

**Sanjin KODRIĆ**

Department of Literatures of Peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina  
University of Sarajevo  
Bosnia and Herzegovina

**“EAST AND WEST – HEART AND MIND”:  
THE MUSLIM ORIENT AND THE EUROPEAN OCCIDENT  
IN BOSNIAK LITERATURE AT THE END OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND  
THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

**Abstract:** The paper presents a comprehensive but still concise view of the phenomenon of interrelation between the Muslim Orient and the European West in modern Bosniak literature, i.e. in Bosniak literary practice from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, up to the present moment. The Muslim Orient and the European West encounter directly in Bosniak literature especially after 1878, which is the year that is therefore the dividing line between the so-called older and modern Bosniak literature. This encounter left a deep mark in modern Bosniak literature, but also in the culture of Bosniaks and Bosnia-Herzegovina in general, crucially modelling more or less all fundamental processes in modern Bosniak literary practice, and particularly the processes of cultural memory in terms of both memory of literature and memory in literature, as well as literature as a form of collective memory. This innovative view of the Bosniak literary past is realized from different methodological and theoretical perspectives, starting from classical literary and cultural history as well as interliterary and intercultural history of literature, through cultural poetics or post-colonial studies, to imagology and cultural memory studies, etc.

**Keywords:** Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniak literature, Muslim Orient, Muslim Slavic people.

## 1.

As an autochthonous Muslim Slavic people, Bosniaks nowadays have been positioned in a rather specific way between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, which is, naturally, evident in the diverse areas of their culture. Although the absolute and apodictic judgements always happen to be ungrateful, the most frequent and best known self-reflective conception in this sense is the image of Bosniaks as the people at crossroads, but also serving as a bridge between East and West. Both such conceptions bear a positive and negative emotional character. They are often perceived as a particular comparative advantage, but, at the same time, also as particularly unlucky circumstances. In both cases, literature participated to the greatest extent in the representations of both such aspects of the Bosniak destiny. It refers, therefore, in such a sense, to specific literary representations with important consequences in a domain that lies clearly outside literature.

This current image of the Bosniaks about themselves has, however, had a long and complex history, which had shaped it, but it could also be traced and followed in a literary history, within both the oral and written literature. And such issues have been almost altogether left out from the focus of interest of previous literary-historical and cultural-historical research activities, notwithstanding their unquestionable importance<sup>1</sup>. In the oral literature of Bosniaks, the understanding of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident has been mostly accomplished on the margins of epic interest for the meeting between a Muslim hero (“*ghazi*”) with an “infidel-enemy”, or “cruel villain” and “non-believer” or (Byronic) “*Giaour*”, where, in the oral literature, the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, generally, do not articulate themselves as peculiar representational phenomena, or they do not emerge as clear and comprehensive imagologemes<sup>2</sup>, as it had been the case with other kinds of currents in the Bosniak creative literary output. As a mat-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, *Slika drugog u balkanskim i srednjoevropskim književnostima: Zbornik radova [The Image of the Other in the Literatures of the Balkans and Central Europe: The Book of Proceedings]*, ed. by M. Matićki, Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> An imagologeme (pl. imagologemes) should be understood as the smallest unit in the system of imagology, which has often been defined as the study of cultural stereotypes, as having been presented in literature and culture, or humanities and social sciences in general. The word has been obviously coined as an applicable term after the similar units of morphemes or graphemes that are widely used in linguistics, or even ideologeme as the smallest unit in sociology and other social sciences.

ter of fact, one refers here to, above all, the so-called border topic, which had been conditioned by the historical facts that Bosnia, as most Western provinces of the Ottoman Empire, had been for centuries a border area between the Muslim and European worlds. It is the representation of how Bosnia has been perceived both within and inside, but also from outside, which can be illustrated on the other side of the border, for instance, in the Croatian oral literature and culture of these times<sup>3</sup>. That is why the relationship between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in the oral literary output of the Bosniaks has been, primarily, reduced to a characteristic epic conflict. However, one needs to point out the existence of a considerable number of examples where a mutual respect for the worthy adversary as a hero has been in compliance with a specific epic ethics, which duly shows a respect towards enemy exactly on the grounds of his heroism and heroic honour.

The situation is more complex in the Bosniak written literature. Namely, the Muslim Orient and the European Occident have been imagined in a rather different manner in the so-called Older and the Newer Bosniak literature, as two basic subsystems of the Bosniak written literary creative production. If one excludes a written literary tradition of medieval Bosnia, which is the common basis for Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian literatures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Older Bosniak literature has emerged exactly within the frameworks of the Ottoman Bosnia, and was wholly incorporated into the literary practice of the Ottoman, or Oriental-Islamic inter-literary community. This is especially true for the literary creative activities of Bosniaks in Oriental-Islamic languages, Turkish, Persian and Arabic, respectively, which happens to be a dominant part of the Older Bosniak literary heritage. It is for this reason that the Muslim Orient had been not only the immediate but also the original context of emergence of the Older Bosniak literature. Anyway, the European culture in those times perceived Bosnia in the identical way in this sense. The best testimony about it is the concept of the Near East, which has been defined, after the French term of ‘Proche-Orient’, at the outset of 19<sup>th</sup> century with the state borders of the Ottoman Empire, including Bosnia.

