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Hasanaginica pod ratajskom kulom

Motiv balade *Hasaginica* kontinuirano je prisutan u širokom rasponu interesnih sfera istraživačke i naučne djelatnosti na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine, regije, ali u i evropskim književnoumjetničkim krugovima. Ta konstatacija je potvrđena u prvim zapisanim tragovima, koji ovu umjetničku usmenu tvorevinu pozicioniraju u njenim teritorijalnim, temporalnim, etnografskim, nacionalnim i književnohistorijskim određenjima. Ovaj rad će pokušati predstaviti interesne sfere bošnjačkih grupacija uglednih porodica u kojima su se pojavili mladi avangardni intelektualci/intelektualke, čije su ideje o baštinjenju kulture i tradicije bile u potpunosti inovativne. Zadatak je ostvariti angažman i pokrenuti aktivnosti koje su inicirane u okvirima inovativnih projekata u popularizaciji kulturne djelatnosti, osobito na lokalitetima, još uvijek veoma konzervativnog i patrijahalnog okruženja begovskih porodica u Bosni i Hercegovini. Iako se radi o amaterskom pokušaju dramatizacije najpoznatije bosanskohercegovačke balade *Hasanaginica* (što nije rijedak slučaj), težište istraživanja usmjereno je na inicijativu dramaturške obrade balade koju je priredila Bošnjakinja 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: *Hasanaginica*, Rataja, drama, folklorno naslijeđe, amatersko pozorište

Istraživanje je zasnovano u najvećoj mjeri na usmenim svjedočenjima članova porodice Čengić s Rataja i njihovih potomaka (Halilbegović, Konjičanin, nastanjeni u

Hasanaginica under the Rataja tower

The motif of the ballad *Hasaginica* is continuously present in a wide range of interest spheres of research and scientific activity on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the region, but also in European literary and artistic circles. This claim is confirmed in the first written traces, which position this artistic oral creation in its territorial, temporal, ethnographic, national and literary-historical determinations. This paper will attempt to present the interest spheres of Bosniak groups of prominent families in which young avant-garde intellectuals emerged, whose ideas about the inheritance of culture and tradition were completely innovative. The task is to achieve engagement and launch activities initiated within the framework of innovative projects in the popularization of cultural activities, especially in the localities of the still very conservative and patriarchal environment of the bey families in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although it is an amateur attempt to dramatize the most famous Bosnian ballad, *Hasanaginica*, (which is not a rare case), the focus of the research is on the initiative of a dramaturgical treatment of the ballad prepared by a Bosniak woman in the 1930s.

Keywords: “*Hasanaginica*”, Rataja, drama, folklore heritage, amateur theatre

The research is based, to a large extent, on oral testimonies of members of the Čengić family from Rataja and their descendants (Halilbegović, Konjičanin living in Visoko).

Visokom). Podatak o tome da usmeno naslijeđe, u kojem je i sačuvana *Hasanaginica*, ima veoma bitnu ulogu u očuvanju tradicije, potvrđuje sadržaj i postupak u izradi ovog rada, koji to usmeno kazivanje tretira u okvirima savremenog naučnoistraživačkog procesa; istraživačkom, analitičkom, sintetičkom i razgovornom metodom

Mitski topos balade Hasanaginica

Balada je jedan od najkreativnijih oblika u književnoj umjetnosti, gdje autor individualnim pristupom univerzalnoj temi, vođen slobodnom maštom i osebnim pjesničkim nadahnućem, kreira njen poetski sadržaj. Varijable u različitim pristupima baladi, usmene ili pismene zaostavštine, bivaju gotovo u potpunosti liberalne u svojoj tematskoj raznolikosti, pogotovo kada se radi o specifičnoj umjetničkoj formaciji nespupanoj temporalnim i lokacijskim ograničenjima, događajima ili likovima.

Najstariji zapisi bošnjačke balade nalaze se – koliko je do sada poznato – u tzv. “Erlangenskom rukopisu”, zbirci pjesama koje su bilježene oko 1720. godine. Kako se o ličnosti autora ovog zbornika ne zna ništa pouzdano, kao ni o okolnostima pod kojima su pjesme bilježene – ne zna se ništa ni o putu koji su bošnjačke balade prešle do konačnog zapisivanja u rukopisu koji je pronađen u univerzitetskoj biblioteci njemačkog grada Erlangena. Ko su bili nepoznati pjesnici, gdje i pod kojim okolnostima su pjevali i kazivali balade ostat će vjerovatno zauvijek nepoznato (Maglajlić 1995:10).

Ovakav interliterarni i interkulturalni pristup u bosnistici predstavio je i prof. dr. Sanjin Kodrić u raspravama svoje studije “Fragmenti iz prve knjige Historije novije bošnjačke književnosti” (2014), pri čemu u predstavljenjima konceptu povijesti

The fact that the oral heritage, in which *Hasanaginica* is preserved, plays a very important role in preserving tradition, is confirmed by the content and procedure in the preparation of this work, which treats the oral storytelling within the framework of a modern scientific research process; using the research, analytical, synthetic and conversational method.

The mythical topos of the ballad Hasanaginica

Ballad is one of the most creative forms in literary art, where the author creates its poetic content with an individual approach to a universal theme, guided by free imagination and personal poetic inspiration. Variables in different approaches to the ballad, of oral or written legacy, are almost entirely liberal in their thematic diversity, especially when it is a specific artistic formation unfettered by temporal and locational limitations, events or characters.

The oldest records of Bosniak ballads are - as far as is known - in the so-called “Erlangen Manuscript”, a collection of songs recorded around 1720. Since nothing is reliably known about the personality of the author of this collection, nor about the circumstances under which the songs were recorded - nothing is known about the path that Bosniak ballads took until they were finally written down in the manuscript that was found in the university library in the German city of Erlangen. Who the unknown poets were, where and under what circumstances they sang and told ballads will probably remain unknown forever. (Maglajlić 1995:10).

Such inter-literary and intercultural approach in Bosnian literature was also presented by Prof. Dr. Sanjin Kodrić in the discussions of his study *Historija novije bošnjačke književnosti* (History of Recent Bosniak Literature) (2014), whereby in

bošnjačke književnosti baladi *Hasanaginica* pripada *jedno od najistaknutijih mjesta*.

