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Amira Dervišević, prof. dr.

Pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Bihaću

Nirha Efendić, dr.

Zemaljski muzej BiH

Amira Dervišević, prof. dr.

Faculty of Education, University of Bihać

Nirha Efendić, dr.

National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Nova / stara čitanja Hasanaginice

Rad pod naslovom "Nova/stara čitanja *Hasanaginice*" bavi se upoređivanjem odabranih analiza i interpretacija balade *Hasanaginica*, počevši od ranih teorijskih čitanja među domaćim proučavaocima južnoslavenskog folklora, pa sve do savremenih pristupa bosanskohercegovačkih historičara književnosti, nastalih od sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća do danas. Rad propituje kako su historičari i teoretičari književnosti prilazili temi i koje su metode koristili u svojim analizama. Komparativnim pristupom nastoji se ukazati na promjene u razumijevanju i vrednovanju ovog značajnog djela. Pored toga, razmatra se kako književnohistorijski kontekst utječe na različita čitanja balade te kako su se mijenjali fokusi književnoteorijskih tekstova. Ciljevi rada jesu sticanje uvida u različita čitanja *Hasanaginice* i ukazivanje na važnost savremenih tumačenja ove čuvene bošnjačke balade.

Ključne riječi: *Hasanaginica*, čitanja *Hasanaginice*, interpretacije, razumijevanje.

Uvod

Pjesma o plemenitoj Hasan-aginaj ljubi jedna je od najljepših i najpoznatijih bošnjačkih balada. Od trenutka kada je Alberto Fortis objavio *Xalostnu pjesanzu plemenite*

New/old readings of 'Hasanaginica'

The paper entitled *New/old readings of 'Hasanaginica'* represents a comparison of selected analyses and interpretations of the ballad *Hasanaginica*, beginning with the early theoretical readings by local researchers of South Slavic folklore, all the way to contemporary approaches of literature historians from Bosnia and Herzegovina, created from the 1970s until today. The paper questions how literature historians and theorists approached the topic and what methods they used in their analyses. A comparative approach is used to point out the changes in the understanding and evaluation of this important work. In addition, it examines how the literary-historical context affects different readings of the ballad and how the focuses of literary theoretical texts have changed. The goals of the paper are to gain insight into different readings of *Hasanaginica* and to point out the importance of modern interpretations of this famous Bosniak ballad.

Keywords: *Hasanaginica*, readings of *Hasanaginica*, interpretations, understanding.

Introduction

The song about noble Hasan-aga's wife is one of the most beautiful and famous Bosniak ballads. Interest not only in *Hasanaginica*, but also in South Slavic poetry as a whole, began

Asan-aghinize u knjizi *Viaggio in Dalmazia* 1774. godine, započinje interes ne samo za *Hasanaginicu* nego i za južnoslavensko pjesništvo u cjelini. Prema Fortisovu zapisu, balada je spjevana u 92 stiha epskog deseterca. U ovom radu komparativnim pristupom želi se ukazati na promjene u analizi i interpretaciji pjesme. Polazna pretpostavka jeste da književnohistorijski kontekst utječe na interpretaciju balade *Hasanaginica*. Ciljevi rada jesu sticanje uvida u odabrana čitanja balade u vremenskom razdoblju od 20. do 21. stoljeća. U radu se najprije prolazi kroz četiri čitanja *Hasanaginice*, i to Camille Lucerne (interpretacija iz 1905), Hatidže Krnjević (1973), Muniba Maglajlića ([1985] 2018) i Seada Šemsovića (2021), a potom se predstavljaju zaključna promišljanja. U fokusu su promišljanja istraživača o: tekstu balade, pjesničkom zavičaju, povijesnom identitetu opjevanih ličnosti, historijskoj jezgri opjevanog zbivanja, odnosu zbilje i pjesničkog postignuća i naposljetku o nekim odjecima pjesme u pisanoj književnosti. Metode koje se koriste jesu komparativna i metoda rada na tekstu. Ovim radom želi se pridonijeti boljem razumijevanju bošnjačke usmene balade *Hasanaginica*.

Podsjetit ćemo na njen sižejni obrazac: Nakon ranjavanja Hasanagu u vojnom logoru obilaze majka i sestra, ali supruga zbog stida od javnog pokazivanja privrženosti ne dolazi, što je iznevjerilo Hasanagina očekivanja te joj je poručio da ga “u dvoru ne čeka”, tj. daje joj neopoziv razvod. Uvrijeđeni Pintorović-beg, Hasanagin šura, dolazi po sestru. Kako bi povratio ponos, Pintorović-beg pronalazi najuglednijeg prosca za svoju sestru – imotskog kadiju. Shrvana od boli, Hasanaginica se obraća novom mladoženji sa zamolbom da joj daju duvak koji će joj potpuno prekriti lice – dajući mladoženji do znanja da je ona ipak majka i

when Alberto Fortis published the *Xalostna pjesanza plemenite Asan-aghinize* in his book *Viaggio in Dalmazia* in 1774. According to Fortis’s records, the ballad consists of 92 verses of the epic decasyllable. This paper uses a comparative approach to point out the changes in the analysis and interpretation of the song. The starting assumption is that the literary-historical context influences the interpretation of the *Hasanaginica* ballad. The paper seeks to gain insight into selected readings of the ballad in the period from the 20th to the 21st century. The paper first goes through four readings of *Hasanaginica* by Camille Lucerne (interpretation from 1905), Hatidža Krnjević (1973), Munib Maglajlić ([1985] 2018) and Sead Šemsović (2021), after which concluding remarks are presented. The focus is on the following questions: the researcher’s reflection on the ballad text, the poet’s homeland, the historical identity of the sung figures, the historical core of the sung event, the relationship between reality and poetic achievement, and finally on some echoes of the poem in written literature. The methods used are comparative and the method of working on the text. This work aims to contribute to a better understanding of the Bosnian oral ballad *Hasanaginica*.

We will recall its plot pattern: After being wounded, Hasanaga’s mother and sister visit him in the military camp, but his wife does not come due to the shame of public display of affection, which disappoints Hasanaga’s expectations and he tells her not to wait for him at home, i.e. gives her an irrevocable divorce. The insulted Pintorović-bey, Hasanaga’s brother-in-law, comes to get his sister. In order to regain his pride, Pintorović-bey finds the most respectable suitor for his sister - the Kadi (judge) of Imotski. Wracked with pain, Hasanaginica turns to her new groom and asks for a veil that will completely cover her face - letting the groom know that she is still a mother and that her feelings are deeply hurt. The turning point of the plot happens at the

da su njena osjećanja duboko povrijeđena. Preokret radnje dešava se u trenutku nailaska svatova pored Hasanagina dvora i suočenja Hasanaginice s djecom koja su izašla pred nju. Slijedi zamolba nevjestice da se svatovi tu i zaustave kako bi vidjela i darovala djecu. U tom trenutku suočila se s Hasanaginim novim prijekorom, sada zbujujućim optužbama za neumoljivo srce majke koja se ne želi vratiti djeci. Taj novi udes, optužbu bez realne krivice, srce mlade žene nije podnijelo. Posljednjim udarcem riječi Hasanaga ju je, zapravo, usmrtio.

Čitanje Camille Lucerne i interpretacija Jagode Truhelke

Camilla Lucerna je bila učiteljica, prevoditeljica i filologinja austrijskih korijena s adresom u Zagrebu. Veći dio života provela je kao nastavnica u Zagrebačkom djevojačkom liceju, a među njenim radovima i interesovanjima našla se i *Hasanaginica* 1905. godine, tačnije Goetheov prepjev i interpretacija *Hasanaginice* u romantičarskim krugovima Evrope Goetheova vremena. Svoje ispitno istraživanje objavila je u 28. svesku zbornika *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte* (Istraživanja moderne književne historije), koji je uređivao prof. Fran Muncker u Berlinu (Lucerna, 1905). U tekstu Camille Lucerne koji je djelomično prevela i interpretirala Jagoda Truhelka te 1906. objavila u *Školskom vjesniku* čitamo vrijedne uvide Lucerne u razumijevanje kulture i međuljudskih odnosa u duhovnom prostoru južne Evrope (Truhelka, 1906).¹ Za analizu pjesme poslužila joj je interpretacija prvih zapisivača, prepisivača, kao i prevoditelja koje navodi (Fortis, Werthes, Goethe,

moment when the wedding procession passes by Hasanaga's court and Hasanaginica's confrontation with the children who came out to greet her. The bride asks the procession to stop there in order to see them and give them presents. At that moment, she is faced with Hasanaga's new reproach, now confusing accusations about the unrelenting heart of a mother who does not want to return to her children. The young woman's heart cannot bear this new misfortune, the accusation without real guilt. With the last blow of his words, Hasanaga actually kills her.

Reading of Camilla Lucerna and interpretation of Jagoda Truhelka

Camilla Lucerna was a teacher, translator and philologist of Austrian roots with an address in Zagreb. She spent most of her life as a teacher at the Zagreb Girls' Lyceum, and among her works and interests was *Hasanaginica* in 1905, more precisely Goethe's translation and interpretation of *Hasanaginica* in the romantics circles of Europe during Goethe's time. She published her research paper in the 28th volume of the collection *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte* (Researches in modern literary history) edited by prof. Fran Muncker in Berlin.¹ In Camilla Lucerna's text, which was partially translated and interpreted by Jagoda Truhelka and published in 1906 in the *Školski vjesnik* (School Journal), we read Lucerna's valuable insights into the understanding of culture and interpersonal relationships in the spiritual space of southern Europe.² To analyze the song, she used the in-

¹ Camilla Lucerna, „Die Südslavische Ballade von Asan-Aga und ihre Nachbildung durch Goethe“, *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, Band 28. Berlin: Duncker 1905.