On the other hand, recent Bosniak literature is a phenomenon that emerges in the Bosniak creative literary production exactly at such a mo-

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<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, D. Dukić, *Figura protivnika u hrvatskoj povijesnoj epici* [A Figure of Adversaries in Croatian Historical Epics], Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1998.

ment when Bosnia officially ceased to be the part of the Muslim Orient and when it was starting to become – or it should have become – the integral part of the European West or the Occident. This was made possible with the occupation of Bosnia by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, when, thanks to the decisions having been previously reached at the Congress of Berlin, Bosnia entered into Western European frameworks after more than four centuries under the Ottoman rule. One should refer here to the radical historical and social tour de force, which would soon transform to the core the entire country of Bosnia, and, especially, the culture of its largest ethnic group – Bosniaks. As part and parcel of those changes, the sudden ending of such a culture and literary creations that have been so characteristic for the traditional Bosniak culture, or the older Bosniak literature, for that matter, took place. Within the context of emergence of modern Bosniak culture, the more recent, or newer Bosniak literature began to emerge as that kind of current of the Bosniak literary output, and, from that moment on, within that new trend, the Bosniak literary practice was made possible<sup>4</sup>.

Under such circumstances, the time from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century is a period of a gradual emergence and maturing of the Newer Bosniak literature, which had been labelled in the history of Bosniak culture as the Period of Rebirth<sup>5</sup>. The Bosniak literature, as well as the Bosniak culture in general, went through that process in a hard and painful way. It is beyond doubt that the most fundamental feature of this period was the state of cultural drama and trauma, on one hand, whereas, on the other hand, a development of Bosniak literature at this particular moment was also crucially marked by its peculiar state of colonial submission in relation to this new, previously unknown, foreign and strange Western European cultural pattern, and, afterwards, by its gradual liberation from the colonial consciousness<sup>6</sup>. It is for this rather important reason that is necessary to analyse a determination of the Bosniaks towards the Muslim Orient as its former existential framework and, also, towards the European Occident as their new and immediate living reality.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Književnost sjećanja: Kulturalno pamćenje i reprezentacija prošlosti u novijoj bošnjačkoj književnosti* [*The Literature of Remembering: Cultural Memory and Representation of the Past in the Newer Bosniak Literature*], Sarajevo: Slavistički komitet, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba preporoda (1887–1918)* [*Bosnian Muslim Literature in the Period of Rebirth (1887–1918)*], Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Književnost sjećanja...*, op. cit.

## 2.

If one tried to determine, on a general level, how the Bosniaks had seen the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in their literary development towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, one could recognise as particular constants several fundamental phenomena.

First and foremost, one needs to observe the specific phenomenon where the Muslim Orient and the European Occident were imagined, at that moment in history, as already concrete and clear imagologemes, and, above all, with the function of its own, Bosniak identity determination in the position between these two opposed poles. Both the Muslim Orient and the European Occident have emerged at that point of time as clearly recognisable categories with the meaning of basic social, collective, but also individual values and standpoints: two pictures of the world and oneself in that same world, both at the level of the existence of community, as well as the existence of an individual. Such a process maintained a division of the Bosniak community of that time on, at least, two kinds of levels. Its existence has been made “evident” in the Bosniak literary practice in those times as one of its key, fundamental interests as far as subject-thematic and problematic issues are concerned. On one hand, one can mention some ardent opponents to the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, since they could never accept the new, Austro-Hungarian rule. Those opponents had perceived the European Occident as a foreign, strange, “infidel” world, and so they demanded the immigration, “*hijra*”, into the “free” parts of the Ottoman Empire, most often into the current province of Sandžak (in today’s Montenegro and Serbia) and Turkey proper under the Muslim rule of the Sultan and Khalifa. Or, they opted to stay in Bosnia, having withdrawn from (public) life and remained insusceptible to any changes and adaptations, waiting for so much desired ending of the foreign rule and the return of Bosnia under the auspices of the Muslim Orient. Such a possibility had been envisaged in the decisions of the Berlin Congress, which gave the mandate to the Austro-Hungarian Empire to exercise a temporary occupation of Bosnia, where the country formally remained under the sovereign Ottoman rule, which lasted until the official Austro-Hungarian annexation of the country, in 1908. The other side, basically, also felt the strong regrets for “the old times”, but it accepted, more or less in a conciliatory way, “the new times” as a historically given inevitability. At the same time, this side sought the ways of survival under the new historical moment and the challenges it had brought with it. It included those rare and optimistic supporters of the new conditions, notably in the first