Kontinuirano je prisutno istraživanje vezano za fenomen balade (pogotovo kada se radi o baladama nastalim na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine), što i danas inicira stalnu pozornost slušatelja, čitatelja, gledatelja, kritičara, umjetnika, odnosno sveukupne populacije s ovih prostora, a i mnogo šire. Reciprocnost sadržaja balade u odnosu na prototekst (izvornu informaciju) i kauzalnost fabulativne konstante (koja u osnovi ostaje nepromijenjena) postaje predmetom širokih izučavanja i konotira s metatekstom. To uključuje značenjske pomake na semantičkom nivou, u kasnijim varijantama umjetničkog uobličenja balada, u različitim književnim formama. Po Aristotelovom učenju tragedija ima početak, sredinu i svršetak. Svi su dijelovi povezani, proizilaze jedan iz drugog i čine jednu neraskidivu celinu. Upravo takva je i koncepcija balade. Ona se obično sastoji iz središta i 'dva simetrijska krila' uz njega. Međutim, razlažući je nešto dubljom analizom, dolazimo do kompozicije balade od pet dijelova, što u potpunosti odgovara kompoziciji tragedije od pet činova. Naime, prvi je uvod, drugi je napredak ili uspon, treći je središte, tj. vrhunac, četvrti je preokret, tj. peripetija, a peti dio je svršetak (u tragedijama katastrofa). Sljedeći dramski element u baladama je izbjegavanje motivacije postupaka junaka, kao i objašnjavanje uzroka događaja, što znači da one prikazuju jednu zgusnutu radnju, koja se brzo odigrava i to pred nama, u neposrednom trenutku. Likovi balada su jedinstveni i neobični. Svakim od njih vlada neukrotiva strast koja i nosi uzrok tragičnosti. Likovi unose svu svoju snagu i čitavo svoje biće u rješavanje problema, tako da iz svega na kraju izlaze potpuno slomljeni, ako prežive. Atmosfera kao posljedica

the presented conception of the history of Bosniak literature, one of the most prominent places belongs to the ballad *Hasanaginica*.

There is continuous research related to the phenomenon of ballads (especially when it comes to ballads created in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina), which even today initiates the constant attention of listeners, readers, viewers, critics, artists, that is, the entire population of the area, and even much wider. The reciprocity of the content of the ballad in relation to the prototext (the original information) and the causality of the fabulatory constant (which basically remains unchanged), becomes the subject of wide studies and connotes with the metatext. This includes changes in meaning at the semantic level, in later variants of the artistic embodiment of ballads, in different literary forms.

This inter-literary and intercultural approach in Bosnian studies was also presented by prof. Ph.D. Sanjin Kodrić in the discussions of his study "*Fragments iz prve knjige Historije novije bošnjačke književnosti*" (Fragments from the first book of the History of modern Bosniak Literature) (2014), whereby the ballad *Hasanaginica* occupies *one of the most prominent places* in the presented conception of the history of Bosniak literature.

There is continuous research related to the phenomenon of the ballad (especially when it comes to ballads created in Bosnia and Herzegovina), which even today initiates the constant attention of listeners, readers, viewers, critics, artists, i.e., the entire local population of this region and beyond. The reciprocity of the content of the ballad in relation to the prototext (original information) and the causality of the fabular constant (which basically remains unchanged) becomes the subject of extensive studies and connotes with the metatext. This includes meaning shifts at the semantic level, in later variants of the artistic design of ballads, in different literary forms. According

tematskog okvira, stanja likova i njihovih nemira je teška, ali u isto vrijeme iskrena i sugestivna. (Anđelković, 2016)

Motiv balade *Hasanaginice*, u okvirima književnohistorijsko-istraživačkog procesa, rezultira zaključkom da forma u kojoj je ona uobličena slijedi recipročnu putanju, s tendencijom stalnog vraćanja u epicentar ključnog događanja. Koncentrični krugovi u sferama književnoumjetničkog stvaralaštva, koje kontinuirano inicira motiv *Hasanaginice*, tendenciozno streme izvoru u kojem je ova usmena tvorevina i nastala. Tako radnja, fabula i siže funkcionišu zajedno kako bi stvorili *kohezivnu, angažovanu i pamtljivu priču* ove specifične književnoumjetničke forme, koje u spoznajnim aspektima književnih teoretičara i istraživača izazivaju različite vrste interesovanja. *Hasanaginica* je zajednički “mitski topos” bosanskog domicilnog svijeta: katoličkog i muslimanskog. Mještani u Imotskom i danas *Hasanagicu* pjevaju uz gusle i ta redukcija pjesničke muzike može se *prispodobiti* isključivo tzv. “*morlačkim*” *kontrastom*, istovremeno *nježnim i grubim*. Pjevana, također, uz pratnju saza ili “tambure”, pa nekih vrsta udaraljki, tradicionalnih narodnih instrumenata, slušala se u bosanskim varošima i kontinuirano nam prezentirala prepoznatljivu fabulu kao univerzalnu umjetničku vrijednost.

Alberto Fortis, u čijoj je knjizi o Dalmaciji (Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Volume Primo Venezia 1774, str. 92) objavljen tekst ove znamenite balade, bilježi da Morlaci pjevaju svoje pjesme redovno uz gusle, improvizirajući od početka do kraja. On takođe uočava da kod njih ima i pisane poezije kada se ukaže prilika da se neki događaj sačuva u sjećanju. Da Morlaci pjevaju pjesme i o nekom tragičnom događaju – čime se Fortis dotiče tematike *Žalosne pjesanice* – pisac knjige o Dalmaciji primjećuje govoreći o

to Aristotle’s teachings, tragedy has a beginning, middle and end. All parts are connected, stem from each other and form an inseparable whole. This is exactly the concept of the ballad. It usually consists of a center and ‘two symmetrical wings’ next to it. However, breaking it down in a deeper analysis, we arrive at the composition of a five-part ballad, which fully corresponds to the composition of a five-act tragedy. Namely, the first is the introduction, the second is the progress or rise, the third is the center, i.e. climax, the fourth is a reversal, i.e. vicissitudes, and the fifth part is the epilogue (in tragedies, catastrophes). The next dramatic element in the ballads is avoiding the motivation of the hero’s actions, as well as explaining the cause of the event, which means that they depict a condensed action, which is quickly played out in front of us, in the immediate moment. The characters of ballads are unique and unusual. Each of them is ruled by an indomitable passion that carries the cause of tragedy. The characters bring all their strength and their whole being into solving the problem, so that they come out of everything in the end completely broken, if they survive. The atmosphere as a result of the thematic framework, the state of the characters and their unrest is difficult, but at the same time sincere and suggestive. (Anđelković, 2016)

The motif of the ballad *Hasanaginica*, within the framework of the literary-historical research process, results in the conclusion that the form in which it is shaped follows a reciprocal trajectory, with a tendency to constantly return to the epicenter of the key event. Concentric circles in the spheres of literary and artistic creativity, which are continuously initiated by the motif of *Hasanaginica*, tend to lean towards the source in which this oral creation originated. Thus, the plot, timeline and storyline function together to create a *cohesive, engaging and memorable story*, these specific

prilikama u kojima Morlaci pjevaju - *il fanti antichi de Baroni e Re Slavi, o qualche tragico avvenimento* – putujući po pustim planinama, naročito noću. (Maglajlić, 1995: 54).