² Jagoda Truhelka „Južnoslavenska balada o Hasanaginici i njezin prevod od Goethea. Napisala Kamila Lucerna, učiteljica u Zemaljskom ženskom liceju zagrebačkom“, *Školski vjesnik* 13/1906, I/IV, 311-327. Only the mentioned text

¹ Kao primarni izvor dostupan nam je samo navedeni tekst J. Truhelke iz posebnog otiska zagrebačkog *Školskog vjesnika*.

Ferić, Miklošić i njegova studija zasnovana na otkriću *Splitskog rukopisa*, kao i Vuk i njegova prva i druga redakcija) (Miklošić, [1883] 2024). U odjeljku pod naslovom “Isporegijivanje prijevoda sa originalom” zaustavila se na Goetheovu prevodu na osnovu kojeg je zaključila da je “Goethe pjesmi znatno umanjio tugaljiv karakter povećavši joj usrdni” (Lucerna, 1906: 9). U odjeljku svog sadržajnog pregleda spomenutog istraživanja, koji je J. Truhelka naslovila “Tumač sadržaja”, Lucerna pojašnjava:

Pretpostavke događaja leže u običajima i čuvstvu naroda. Starodrevni prokušani običaji. Doba je bojno i surovo. Muž vrijedi tamo kao borac, žena kao spolno biće. Udes njen pasivna je poslušnost. Sram plemenska baština. Sram čuva vjeru. Žena, koja mužu pristupa, prezrena je. Među spolovima ima, pored porodičnih veza i pobratimstva, samo još jedan snošaj. A taj narod onih krajeva smatra nečistim. U Hercegovini žena s vjerenikom govori samo preko djevera. U Crnoj se Gori krije udovica, koja oplakiva vojna, da je niko ne vidi. U narodnim pjesmama često se čuje: *stid je mene u te pogledati, a kamo li s tobom govoriti...* (Truhelka [1906:10] 2024: 172)

Nije teško uočiti da je upravo u ovome paragrafu Lucerna željela dokučiti slojevitost značenje stida izrečeno u četvrtom stihu balade: *A ljubovca od stida ne mogla*. Naime, upravo je ovaj stih najjači i najsadržajniji književnoumjetnički potencijal balade. U riječi stid leži i tajna “grijeha” žene čije se čak ni ime ne obznanjuje, kao i njena tragička krivnja. Čemu i odakle stid? Nema grijeha kod Hasanaginice, nju ne može niko optužiti za bilo kakvo kršenje norme i morala. Štaviše, od nje se očekuje da javni red u ime ljubavi prekrši bez ikakvog nagovještaja da će joj se desiti strašno zlo ukoliko to ne uradi. Tragika Hasanaginice počinje u njenom ispravnom postupanju, poštovanju

interpretation of the first collectors, transcribers, as well as the translators she mentions (Fortis, Werthes, Goethe, Ferić, Miklošić and his study based on the discovery of the Split manuscript, as well as Vuk and his first and second redactions).³ In the section entitled “Comparison of the translation with the original,” she focused on Goethe’s translation, based on which she concluded that “Goethe greatly reduced the mournful character of the poem by increasing its earnestness.” (Lucerna 1906: 9) In his content overview of the mentioned research, which J. Truhelka entitled “Interpreter of the contents”, Lucerna explains:

The assumptions of the event lie in the customs and emotions of the people. Ancient tried and tested customs. The era is hostile and cruel. The husband is worth as a fighter, the wife as a sexual being. Her fate is passive obedience. Shame her tribal heritage. Shame preserves faith. A woman who approaches her husband is despised. Between the sexes, in addition to family ties and fraternity, there is only one other intercourse. And people of those regions consider that impure. In Herzegovina, a woman speaks to her fiancé only through her brother-in-law. In Montenegro, a widow mourning the fighter, hides so that no one can see her. In folk songs it is often heard: *I am ashamed to look at you, let alone talk to you...* (Truhelka [1906:10] 2024: 172)

It is not difficult to see that precisely in this paragraph Lucerna wanted to understand the layered meaning of shame expressed in the fourth line of the ballad: *A ljubovca od stida ne mogla*. Namely, this verse represents the strongest and most substantial literary and artistic potential of the ballad. In the word

by J. Truhelka from the soecial print of Zagreb-based *Školski vjesnik* is available as a primary source.

³ Franc Miklošić ([1883] 2024) „O Goetheovom ‘Klaggesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga’ Istorije originalnog teksta i prevoda“, in collection *Hasanaginica 1774-1974*, edited by Alija Isaković, II edition in: *Izabrana djela Alije Isakovića*, Vol. 9, Sarajevo: Bošnjački institut fondacija Adil Zulfikarpašić.

ustaljenih praksi i u tome leži paradoks njene krivnje. S druge strane, identitet ove žene koja posjeduje (specifičan) stid veže se za njenu pripadnost. Ona nije bilo ko, ona pripada nekome. Nije rijedak slučaj da se u tradicijskim praksama južnoslavenskog naroda žena naziva prema mužu, odnosno da se imenovanjem shodno muževu imenu, ustvari, obilježava pripadnost žene i njen, za javnost, najbitniji identitet: čija je. Ali, bez obzira na činjenicu da ovo simboličko posjedovanje znači bespogovornu poslušnost i pokornost mužu, žena ipak najprije služi nekom višem idealu (*Sram čuva vjeru*), kako je to Lucerna pronicljivo uočila čitajući niz primjera iz usmenog pjesništva južnoslavenskih naroda. Prema tom principu stid i sramota jesu svete vrijednosti: samo gledanje u muškarca zazorno je, a kamoli govor s njim ili čak javno pokazivanje naklonosti. U nastavku pjesme Hasanaginicu ćemo upoznati kao majku, sestru, mladu razvjenčanu gospođu, koju, unatoč svemu, prose sa svih strana jer je iz ugledne kuće. Njeno pokoravanje idealu stida i časti lančano će poljuljati sve njene druge uloge u životu, prouzročiti srdžbu muža zbog iznevjerenih očekivanja, premda i sam zna da želi “nemoguće” i svjestan je običaja. Morao je biti svjestan. Ali, njegova ljubav je zamršena i teška, njegova taština preteže racionalno postupanje, količina njegove skrivene žudnje da voljena žena prekrši ono što je vjekovima praksom i vjerom provjereno osiguravalo očuvanje porodice i društva dovest će ga do posljedica iz kojih nema povratka. Štaviše, on je ne poziva, nego očekuje da se nepozvana k njemu zaputi, znajući da je to neviđeni prekršaj javnog morala. Prema Lucerni: “To je tamna, čudnovata, sama sebi nepoznata želja za ljubavlju koja nadvisuje i spolnu vezu.” (Truhelka, [1906: 11] 2024: 175).

shame lies the secret of the “sin” of the woman whose name is not even mentioned, as well as her tragic guilt. Why and where does shame come from? Hasanaginica has no sin, no one can accuse her of any violation of norms and morals. Moreover, she is expected to violate public order in the name of love without any hint that terrible evil will befall her if she does not. The tragedy of Hasanaginica begins with her correct behavior, respect for established practices, and therein lies the paradox of her guilt. On the other hand, the identity of this woman who possesses (specific) shame is tied to her affiliation. She is not just anyone, she belongs to someone. It is not a rare case that in the traditional practices of the South Slavic people, a woman is named after her husband, that is, naming her according to her husband’s name actually marks the woman’s affiliation and her, for the public, most important identity: to whom she belongs. But, regardless of the fact that this symbolic possession means unquestioning obedience and submission to the husband, the woman still primarily serves a higher ideal (*Shame protects the faith*), as Lucerna wisely observed by reading a series of examples from the oral poetry of the South Slavic peoples. According to this principle, shame and embarrassment are sacred values: just looking at a man is shameful, let alone talking to him or even publicly showing affection. In the continuation of the song, we will meet Hasanaginica as a mother, a sister, a young divorced lady, who, despite everything, receives marriage proposals from all sides because she is from a respectable house. Her submission to the ideal of shame and honor will shake all her other roles in life, cause her husband’s anger due to disappointed expectations, although he himself knows that he wants the “impossible” and is aware of customs. He had to be aware. But his love is complicated and difficult, his vanity prevails over rational action, the amount of his hidden desire for his beloved woman to violate what has been proven for centuries by practice and faith

S druge strane, čini se, prema rezonovanju Lucerne, nije ni Hasanaginica ostala dužna u prijekoru Hasanagi – uzvratila mu je na udarac kojim ju je ponizio i odvojio od djece, barem djelomično, darivajući u svom svatovskom pohodu najmlađe “uboškim haljinama”. Pintorović-beg također je najoštrije uzvratio na Hasanaginu grubost i povredu časti. Sestru je obećao ugledniku – učenjaku koji u društvu ima veće priznanje od ratnika kakav je Hasanaga. U toj je odluci neumoljiv, čak ni sestrina osjećanja više nisu bila važna. Ali, vratimo se na “smjelost” Hasanaginice: kako je, naime, Lucerna razumjela 83. stih balade (*Njemu daje uboške haljine*) u kojem se javlja riječ “uboške” (sirotinjske) prije drugih čitanja koji su ovaj Fortisov zapis prepoznali u značenju “u bošči”, dakle posebnom paketu od fino izvezeneog platna u koje su se umotavali pokloni. Evo njezina tumačenja:

Molba mlade da se ustave konji ne može se naprosto odbiti, tako ona dariva djecu najboljim što je pri ruci; ali malome napršetu šalje “uboške haljine”. To, doduše, nije dar za dječaka, to je vruć prijekor za muža: “Svoju si djecu lišio matere.” To je govor na koji se ona odvažuje... (Truhelka, [1906: 12] 2024: 177)

Drugačije čitanje ove riječi značajno mijenja i razumijevanja cijelog konteksta, količinu dramskog naboja u pjesmi, sam položaj nesretne žene unutar tragičnih zbivanja. Lucerna je to protumačila sljedećim riječima:

Sva su djeca sirotice, ali najsirotnije od svih jeste najmanje, jer njemu se uskraćuju materne prsi. Konjektura: u bošči = u marami ima štošta za se, dala bi se još i pojačati (Hrv. nar. pjesme IV., 670. boščaluk). Ali zašto da se pjesmi bez nevolje otme ljepota, koja savim odgovara duhu narodne poezije? (Truhelka, [1906: 19] 2024: 191)

to ensure the preservation of family and society, will lead him to consequences from which there is no return. Moreover, he does not invite her, but expects her to come to him uninvited, knowing that this is an unprecedented violation of public morality. According to Lucerna: “It’s a dark, strange, unknown desire for love that transcends sexual relationship.” (Truhelka [1906:11] 2024: 175)

On the other hand, it seems that, according to Lucerne’s reasoning, Hasanaginica too did not hesitate to reprimand Hasanaga - she returned the blow with which he humiliated her and separated her from her children, at least partially, by gifting the youngest with “orphan’s clothes” in her wedding ceremony. Pintorović-bey also retaliated harshly against Hasanaga’s rudeness and violation of honor. He promised his sister to a distinguished man - a scholar who has a greater recognition in society than a warrior like Hasanaga. He was inexorable in that decision, even his sister’s feelings were no longer important. But let us go back to the “boldness” of Hasanaginica: Namely, as Lucerna understood the 83rd verse of the ballad (*Njemu daje uboške haljine* - She gives him orphan’s clothes) in which the word “uboške” (orphan’s) appears before other readings that recognized this entry by Fortis as “u bošči” (in the *bošča*), i.e. a special package made of finely embroidered cloth in which gifts were wrapped⁴. Here is her interpretation:

The bride’s request to stop the horses cannot simply be refused, so she presents the children with the best that is at hand; but to the little baby he sends “orphan’s clothes”. It is not a gift for the boy, it is a hot reproach for the husband: “You have deprived your children of their mother.” It is a speech she dares... (Truhelka [1906:12] 2024: 177)

A different reading of this word significantly changes the understanding of

⁴ Translator’s note: The words „u bošči haljine“ (clothes wrapped in an embroidered cloth) sound very similar to “uboške haljine” (orphan’s clothes).

Lucerna, također, ne zastaje osobito pred činjenicom da je Goethe u ovome polustihu spretno zaobišao epitet sirotinjske, vjerovatno osjećajući psihološku strukturu lika mlade žene nešto drugačije od Lucerne. Kada su u pitanju sporna čitanja riječi 88. stiha Fortisova zapisa (srca *argiaskoga*), Lucerna u njoj vidi grešku “govora, slušanja i pisanja”. Prepoznaje u njoj korijen riječi *rđav* u značenju zločest. Napominje da je riječ za tumačenje vrlo važna i da je porazne snage: “Junak prekora ženu svoju s nemilosrđa i rđavštine, koja može da postoji samo uza strah, što je vazda ostala pasivna – Fortis je poznavao konkretno značenje.” (Truhelka, [1906: 19] 2024: 191). Ipak, Lucerna u nastavku priznaje Vuku nastojanja da nađe “umjetničku zamjenu” i ne zamjera mu što nije pristupao riječi kao filolog. Poznato je, naime, da je ovaj dio stiha u Vukovom čitanju glasio “srca kamenoga”. Camilla Lucerna nije se zadržavala na pitanjima povijesnog identiteta opjevanih ličnosti, kao ni historijske jezgre opjevanog zbivanja pa ni na utjecajima čuvene balade na pisanu književnost. Ta će pitanja tek razviti i istražiti Munib Maglajlić. Camilla Lucerna se pak pozabavila pitanjem povijesti otkrića južnoslavenske narodne poezije, dok je Krnjević, istražujući fenomen stida, pronašla niz primjera u ostatku južnoslavenskog usmenog pjesništva apostrofirajući da je stid u narodu razumijevan kao najveća moralna vrlina.

Čitanje i interpretacija Hatidže Krnjević

Hatidža Krnjević je savremena historičarka književnosti koja je svoju obuhvatnu analizu balade *Hasanaginica* prvi put objavila u časopisu *Izraz* 1973. godine (Krnjević, 1973a). Iste godine Krnjević je objavila opsežnu studiju pod naslovom *Usmene balade*

the entire context, the amount of dramatic charge in the poem, the very position of the unfortunate woman within the tragic events. Lucerna interpreted it in the following words:

All children are orphans, but the most orphaned of all is the youngest, because he is deprived of his mother's breast. The conjecture: *u bošči* (in the bošča wrap) = has a lot of merit, it could also be strengthened (Hrv. nar. pjesme IV., 670. boščaluk). But why should a poem unnecessarily be stripped of its beauty, which perfectly corresponds to the spirit of folk poetry? (Truhelka [1906:19] 2024: 191)

Lucerna, also does hover particularly over the fact that Goethe deftly bypassed the epithet “orphan's” in this half-verse, probably sensing the psychological structure of the character of the young woman somewhat different from Lucerna. When it comes to the disputed readings of the words of verse 88 of Fortis's record (*srca argiaskoga* – “heart of Argia”), Lucerna sees in it an error of “speaking, listening and writing”. She recognizes in it the root of the word *rđav*, meaning wicked. She notes that the word is very important for interpretation and has a devastating power: “The hero reproaches his wife accusing her of ruthlessness and wickedness, which can only exist with fear, because she always remained passive - Fortis knew the concrete meaning.” (Truhelka [1906:19] 2024: 191) Nevertheless, Lucerna later acknowledges Vuk's efforts to find an “artistic substitute” and does not blame him for not approaching words as a philologist. Namely, it is known that this part of the verse in Vuk's reading read “*srca kamenoga*” (heart of stone). Camilla Lucerna did not dwell on the questions of the historical identity of the characters, nor the historical core of the sung event, nor the influence of the famous ballad on written literature. Those questions will be developed and investigated by Munib Maglajlić. Camilla Lucerna did deal with the history of the discovery of South Slavic folk poetry, while Krnjević, researching the

Bosne i Hercegovine (Krnjević, 1973b).² U svojoj iscrpnoj analizi posvećenoj razumijevanju višeslojne psihološke strukture likova unutar balade, posebnu pažnju posvetila je upravo čitanju i analizi pjesme koju je prije nje uradila Camilla Lucerna. Osim uvida u tekstove i studije te interpretacije spomenute balade, Krnjević je imala mnoštvo literature koja je narastala u narednih skoro sedamdeset godina, nakon pregleda Lucerne, kao i Meštrovićevu varijantu koju je objavio Milan Ćurčin 1932, ali i varijantu Matije Murka koju je ovaj zabilježio od starice Pave Kuvelić na otoku Šipanu. Krnjević je ipak najbliža stavu da su sve varijante koje su se pojavile tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća rezultat Fortis-Vukove redakcije te da su i kazivači bili pod utjecajem znanja i prenošenja koja su nadahnuta prvim zapisom, kao i Vukovom intervencijom. Također vjeruje da se Gesemannova teza o prvoj zabilježenoj varijanti *Hasanaginice* u *Erlangenskom rukopisu* mora uzeti kao zabluda, te da pjesma koju Gesemann navodi pod brojem 6. nije njena varijanta, nego potpuno druga pjesma, a da su imena poput *Hasan* i *Hasanaginica* (Hasanova supruga) opšta mjesta, odnosno česta imena narodne poezije (Gesemann, 1923: 2–16). Momenat u kojem se Krnjević razilazi s Lucernom jeste razumijevanje polustih “u bošči haljine”, odnosno “uboške haljine” – varijanta polustih kojoj Lucerna daje prednost, što je obrazložila idejom svojevrsnog Hasanaginicina prebacivanja mužu, svojevrzne pobune i protesta junakinje. U razumijevanju psihološke strukture Hasanaginicina lika, Krnjević odbacuje bilo

phenomenon of shame, found a number of examples in the rest of South Slavic oral poetry, emphasizing that shame is understood by the people as the greatest moral virtue.

Reading and interpretation of Hatidža Krnjević

Hatidža Krnjević is a contemporary historian of literature who first published her comprehensive analysis of the ballad *Hasanaginica* in the magazine *Izraz* in 1973.⁵ In the same year, Krnjević published an extensive study entitled *Usmene balade Bosne i Hercegovine* (Oral Ballads of Bosnia and Herzegovina).⁶ In her comprehensive analysis dedicated to understanding the multi-layered psychological structure of the characters within the ballad, she paid special attention to the reading and analysis of the poem which was done before her by Camilla Lucerna. In addition to insights into texts and studies, as well as interpretations of the ballad, Krnjević had an abundance of literature at her disposal that grew over the seventy years after reviewing Lucerna's work, as well as Meštrović's version published by Milan Ćurčin in 1932, but also Matija Murko's version which he recorded from the old woman Pava Kuvelić on the island of Šipan. However, Krnjević is closest to the view that all the variants that appeared in

² Tekst i citati na koji se referiramo preuzeti su iz sekundarnog izvora, tj. fototipskog izdanja priručnika Alije Isakovića *Hasanaginica 1774–1974* u izdanju Bošnjačkog instituta – Fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića u Sarajevu 2024, a u kojem se, između ostalih, nalazi članak o *Hasanaginici* koji je objavila Hatidža Krnjević 1973. u časopisu *Izraz*.