years of occupation, since they based their own somewhat more positive attitude towards the European Occident on the historical necessity and the awareness of inevitable confrontation with the living reality, and the need to find out better solutions for the new temporal moment in life of the entire (Bosniak) community. With the passing of time, these opposite views would be diminished to a great extent, and the Muslim Orient and the European Occident would be less and less radically confronted categories, especially with the emergence of the new generation that had been shaped both in an intellectual and spiritual sense in the Austro-Hungarian (Province or *Land*) of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A renowned German Slavist Maximilian Braun wrote about the issues of Europeanisation of the Bosniak literature at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century in his book *Anfänge der Europäisierung im Kunstschrifttum der moslimischen Slaven in Bosnien und Herzegowina* [*The Beginnings of Europeanization in the Literature of Slavic Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina*]<sup>7</sup>. According to Braun, the biggest fear among the Bosniaks as far as the process of Europeanisation was concerned, was the fear of “the Europeanisation through destruction”. As Braun rightly observed, the primary goal of those who had adhered to the fact of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia was just to accept the “European means of power”, while continuing to maintain strong spiritual ties with the Ottoman Empire, or the Muslim Orient in general, which spoke for itself about the nature of how the Bosniaks had perceived the character of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. These imagologemes were articulated, among other things, as specific post-conflict and post-traumatic representations. The strong colonial enforcement, on one side, took an active part in their articulation, mainly in the first years following the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, whereas, on the other side, a rather strong emancipatory longing of its own began to emerge, which could be seen as a particular kind of cultural pragmatism, or the acceptance of the European Occident from, above all, practical reasons of actual existence. In other words, the concepts of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in the Bosniak literature, or the culture in general, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, emerged as an

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Braun, *Začeci evropeizacije u književnosti slavenskih muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*The Beginnings of Europeanisation in the Literature of Slavic Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], trans. by I. Dizdar and S. Hedžić, Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2009.

actual reaction to the historical fact of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, or to a series of radical changes imposed by that fact in the Bosniak community and Bosnia in general. Their basic function was exactly to find the Bosniak identity position under the new historical circumstances. Having said all of the above, one must add that the very literary practice as such has focused itself on the imagologemes of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in the Bosniak literature which had been crucially shaped by the specific features of the poetics of (European) romanticism and realism. They started to become present in the Bosniak literature at about this time, in a specific form of the so-called folklore romanticism and enlightened realism of the Period of Rebirth. They could be explained as specific hybrid phenomena which became characteristic and dominant literary practice in a rather accelerated manner at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>.

### 3.

The key articulations of representations on the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in the Bosniak literature at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would appear in the works of its major authors, such as, above all, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839–1902), who can be rightly considered as an instigator or even a founder of the Newer Bosniak literature, and Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870–1934), the key author of the Newer Bosniak literature at the turn of the two centuries. The same applies to some other particularly important Bosniak writers of that times, such as, for instance, Osman Nuri Hadžić (1869–1937), who, under the joint pen name of Osman-Aziz, together with the Croatian writer from Herzegovina Ivan Milićević (1863–1950) had published the first Bosnian-Herzegovinian novel *Bez nade* [*Without a Hope*, 1895]<sup>9</sup>, Edhem Mulabdić (1862–1954), the author of the first Bosniak novel *Zeleno busenje* [*The Green Turfs*, 1898]<sup>10</sup>, and Musa Ćazim Ćatić (1878–1915), the first Bosniak poet of the Modernism, etc.

Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak had developed a positive attitude towards the European West even during the last decade of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, when he became involved in pro-European modernisation

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Književnost sjećanja...*, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Osman-Aziz, *Bez nade* [*Without a Hope*], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1895.

<sup>10</sup> E. Mulabdić, *Zeleno busenje* [*The Green Turfs*], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1898.