Sa sigurnošću se ne može potvrditi gdje je stvarni izvor ove balade. Najvjerovatnija teza je da se radi o nekom događaju koji se doista zbio, ali konkretna historijska podloga nije utvrđena. Veoma je izvjesno da se radi o “konglomeratu” specifičnosti određenog podneblja, historijskih događaja, političkih sukoba i moralno-didaktičkih načela jedne nacije; ili se pak radi o isključivo emotivnom odnosu usmenog kazivača u odnosu spram nekog spleta događanja u određenom vremenskom periodu.

Prema podacima koje je donio Hivzija Hasandedić u svojim radovima poznato je da je na **Igrišću bila kuća u kojoj je stanovao čuveni Hasan-aga Arapović koji je upravljao Župom, Zagvozdom i Grabovcem**. Dok je bio na položaju zadvarskog dizdara ranjen je negdje u Biokovu 1669. godine. Poginuo je 17. marta 1669. godine u kuli Poletnici ispod Zadvarja.

Čuvena je priča o njemu i njegovoj ljubi koja ga nije htjela obići, nakon čega joj je poručio da ga ne čeka u dvoru. Iza toga ona se udaje za imotskog kadiju. Taj događaj je bio povod nastanku narodne balade Hasanaginica koja je objavljena u nekoliko verzija, dramati-zovana i prevedena na nekoliko svjetskih jezika.

Zabilježeno je i to da je Hasan-aga imao četiri sina: Mehmeda, Mustafu, Mahmuda i Muhameda koji su završili nauke u Istanbulu. Po povratku u Mostar “zauzimali su visoke položaje u islamskoj hijerarhiji i bili muftije, muderrisi, imami, hatibi, vaizi i vakifi”. Iako postoje različita viđenja u vezi sa mjestom u kojem se odvila radnja opjevana u baladi, činjenica je da su dizdari tvrđave **Zadvarje bili Vlahovići** koji se na toj funkciji spominju 1617. godine. (Hasandedić 2009: 86-89).

literary and artistic forms also arouse different types of interest in the cognitive aspects of literary theorists and researchers. *Hasanaginica* is a common “*mythical topos*” of the Bosnian domicile world: Catholic and Muslim. Locals in Imotski still sing *Hasanaginica* accompanied by the *gusle* today, and this reduction of poetic music can only be compared to the so-called “Morlach” contrast, gentle and rough at the same time. Sung accompanied by *saz* or *tambura*, some types of percussion, and traditional folk instruments, it was performed in Bosnian towns and continuously presented us with a recognizable fable as a universal artistic value.

Alberto Fortis, in whose book on Dalmatia (Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Volume Primo Venezia 1774, p. 92.) the text of this famous ballad was published, notes that the Morlachs sing their songs regularly accompanied by the fiddle, improvising from beginning to end. He also observes that they have written poetry as well when there is an opportunity to preserve an event in memory. The author of the book about Dalmatia notes, when talking about the occasions in which the Morlachs sing, that the Morlachs also sing songs about some tragic event - which is how Fortis touches on the subject of the Sorrowful Poem - *il fanti antichi de Baroni e Re Slavi, o qualche tragico eventuto*” - traveling in the deserted mountains, especially at night”. (Maglajlić 1995: 54).

It is not possible to confirm with certainty where the real source of this ballad is. The most likely thesis is that it is about an event that really happened, but the specific historical background has not been established. It is very likely that it is a “conglomerate” of the specifics of a certain environment, historical events, political conflicts and moral-didactic principles of a nation; or it is a purely emotional attitude of the oral narrator, in relation to a set of events in a certain period of time.

Na osnovu toga historičari misle i pretpostavljaju, kako navodi Hasandedić, da se događaj opjevan u *Hasanaginici* zblio u Sovićima, gdje je Hasan-aga Vlahović (Arapović) imao kulu s rezidencijom. Dakle, u literaturi se Igrišće i Sovići spominju kao dva mjesta gdje je Hasan-aga Arapović boravio. Ostaje nerazjašnjeno je li u njima boravio naizmjenično ili na neki drugi način.

Enigma opjevanog zbivanja ne dopušta mogućnost praćenja odnosa pjesme i zbilje, tj. *praćenje poetizacije* na korelaciji od događaja do pjesme. Dakle, mnogo je pokušaja da se objasni i dosegne tajna tragičnih događanja ovdje prezentiranih, kao i emocionalna kategorija ljubavi, koja je u ovom tekstu definirana u više oblika (strast, sevdah, brak, porodica, tradicija). Balada *Hasanaginica* od svog nastanka do danas ostaje trajno enigmatična u osnovnom značenju unutar začaranog kruga pitanja na koje ne pronalazimo odgovore.

Četrdeset godina (1774.–1814.) “Hasanaginica” je, kao pjesma “morlačkog jezika”, kružila uzburkanom evropsko literarno-folklornom pozornicom, već iznurenim pseudoklasicizmom, a mi nismo znali za nju, osim nekolicine učenih pojedinaca. Tako nas ova muslimanska balada o plemenitoj Hasanaginici, i bez pravog imenovanja, otkri učenom svijetu, ukaza na veličanstven poetski stvaralački dar našeg čovjeka, postade prvi ambasador naše kulture, postade prvi književni eksport, izuzetnog intenziteta i neslučenih razmjera, i postade plodonosan podsticaj mnogima. (Isaković [1974] 2024: 11).