⁵ Hatidža Krnjević, „Hasanaginica. Prilog proučavanju usmenih balada“, *Izraz* XVII/1973, vol. 33, Nr. 4-5, pg. 233-246.

⁶ Hatidža Krnjević, *Usmene balade Bosne i Hercegovine: Knjiga o baladama i knjiga balada*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost 1973. Series: Kulturno naslijeđe Bosne i Hercegovine. XII The text and quotations we refer to were taken from the secondary source, i.e. the copy of Alija Isaković's handbook *Hasanaginica 1774-1974* published by the Bosniak Institute of the Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation in Sarajevo in 2024, which, among others, contains the article about *Hasanaginica* published by Hatidža Krnjević 1973 in the magazine *Izraz*.

kakvu pretpostavku da je Hasnaginica htjela i smjela prigovoriti mužu jer to, naprosto, nije prisposodobivo njenom karakteru, niti potrebi žene čiju je dušu najprije obuzeo strah koji će vladati njome do kraja: od straha sa suočenjem s mužem u dvoru, što vidimo u slici konja koji ržu u avliji, do straha sa suočenjem svatova, odnosno strahom od susreta s djecom. Zbog toga Krnjević u jednom momentu poentira: “Hasanaginica neće u najtežem trenutku svog života misliti na to kako da kazni muža.” (Krnjević, 2024: 647). Po svemu navedenom vidimo da je Krnjević uvažila Vukovo čitanje Fortisova zapisa jer i kod njega (u redakciji iz 1846) vidimo polustih u značenju “u bošči haljine”.

Čitanja Muniba Maglajlića

U temeljitoj studiji pod naslovom *Bošnjačka usmena balada* Maglajlić (2018), donoseći pregled teorijskih promišljanja o lirskonarativnim pjesničkim vrstama, na više mjesta piše o *Hasanaginici*. U studiji autor daje odgovore na ključna pitanja koja se tiču tumačenja *Hasanaginice* – pjesničkom zavičaju balade, povijesnom identitetu opjevanih ličnosti, historijskoj jezgri opjevanog zbivanja i odnosu zbilje i pjesničkog postignuća. U skladu sa savremenim pristupima usmenoj književnosti, posebnu pažnju Maglajlić je posvetio kritičkoj analizi teksta balade i odjecima *Hasanaginice* u pisanoj književnosti.

Naglašavajući da je za savremeno bavljenje bošnjačkim baladesknim pjesništvom od važnosti pristupiti vjerodostojnom tekstu *Xalostne pjesanze*, Maglajlić u dijelu studije pod naslovom *Bošnjačka balada u historijskom i teorijskom kontekstu* donosi promišljanja Alberta Fortisa i Ivana Lovrića koji su, svaki na svoj način, utjecali na današnja istraživanja, prije svega, *Hasanaginice*.

the 1930s were the result of Fortis-Vuk’s editing and that the tellers were also influenced by knowledge and transmission inspired by the first record, as well as Vuk’s intervention. She also believes that Gesemann’s thesis about the first recorded variant of *Hasanaginica* in the Erlangen Manuscript must be taken as a fallacy, and that the poem that Gesemann cites under number 6 is not a variant of the same one, but a completely different poem, and that names like *Hasan* and *Hasanaginica* (Hasan’s wife) are commonplaces, that is, common names in folk poetry.⁷ The point in which Krnjević diverges with Lucerna is the understanding of the half-verse “*u bošči haljine*” (clothes wrapped in *bošča*), i.e., “*uboške haljine*” (orphan’s clothes) - a variant of the half-verse that Lucerna gives priority to because she explained it with the idea of a kind of *Hasanaginica*’s reprimand aimed at her husband, a kind of rebellion and protest of the heroine. In understanding the psychological structure of *Hasanaginica*’s character, Krnjević rejects any assumption that *Hasnaginica* wanted and was allowed to object to her husband because it simply does not suit her character, nor the needs of a woman whose soul was first seized by fear that will rule her until the end: from the fear of facing her husband at their home, which we see in the image of the neighing horses in the courtyard, to the fear of facing the wedding party, that is, the fear of meeting the children. This is why at some point Krnjević notes: “*Hasanaginica* will not think of how to punish her husband in the most difficult moment of her life.” (Krnjević 2024: 647) From all of the above, we can see that Krnjević accepted Vuk’s reading of Fortis’s writings because in his version (in the 1846 edition) we also see the half-line meaning “*u bošči haljine*” (clothes in *bošča*).

⁷ Gesemann, „Die Asanaginica...” 2-16.

Fortis, osim što je prvi objavio pjesmu, prvi je tumač i kritičar teksta balade. U zapisu *Agromento (Sadržaj)* i popratnim bilješkama Fortis je želio italijanskom čitaocu 18. stoljeća posredovati u razumijevanju pjesme, stoga se bavi tumačenjem teksta. Osim toga on je i prvi prevodilac *Hasanaginice* jer je uz izvornik donio i prepjev balade na italijanski jezik.

Važnost Ivana Lovrića ogleda se u tome što je njegov rad *Bilješke o Putu po Dalmaciji*, objavljen dvije godine nakon Fortisove knjige, preteča brojnih kasnijih radova koji se bave kritičkom analizom teksta balade.

Fokus na usmenoknjiževni tekst, u studiji Muniba Maglajlića, rezultat je njegovog nastojanja da se istakne važnost čitanja Fortisovog teksta onakvog kakav jeste. Ovdje treba spomenuti da je Maglajlić ranije pišući o dvjestotoj obljetnici objavljivanja balade u Fortisovoj knjizi istakao problem čitanja Fortisove *Xalostne pjesanze* (Maglajlić, 1983). Uočavajući da do tada nije posvećena odgovarajuća pažnja analizi Fortisovog izvornika, Maglajlić se u svom tekstu bavi upoređivanjem pet čitanja balade: V. S. Karadžića, Olinka Delorka, Miroslava Pantića, anonimnog priređivača i Alije Isakovića. Nakon detaljne analize on dolazi do podataka da su intervencije u Fortisovom tekstu vrlo brojne te da obuhvataju 57 od ukupno 92 stiha balade. Pored intervencija kod priređivanja teksta za široki krug čitalaca koje su i prihvatljive, postoje intervencije koje se nikako ne mogu prihvatiti, a tiču se nepotrebne zamjene u slučajevima kada se kod Fortisa nalaze posve jasne riječi ili sintagme ili umetanje i izbacivanje pojedinih stihova koji su u nekim slučajevima važne spone u fabulativnom sloju balade. Za Maglajlića posebno važno pitanje za tumačenje balade jest ono o tzv. nejasnim ili

Readings of Muniba Maglajlića

In a thorough study entitled *Bošnjačka usmena balada* (Sarajevo, 2018), Maglajlić, bringing an overview of theoretical reflections on lyric-narrative poetic genres, writes about *Hasanaginica* in several places. In the study, the author provides answers to key questions concerning the interpretation of *Hasanaginica* - the poetic homeland of the ballad, the historical identity of the sung figures, the historical core of the sung event and the relationship between reality and poetic achievement. In accordance with contemporary approaches to oral literature, Maglajlić devoted special attention to the critical analysis of the ballad text and the echoes of *Hasanaginica* in written literature.

Emphasizing that for contemporary studies of Bosniak ballads, it is important to approach the authentic text of *Xalostna pjesanza*, Maglajlić in the part of the study entitled *Bošnjačka balada u historijskom i teorijskom kontekstu* (Bosniak ballad in a historical and theoretical context) brings the reflections of Albert Fortis and Ivan Lovrić who, each in their own way, influenced modern research, primarily of *Hasanaginica*. Fortis, in addition to being the first to publish the song, is the first to interpret and criticize the text of the ballad. In the paper *Agromento* (Contents) and the accompanying notes, Fortis wanted to mediate the understanding of the poem for the Italian readers in the 18th century, therefore he deals with the interpretation of the text. In addition, he is also the first translator of *Hasanaginica* because he published the ballad's rendition into Italian along with the original.

The importance of Ivan Lovrić is reflected in the fact that his work *Notes on the Road in Dalmatia* was published two years after Fortis's book, the forerunner of numerous later works dealing with the critical analysis of the ballad text.

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spornim riječima kakve su: *dugh podkliuvaz*, *nozve pozlachene*, *ubofke hagline* i *ferza argiafkoga*. U vezi s tim, autor bilježi da su najnovija proučavanja dala zadovoljavajuća objašnjenja ovih mjesta. Posebno važno jeste čitanje *ubofke hagline* koje je i ranije pročitano kao *u bošči haljine* što je u potpunom skladu s pjesnikovom koncepcijom glavnog lika i strukturom balade.

