballads in which the heroine suffers on account of the evil eye she has provoked by her extraordinary beauty. The beauty of the fairies thus had to be flawed by their incongruous legs, to distract one's gaze from that which is perfect towards that which sullies perfection.

Belief in the truth of what is being said, which is one of the most important features of oral traditions, is realized in various ways. In the case of traditions about fairies, a particular favourite in the Bosniac tradition is the following tale, found with insignificant variations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, among both the rural and the urban population. In the tradition from Prusac, the fairies gathered together to make halva, and all those present were asked to bring something that had been left in the house without *bismillah*. While they were mixing the halva, one of those present asked for Hadžihanuma's long *anterija* [robe] to be brought as well. In this version of the tradition, the fairy gathering was also attended by young men from Prusac, as uninvited guests. One of them touched the anterija with halva, and the mark served as a link between the other-worldly and reality, as well as proof that the encounter with the fairies had really happened, for the handprint supposedly remained visible on the anterija. Several variations on this tradition have been recorded in different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, interestingly, the ancient, inherited belief in fairies has to some extent impinged on Islamic beliefs, manifested in the belief that anything done without invoking God's blessing (*bismillah*) is impure and thus subject to a variety of negative influences. The widespread belief among Bosniacs that if one comes near water in the late evening or early

Usmena kazivanja o vilama zabilježena u Pruscu se po svojim karakteristikama ne odvajaju od već zabilježenih u drugim dijelovima BiH, ali i u drugim slavenskim tradicijama. Naprotiv, ona pokazuju da se u potpunosti uklapaju u postojeće, zabilježene usmene predaje sa ovom tematikom.

Pored kazivanja o vilama, u Pruscu su zabilježeni i neki drugi sižeji koji se mogu uvrstiti u mitske predaje. Dok kazivanja o vilama spadaju u zajedničko praslavensko naslijeđe, kazivanja o džinima, koja su zabilježena među Bošnjacima, bez obzira na geografsku udaljenost, svoje primarno ishodište imaju u islamskom svjetonazoru. Naravno, kao što je to slučaj i sa drugim sižejima koji izviru ili se oslanjaju na religijsko učenje, to religijsko je najčešće tek okvir u kojem dominira davno naslijeđeno narodno vjerovanje koje se često čak i izravno kosi sa ortodoksnim religijskim. Za nastanak usmenih kazivanja sa ovom tematikom primarnu ulogu su po svemu sudeći odigrali vjeroučitelji, kroz osnovnu vjersku pouku koja je uključivala i različite sadržaje hagiografskog karaktera. U trajanju i prenošenju ovakvih sadržaja, pored vjeroučitelja, značajnu ulogu su imale i žene, posebno majke, kojima su ti sadržaji bili omiljeni u odgoju djece, što je bila primarna uloga žene u bošnjačkoj tradiciji.

Prema svjedočenju više kazivača, o džinima se i dan-danas priča u Pruscu, mada je građa prikupljena u toku terensko-istraživačkog rada u okviru ovog lokaliteta dosta štura i vrlo jednoobrazna. Kreće se u rasponu od doslovnog interpretiranja sadržaja preuzetog iz religijskog tumačenja koje se odnosi na ova natprirodna bića pa do različitih vjerovanja povezanih sa džinima. U kazivanjima sa ovom tematikom ističe se da su “meleci stvoreni od mora svjetlosti, šejtan od vatre, a džini su nastali iz tog međuprostora. Ljudi njih ne vide, dok džini vide ljude. Inače se ponašaju kao ljudi – razmnožavaju se, imaju potrebu za hranom. Zato ljudi govore da se ne hoda rano ujutro i kasno naveče jer se tada džini okupljaju”. Više je nego očigledno da se na ovoj ravni može povući paralela između džina i vila, te da i ove dvije skupine nadnaravnih bića imaju određene zajedničke osobine. O direktnom uticaju vila na postanak džina nemoguće je govoriti. I jedna i druga nadnaravna bića posigurno su nastala neovisno jedna od drugih, ali kazivanja ovakve tematike upućuju na pretpostavku da su ljudi odvajkada i u svim

morning one should say salaam – peace be with you – is based on the same principle, and may be associated with fairies because springs, or water in general, are said to be among their abodes.

The oral traditions about fairies recorded in Prusac do not differ in nature from those already recorded elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond, in other Slavic traditions. On the contrary, they are revealed as a perfect match with existing recorded traditions on this theme.