Hasanaginica u dramskim modelima

Motiv balade *Hasanaginica* zastupljen je u dramskoj književnosti kroz različite književnoumjetničke varijable. Usmena forma u

According to the information provided by Hivzija Hasandedić in his works, it is known that there was a house in **Igrišće where the famous Hasan-aga Arapović lived, who governed Župa, Zagvozd and Grabovac**. While he held the position of the commander of Zadvar, he was wounded somewhere in Biokovo in 1669. He died on March 17, 1669 in the Poletnica tower below Zadvarje.

Famous is the story about him and his wife who did not want to visit him, after which he told her not to wait for him in the court. After that, she married the judge of Imotski. That event was the reason for the creation of the folk ballad *Hasanaginica*, which was published in several versions, dramatized and translated into several languages.

It is also recorded that Hasan-aga had four sons: Mehmed, Mustafa, Mahmud and Muhamed, who completed their studies in Istanbul. Upon their return to Mostar, they “occupied high positions in the Islamic hierarchy and were muftis, teachers, imams, preachers and benefactors.” Although there are different views regarding the place where the action sung in the ballad took place, the fact is that the commanders of the **Zadvarje fortress were the Vlahovići**, who are mentioned in that position in 1617. (Hasandedić 2009: 86-89)

Based on this, historians think and assume, as stated by Hasandedić, that the event sung in *Hasanaginica* took place in Sovići, where Hasan-aga Vlahović (Arapović) had a tower with a residence. So, in the literature, Igrišće and Sovići are mentioned as two places where Hasan-aga Arapović resided. It remains unclear whether he resided in them alternately or in some other way.

The enigma of the sung event does not allow the possibility of following the relationship between the song and reality, i.e. *following the poeticization* on the correlation from the event to the poem. Therefore, there are many attempts to explain and reach the secret of the tragic events presented

kojoj je i nastala ova pjesma dosljedno slijedi kreativni teatarski postupak prezentiranja fabule u dijalogu, koji je dijelom prisutan i u baladi. Pretpostavka je da je izgovaranje teksta u verbalnom obliku imalo isti efekat na slušaoce koji su bili prisutni kod “pjevanja”, deklamovanja “žive riječi” u prostoru u kojem se nalazio pripovjedač, kao i na gledaoce koji prisustvuju scenskom izvođenju dramske varijante.

Sa svim onim što jeste, pa i s njezinim vezivanjem za druge južnoslavenske književnosti, balada *Hasanaginica* predstavlja, otud, kako izrazito značajan prilog kasnijoj ideji bošnjačke književnosti, tako i jedan od pokazatelja kompleksnog puta postepenog etabliranja statusa i identiteta književnosti Bošnjaka. U tom smislu, slučaj *Hasanaginice* prvi je i stvarno i simbolički najavio neke od ključnih značajki pristupa bošnjačkom usmenom književnom stvaranju, ali i bošnjačkoj književnosti uopće koji će biti dominantni naročito tokom narednog, 19. st., a na koje su već uputili i različiti pristupi bošnjačkoj usmenoj poeziji iz Erlangenskog rukopisa, uključujući i predstavljanje bošnjačke usmene književne baštine u drugim, nebošnjačkim nacionalnoknjiževnim okvirima (Kodrić, 2018: 72).

Logično je da se ovaj tekst, intoniran dramskim sukobima i konstantnom napetosti unutar osnovne priče, motivski najčešće pojavljuje u dramskoj književnosti. Scenski i muzički efekti koji su zastupljeni i u tradiciji kazivanja usmene balade, kao i u izvođenju dramskog teksta na sceni, podliježu šablonu *tekst – izvođač – slušatelj – gledatelj*, često uz pratnju tradicionalnih izvornih muzičkih instrumenata. Oba spomenuta oblika plasiranja umjetnosti podrazumijevaju prisustvo elemenata pantomime i gestikulacije, scenski govor i varijabilnost glasa, kao i dodatne scenske elemente (odgovarajući prostor za izvođenje, scenografiju,

here, as well as the emotional category of love, which is defined in this text in several forms (passion, *sevdah*, marriage, family, tradition). The ballad *Hasanaginica*, from its creation until today, remains permanently enigmatic in its basic meaning within the vicious circle of questions to which we do not find answers.

For forty years (1774-1814), “*Hasanaginica*”, as a song of the “Morlach language”, circulated on the turbulent European literary-folkloric stage, already exhausted by pseudo-classicism, and we did not know about it, except for a few learned individuals. This is how this Muslim ballad about the noble *Hasanaginica*, even without a proper name, revealed us to the learned world, pointed to the magnificent poetic creative gift of our people, became the first ambassador of our culture, became the first literary export, of exceptional intensity and unimagined proportions, and became a fruitful incentive for many (Isaković [1974] 2024: 11).

Hasanaginica in dramatic models

The motif of the ballad *Hasanaginica* is represented in dramatic literature through various literary and artistic variables. The oral form in which this poem was created consistently follows the creative theatrical procedure of presenting the plot in dialogue, which is also partly present in the ballad. The assumption is that the utterance of the text, in verbal form, had the same effect on the listeners, who were present at (“singing”) the declamation of the “living word” in the space where the narrator was; as well as on the spectators who attend the performance of the dramatic variant on stage.

With all that it is, including its connection to other South Slavic literatures, the ballad *Hasanaginica* represents, therefore, both an extremely significant contribution to the later

muzičke instrumente, a nerijetko i kostim i šminku).

Samostalnost literarnog teksta je prividna. Literarni je tekst autonoman svijet, ali nije izdvojen iz prostora i vremena. Djelo nosi obilježje svoga tvorca i vremena u kojem je nastalo. Prema tome i tzv. “nezavisni” ili “samostalni” tekstovi traže lokalizaciju u analitičkom postupku koji se zasniva na znanstvenim osnovama. Književni se tekst može doživljavati izvan vremenskih i prostornih odrednica, to je tzv. subjektivni doživljaj djela, doživljaj njegovih estetskih vrijednosti (Rosandić, 1983: 55).

Centralni sukob u ovoj baladi, u sociološkom poimanju, sintetizira niz drugih sukoba zasnovanih na pitanjima društveno-političkih, moralnih, generacijskih i hijerarhijskih nepodudarnosti u vremenskom okviru njenog nastanka, što postaju ključne tačke nesporazuma.