U literaturi u usmenoj baladi na južnoslavenskom prostoru pitanje pripadnosti *Hasanaginice* bošnjačkoj usmenoj književnosti dugo vremena bilo je predmetom istraživačkih interesa. Već samo označavanje *Hasanaginice* "morlačkom pjesmom", kako ju je imenovao Fortis, potaklo je brojna istraživanja o prvom pjesniku ili pjesnikinji, sredini u kojoj je pjesma nastala i pripadnosti nekoj od usmenih tradicija naroda na južnoslavenskom prostoru. Za Maglajlića neupitno je da je ova pjesma djelo bošnjačkog pjesnika, odnosno pjesnikinje. U prilog svojoj tezi on navodi dio izlaganja Adama Mickiewicza na katedri za slavistiku College de France u Parizu 1841. u kojem ovaj istaknuti pjesnik slavenskog i evropskog romantizma o *Hasanaginici* govori sljedeće:

...Ženska pjesma često ima ozbiljan i tragičan ton; jedna od najljepših u ovoj vrsti je pjesma o smrti Hasan-agine žene, prava koja je bila objavljena i poznata u Evropi. Opat Fortis čuo je kako se pjeva i dao njezin prijevod. Prevedena je i na francuski jezik. Goethe, začuđen jezgrovitosti toga djela, preveo ga na njemački i tako učini poznatom slavensku poeziju. / Čudesna stvar! Goethe, koji je tražio smisao pjesme preko tri prijevoda, ne znajući slavenski jezik, ipak je dao prijevod najvjerniji od svih, uočivši uvijek izvanredno greške prevodilaca. To djelo je muslimanska pjesma. Slaveni koji ispovijedaju islam pjevaju također na slavenskom; oni nisu

was published two years after Fortis's book, the forerunner of numerous later works dealing with the critical analysis of the ballad's text.

The focus on the oral literary text in Munib Maglajlić's study is the result of his effort to emphasize the importance of reading Fortis' text as it is. It should be mentioned here that Maglajlić, writing earlier about the bicentennial of the publication of the ballad in Fortis' book, highlighted the problem of reading Fortis's *Xalostna pjesanza* (Maglajlić 1983). Noting that until then, adequate attention had not been paid to the analysis of Fortis's original, Maglajlić deals in his text with a comparison of five readings of the ballad: V. S. Karadžić, Olinka Delorko, Miroslav Pantić, the anonymous editor, and Alija Isaković. After a detailed analysis, he comes to the conclusion that the interventions in Fortis' text are very numerous, covering 57 of the total 92 verses of the ballad. In addition to the interventions in preparing the text for a wide circle of readers, which are acceptable, there are interventions that cannot be accepted at all, and they concern unnecessary substitutions in cases where Fortis's text contains completely clear words or phrases, or the insertion and deletion of individual verses, which in some cases are important links in the storyline layer of the ballad. For Maglajlić, a particularly important question for the interpretation of the ballad is that of the so-called unclear or controversial words such as: *dugh podkliuvaz*, *nozve pozlachene*, *ubofke hagline* and *ferza argiafkoga*. In this regard, the author notes that the latest studies have provided satisfactory explanations for these lines. Of particular importance is the reading of *ubofke hagline*, which has previously been read as *u bošči haljine*, which is in complete accordance with the poet's conception of the main character and the structure of the ballad.

In the literature about the oral ballad in the South Slavic area, the question of *Hasanaginica's* belonging to Bosniak oral literature has been a subject of research

odbacili svoj jezik... (Mickiewicz, prema Maglajlić, 2018: 11).

U nastavku teksta, Maglajlić donosi i mišljenje čuvene hrvatske znanstvenice Maje Bošković-Stulli o sredini u kojoj je spjevana balada. Naime, Bošković-Stulli bilježi da je najvjerojatnije *Hasanaginica* najprije spjevana u bošnjačkoj sredini, a da se zatim prenosila u usmenoj tradiciji istoga kraja među dalmatinskim Hrvatima od kojih je zapisana.

Lokalna obilježja osobitost su bošnjačke balade. S obzirom na to da li je pjesničko uobličenje neke teme ostalo unutar mjesta njihova pjesničkog zavičaja ili je prešlo prostorne i vremenske granice, mogu se izdvojiti dvije skupine balada. Za razliku od teme o pogubljenju braće Morića, koja je bila privlačna ne samo usmenim pjesnicima – savremenima i svjedocima zbivanja već i pjesnicima koji su stasavali vremenski kasnije i na drugim prostorima na kojem su živjeli Bošnjaci – tema *Hasanaginice* nije prenošena izvan mjesta njezinog pjesničkog zavičaja. Upoređujući saznanja do kojih su došli istraživači u dugom nizu godina od Alberta Fortisa do Alije Isakovića, Maglajlić zaključuje da je za pjesničko uobličenje morao postojati događaj od lokalnog značaja koji je potakao pažnju pjesnika, odnosno pjesnikinje. U vezi s tim, on donosi promišljanje Matije Murka, koji na temelju bogatog terenskog iskustva zaključuje da: "...zbijski događaj nedvojbeno stoji iza pjesničkog zbivanja u ovoj baladi, tj. da je bio neposredan povod nastanku pjesme" (Maglajlić, 2018: 169).

Fortisov zapis, sadržaj pjesme i spominjanje Imotskog kadije upućuje na pretpostavku da je baladom opjevana lokalna porodična tragedija na području Imotske krajine sredinom 18. stoljeća. Povezanost pjesme sa zbivanjem koje ju je potaklo

interest for a long time. The very designation of *Hasanaginica* as a "Morlac poem", as Fortis named it, inspired numerous researches about the first poet or female poet, the environment in which the poem was created and its belonging to one of the oral traditions of the peoples of the South Slavic area. For Maglajlić, it is unquestionable that this poem is the work of a Bosniak poet. In support of his thesis, he cites a part of Adam Mickiewicz's presentation at the Department of Slavic Studies at the College de France in Paris in 1841, in which this prominent poet of Slavic and European romanticism says the following about *Hasanaginica*:

"...A female song often has a serious and tragic tone; one of the most beautiful of this type is a song about the death of Hasan-aga's wife, the first one published and known in Europe. Abbot Fortis heard it sung and gave its translation. It was also translated into French. Goethe, amazed by the succinctness of that work, translated it into German and thus made Slavic poetry famous. / A wonderful thing! Goethe, who searched for the meaning of the song through three translations, not knowing the Slavic language, nevertheless gave the most faithful translation of all, always spotting the mistakes of the translators without exceptions. That work is a Muslim song. Slavs who profess Islam also sing in Slavic; they did not abandon their language..." (Maglajlić according to Mickiewicz 2018: 11).

In the continuation of his text, Maglajlić brings the opinion of the famous Croatian scientist Maja Bošković-Stulli about the environment in which the ballad was sung. Namely, Bošković-Stulli notes that most likely *Hasanaginica* was first sung in the Bosniak environment, and that it was then passed on in the oral tradition of the same region among the Dalmatian Croats where it was written down.

Local features are a hallmark of Bosniak ballads. Based on whether the poetic embodiment of a theme remained within its poetic homeland or crossed spatial and temporal

očituje se i u imenu Hasanaginčinog brata – bega Pintorovića. Prema Maglajliću, tema kobno puštene ljube koja je u osnovi balade nije prešla dug put usmenog prenošenja od vremena kada je uobličena do trenutka njezina zapisivanja jer bi ime bega Pintorovića bilo zamijenjeno nekim tipičnijim imenom za bošnjačku baladu. “Drugim riječima, može se pretpostaviti da je pjesnikinja Fortisove *Xalostne pjesance* bila ili očevidac i hroničar dramatičnog zbivanja ili je predaju o događaju koji je izazvao nastanak pjesme primila sigurnim tokom usmenopjesničke tradicije” (Maglajlić, 2018: 173).

Ovdje treba istaći da su, prema Maglajliću, na pretpostavku da je baladu potaklo stvarno lokalno zbivanje najmanje upućivala imena glavnih junaka. Komentirajući pretpostavke istraživača da je historijski predak junaka balade bio Hasan-aga Arapović, krajišnički četovođa na području Zadvarja, Grabovca, Zagvozda i Župe, a koji je bio i dizdar tvrđave u Zadvarju za vrijeme Kandijskog rata (1645–1669), Maglajlić smatra da je to malo vjerovatno. Vrijeme bilježenja *Hasanaginice* bilo je dovoljno blizu vremena odvijanja porodične drame koja je u njenoj jezgri da budu sačuvani tragovi iz zbilje pjesnika koji je bio očevidac ili je naslijedio sižejni obrazac koji nije bio dugo u usmenom prenošenju. U vezi s lokalnim obilježjima, Maglajlić donosi i dio razgovora Ota Bihalji-Merina s Husagom Ćišićem iz 1954. u kojem Ćišić kazuje porodičnu predaju koja u nekim dionicama odgovara sadržaju balade. Međutim, kako se predaja razlikuje od balade, to znači da je u procesu poetizacije od događaja do pjesničkog uobličjenja došlo do znatnijih promjena.

Budući da do sada nije otkriveno ništa određeno o zbivanju, odnosno o zbilji pjesničkog okruženja, autor studije zaključuje da nerazjašnjena tajna opjevanog zbivanja ne dopušta mogućnost praćenja odnosa

boundaries, two groups of ballads can be distinguished. Unlike the theme of the execution of the Morić brothers, which was attractive not only to oral poets - contemporaries and witnesses of the events, but also to poets who emerged later in time and in other areas where Bosniaks lived, the theme of *Hasanaginica* was not transmitted beyond the place of its poetic homeland. Comparing the findings obtained by researchers over many years, from Alberto Fortis to Alija Isaković, Maglajlić concludes that there had to be an event of local importance that attracted the attention of the poet, or the poetess. In this regard, he brings the reflection of Matija Murko, who, based on his rich field experience, concludes that: “...a real event undoubtedly stands behind the poetic events in this ballad, i.e. that there was an immediate reason for the creation of the song.” (Maglajlić 2018: 169).