processes that had been taking place in the Ottoman *Vilayet* (Province) of Bosnia within the framework of the so-called Tanzimat reforms in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. Not having denied certain values to the Muslim Orient, and having continued to write in Oriental-Islamic languages, Ljubušak, even before the ending of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, published, in a few cases, his works in Bosnian language and in Cyrillic alphabet after it had been previously reformed by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić from Serbia. This alphabet was considered to be “the Western script” since Bosniaks wrote at the time in their mother-tongue, primarily, in the Arabic script as it had been adapted to the sound system of the Bosnian language – *arebica* – and in some cases also in the old Bosnian Cyrillic script – *bosančica*. Although the Tanzimat reforms, which had been implemented in Bosnia by the Ottoman *Vali* (Governor) Topal Šerif Osman Pasha, were perceived, primarily, as modernising processes and the expression of progressive forces of the Ottoman Empire, and not as a kind of cultural submission to Europe<sup>12</sup>, Ljubušak would keep his positive attitude towards the Western European culture even after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia. His entire work in the latter period would be dedicated exactly to the acceptance of the Western European values among the Bosniaks. His basic goal was to conciliate the Muslim Orient with the European Occident in Bosnia, notably in the cultural identity of the Bosniaks, and, in such a sense, integrate them into the modern Europe of his times, without rejecting their most fundamental identity determinants, especially these related to their religious, Islamic basis. At the same time, Ljubušak insisted on bringing the Bosniaks closer, above all, to their neighbours, their similar and congenial South Slavic peoples, their respective literatures and cultures, since those neighbouring South Slavic

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. M. Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost...*, op. cit., pp. 39–56, 101–105; M. Maglajlić, *Književna djelatnost Mehmed-bega Kapetanovića Ljubušaka* [*Literary activities of Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak*], in: M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Narodno blago. Sabrana djela*, knj. 1 [*People's Treasure. Collected Works, Vol. 1*], ed. by M. Maglajlić, Sarajevo: Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine, Svjetlost, 1987, pp. 7–33; S. Kodrić, *Utemeljenje moderne bošnjačke književne historiografije: Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak i dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić* [*The Establishment of Modern Bosniak Literary Historiography: Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak and Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić*], “Pismo” 2015, vol. XIII/1, pp. 140–154.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Preporod prije preporoda? (Pjesma “Pozdrav” gospodina hodže Mehmed-Emin-Efendije i počeci novije bošnjačke književnosti)* [*Rebirth before the Rebirth (The poem “Salute” by a Gentleman Imam Mehmed-Emin Effendi and the Beginnings of the Newer Bosniak Literature)*], “Radovi” 2015, vol. XVIII, pp. 45–80.



literatures and cultures have been to the Bosniaks the first and most easily accessible connection with the European West. On the other hand, he tried to promote and present to the wider South Slavic culture the values of the Muslim Orient, and, in this way, also the Bosniak literary and cultural tradition. One must observe, in relation to this, even from the period before the ending of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, a kind of his close association with pan-Slavic ideas. These elements would also shape Ljubušak's understanding of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, especially in terms of the positive views towards the pan-Slavic mutual reciprocity.

Ljubušak's view of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident implies, therefore, the idea of integration and synthesis, as well as the new identity of Bosniaks, quite open towards the Western European culture. These and similar ideas by Ljubušak would soon become the most fundamental guiding ideas for the entire cultural work of the Bosniaks towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In a way, they would also become a platform of the overall literary production of Bosniaks in the Period of Rebirth. Ljubušak himself realised them in particular in his collections *Narodno blago* [*People's Treasure*, 1887]<sup>13</sup> and *Istočno blago* [*Eastern Treasure*: I – 1896, and II – 1897]<sup>14</sup>, whereas he articulated explicitly in his two booklets, the first of the kind among the Bosniaks – *Što misle muhamedanci u Bosni* [*What Do Mohammedans in Bosnia Think*, 1886]<sup>15</sup> and *Budućnost ili napredak muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*The Future and the Progress of the Mohammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 1893]<sup>16</sup>, in which he endeavoured to repatriate, in a rather decisive manner, the Bosniaks into the Western European context. His first booklet *What Do Mohammedans in Bosnia Think* is of a particular interest.

It is the work by Ljubušak, which as a journalism, entered into the polemic arguments with an anonymous pamphlet *Bosniens Gegenwart und nächste Zukunft* [*Bosnia's Present and Future*, 1886], originally published at

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<sup>13</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Narodno blago* [*People's Treasure*], Sarajevo, 1887.

<sup>14</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, sv. I [*Eastern Treasure*, vol. I], Sarajevo, 1896; or: M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Istočno blago*, sv. II [*Eastern Treasure*, vol. II], Sarajevo, 1897.

<sup>15</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Što misle muhamedanci u Bosni* [*What Do Mohammedans in Bosnia Think*], Sarajevo, 1886.

<sup>16</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Budućnost ili napredak muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*The Future and the Progress of the Mohammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], Sarajevo, 1893.