In addition to tales about fairies, other stories were related in Prusac that could be classed as mythical traditions. Whereas tales about fairies are part of the common ur-Slavic heritage, geographical remoteness notwithstanding, the primary origin of tales about jinns, as recorded among Bosniacs, lies in the Islamic world view. As is also true of other tales that derive from or are based on religious teachings, the religious is the most common context of ancient inherited folk beliefs, which are often in direct conflict with orthodox religious beliefs. To all appearances, religious teachers played a crucial part in the emergence of oral narratives on this subject, through the basic religious instruction they provided, which included content of a hagiographic nature. Also central to the transmission of such tales were women, particularly mothers, to whom these were favourite stories to tell their children – the raising of children being the primary role of women in the Bosniac tradition.

Several narrators claimed that people still talk about jinns in Prusac, though the material collected during field research is rather meagre and all very similar. It ranges from the literal interpretation of subjects taken from religious teachings relating to these supernatural beings, to a variety of beliefs associated with jinns. It is said that “*melels* [angels] are made of the sea of light, *shaitan* [the devil] is made of fire, and jinns came from that in-between place. People cannot see them, but jinns can see people. They behave like people – they reproduce, they need food. That is why people say one shouldn’t go about early in the morning or late at night, because that is when the jinns congregate.” It is patently obvious that at this level there are parallels between jinns and fairies, and that these two groups of supernatural beings have certain features in common. It cannot be said that fairies had a direct impact on the genesis of jinns. The two doubtless have independent origins, but narratives on this theme suggest that

zajednicama, bez obzira na stupanj svog razvitka, doživljavali ne samo vidljivi, opipljivi svijet, već i onaj zaumni, nevidljivi, na poseban i istovremeno sličan način, duboko povezan sa različitim vjerovanjima (u rasponu od manističkog, do vjerovanja u jednog Boga).

Kad je riječ o džinima, vrlo je rasprostranjeno vjerovanje da džini mogu ući u čovjeka te da, slično vilama, postoje ljudi koji znaju liječiti takve osobe. Upravo takav siže zabilježen je i u Pruscu, iz kojeg se razabire da je žena bila kažnjena stoga jer je oskrnavila hranu džina, što znači da je i u ovom slučaju riječ o svojevrsnom tabuu. Ulazak džina u čovjeka ima posljedice samo za dotičnu osobu, dok njegovo pretvaranje u zmiju, vjeruje se u Pruscu, ima negativna dejstva po cijelu zajednicu, odnosno kuću u kojoj se nađe takva zmija. U ovom slučaju indirektno je napravljena distinkcija između kućne zmije, po nekim autorima duha predaka, za koju se vjeruje da čuva kuću i da je nika-ko ne treba dirati, jer bi u tom slučaju ukućani bili izloženi kazni, i džina pretvorenog u zmiju koji se smatra stranim, tuđim i time neblagonaklonim kući, odnosno ukućanima.

Susret čovjeka i mitskih bića u većini slučajeva zasniva se na razini njihovog oglašavanja – kod vila je to obično kroz pjesmu, kod poslušnog duha (*hudama*) to je kroz neobjašnjive radnje koje potvrđuju njegovo prisustvo, pomjeranje stvari. Kad je riječ o džinima, uz njih se, recimo, vezuje oglašavanje ezana, poziva na muslimansku molitvu, i to na mjestu i u doba kad mu nije vrijeme. U istraživanju mitskih predaja već je ranije uočeno da se susret sa onostranim isključivo događa noću. Noć je opozicija danu, odnosno, u slobodnoj interpretaciji, noć je metafora za smrt, dok dan simbolizira život. Sva mitska bića su vezana po svojoj prirodi za podzemni svijet. Stoga je i njihovo pojavljivanje, bilo kroz jasne obrise ili samo kroz određene manifestne radnje, vezano za noć. S druge strane, samo noć pruža mogućnost da se stvari ne vide u svojim jasnim konturama i da stoga poprime nevjerovatna, nestvarna oblička i dimenzije. Nesigurnost, i presvashodno strah povezan s noći, mrakom, uslovili su brojna narodna vjerovanja koja imaju isključivo apotropejsko značenje. Susret sa onostranim koji se događa noću, ili na granici dana i noći, u središtu je brojnih usmenih kazivanja u kojima se to onostrano i ne imenuje, odnosno u njemu se ne prepoznaje nijedno od poznatih mitskih bića.

people in every community, regardless of its level of development, have always experienced not only the visible, tangible world but also the invisible world of the mind, in a distinct and yet similar way, deeply connected with various beliefs ranging from the manistic to belief in one God.