Indikativno je da se motiv balade *Hasanaginica* u dramskoj književnosti pojavio upravo kod mostarskog pjesnika Alekse Šantića i Milana Ogrizovića (1908/10), a nešto kasnije i istoimena drama *Hasanaginica* (1981) Alije Isakovića (književnika koji su rođeni na području lokaliteta gdje nastaje i započinje ova priča). U monografiji *Antologija bošnjačke drame XX vijeka* Gordana Muzaferija prenosi Isakovićvo iskustvo nastanka njegove drame *Hasanaginica*, pri čemu vrhuni stvaraočevo htijenje, razumijevanje i voljenje fenomena Hasanaginice u njenoj historijskoj i književnoj zbilji. (Muzaferija, 1996: 361).

Hasanaginica i amatersko pozorište

Postupak plasiranja književnoumjetničke zaostavštine i prezentovanje različitih umjetničkih kreacija usmenim putem intenzivira

idea of Bosniak literature, and one of the indicators of the complex path of the gradual establishment of the status and identity of Bosniak literature. In this sense, the case of *Hasanaginica* was the first to both actually and symbolically announce some of the key features of the approach to Bosniak oral literary creation, but also to Bosniak literature in general, which will be dominant especially during the next, 19th century, and which have already been referred to by various approaches to Bosniak oral poetry from the Erlangen manuscript, including the presentation of Bosniak oral literary heritage in other, non-Bosniak national literary frameworks. (Kodrić 2018: 72).

It is logical that this text, intoned by dramatic conflicts and constant tension within the basic story, is the most frequently appearing motif in dramatic literature. The scenic and musical effects that are present in the tradition of oral ballad telling, as well as in the performance of dramatic text on stage, are subject to the template: *text-performer-listener-spectator*, often accompanied by traditional original musical instruments. Both of the aforementioned forms of art placement imply the presence of elements of pantomime and gesticulation; stage speech and voice variability; as well as additional stage elements (appropriate space for performance, scenography, musical instruments, and often costume and makeup).

The independence of a literary text is apparent. A literary text is an autonomous world, but it is not separated from space and time. A work bears the characteristics of its creator and the time in which it was created. Accordingly, so-called “independent” texts also seek localization in an analytical procedure based on scientific foundations. A literary text can be experienced outside of temporal and spatial determinants, this is the so-called subjective experience of the work, the experience of its aesthetic values. (Rosandić:1983:55).

ulogu narodnog kazivača ili prenositelja pojedinih događaja, što je veoma značajno i ima višestruku funkciju, osobito u očuvanju specifičnih formi unutar književne tradicije i kulturnog naslijeđa. U vrijeme nastanka priče o Hasanaginici, usmena prezentacija umjetnosti ima veoma značajnu ulogu u popularizaciji reprezentativnih motiva, koji su viševjekovno prisutni na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine. *Hasanaginica* je precizno, unutar sadržaja, ograničena duhovnim i tradicionalnim postulatima, koji je distanciraju od scenskog prikazivanja historijskog perioda u kojem nastaje. Kontinuirano zanimanje za motive iz narodne usmene književnosti na ovim prostorima će se ponovno intenzivirati početkom prošlog stoljeća, s inicijativom novih otkrivanja stvarnih vrijednosti tradicionalnih predanja. Ova balada stoga inicira nove pristupe u obradi prepoznatljivog motiva, preuzetog iz usmene zaostavštine, koji je definiran složenim odnosom između likova, temporalnim i lokalnim zakonitostima moralnih aspekata jedne specifične sredine.

Književnost, kao jedan od najkreativnijih oblika umjetnosti, najčešće podilazi maštovitim kreacijama umjetnika koji je sadržajno prezentuju i izvode na sceni. Mogućnosti koje upravo taj kreativni pristup pruža, pogotovo u oskudnom dramskom djelatništvu (kao što je slučaj na našim prostorima), varira u individualnim projekcijama prepoznatljivih motiva, tema, događaja, pojava (ratova, socijalnih odnosa, društvenih promjena, vjere, morala...) i reprezentativnih ličnosti, koji su bili značajni za sveukupni kulturno-historijski razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine. U predstavljanju dramske aktivnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini, Josip Lešić (1973: 14) navodi prisustvo amaterskih skupina glumaca, pjevačkih društava i diletantskih grupa raštrkanih i površno organiziranih, koje su putovale

The central conflict in this ballad, in a sociological sense, synthesizes a series of other conflicts based on issues of socio-political, moral, generational and hierarchical inconsistencies; in the time frame of its creation; which become key points of misunderstanding.

It is indicative that the motif of the ballad *Hasanaginica* appeared in dramatic literature with the poets from Mostar Alekse Šantić and Milan Ogrizović (1908/10), and some time later in the play of the same name *Hasanaginica* (1981) by Alija Isaković (authors who were born in the area where this story originates and begins). In the monograph *Antologija bošnjačke drame XX vijeka* (Anthology of Bosniak Drama of the 20th Century), Gordana Muzaferija conveys Isaković's experience of the creation of his play *Hasanaginica*, highlighting the creator's desire, understanding and love of the phenomenon of *Hasanaginica* in its historical and literary reality (Muzaferija, 1996: 361).

Hasanaginica and amateur theater

The process of presenting literary and artistic heritage and presenting various artistic creations orally intensifies the role of the folk storyteller or transmitter of certain events, which is very significant and has multiple functions, especially in preserving specific forms within the literary tradition and cultural heritage. At the time of the creation of the story of *Hasanaginica*, the oral presentation of art played a very significant role in the popularization of expressive motifs, which have been present on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries. *Hasanaginica* is precisely limited, within its content, by spiritual and traditional postulates, which distance it from the stage presentation of the historical period in which it was created. The continuous interest in motifs from folk oral literature in this region

po zabitim provincijskim kasabama i za publiku, koja gotovo i ne poznaje pozorišnu umjetnost, osim naivnog “kipućeg oduševljenja”, ne posjeduje ni razvijeni ukus ni kritičnost, izvodile pučke komade. Tako se, bez većih i kompleksnijih aktivnosti i zadataka u pozorištu, ova djelatnost svjesno prilagodila skromnim kreativnim mogućnostima onovremenog amaterskog glumišta i gledateljstva za koje je izvođenje ovakvih predstava bilo svojevrsna atrakcija.

Evidentno je, po njegovom zaključku u spomenutom kritičkom osvrtu, da je historijska podloga razvoja pozorišne djelatnosti povezana s dolaskom Austro-Ugarske 1878. i aneksijom Bosne i Hercegovine 1908. te da su novonastale okolnosti i u kasnije formiranoj Kraljevini SHS 1918., u najvećoj mjeri uticale na aktivnost popularizacije teatra na širem regionalnom prostoru.