“Lipska,” as Ljubušak wrote it in his original manuscript, or in Leipzig, Germany, and, afterwards, in the abridged version in the journal *Obzor* [*Horizon*] in Zagreb, which was the main newspapers of the nationalistic Croatian Party of Right towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As it had been summed up in the study on Ljubušak and his literary work by Vladimir Ćorović, in 1911, one of the first reviewers of the entire publishing opus by Ljubušak, the anonymous pamphlet could be reduced to the idea, as follows:

Muslims are the enemies of the (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy, they are anational, poor workers, they live on other people's hard labour, and the government should do nothing to stop them from immigrating. The Eastern Orthodox have their own faults, and it is only the Roman Catholics to whom the regime could and had to rely on, of course, with the first condition being met, i.e. that Kállay<sup>17</sup> stops with the Hungarianisation in the country<sup>18</sup>.

In such a context, Ljubušak's polemics reveals, therefore, some of the ideological circumstances in a wider framework within which the image of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident arose among the Bosniaks at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One refers here to well-known Romanticised aspirations towards promoting ideas of great nationalism in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the territories of South Slavic peoples. Under the disguises of Europeanisation, these ideas often tried, on one hand, to include the whole population of the Bosnian Muslims, distinctly an ethnic group of their own into, in, as a rule, either a Croatian or a Serbian ethnical body, whereas, on the other hand, one faced the characteristic Orientalist and Eurocentric stereotypical understanding of the Bosniaks. It, by all means, represented an unavoidable challenge for the positive Bosniak perception of the European Occident and the possibilities of Bosniak successful integration into this framework<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Béni Kállay de Nagy-Kálló or Benjamin von Kállay (1839–1903) was an Austro-Hungarian statesman, who, in his capacity as the Joint Minister of Finances, had the full authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina as its administrator during its status as a *corpus separatum* within the Monarchy, from 1882 until his death in 1903.

<sup>18</sup> V. Ćorović, *Mehmed beg Kapetanović: Književna slika* [*Muhamed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak: A Literary Image*], in: M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], ed. by M. Džanko, Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2008, p. 151.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. K. Pieniżek-Marković, *Hrvatski romantičari otkrivaju Bosnu* [*Croatian Romantics Discover Bosnia*], in: *Sarajevski filološki susreti II: Zbornik radova* [*Sarajevo Philological Meetings II: Book of Proceedings*], vol. 2, ed. by S. Kodrić, Sarajevo: Bosansko filološko društvo, 2014, pp. 280–301.

Nevertheless, the Western European integration, or the synthesis of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, and the new, culturally open politics of identity of the Bosniak community, had no alternative for Ljubušak. He would, as shown in numerous instances in the text itself, confirmed it with his motto, as well as with the ending, where he quoted, exactly in this sense, the symbolic verses by the Croat poet Ivan Mažuranić, who had written and published in 1844 an additional, 15<sup>th</sup> canto of the epic poem *Osman*, having been originally written some two hundred years earlier by the Croat baroque poet Ivan Gundulić (1589–1639) from the independent Republic of Dubrovnik. Ljubušak especially valued Gundulić despite the anti-Ottoman, and, even, anti-Muslim ideological provenance of this baroque epic:

Proklet bio tko cić vjere  
 Na svojega reži brata!!!  
 [Cursed be the one who, for the sake of religion,  
 Grows against his own brother!!!]<sup>20</sup>.

In this way, only a decade after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, even with the role of the founder of the Newer Bosniak literature, in the history of the Bosniak perception of the Muslim Orient and the European occident, there emerged a text that could be, in a way, considered as the first Bosniak piece of post-colonial criticism. This was true, at least, if one takes into account some attempts to provide response against the characteristic Orientalist and Eurocentric stereotypes that the Bosniak community had been faced with especially during the first years of its entry into the Western European world.

However, in order for the Bosniaks to attain the successful integration into the European Occident and their reconciliation with the Muslim Orient, as well as an opening of the Bosniaks towards the Western European culture and its values, the process could not take place without the decisions reached by Bosniaks to accept the Bosnian language as their own mother-tongue and as the primary language of their literature, and, in general, all kinds of public written communication, based on the Western understanding of literacy. It would connect them directly with their neighbouring peoples, but also with their literature and culture, and by getting into contact with them, they could also reach Western European culture. Although this meant a breach with the

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<sup>20</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, Što misle muhamedanci u Bosni [What do Mohammedans in Bosnia Think], in: *Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina], ed. by M. Džanko, Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2008, p. 53.

previous literary output of Bosniaks in Oriental-Islamic languages, as well as with the *aljamiado* literacy and literature, it was precisely against such a backdrop that Ljubušak focused his largely romanticised activities on completing two compiled books under the titles of *Narodno blago* [*People's Treasure*] and *Istočno blago* [*The Eastern Treasure*]. These two collections should have brought the Bosniaks back to their own mother-tongue. That is why Ljubušak compiled the examples of their oral literary tradition in his first collection *Narodno blago* [*People's Treasure*], mostly popular proverbs and similar forms of oral literature. In the second collection, *Istočno blago* [*The Eastern Treasure*], Ljubušak included some proverbs too, but also some other similar literary forms, particularly from the tradition of the Muslim Orient, which he translated as examples of literary output from the Muslim Orient context. In addition to this, Ljubušak explicitly refers to the same problem of literacy and the literary production of Bosniaks in the Bosnian language as their own mother-tongue in his second booklet *Budućnost ili napredak muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*The Future and the Progress of the Mohammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], where he pointed out the following:

It is rather easy for us Bosniaks to learn in our own mother-tongue. Our language is both succinct and very rich. Our ancient authors had written in our language, for no need whatsoever, even in those times, such as, for instance, Ilhamija from Travnik, Gaibija from Zvornik, or Kaimija who lies at Gradiška near the Sava River. Those countrymen of ours had written many things in both prose and verses in our language. Let's see the ending of that *ilahiyya* that has been recently written by Sheikh Sjekirica from Oglavak near Kiseljak, where he says:

Nu pogledaj, Sirrije  
Sve dervise miluje  
I dan i noć kazuje:  
La ilahe illalah

[Take a look at Sirri,  
That loves all the dervishes  
And tells all day and night  
La ilahe illalah]<sup>21</sup>.

Ljubušak takes for granted the realistic fact when he muses about the impossibility of continuing the written literary production of Bosniaks in Oriental-Islamic languages under new historical conditions. However, he is quite

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<sup>21</sup> M. Kapetanović Ljubušak, *Što misle...*, op. cit., p. 39.

aware of the importance of such a tradition of the Muslim Orient for the Bosniaks, and so he reminds his readers of the Bosniak literary *aljamiado* production having been written in an Arabic script (*arebica*), but in the Bosnian language. His goal, with this reminder, is to point out, on one hand, to the linguistic roots of Bosniaks within the Western European culture, whereas, on the other hand, Ljubušak wants to incite the realisation of integration and synthesis of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident in the language itself. That is why he lists, with careful goals in mind, some prominent Bosniak *aljamiado* authors, and refers to the verses of one of the most renowned Bosnian dervish Sheikhs, which happen to be of a clearly religious, Islamic provenance. The message is obvious: the integration into European West is not only necessary for the sake of mere existence, but it is also possible, even natural, since it does not mean a rejection of one's own tradition connected to the Muslim Orient, but, on the contrary, it means its continuation in the new way, much more adequate to the contemporary times. It takes place as a synthetic merger with the values of the European Occident, which is the only possibility at the disposal of the Bosniaks, if they want to accomplish progress, and, in that way, secure for themselves a much happier future.

In addition to this, Ljubušak will duly show that the culture from the European Occident is not necessarily confronted to the Muslim Orient and its tradition among the Bosniaks with his own original literary works although humble in their value, despite the fact that he himself has become an accomplished author in Oriental-Islamic languages before the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia. In 1891, he started the “Bošnjak” [“Bosniak”] magazine, which was the first printed publication among the Bosniaks after 1878. Whether it was by accident or not, in the same year Ljubušak published his booklet *Budućnost ili napredak muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*The Future and the Progress of the Mohammedans in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], where in a rather decisive manner he called the Bosniaks to accept the European Occident and its values, including the return to their mother-tongue. Also, his son, Riza-beg Kapetanović (1868–1931), would publish his collection of poems entitled *Pjesme* [*Poems*, 1893]<sup>22</sup>, the first comprehensive book of poetry, having been written in the Bosnian language and in Western script. A youngish poet would repeat, in his introduction, the same attitude to-

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<sup>22</sup> R. Kapetanović, *Pjesme* [*Poems*], Sarajevo, 1893.

ward the mother-tongue as his father had done before, pointing out the need for the reconciliation of the tradition of the Muslim Orient with the challenges from the European Occident.

#### 4.

The later Bosniak literature of Rebirth would develop on these and such premises, where its renaissance character would definitely imply the ideas and cultural openness towards the values of the European Occident which had been promoted from the outset of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia by Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak. The idea of rebirth was, in fact, the idea of accepting the Western European values, together with keeping and adjusting its own values as the Bosniak heritage of the Muslim Orient.