In the case of jinns, there is a very widespread belief that they can possess a person, and that, much as with fairies, there are people who know how to cure the possessed. One such tale was recorded in Prusac, recounting that a woman was severely punished for polluting a jinn's food. This suggests a kind of taboo. When a jinn possesses someone, it affects only that person, whereas the belief in Prusac is that when a jinn turns into a snake, it has an adverse effect on the entire community or on the house in which the snake is found. In this case there is an indirect distinction between a house snake, which in the view of some authors is the spirit of an ancestor who is believed to be guarding the house and should be left alone for if disturbed the members of the household would be punished, and a jinn turned into a snake, which is regarded as foreign, alien and thus not well disposed towards the house and its occupants.

Meetings between people and mythical beings are usually expressed in terms of sound – in the case of fairies, their singing, while in the case of a docile spirit (*hudam*) it takes the form of inexplicable effects attesting to their presence, things being moved. Jinns are associated with the *azaan*, the Muslim call to prayer, at times and places where it should not be performed. Studies of mythical traditions have long since observed that encounters with the other world take place only at night. Night is the opposite of day; freely interpreted, it is a metaphor for death, while day symbolizes life. All mythical beings are associated by nature with the underworld, and their manifestations, whether in clear outline or merely in the form of certain happenings, are therefore associated with the night. Only at night are things not seen clearly, so they take on improbable, unreal shapes and sizes. The insecurity and fear associated with night and darkness have shaped many folk beliefs of purely apotropaic significance. An encounter with the other world at night, or at the boundary between day and night, is at the centre of many oral traditions in which the other world is not even named, in which no known mythical being can be recognized.

U sklopu mitskih predaja, u jednom širem poimanju, mogu se promatrati i kazivanja o tzv. kamenim svatovima. Osnov ovih predaja predstavlja narodno vjerovanje o djelotvornosti kletve. Za razliku od predaja o svatovskim grobljima, gdje su kao podstrek za nastanak predaje najčešće poslužila stara groblja sa bezimenim nadgrobnim spomenicima, kazivanja o kamenim svatovima svoje ishodište su pronalazila u kamenju neobičnih oblika koji su budili narodnu maštu i nisu imali nikakvo uporište u realnosti. Dva se sižea o kamenim svatovima zabilježanim u Pruscu izdvajaju. Prvi kazuje kako je “neka stara žena snovala (prijašnje tkanje). Svatovi su naišli i ona ih je zamolila da je mimoidu da joj to ne zamrse. Nisu htjeli, nego su joj zamrsili. Ona je rekla: ‘Dabogda se u kamen stvorili!’ To se i dogodilo. Zna se mlada, duvak, mladoženja, svatovi okolo. Ne zna se čiji su bili svatovi, ali se zna da su bili ukleti. Zovu se Kameni svatovi.” U drugom kazivanju sa istovjetnim motivom sukob se pomjerio na porodicu, a sama predaja u sebi krije i utilitarnu svrhu koja treba da očuva patrijarhalne zakone čije se kršenje doživljava kao svetogrđe. U ovoj nešto kraćoj predaji, “kazuje se kako su mladić i djevojka ašikovali, ali se roditelji nisu slagali s njihovim izborom, pa su ih prokleli. Zato se to mjesto i dan-danas s jedne strane rijeke zove Djevojka, a s druge Momak. I dan-danas se tu nalazi kamen.”

Iako se dosta štur fond usmenih kazivanja zabilježenih u Pruscu može podvesti pod odrednicu mitskih ili demonoloških predaja, ipak on potvrđuje neosporno prisustvo ovakvih sadržaja i danas, makar da se oni ne prepričavaju često i u širem krugu slušalaca, već žive kao pasivna znanja koja izlaze na vidjelo tek sa nekim izravnim izvanjskim poticajima, kao što je ciljano bilježenje ovakve građe. Zatim, zabilježeni primjeri pokazuju da su se isti ili vrlo slični sadržaji kazivali u različitim dijelovima BiH, što govori o njihovoj geografskoj rasprostranjenosti, ali i da su neki od tih motiva iz fonda onih široko međunarodno rasprostranjenih. Iako tematika ovih predaja nije jednoobrazna, na njihov nastanak isključivo je uticao kazivačev susret sa onostranim, ili u nekim slučajevima susret kazivaču bliske osobe. Stoga su ovi sižei obično u obliku memorata.