J. Lešić (1973: 14) konstatuje da je pozorište, “bez obzira na retoričnost i preforsiranost emocija”, koje su eksplicite pokazane u scenskom djelu, “propovjedaonica patriotizma” a „rodoljubiva riječ izgovorena sa scene je općeprihvaćena”. Kada se radi o amaterskom pozorištu, možemo zaključiti da ono “odiše folklorizmom i pompeznom istorijskom dekoracijom” pa je njegova uloga, između ostalog, “misionarska i patriotsko-didaktična”, jer u određenim periodima, često polupismenoj publici, zamjenjuje knjigu i novine, a u konačnici preuzima i ulogu prosvjetnog zavoda.

Scenografija (folklornog teatra) je bila većinom oskudna. Pozornica nije bila fiksna, ali su postojali stalni ambijenti gdje se “glumaralo”, na meraji, u avliji, pred kućom, na sijelu, na prelima u najvećoj sobi, pokraj rijeke za vrijeme teferića, na trgu. Pozornica se organizira ad hoc, a glumci se služe najnužnijim rekvizitima. Kostimografija je bila pojednostavljena kao i scenografija. Izgled scene je u folklornom teatru amfiteatralan što

will be intensified again during the last century, with the initiative of new discoveries of the real values of traditional lore. This ballad therefore initiates new approaches in the treatment of a recognizable motif, taken from the oral heritage, which is defined by the complex relationship between the characters, the temporal and local laws of the moral aspects of a specific environment.

Literature, as one of the most creative forms of art, most often rises to the imaginative creations of artists who meaningfully present it and perform it on stage. The possibilities that this creative approach provides, especially in the scarce dramatic work (as is the case in our region), varies in individual projections of recognizable motives, themes, events, phenomena (wars, social relations, social changes, religion, morals...) and representative figures, which were significant for the overall cultural and historical development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his presentation of dramatic activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Josip Lešić (1973:14) mentions the presence of amateur groups of actors, singing societies and dilettante groups, scattered and loosely organized, who traveled around the distant provincial towns, and performed folk pieces for an audience that hardly knows theater art, apart from naive “boiling enthusiasm”, possessing neither developed taste nor criticality. Thus, without larger, more complex activities and tasks in the theater, this activity consciously adapted to the modest creative possibilities of the amateur theater and audience of the time, for whom the performance of such plays was a kind of attraction.

It is evident, according to his conclusion in the aforementioned critical review, that the historical background of the development of theatrical activity is connected with the arrival of Austria-Hungary in 1878 and the Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, followed by the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

proizilazi iz načina izvođenja scenske radnje i nepostojanja rampe. Često su gledatelji i sami bili sudionici predstave, pa možemo govoriti o arhihepeningu, posebno zato što tekst nije bio fiksiran, a nije bilo ni redatelja u današnjem značenju te riječi. Obično bi glumci ujedno režirali i predstavu. Glumili su obično oni nadareni ljudi koji su voljeli šalu i igre (Sinanović, 1996: 40).

U književnohistorijskom pregledu razvoja dramske djelatnosti posebnu važnost imaju rad i djelovanje amaterskih udruženja i pojedinaca na prilagođavanju pojedinih dijela za širu populaciju, osobito kada se radi o dramskoj adaptaciji teksta, koja je u tom obliku doprinosila popularizaciji i širenju interesa, na odgovarajućoj razini, za mnoga značajna umjetnička djela.

Ne čuje se huk, a vrijeme prolazi. Ni sevdaha u akšame rane da zapjeva nema niko. A zima je i cvakti tišina. U dušu našeg lijepoga grada utkale se mnoge plemenite duše. Ostavile trag. Vidim vedro i nasmijano lice Muhameda Hamde Halilbegovića....

Početak njegovog umjetničkog djelovanja bio je u Dramskoj sekciji Sindikalnog vijeća i u usmenim novinama "Narodnog fronta", potom je nastavio u KUD "Mladi Radnik" i "Ognjen Prica". Najbogatiji period njegovog djelovanja je u amaterskom pozorištu u Visokom. Bio je osnivač ovog pozorišta. Predstave su se izvodile u Visokom, Varešu, Brezi, Ilijašu, Kalesiji, Fojnici, Kiseljaku, Kreševu i mnogim drugim mjestima. Publika je bila oduševljena.

Sjećam se priča tete Zehre, njegove sestre koja je također glumila u pozorištu, da su se međusobno znali našaliti.

Posebno je teta Zehra (Halilbegović-Konjičanin) prepričavala njihova porodična druženja, koja su se većinom odvijala u staroj kući njegovog oca. Nisu to bila obična sijela, gdje se jede, pije i trača mahala. Bile su to mini predstave. Oblačili su bosanska odijela

in 1918, which largely influenced the activity of popularizing theater in the wider regional area.

J. Lešić (1973:14) states that the theater, *regardless of the rhetoric and over-emphasis of emotions*, which are explicitly shown in the stage work, *is a pulpit of patriotism, and the patriotic word spoken from the stage is generally accepted*. When it comes to amateur theater, we can conclude that it *exudes folklore and pompous historical decoration*, so its role is, among other things, *missionary and patriotic-didactic*, because in certain periods, often for a semi-literate audience, it replaces books and newspapers, and ultimately takes on the role of an educational institution.

The scenography (of the folk theater) was mostly scarce. The stage was not fixed, but there were permanent settings where "acting" was done, in the field, in the courtyard, in front of the house, at social gatherings, on parties in the largest room, by the river during festivals, in the square. The stage is organized ad hoc, and the actors use the most necessary props. The costume design was simplified as well as the scenography. The appearance of the stage in the folklore theater is amphitheatrical, which results from the way the stage action is performed and the absence of a ramp. Often the spectators themselves were participants in the play, so we can talk about an arch-happening, especially because the text was not fixed, and there was no director in today's sense of the word. Usually, the actors would also direct the play. The actors were usually the gifted people who liked pranks and games (Sinanović 1966 : 40).