Fortis’s record, the content of the song and the mention of the judge of Imotski point to the assumption that the ballad was sung about a local family tragedy in the area of the Imotska krajina in the mid-18th century. The connection of the song with the event that inspired it is also evident in the name of Hasanaginica’s brother - Bey Pintorović. According to Maglajlić, the theme of fatally divorced wife, which is the basis of the ballad, did not travel a long way of oral transmission from the time it was incepted to the moment it was written down, because the name of Bey Pintorović would have been replaced by a more typical name for a Bosniak ballad. “In other words, it can be assumed that the poetess of Fortis’s *Xalostna pjesanca* was either an eyewitness and chronicler of a dramatic event, or she received the tale of the event that caused the creation of the song in the safe course of the oral tradition”. (Maglajlić 2018: 173).

It is noteworthy that, according to Maglajlić, the assumption that the ballad was inspired by real local events was the least suggested by the names of the main characters. Commenting on the assumptions of researchers that the

zbilje i pjesme kao što je to slučaj s drugim bošnjačkim baladama. Pitanje odnosa zbilje i pjesme povezano je i s pitanjem o okolnostima bilježenja. Da li je Fortis osobno slušao baladu ili ju je dobio zabilježenu? Ako je pjesmu dobio zabilježenu, ko mu je poslao zapis? Na temelju Fortisovih bilješki može se saznati da njegov prijatelj bio Splitsanin Julije Bajamonti, a Bajamonti se dopisivao s Osman-begom Filipovićem iz Odžaka kod Glamoča. U vezi s tim, postoji mogućnost da je Osman-beg Filipović poslao zabilježeni tekst pjesme. Dakle, za Magaljlića okolnosti bilježenja su nepoznate, stoga se ne može pouzdano znati o odnosu zbilje i pjesničkog postignuća.

Jedno od mogućih uporišta analize balade jeste razmatranje odnosa fabule i sižea, čime se postiže uvid u postupak kojim je djelo oblikovano. Prema Magaljliću, *Hasanaginica* je primjer u kojem je na više mjesta u baladi prisutno sažimanje radnje. Primjerice, zbivanje do trenutka primanja gnjevne Hasan-agine poruke prikazano je u sažetom presjeku, bez ulaženja u pojedinosti. Prijelaz s junaka balade, odnosno s njegove poruke, na zbivanja u kojima junakinja stradava, također karakterizira redukcija radnje jer ne saznajemo niti ko, niti kako prenosi ljubi pogubnu poruku supruga. Sažimanje radnje bitno određuje postupak oblikovanja baladesknog sižea i odlikuje baladu kao usmenoknjiževnu vrstu.

Teorijsko promišljanje o bošnjačkoj baladi Magaljlić je zaokružio propitivanjem odjeka bošnjačke balade u pisanoj književnosti. Ne bez razloga, najviše pažnje posvetio je upravo odjecima pjesme o plemenitoj Hasan-aginoj ljubi koja je od svih bošnjačkih balada najuvjerljivije odjeknula u pisanoj književnosti (Magaljlić, 2018). Prvo dramsko djelo potaknuto *Hasanaginicom* jeste tekst Davida Todorovića iz 1908.

historical ancestor of the hero of the ballad was Hasan-aga Arapović, a commander of the border troops in the area of Zadvarje, Grabovac, Zagvozd and Župa, who was also the commander of the fortress in Zadvarje during the Cretan War (1645–1669), Magaljlić thinks that this is unlikely. The time of recording of *Hasanaginica* was close enough to the time of the unfolding of the family drama that is at its core to preserve traces of the poet who was an eyewitness or inherited a plot pattern that was not in oral transmission for a long time. Regarding the local features, Magaljlić brings a part of Oto Bihalji-Merin's conversation with Husaga Ćišić from 1954, in which Ćišić tells a family tradition that in some parts corresponds to the content of the ballad. However, as the tradition differs from the ballad, it means that in the process of poeticization from the event to the poetic embodiment, there were more significant changes.

Since so far nothing definite has been discovered about the event or the reality of the poetic environment, the author of the study concludes that the unexplained secret of the sung event does not allow the possibility of following the relationship between reality and the song, as is the case with other Bosniak ballads. The question of the relationship between reality and the song is also related to the question of the recording circumstances. Did Fortis listen to the ballad himself or did he get it recorded? If he got the song recorded, who sent him the record? On the basis of Fortis's notes, it can be discerned that he was a friend of Julija Bajamonti from Split, and Bajamonti corresponded with Osman-bey Filipović from Odžak near Glamoč. In connection with the above, there is a possibility that Osman-bey Filipović sent the recorded text of the song. So, for Magaljlić, the circumstances of the recording are unknown, so it is not possible to reliably know the relationship between reality and the poetic work.

One of the possible bases for analysis of the ballad is the consideration of the relationship

godine, a nakon toga slijede dramska djela Alekse Šantića, Milana Ogrizovića, Nikole T. Đurića, Vladislava Tmuša, Ljubomira Simovića, Alije Isakovića, Nijaza Alispahića i Vahide Šeremet. Maglajlić vješto prohodit kroz dramske tekstove i upoređuje ih s usmenoknjiževnim predloškom. Fokus je na likovima drame, dramskoj radnji, dramskom sukobu, ambijentalnoj situiranosti zbivanja i, naposljetku, premrežavanju dijaloga dramskih likova stihovima balade. Maglajlić komparativnom i metodom rada na tekstu izdvaja ključna mjesta u dramskim tekstovima čiji su autori manje ili više uspješno pokušali da čitaocima prenesu ljepotu usmene riječi. Za autora jedan od uspješnijih jeste dramski tekst *Hasanaginica* Alije Isakovića: “Isaković je (...) uza svu vjernost tekstu i kontekstu balade, sretno izbjegao svaki folklorizam i uspio je uobličiti upečatljivo dramsko djelo, izrazom savremeno i pjesnički uzbudljivo” (Maglajlić, 2018: 247).

Čitanje balade *Hasanaginica* Seada Šemsovića

Interpretacijom balade *Hasanaginica* bavio se i Sead Šemsović, proučavalac usmene bošnjačke književnosti. Šemsovićevo propitivanje ove pjesme u skladu je sa savremenim pristupima usmenoj književnosti, čiji je fokus na analizi teksta, a rezultate svog istraživanja predstavio je u knjizi *Usmena poezija Bošnjaka* objavljenoj 2020. godine. Baladu *Hasanaginica* autor čita kao izvanrednu lirskoonarativnu pjesmu nastalu u bošnjačkoj sredini. Upravo ova pjesma poslužila će Šemsoviću da pokaže kako baladeskni narativ odražava dramske elemente.

Sead Šemsović pozabavio se predloškom Alberta Fortisa koji je objavljen u knjizi *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, kao i čitanjima Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića (1814.

between the storyline and the topic, which provides an insight into the process by which the work was shaped. According to Maglajlić, *Hasanaginica* is an example in which the plot is condensed in several places in the ballad. For example, the events leading up to the moment of receiving Hasan-aga’s angry message are presented in a concise section, without going into details. The transition from the hero of the ballad, that is, from his message, to the events in which the heroine suffers, is also characterized by the reduction of the plot, because we do not find out who, or how, transmits the husband’s fatal message to the wife. Summarizing the plot significantly determines the procedures for shaping the ballad topic and distinguishes the ballad as an oral literary genre.

Maglajlić rounded off his theoretical reflection on the Bosniak ballad by examining the echoes of the Bosniak ballad in written literature. Not without reason, he paid the most attention to the echoes of the song about the noble love of Hasan-aga, which of all Bosniak ballads resonated most convincingly in written literature (Maglajlić 2018). The first dramatic work inspired by the *Hasanaginica* is the text by David Todorović from 1908, followed by the dramatic works of Aleksa Šantić, Milan Ogrizović, Nikola T. Đurić, Vladislav Tmuš, Ljubomir Simović, Alija Isaković, Nijaz Alispahić and Vahida Šeremet. Maglajlić skillfully walks through the dramatic texts and compares them with the oral literary model. The focus is on the characters of the drama, the dramatic plot, the dramatic conflict, the ambient situation of the events and, finally, the interweaving of the dialogues of the dramatic characters with the verses of the ballad. Using a comparative and text-based method, Maglajlić highlights the key points in dramatic texts whose authors have more or less successfully attempted to convey the beauty of the spoken word to their readers. For the author, one of the most successful is the dramatic text *Hasanaginica* by Alija Isaković: “Isaković (...) with all his fidelity to the text and context

i 1846), Miroslava Pantića (1964), Alije Isakovića (1974) i Muniba Maglajlića (1995). Upoređujući predložak i tekstove spomenutih istraživača usmene književnosti, Šemsović prednost daje čitanju Muniba Maglajlića. Referirajući se na Maglajlićevo čitanje, on komentira ključno mjesto balade koje u kontekstu dramskih elemenata predstavlja preokret radnje, scenu kada majka prolazeći pokraj Hasan-aginih dvora, dariva djecu. Radi se o darovima, kako je to zapisao Fortis, *nozve pozlachene i ubofke hagline*. Pažnju privlači da su upravo ovi darovi bili predmet brojnih rasprava proteklih 250 godina. Oslanjajući se na čitanje Muniba Maglajlića, Šemsović ove dijelove pjesme čita kao *nože pozlaćene i u bošči haljine*. Ovi dijelovi teksta važni su za analizu i interpretaciju pjesme i drugačije čitanje posve mijenja razumijevanje balade. Autor ističe još dva mjesta koja su bila predmetom interesa istraživača, a koji su imali različita čitanja. Radi se o izrazu *argiafkoga* (*srca argiafkoga*) i posljednjem slovu posljednje riječi (*sirota*). Što se tiče izraza *argiafkoga*, istraživači su ga čitali kao *kamenoga* (Karadžić), odnosno *hrđavskoga* (Isaković), dok Maglajlić izraz čita *arđaskoga* (neumoljivoga). Za Šemsovića najbolje je da pojam ostane u originalu *arđaskoga* u značenju neumoljivoga kako ga je Fortis razumio jer je tako u skladu s baladom u cjelini. Što se tiče posljednje riječi, Karadžić i Pantić pročitat će ovu riječ kao “sirote” a Maglajlić kao “sirota”. Budući da prvi izbor pomjera središte pažnje sa Hasanaginice na njenu djecu, za Šemsovića je opravdano da se ova riječ čita kao “sirota” jer je ipak fokus na Hasanaginici. *Od žalosti, gledajuć’ sirota!*