Bez obzira na sve promjene koje se tiču načina života, predaje sa mitskom osnovom i danas nisu u potpunosti nestale u usmenom pamćenju, što

Also forming part of mythical traditions, in the broadest sense of the term, are those concerning the wedding guests turned to stone. The basis of these traditions is the popular belief in the efficacy of curses. Unlike the traditions about wedding guests' burial sites, which were probably prompted by old burial grounds with nameless grave-stones, narratives about wedding guests turned to stone derive from stones of unusual shapes which stimulated the popular imagination, and had absolutely no basis in reality. Two tales of wedding guests turned to stone recorded in Prusac are of particular interest. The first says that “an old woman was warping a loom. Wedding guests turned up and she asked them to keep out of the way so the yarn wouldn't get tangled. They refused, and tangled her yarn. She said: May God turn you to stone! And that is what happened. The bride, her veil, the bridegroom, the wedding guests around them, are known. It is not known whose wedding guests they were, but they are known to have been cursed. They are called stone wedding guests.” In another tale with the same motif the quarrel is a family affair, and the tradition itself includes the utilitarian purpose of preserving the patriarchal laws, the violation of which is seen as blasphemy. In this somewhat shorter tradition, “they say that a young man and a girl were courting, but the parents didn't agree with their choice, and cursed them. That is why that place is still called Djevojka [girl] on one side of the river and Momak [boy] on the other. And the stone is still there.”

Though the fund of oral traditions recorded in Prusac that can be defined as mythological or demonological is quite limited, it still provides evidence of the undoubted presence of such tales to this day. However, they are not often recounted to a wider circle of listeners, but are experienced as passive knowledge which comes into plain view only if directly prompted by some outward influence, such as the targeted recording of such material. The examples recorded were the same as or very similar to those of other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, evidence that they are widespread, and also that some of the motifs are international. Though the theme of these traditions is not uniform, their emergence is prompted solely by the narrator's encounter with the other world, or in some cases an encounter by someone close to the narrator. These tales are therefore usually in the form of memorates.

potvrđuju i primjeri zabilježeni u Pruscu od kazivača različite životne dobi. U ovim kazivanjima prevladava dvojaka tematika – ona općepoznata i raširena koja se uočava u kazivanjima o vilama, zakopanom blagu, o kamenim svatovima; i ona vrlo lična, svedena isključivo na kazivačev doživljaj. Upravo ta dvojnost može se označiti i jednom do sada nedovoljno istaknutom odlikom mitskih predaja općenito. Primjeri mitskih predaja, makar i na malom uzorku, pokazuju također i jasno odvajanje ove grupe predaja od historijskih – u njima je mitsko njihova suštinska odlika, dok se u historijskim ono javlja kao prateći i najčešće sporedni element, bez osobitog značaja za samotkivo historijske predaje.

Kazivanja zabilježena u Pruscu koja se mogu podvesti pod odrednicu usmenih predaja nisu bilježena isključivo i ciljano, već u sklopu različitih drugih sadržaja koji se odnose na duhovnu tradiciju općenito. Kazivači također nisu birani po određenom, jasnom i čvrstom kriteriju, već su to bili oni koji su iskazali spremnost da razgovaraju. U tom pogledu posebno su zanimljivi oni informatori koji su se na određeni način sami nametali, bilo stoga jer su smatrali da mogu bolje predstaviti svoje mjesto od ostalih, bilo stoga jer se donekle osjećaju nadmoćnim u svojoj sredini (npr. zbog nivoa obrazovanja ili socijalnog statusa). U tom kontekstu zanimljiv je odnos ovih kazivača, koji su u principu najmalobrojniji, spram istraživača – oni smatraju da mnogo bolje razumiju i zanimanje istraživača za određenu problematiku nego “neuk svijet”, te stoga nastoje svojim prisustvom indirektno zaštititi istraživača od onih koji, po njihovom uvjerenju, “ne znaju i ne razumiju”. Kod kazivača koji pripadaju ovoj skupini uočljiva je još jedna osobina, a to je da se u njihovim saopćenjima u znatnoj mjeri prepliću različita knjiška znanja sa naslijeđenom tradicijom. Stoga nije rijetkost da oni tradicionalne sižee “ispravljaju”, tj. uklapaju i prilagođavaju literaturi različitog tipa, posebno historijskoj kada su u pitanju historijske predaje, ili pak religijskoj kad je riječ o kazivanjima koja se dotiču, oslanjaju ili izviru iz religijskog učenja.