In the literary-historical review of the development of dramatic activity, the work and effort of amateur associations and individuals to adapt certain works for the wider population is particularly important, especially when it comes to the dramatic adaptation of the text, which in that form contributed to the popularization and spread of interest,

i izvodili skečeve. Smijeh i pjesma. Obrisi jednog vremena... (Dedić, 2020)

Doktorica Mersa Konjičanin (Svjedočenje, septembar 2024, Visoko), kćerka Zehre (Halilbegović) Konjičanin, potvrđuje podatak da je Zehra Konjičanin za vrijeme posjete majčinoj porodici Čengiće na Ratajima (januar/februar 1933. godine) organizirala izvođenje predstave *Hasanaginica*, u vlastitoj dramskoj adaptaciji teksta, podjeli uloga, pripremi scenografije i kostima. Publiku je sačinjavala mnogobrojna porodica (oko tri-desetak članova, služinčad, kao i komšije iz reda bošnjačkog stanovništva “podno” kule na Ratajima).

Kula Čengića na Ratajima je locirana u općini Miljevina, od ceste Kalinovik-Foča udaljena je blizu sahat hoda. To je bila kula na više bojeva, a vlasnici su joj bili bezi Čengići-Ratajci. Ako je vjerovati tradiciji, kulu su sagradili braća Ahmed paša i Osman paša, a bili su na životu krajem XVII i početkom XVIII stoljeća. Odžak begova Čengića u ovom kraju spominje 1664. putopisac Evlija Čelebija. (Kreševljaković, 1991: 485)

Ambijent i lokalitet kule na Ratajima je inspirativno podsjećao na kule u vrijeme Otomanskog carstva (pa vjerovatno i Hasanagine kule u Imotskoj krajini), stoga je i odabir prostora u kojem je upriličena izvedba dramskog teksta *Hasanaginica*, u amaterskoj adaptaciji, odgovarao namjeri da se jedan tradicionalni motiv prezentira u specifičnoj autohtonoj sredini određenoj tradicionalnim kulturnim naslijeđem.

Godine 1706. dubrovački diplomata Marin Maroja Kaboga bio je ugošćen u Zagorju, dvorima Čengića toliko opjevanim, kako on kaže u “našijem pjesmama”. Dolazak “na Cenghicija dvore” u Kaboginom rečeničnom kontekstu obilježen je kao dio stiha (čitav stih bi mogao da glasi: - na Zagorje na Čengića dvore -). Ovaj podatak

at the appropriate level, for many important works of art.

No roar is heard, and time passes. There is no one to sing sevdah in the early evenings. And it is winter and silence is clucking. Many noble souls were woven into the soul of our beautiful city. They left a mark. I see the bright and smiling face of Muhamed Hamda Halilbegović....

His artistic career began in the Drama Section of the Trade Union Council and in the oral newspapers of the “Narodni front”, then he continued in the Cultural and Artistic Societies “Mladi Radnik” and “Ognjen Prica”. The richest period of his career was in the amateur theater in Visoko. He was the founder of this theater. The plays were performed in Visoko, Vareš, Breza, Ilijaš, Kalesija, Fojnica, Kiseljak, Kreševo and many other places. The audience was delighted.

I remember the stories of Aunt Zehra, his sister who also acted in the theater, that they used to joke with each other.

Aunt Zehra (Halilbegović-Konjičanin) in particular recounted their family gatherings, which mostly took place in his father's old house. These were not ordinary gatherings, where people ate, drank and gossiped. They were mini-performances. They wore Bosnian costumes and performed skits. Laughter and song. Outlines of a time... (Dedić, 2020)

Doctor Mersa Konjičanin (testimony from September 2024, Visoko), daughter of Zehra (Halilbegović) Konjičanin, confirms the information that Zehra Konjičanin, during her visit to her mother's family Čengiće in Rataja (January/February 1933), organized the performance of the play *Hasanaginica*, with her own dramatic adaptation of the text, division of roles, preparation of scenography and costumes. The audience consisted of a large family (about thirty members, servants, as well as neighbors from the Bosniak population “underneath” the tower of Rataja).

o popularnosti Čengića dvora u “našijem pjesmama” na samom pragu 18. vijeka govori o dugoj tradiciji pjevanja pjesama o ovoj obitelji i njenim dvorima, a zatim o gledanju na narodnu pjesmu zajedničkog slavenskog jezika kao zajedničke tvorevine onih koji govore tim jezikom. (Buturović, 1995: 26).

Po kazivanju (Svjedočenje, august 1998, Sarajevo) Nezir-bega Čengića s Rataja (koji je dobio ulogu Pintorović bega), *Hasanaginica* je izvedena na Ratajima u prostorijama samog imanja krajem januara 1933. za vrijeme mjeseca Ramazana. Scenografija, kostim, sitna rekvizita su improvizovano uobličeni, posuđeni iz sehara djevojačkog miraza, dolafa i sanduka u kojima su se čuvala “starine”. Ambijent kule na Ratajima je asocijativno odgovarao prostoru takve građevine iz otomanskog perioda (XVII stoljeće) i metaforički podsjećao na kulu – dvore Age-Hasanage Arapovića (koja je sagrađena, po navedenim istraživanjima, približno u istom periodu).¹

Hatidža Krnjević (1972: 17) navodi da su balade, mnogo potpunije u odnosu na druge oblike usmene književnosti, izrazile postojeću dramu čovjekovog života koja se

The Čengić Tower at Rataja is located in the municipality of Miljevina, about an hour's walk from the Kalinovik-Foča road. It was a multi-floor tower, and its owners were the Čengić bays of Rataja. If tradition is to be believed, the tower was built by the brothers Ahmed Pasha and Osman Pasha, who lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. The court of the Čengić beys in this area was mentioned in 1664 by the travel writer Evliya Çelebi. (H. Kreševljaković 1991: 485.)

The ambience and location of the tower at Rataja was inspiringly reminiscent of towers from the period of the Ottoman Empire (and probably also Hasan-aga's tower in Imotska Krajina), therefore the choice of space where the performance of the dramatic text of *Hasanaginica* was staged, in an amateur production, corresponded to the intention to present a traditional motif in a specific autochthonous environment determined by traditional cultural heritage.

In 1706, the Dubrovnik diplomat Marin Maroja Kaboga was hosted in Zagorje, the court of the Čengićs so much sung about, as he notes, in “our songs”. The arrival “to Čengić court” in Kaboga's sentence context is marked as part of the verse (the entire verse could read: na Zagorje na Čengića dvore – to Zagorje, to Čengić court). This information about the popularity of the Čengić court in “our songs” at the very threshold of the 18th century speaks of a long tradition of singing songs about this family and its courts, as well as about viewing the folk songs of the common Slavic language as a joint creation of those who speak that language. (Buturović 1995: 26).