Polazeći od pretpostavke da je u baladestnom narativu lirski senzibilitet provučen kroz dramsku radnju, čime “nastaje mimetiziranje bola u snažnom tempu, koji glavnog

of the ballad, fortunately avoided any folklore and managed to shape a striking dramatic work, contemporary in expression and poetically exciting.” (Maglajlić 2018: 247).

Reading of the ballad *Hasanaginica* by Sead Šemsović

Sead Šemsović, a scholar of oral Bosniak literature, also dealt with the interpretation of the ballad *Hasanaginica*. Šemsović’s examining of this song is in line with contemporary approaches to oral literature that focus on text analysis, and he presented the results of his research in the book *Usmena poezija Bošnjaka* objavljenoj (Oral Poetry of Bosniaks) published in 2020. The author reads the ballad *Hasanaginica* as an extraordinary lyric-narrative song created in the Bosniak environment. This particular song will serve Šemsović to show how the ballade narrative reflects dramatic elements.

Sead Šemsović addressed the model of Alberto Fortis published in the book *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, as well as the readings of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1814 and 1846), Miroslav Pantić (1964), Alija Isaković (1974) and Munib Maglajlić (1995). Comparing the model and the texts of the aforementioned researchers of oral literature, Šemsović gives preference to Munib Maglajlić’s reading. Referring to Maglajlić’s reading, he comments on a key place in the ballad that, in the context of dramatic elements, represents a turning point in the plot, the scene when the mother, passing by Hasan-aga’s palace, gives gifts to the children.

The gifts are, as Fortis wrote *nozve pozlachene* and *ubofke hagline*. It is noteworthy that these gifts have been the subject of numerous discussions over the past 250 years. Relying on Munib Maglajlić’s reading, Šemsović reads these parts of the poem as *nože pozlaćene* (gilded knives) and *u bošči haljine* (clothes wrapped in bošča). These parts of the text are important for the analysis

junaka vodi u susret sa neumitnom smrću” (Šemsović, 2020: 130), analizu balade o plemenitoj Hasan-aginoj ljubi Šemsović je zasnovao na izdvajanju ključnih elemenata dramske radnje (ekspozicije, zapleta, kulminacije, peripetije i raspleta).

U središtu ekspozicije je Hasanaginicin stid koji je isključivo lične prirode i odraz je njezinog odnosa prema suprugu. Sead Šemsović posmatra stid kao rezultat sukoba dvije slike Hasanaginicinog doživljaja muža – unutarnje i vanjske. Unutarnja slika utemeljena je u stoljetnim tradicijskim vrijednostima u kojoj je muž zaštitnik i skrbnik porodice. Vanjska slika zrcali novonastalu situaciju – suprug je ranjenik unutar vojnog logora. “Njezino razumijevanje novonastale situacije uključuje sve dimenzije slučaja: lični i porodični zaštitnik u poziciji nemoći, unutar vojnog konteksta, njezino sažaljenje za vojnika može biti uvreda...” (Šemsović, 2020: 133). Pažnju privlači da se stid javlja kao odraz tradicijskih vrijednosti jer i pjesnik odobrava njezin osjećaj stida, budući da ga ne propituje.

Zaplet balade rezultat je nerazumijevanja – Hasanaga ne razumije ženin nedolazak i ljut je. On ga doživljava kao pomanjkanje ljubavi i izdaju, a ne vidi da ljuba čuva sliku njega kao vojnika i zaštitnika. Šemsović bilježi da je u ovoj dionici balade primjetno pomjeranje pozicije unutar kolektiva. U vezi s ovim treba istaći da je Hasanaginica čuvarica patrijarhalnih vrijednosti, a Hasan-aga drugačije gleda na situaciju jer je putovao po zapadnim i primorskim krajevima, gdje se ljubav očituje drugačije u odnosu na sredinu iz koje dolazi.

Vrhunac dramske radnje u pjesmi o plemenitoj Hasan-aginoj ljubi jeste kada kaduna traži od brata da uputi pismo kadiji u kojem traži da ponese “dug pul-duvak”

and interpretation of the song and a different reading completely changes the understanding of the ballad. The author highlights two more places that were the subject of the researchers’ interest, and which had different readings. These are the expression *argiafkoga* (*srca argiafkoga*) and the last letter of the last word (*sirota*). As for the term *argiafkoga*, the researchers read it as *kamenoga* (made of stone) (Karadžić), i.e. *hrđavskoga* (evil) (Isaković), while Maglajlić reads the term as *arđaskoga* (unrelenting). For Šemsović, it is best for the term to remain the original *arđaskoga*, meaning unrelenting as Fortis understood it, because it is in harmony with the ballad as a whole. As for the last word, Karadžić and Pantić read this word as “*sirote*” (orphan) and Maglajlić as “*sirota*” (poor). Since the first choice shifts the focus of attention from Hasanaginica to her children, it is justified for Šemsović to read this word as “*sirota*” because the focus is on Hasanaginica after all. *Od žalosti, gledajuć sirota* (Out of grief, poor woman looking).

Starting from the assumption that in the ballad narrative, lyrical sensibility is woven through the dramatic plot, which “creates a mimicking of pain at a strong pace, which leads the main character to meet the inevitable death” (Šemsović, 2020: 130), Šemsović based his analysis of the ballad about Hasan-aga’s noble wife on the isolation of key elements of the dramatic plot (exposition, plot, culmination, twists and turns, and denouement).

At the center of the exposition is Hasanaginica’s shame, which is exclusively of a personal nature and is a reflection of her relationship with her husband. Sead Šemsović observes shame as a result of the conflict between two images of Hasanaginica’s experience of her husband - internal and external. The internal image is based on centuries-old traditional values in which the husband is the protector and guardian of the family. The external image reflects the new situation - the husband is wounded inside the military camp. “Her

– “kada bude agi mimo dvora, / nek’ ne vidi sirotice svoje!” (Maglajlić, 2000: 206)

Peripetiju Šemsović prepoznaje u sceni kada sinovi izlaze pred majku pozivajući je da se svrati da joj “užinati” daju. Budući da pul-duvak nije osigurao da majka ne vidi svoju djecu, Hasanaginica moli starog svata da ustavi konje da dariva djecu, što u dramskom kontekstu odgovara preokretu radnje.

Naposljetku, dramski rasplet počinje Hasan-aginim pozivom sinovima: “Hod’te amo, sirotice moje, / kad se neće smilovati na vas, / majka vaša srca arđaskoga!” (Maglajlić, 2000: 207), pozivom nakon kojeg Hasanaginica umire.

Balada *Hasanaginica* poslužila je Šemsoviću da piše o intertekstualnim relacijama usmene i pisane književnosti. Upoređujući dramu *Hasanaginica* Nijaza Alispahića s predloškom iz bošnjačke usmene književnosti, Šemsović zaključuje da se u slučaju ova dva primjera radi o metatekstualnoj razini intertekstualnosti. “Za djelo pisane književnosti kažemo da je nastalo metatekstualnom razinom intertekstualne veze s djelom usmene književnosti kada u njemu jasno raspoznavamo tematske i/ili fabularne elemente nekog djela usmene književnosti”, primjećuje Šemsović (2021: 156). Analizom stepena transkodiranja citata i motiva iz predloška i s obzirom na stepen značenjske transformiranosti, Šemsović nastoji pokazati u kakvom su odnosu jedna od varijanti balade i drama *Hasanaginica* Nijaza Alispahića. U vezi s ovim postupkom treba istaći da se on predstavlja kao model za kasnija propitivanja intertekstualnih odnosa usmene i pisane književnosti.

Zaključna razmatranja

Pored brojnih prevoda, rani radovi o poetskim strukturama i različitim razumijevanjima

understanding of the newly emerged situation includes all dimensions of the case: personal and family protector in a position of powerlessness, within the military context, her pity for the soldier can be an insult...” (Šemsović 2020: 133) Attention is drawn to the fact that shame appears as a reflection of traditional values because the poet approves of her feeling of shame, since he does not question it.