U drugu grupu spadaju kazivači za koje njihovo okruženje tvrdi da su dobri čuvari tradicije. Do ovih kazivača obično se dolazi preporukom, i, što je zanimljivo, u lancu samih kazivača – jedni preporučuju druge. U ovoj grupi je

Despite all the changes that have impacted on our way of life, traditions with a mythical basis have still not yet completely vanished from oral memory, as confirmed by those recorded in Prusac by narrators of various ages. These traditions mainly have a dual aspect – the familiar, widespread one of tales about fairies, buried treasure and wedding guests, and a highly personal one, reduced purely to the narrator’s own experience. This duality may be illustrated by a universal feature of mythical traditions that has not yet been sufficiently highlighted. Examples of mythical traditions, even from a small sample, also clearly differentiate this group from historical traditions – their essential feature is the mythical, whereas in historical traditions myth appears as an ancillary, often secondary element, without any particular significance for the fabric of the historical tradition itself.

Tales recorded in Prusac that may be regarded as oral traditions were not specifically and exclusively targeted, but were recorded as part of various other elements relating to spiritual or intangible tradition in general. Nor were interviewees selected according to any specific, clear and rigid criteria, but on the basis of their willingness to be interviewed. In this regard, informants who came forward of their own volition are of particular interest, whether because they thought they could represent their town better than others, or because they felt superior in some way (on account of their education or social status, for instance). In this context, the attitude of these narrators, who were few in number, towards the researcher was also of interest – they were of the view that they understood the researcher’s interest in certain issues much better than the “ignorant world,” and thus sought indirectly, by their presence, to protect the researcher from those who, in their belief, “don’t know and don’t understand.” There was another striking feature common to narrators belonging to this group, which was that their statements consisted to a significant extent of a mixture of various elements of book learning with the inherited tradition. It was not uncommon, therefore, for them to “correct” the traditional tales by adapting them to correspond to the literature of various kinds, particularly historical writings in the case of historical traditions, or religious in the case of traditions that are relevant to, based on or originate from religious teachings.

zanimljiv odnos kazivač – kazivač, a ne kazivač – istraživač. Naime, tu je naglašen odnos rivaliteta između kazivača pa se u tom okviru može govoriti i o oprečnoj reakciji – na jednoj strani su informatori koji preporučuju, a na drugoj oni koji imaju otklon spram drugih (u smislu: “On ne zna o tome ništa” ili “Ko vam je kazao za njega?”).

Treću grupu čine potpuno slučajni kazivači do kojih se dolazi usput, u neobaveznim susretima i razgovorima. Njihovo kazivanje često je i najuvjerljivije i najviše se uklapa u tradicionalne okvire jer ni na koji način nije bilo isforsirano ni od strane istraživača ni od strane sredine u kojoj je obavljen istraživački rad. Ovi kazivači, za razliku od prethodne skupine, nisu bili opterećeni potrebom da se prisjećaju niti obavezom da moraju potvrditi uvjerenje zajednice da nešto “znaju”, i to najbolje. Stoga su neusiljenost i prirodnost osnovne odlike komunikacije sa ovom skupinom informatora.

Kako je već napomenuto, u toku boravka u Pruscu nije se išlo s namjerom da se pažnja usmjeri isključivo na jednu problematiku. Na taj način se izbjeglo da se informatori usmjeravaju i na izvjestan način prisiljavaju da kazuju sadržaje koje je sam istraživač odabrao kao značajne, odnosno za njegov rad zanimljive. Naprotiv, kazivači su bili ti koji su usmjeravali istraživača nudeći ono što znaju i u svojoj svijesti čuvaju. Stoga ne iznenađuje činjenica da se najveći broj sadržaja, koji se odnosi na usmenu proznu tradiciju, uklopio u odrednice historijskih te mitskih predaja. To su kazivanja koja se najlakše saopštavaju strancu, pogotovo kad su u pitanju historijske usmene predaje. Usmena historija jednog mjesta ono je što se najradije kazuje, ali je to najvjerovatnije i najvitalniji segment usmenog pamćenja. Ova kazivanja da bi bila ispričana ne traže nikakve posebne uvjete, ni za informatore ni za istraživače. Ona se kazuju u trenutku, u prolazu, a poticaj za takvo što često može biti zasnovan na čistoj asocijaciji. Isto tako, ove predaje u puno primjera izviru iz vidljivih materijalnih tragova pa samim tim imaju konkretnu potvrdu za istinitost i vjerodostojnost ispričanog. Sloboda koju kazivači imaju proističe i iz činjenice da usmene predaje nemaju ni približno čvrstu formu, poput drugih oblika usmene tradicije. To znači da je njihovo oblikovanje u potpunosti prepušteno mašti

Another group of narrators consisted of those whom their acquaintances said were good guardians of tradition. These were usually identified by recommendation; interestingly, in the chain of narrators themselves, they recommended each other. In this group, the narrator-narrator relation was of interest, not the narrator-researcher relation. There was evident rivalry between narrators, so that it could be said there was reaction and counter-reaction in this group – on the one hand, informants were recommended, but on the other hand they held negative views of others (“he doesn’t know anything about it,” or “who told you about him?”).