Alongside Ljubušak, as the originator of the Newer Bosniak literature, the European Occident would be imagined among the members of the first authors from the Period of Rebirth, above all, in the context of a picture of progress and future. However, arm in arm with the acceptance of the European Occident, the crucial spiritual etymon would be sought still, primarily, in the Muslim Orient, which still was a peculiar point of longing in the Bosniak literature at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the process would be continued later on, until the contemporary literary practice. This approach would be explicitly contained, in particular, in the literary opus of Safvet-beg Bašagić, whose mainly poetical works would be a comprehensive representation of the literary and cultural programme of Rebirth<sup>23</sup>. It could be seen even in his first collection of poems entitled *Trofanda iz hercegovačke dubrave* [*The First Fruit from the Woods of Herzegovina*, 1896]<sup>24</sup>, which, by its very title, or the symbolism of “trofanda” or the first or early fruit, suggests a kind of novelty in the Bosniak literary tradition. Bašagić would also insist, both in his poetry but also in his other works, on

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. M. Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost...*, op. cit., pp. 282–332; M. Džanko, *Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić (Mirza Safvet: Vitez pera i mejdana): Intelektualna povijest i ideologijska upotreba djela* [*Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić (Mirza Safvet: A Knight of Pen and Duel): Intellectual History and Ideological Use of Work*], Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2006; Ph. Gelez, *Safvet-beg Bašagić (1870–1934): Aux racines intellectuelles de la pensée nationale chez les musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine*, Athens: École française d’Athènes, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> S. Bašagić, *Trofanda iz hercegovačke dubrave* [*The First Fruit from the Woods of Herzegovina*], Zagreb, 1896.

the integration and synthesis of the Oriental-Islamic and Western European values and traditions. In his poetic opus, there are two especially significant poems in terms of their symbolism. One refers here to the poems *Jednome kritičaru* [*To a Critic*] and *Čarobna kćeri!* [*O, Marvellous Daughter!*], which, as well as in the case of Ljubušak, mirror two basic feelings in relation between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident among the Bosniaks.

The poem *Jednome kritičaru* [*To a Critic*] was published originally in 1903 in the “Nada” [“Hope”] literary magazine. It was a literary journal with a pro-Croatian orientation, and the poem represents the poet’s response to certain criticism that had been directed against his poetical works, but also to some other issues. Bašagić also defines the literary tradition, which he brings close to his own poetry, and he thinks, above all, to the literary output of the Bosniaks in Oriental-Islamic languages and the Bosniak oral literature. He sends to his unnamed critic an explicit message that his poetry has not been meant for that critic, but, as he says, to “gondže-Mujo” and “dilber-Fata” [“Young Man Mujo” and “Lovely Fata”], or, for the members of his own ethnic community, and not for those outside, who are not the part of it. Such a poem still retains a feeling of Bosniaks being foreign in a Western European framework, even at the outset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it even shows a kind of resignation that leads to the possibility of cultural self-isolation:

Ti koji ne znaš ozbiljna Arapa,  
ti koji ne znaš Perzijanca bludna,  
ti koji ne znaš Turčina-bekriju –  
tebi neće prijat moja pjesma čudna.

[You who do not know a serious Arab,  
You who do not know a lustful Persian,  
You who do not know a drunkard Turk,  
You will not like my quaint poem].  
Ti što ne čutiš djevičanske boli  
narodne pjesme iz naših krajeva,  
koju Mujo Fati pod pendžerom pjeva –  
tebe moja pjesma nigda ne zagrijeva.

[You who do not sense the pains of maidens,  
Folk songs from our parts,  
When Mujo sings under Fata’s window,  
My poem does warm you up at all].

Što da je čitaš da se dosađivaš,  
kad ona za te nije ispjevana,

već za gondže-Muju, da je dilber-Fati  
popjeva uz žubor bistra šadrvana.

[Why should you read it and get bored,  
When it has not been sung for you,  
But for Mujo a youngster, to sing it to a beautiful Fata,  
Next to the murmur of fountain water clear].

Pusti je u miru, kad te ne zanima!  
Ima je ko čitat, jer naš svijet nije  
pokvario ukus “s pjevanijom novom”,  
u njemu još tinja iskra poezije

[Leave it be, if it does not interest you,  
There are those who would read it, for our people,  
Did not spoil their taste “with poetaster’s rhymes”,  
A sparkle of poetry still smoulders in them]<sup>25</sup>.

However, that kind of attitude in Bašagić is only a passing weakness, a temporary lack of faith into the possibilities of integration and synthesis of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident among the Bosniaks at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One can refer here to a number of other potential examples, which can be explicitly illustrated by his poem *Čarobna kćeri!* [*O, Marvellous Daughter!*], and which seems to be of particular importance within such a context. It is a typical romantic apotheosis to one’s mother-tongue, the Bosniak equivalent to the famous poem *Rodu o jeziku* [*To My Own People About the Language*] by the poet of Serbian origins from Croatia Petar Preradović. However, it is the poem that also, in its own way, shows some wider obstacles that Bosniaks had to overcome in the process of their comprehensive involvement into the world of the European Occident. Namely, in the similar circumstances that had been experienced earlier by Ljubušak, Bašagić also faced the process of “nationalisation” of the Bosnian Muslims on their way to modern Europe, so – in contrast to some other circumstances – he named his own language here as Croatian<sup>26</sup>. Nevertheless, in