The plot of the ballad is the result of a misunderstanding – Hasan-aga does not understand the wife’s absence and is angry. He perceives it as a lack of love and betrayal, and he does not see that wife preserves the image of him as a soldier and protector. Šemsović notes that in this part of the ballad, there is a noticeable shift in position within the collective. In this connection, it should be pointed out that Hasanaginica is the custodian of patriarchal values, and Hasan-aga sees the situation differently because he traveled to the western and coastal regions where love manifests itself differently, compared to the environment he comes from.

The climax of the dramatic plot in the song about the noble Hasan-aga’s wife is when the lady asks her brother to send a letter to the judge in which she asks him to bring a “*long pul-duvak*” (a long veil) – “*kada bude agi mimo dvora, / nek’ ne vidi sirotice svoje!*” (so she may not see her orphans/when she passes by aga’s court) (Maglajlić, 2000: 206)

Šemsović recognizes the twists in the scene when the sons appear before their mother, inviting her to stop by so that they can offer her a meal. Since the long veil did not ensure that the mother does not see her children, Hasanaginica asks the leader of the wedding party to stop the horses so that she can give the children gifts, which in the dramatic context corresponds to a plot twist.

Finally, the dramatic unfolding begins with Hasan-aga’s call to his sons: “*Hod’te amo, sirotice moje, / kad se neće smilovati na vas, / majka vaša srca arđaskoga!*” (Come here, my orphans/since your mother will not show mercy

balade *Hasanaginica* u zapadnim krugovima otkrivaju nam činjenicu koliko je ova južnoslavenska pjesma muslimanske sredine svojom unutarnjom snagom i slojevitosti zadivila zapadni svijet. Jedno od posvećenijih tumačenja načinila je Camilla Lucerna u Zagrebu 1905, a njena iscrpna analiza Goetheova prevoda, ali i vlastito tumačenje ove potresne pjesme iz ugla žene koja ne pripada sredini o kojoj piše, ali je dobro razumije, potaknut će brojne druge radove koji su nastajali u decenijama iza nje. Najviše utjecaja imala je na Hatidžu Krnjević, koja je također dobro poznavala sredinu i kulturne okolnosti u kojima je pjesma nastala, a kojoj je pri tome i sama pripadala. U nekoliko važnih tačaka razumijevanja balade približile su se u svojim stavovima, ali je Krnjević razjasnila momente koje je na svoj “insajderski način” vidjela, tako da su određene nedomice Lucerne zapravo upotpunjene ili korigovane tumačenjima Krnjevićeve, osobito kada je u pitanju fenomen straha, ali i pojedinih riječi koje su u Fortisovu zapisu mogle izazivati zabunu ili čitaoca odvesti u krivi smjer poput polustiha *ubofke hagline*.

Maglajlićeva studija *Bošnjačka usmena balada* donosi autorove stavove o pitanjima koja su dugo zaokupljala proučavaoce usmene književnosti. Komparativnom metodom i metodom rada na tekstu autor upoređuje rezultate istraživanja od prvih tekstova iz 18. stoljeća do savremenog doba i nastoji dati svoje odgovore na brojna pitanja. Što se tiče pitanja o mogućoj pjesničkoj jezgri, autor zaključuje da je na primjeru balade o *Hasanaginici* teško pratiti povijesnu pozadinu koja je osigurala nastanak pjesme kako što je to slučaj kod drugih balada, npr. *Morića* ili *pogibije Hifzi-bega Đumišića*, jer su tragovi i svjedočanstva zauvijek iščezli. (Maglajlić, 2018: 176). Doprinos Maglajlićevog čitanja

to you/your mother with the heart of Argia) (Maglajlić, 2000: 207), the call after which *Hasanaginica* dies.

The ballad *Hasanaginica* served Šemsović to write about the intertextual relations between oral and written literature. Comparing the play *Hasanaginica* by Nijaz Alispahić with an example from Bosniak oral literature, Šemsović concludes that in the case of these two examples, we are talking about the meta-textual level of intertextuality. “For a work of written literature, we say that it was created at the metatextual level of intertextual connection with a work of oral literature when we clearly recognize the thematic and/or fictional elements of a work of oral literature in it,” observes Šemsović (2022: 156). By analyzing the degree of transcoding of quotations and motifs from the template and considering the degree of semantic transformation, Šemsović tries to show the relationship between one of the variants of the ballad and the drama *Hasanaginica* by Nijaz Alispahić. In connection with this procedure, it should be emphasized that it is presented as a model for later examining of intertextual relations between oral and written literature.

Final considerations

In addition to numerous translations, early works on poetic structures and different understandings of the *Hasanaginica* ballad in Western circles reveal to us the fact that this South Slavic song of the Muslim environment amazed the Western world with its inner strength and layers. One of the more inspired interpretations was made by Camilla Lucerna in Zagreb in 1905, and her exhaustive analysis of Goethe’s translation as well as her own interpretation of this poignant song from the point of view of a woman who does not belong to the environment she writes about, but understands it well, will inspire numerous other works that were created in the decades after her. Her greatest influence was on Hatidža

Hasanaginice, između ostalog, jest što je metodom rada na tekstu pokazao kako je balada odjeknula u pisanoj književnosti. Pažljivo upoređujući raznolike planove usmene balade i dramskog teksta, ukazao je na interferencije usmene i pisane književnosti. Ovo propitivanje intertekstualnih veza usmene i pisane književnosti u skladu je s istraživačkim pothvatima u savremenoj nauci o usmenoj književnosti.

Čitanje *Hasanaginice* Seada Šemsovića utemeljeno je u modernim teorijama teksta i on o baladi piše osvjetljavajući njezina poetička svojstva – dramske elemente u baladeskom narativu i njenu vezu s pisanom književnošću – dramom (i libretom za operu) *Hasanaginica* Nijaza Alispahića. Ono što je važno istaći jeste da je njegov pristup fokusiran na propitivanje teksta, a ne na analitički pristup psihološkoj strukturi likova u pjesmi, što je bio glavni fokus Camille Lucerne i Hatidže Krnjević.

Naposljetku, na temelju uvida u odabranu čitanja, može se reći da je od 1774. godine, kada je objavljena balada *Hasanaginica*, do 21. stoljeća interes proučavalaca bio usmjeren, pored ostalog, na sljedeće teme: tekst balade, njen zavičaj, povijesni identitet opjevanih ličnosti, historijsku jezgru opjevanog zbivanja, odnos zbilje i pjesme te odjeke balade u pisanoj književnosti. Književnohistorijski kontekst utjecao je na čitanja balade na način da su u fokusu bila pitanja koja su odražavala dominantan interes nauke o usmenoj književnosti. Ono što je primjetno jest da su savremena proučavanja više fokusirana na proučavanje teksta *Hasanaginice* i njene odjeke u pisanoj književnosti. S vremenom *Hasanaginica* je potvrdila svoj status kao vrhunsko pjesničko postignuće nepoznate pjesnikinje / pjesnika i neiscrpan izvor umjetničke inspiracije koji potiče na nova čitanja i razumijevanja.

Krnjević, who also knew well the environment and cultural circumstances in which the song was created, and who herself belonged to them. In several important points of understanding the ballad, their views were close, but Krnjević clarified the moments that she viewed in her “insider’s way” so that Lucerna’s certain doubts were actually removed or corrected by Krnjević’s interpretations, especially when it comes to the phenomenon of fear, but also certain words that in Fortis’s records could cause confusion or lead the reader in the wrong direction, like half-verses about *ubofke hagline*.

Maglajlić’s study “Bošnjačka usmena balada” presents the author’s views on issues that have long preoccupied scholars of oral literature. Using the comparative method and the method of working on the text, the author compares the results of research from the first texts from the 18th century to modern times and tries to give his answers to numerous questions. As for the question of a possible poetic core, the author concludes that on the example of the ballad about *Hasanaginica*, it is difficult to follow the historical background that resulted in the creation of the song, as is the case with other ballads, such as the ballad about the Morić brothers or the death of Hifzi-bey Đumišić, because the traces and testimonies have disappeared forever. (Maglajlić, 2018:176). The contribution of Maglajlić’s reading of *Hasanaginica*, among others, is that he showed, by using the method of working on the text, how the ballad resonated in written literature. By carefully comparing the various plans of the oral ballad and the dramatic text, he pointed out the interferences of oral and written literature. This questioning of the intertextual connections between oral and written literature is in line with research efforts in contemporary scholarship on oral literature.

Sead Šemsović’s readings of *Hasanaginica* are based on modern text theories, and he writes about the ballad illuminating its poetic properties - dramatic elements in the ballad

narrative and its connection with written literature - the play (and libretto for the opera) *Hasanaginica* by Nijaz Alispahić. What is important to point out is that his approach is focused on questioning the text, and not on an analytical approach to the psychological structure of the characters in the song, which was the main focus of Camilla Lucerna and Hatidža Krnjević.

Finally, based on an insight into the selected readings, it can be said that from 1774, when the ballad *Hasanaginica* was published, up until the 21st century, the interest of scholars was focused, among other things, on the following topics: the text of the ballad, its homeland, the historical identity of the characters, the historical core of the sung event, the relationship between reality and the song, and the echoes of the ballad in written literature. The literary-historical context influenced the readings of the ballad in such a way that the focus was on issues that reflected the dominant interest of the science of oral literature. What is noticeable is that contemporary studies are more focused on the study of the text of *Hasanaginica* and its echoes in written literature. Over time, *Hasanaginica* has confirmed its status as the supreme poetic achievement of an unknown poet and an inexhaustible source of artistic inspiration that encourages new readings and understandings.

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