A third group consisted of purely chance narrators, come upon incidentally during casual encounters and discussions. Their narratives were often the most convincing and most closely fitted the traditional framework, for they were entirely unforced, whether by the researcher or by the setting in which the research was conducted. Unlike the previous group, these narrators were not troubled by the need to remember the thread of the tale or to confirm the belief held in the community that they “knew” something better than others. Communication with this group of informants was therefore unaffected and natural.

As already noted, the stay in Prusac was not intended to focus solely on a single issue. This avoided the risk of prompting informants in a particular direction and somehow compelling them to talk on the subject the researcher had selected as significant or of interest for his work. On the contrary, it was the narrators who prompted the researcher along certain lines by proffering what they knew and remembered. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that most of the accounts relating to oral prose tradition fitted the definition of historical or mythical traditions. These are the traditions that can most easily be told to a stranger, particularly historical oral traditions. The oral history of a place is what people are most happy to talk about, and is probably also the most vital segment of oral memory. No special circumstances or conditions for either informant or researcher are required for these tales to be told. They are told spontaneously, in passing, often purely based on association. In many cases these traditions also spring from visible physical remains, and there is thus concrete confirmation of the veracity and credibility of what is being told. The narrators’ freedom also derives from the fact that oral traditions have nothing

kazivača. Upravo je individualna kreativnost i sposobnost interpretacije presudna u oblikovanju usmenih predaja.

Mitske predaje, s obzirom da zadiru u sferu onostranog, ne vezuju se u pravilu za konkretno i opipljivo, ali su daleko više povezane sa ličnim, odnosno kazivačem, jer su one stvar iskustva i ličnog doživljaja i u tome se ogleda njihova istinitost i vjerodostojnost. Način na koji se na terenu dolazi do ovih predaja stoga nije manje zanimljiv i mogao bi se okarakterisati kao kazivanja koja za poticaj imaju opet kazivanja. Naime, jedan mitski sadržaj povlači za sobom drugi; jedan doživljaj traži odraz u drugom, svom ili tuđem doživljaju, pa se mitske predaje, u trenutku kazivanja, i od strane više kazivača, doživljavaju kao vlastiti odraz u ogledalu jer za okosnicu imaju vrlo slične sižee – poput susreta sa vilom, sa aždahom, ili svjedočenja o džinima, uslužnom duhu itd.

Iako se brojni mitski sadržaji susreću u historijskim predajama, to ih ne čini istovjetnim, jer se po svojim osnovnim odlikama historijske i mitske predaje jasno diferenciraju. Preplitanje različitih motiva u istom sižeu jedna je od odlika usmenih predaja, zbog čega je moguće isti sižee ponekad promatrati u sklopu dvije ili više tematskih skupina. Primjeri, iako malobrojni, zabilježeni u Pruscu, između ostalog, i to potvrđuju.

resembling a strict form, like other forms of oral tradition. As a result, the form they take is left entirely to the narrator's imagination. Indeed, individual creativity and the ability to interpret are central to the shaping of oral traditions.

Mythical traditions, touching as they do on the other-worldly, are not usually associated with the concrete and tangible, but far more with the personal, the narrator him or herself, for they concern personal experience, and it is in this that their veracity and credibility lie. The way these traditions were discovered in the field is no less interesting, therefore, and may be described as narratives prompted by other narratives. One mythical tale calls up another; one experience requires a response in another, one's own or that of another, and mythical traditions, as they are spoken, even by several narrators, are experienced as one's personal reflection in a mirror, since their subject-matter is very similar – encounters with a fairy or a dragon, or tales of jinns, good genies and so on.

Though many aspects of myth are to be encountered in historical traditions, this does not make them identical; historical and mythical traditions are clearly different in their fundamental features. The mingling of different motifs in the same tale is one of the features of oral tradition, which is why the same tale may be viewed in the context of two or more thematic groups. Such examples, though few in number, recorded in Prusac, corroborate this.

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