According to the testimony (testimony from August 1998, Sarajevo) of Nezir-bey Čengić from Rataja, (who played the role of Pintorović Bey), *Hasanaginica* was performed in Rataja in the premises of the estate itself at the end of January 1933 during the month of Ramadan. The scenography,

¹ Hasanaginica je bosanskohercegovačka i bošnjačka usmena balada, koja je nastala između 1646. i 49. u okrilju begovske bošnjačke porodice iz Imotske krajine koja je tada bila dio Bosanskog pašaluka i vjerovatno se prepričavala sa koljena na koljeno po Imotskom i okolini, dok je nije otrgnuo od zaborava 1774. italijanski putopisac, etnograf Alberto Fortis nazivajući je “morlačka balada” (morlačka=ilirika). Vjerovatno je da se sam događaj o kojem je napisana pjesma dogodio za vrijeme Kandijskog rata koji je vođen u razdoblju 1645.–1669. između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva, oko otoka Krete, mletačkog najvećeg i najbogatijeg prekomorskog posjeda, jer se tada u povijesnim knjigama spominje ranjavanje Hasan-age Arapovića na Biokovu, pa se u pjesmi spominje da je bolovao u ranama na planini, da su ga obilazile i majka i sestra, ali ne i supruga, pojasnio je Kolovrat. (Delić, 2010)

očituje u književnosti kao jedan od najkreativnijih oblika umjetnosti, pogotovo kada se radi o iniciranju maštovitih kreacija umjetnika i slobodi umjetničkog izražavanja. Mogućnosti su višestruke u tim kreacijama, kako u usmenoj, tako i pismenoj zaostavštini, uvjetovane lokacijskim i temporalnim odrednicama. Liberalnost u izboru tema i načina na koji će one biti tretirane projicira individualnost u pristupu i prezentaciji završne forme.

Zaključak

Specifikum balade *Hasanaginica* je to da ona u svojoj svojoj kompleksnosti, stalno i iznova, inicira nove pristupe u obradi tradicionalnog motiva, definiranog složenim odnosom između supružnika, uslovljenim moralnim i duhovnim načelima jednog vremena i prostora. Nedefinirana uslovnost ovog teksta, da li tradicijom i naslijeđem ili historijskim i društvenim postulatima, rezultira viševjekovnim interesom za ovu osobenu umjetničku kreaciju i vraćanju na dileme oko njenog preciznog motivskog definiranja. Balada *Hasanaginica* je jedna od naših najljepših narodnih balada, a *Hasanaginica* jedna od najljepših likova naše književnosti. U pjesmi je opisana tužna sudbina žene Muslimanke.² Elementi folklornog naslijeđa, dijelovi historijskih fakata i herojskih likova, prezentirani u književnoumjetničkim kreacijama ovoga perioda na početku 20. stoljeća, umnogome su doprinijeli, između ostalog, plasiranju ideja o buđenju nacional-

costume, and small props were designed impromptu, borrowed from the girls' dowry collection, wardrobes and chests in which "antiques" were kept. The ambience of the tower in Rataja corresponded associatively to the space of such a building from the Ottoman period (XVII century) and was metaphorically reminiscent of the tower-palace of Hasan-aga Arapović (which was built, according to the aforementioned research, approximately in the same period).¹

Hatidža Krnjević states (1972: 17) that ballads, much more comprehensively than other forms of oral literature, expressed the existing drama of human life that is manifested in literature and is one of the most creative forms of art, especially when it comes to initiating imaginative creations by artists and freedom of artistic expression. The possibilities are multiple in these creations, both in oral and written heritage, conditioned by locational and temporal determinants. Liberty in the choice of topics, and the way in which they will be treated, projects individuality in the approach and presentation of the final form.

² U antologijskom pregledu *Biserje*, razmišljajući o poziciji i ulozi majke u našoj tradiciji, Isaković poentira: "Kao većina mojih vršnjaka, susjeda ove stare Imote", bilježi Alija Isaković i nastavlja: "znao sam početak i kraj ove balade prije nego slova. I prvo poređenje – Hasanaginice je moja majka!" (Isaković, 1998).

¹ *Hasanaginica* is a Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Bosniak oral ballad, which was created between 1646 and 1649 within a Bosniak bey family from Imotska Krajina, which was then part of the Bosnian Pashaluk and was probably retold from generation to generation in Imotski and its surroundings, until it was plucked from oblivion in 1774 by the Italian travel writer, ethnographer Alberto Fortis, calling it "the Morlach ballad". (Morlach = Illyrian). It is likely that the event described in the song took place during the Cretan War, which was fought in the period 1645–1669 between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, around the island of Crete, Venice's largest and richest overseas possession, because then the history books mention the wounding of Hasan-aga Arapović on Biokovo, so the poem mentions that he suffered from wounds on the mountain, that his mother and sister visited him, but not his wife, explained Kolovrat. (Delic, 2010)

ne svijesti i aktivnosti; širokim raspravama o socijalnoj problematici, društveno-političkom statusu, umjetnosti, koje su sve više opterećivale bošnjačku populaciju raspolućenu između kulturnih naslijeđa Istoka i Zapada.

Conclusion

The specific feature of the ballad Hasanaginica is that in all its complexity, it constantly and repeatedly initiates new approaches in the treatment of a traditional motif, defined by the complex relationship between spouses, conditioned by the moral and spiritual principles of a certain time and space. The undefined conditionality of this text, whether by tradition and heritage or by the postulates of historical and social postulates, results in a centuries-old interest in this unique artistic creation and a return to dilemmas about its precise motivic definition. The ballad Hasanaginica is one of our most beautiful folk ballads, and Hasanaginica is one of the most beautiful characters in our literature. The song describes the sad fate of a Muslim woman². Elements of folklore heritage, parts of historical facts and heroic characters, presented in the literary and artistic creations of this period at the beginning of the 20th century, greatly contributed, among other things, to the promotion of ideas about the awakening of national consciousness and activities; broad discussions on social issues, socio-political status, art, which increasingly burdened the Bosniak population torn between the cultural heritage of the East and the West.

² In an anthological review Biserje, reflecting on the position and role of the mother in our tradition, Isaković points out: "Like most of my peers, neighbors of this old Imot, I knew the beginning and end of this ballad before i learned letters. And the first comparison – Hasanaginice is my mother!" (Isaković, 1998).

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