<sup>25</sup> S. Bašagić, *Jednome kritičaru* [*To a Critic*], “Nada” 1903, vol. 9, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Preporadanje jezika: Odnos prema maternjem jeziku u bošnjačkoj književnosti kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća* [*A Rebirth of Language: A Relation towards the Mother-tongue in Bosniak Literature at the End of 19<sup>th</sup> and the Beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century*], in: *Drugi simpozij o bosanskom jeziku: Istraživanje, normiranje i učenje bosanskoga jezika – dosadašnji rezultati, potrebe i perspektive: Zbornik radova* [*Second Symposium on the Bosnian Language: Research, Standardization and Bosnian Language Learning – Past Results, Needs and Perspectives*], ed. by A. Kalajdžija, Sarajevo: Institut za jezik, 2016, pp. 149–181.



the same manner as with Ljubušak, neither Bašagić could be prevented from the realisation of the programme of renaissance integration and synthesis of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident among the Bosniaks. This poem has been particularly marked by its final message, which is crucial for the overall state and relations between Bosniaks towards the Muslim Orient and the European Occident at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century – the idea of “merging” of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident:

Čarobna kćeri, prirode majske  
 Otvori svoje kapije rajske,  
 O daj me pusti u bajni dvor!  
 Gdje milo poje pjesmice svoje  
 Istočnih vila veseli kor.

[O, marvellous daughter, of nature in May  
 Open up your heavenly gates,  
 O let me in you magical court!  
 Where their ditties are happily sung  
 By Eastern Fairies, in a cheerful choir].

Da njima kajde u naše pjesme  
 Slijem, da teku ko rajske česme,  
 Jer hrvatskog jezika šum  
 Može da goji  
 Može da spoji  
 Istok i zapad, pjesmu i um.

[To pour into their songs  
 Our notes, to flow like heavenly fountains,  
 For the whirl of the Croatian language  
 Can breed,  
 Can join  
 East and West, a poem and mind].

Sad silno hući, ko burno more,  
 Sad blago kao kroz vilin-dvore  
 Tajnih duhova čarobni poj,  
 A sada bruji,  
 Kao da zuji  
 Kroz bašču pčela prognani roj.

[It howls now, like a mighty roaring sea,  
 Now gently through castles of fairies,  
 Magical sound of secretive spirits,  
 As it buzzes though the garden  
 A swarm of exiled bees].

Sad opet nježno kao da tuži  
 Bulbulče malo na rumen-ruži  
 Jadeći gorko na udes svoj. –  
 Tako se milje  
 I sve se smilje  
 U tebi stapa, jeziče moj.

[Then gently again, as if it grieves  
 A tiny nightingale on a red, red rose  
 Is moaning bitterly about its doom. –  
 And all the immortelles  
 Fuse in you, o language of mine!]<sup>27</sup>.

Such a merger between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident Bašagić accomplishes throughout his literary work when observed in its entirety<sup>28</sup>. In this sense, it is of particular importance to mention his efforts to revive some of the most characteristic poetical and literary forms of the Muslim Orient, such as *ghazals*, which Bašagić wrote at the time in the Bosnian language. In this way, he managed to fulfil this highly recognisable form of the Oriental-Islamic poetry with specific contents of romanticism, from the Western European tradition, and which is an extremely important phenomenon in his first collection of poetry *Trofanda iz hercegovačke dubrave* [*The First Fruit from the Woods of Herzegovina*]. In the same collection of poetry, as well as in his next collection of poems *Misli i čuvstva* [*Thoughts and Feelings*, 1905]<sup>29</sup>, Bašagić would publish his two poems – *U Harabatu* [*In Harabat*] and *Na pučini svjetla* [*On the Wide Open Sea of Light*], where he also fused the Oriental-Islamic and Western European traditional values. He insisted, in particular, on the combination of Romantic elements and the spiritual nature of Islamic mysticism, or Sufism or *tasawwuf*. One could also mention similar examples in his next collection of poems, the last one that had been published in his lifetime, the book *Izabrane pjesme* [*Selected Po-*

<sup>27</sup> S. Bašagić, *Trofanda...*, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Istok i Zapad – srce i um (Procesi evropeizacije u novijoj bošnjačkoj književnosti i kulturalno-poetički sinkretizmi i liminalno-hibridni oblici kao specifičnost njezina kulturalnog identiteta)* [*East and West – Heart and Mind: Processes of Europeanisation in the Newer Bosniak Literature and Cultural and Poetic Syncretisms and Liminal Hybrid Forms as a Specificity of Its Cultural Identity*], in: *Sarajevski filološki susreti II: Zbornik radova* [*Sarajevo Philological Meetings II: Book of Proceedings*], vol. 2, ed. by S. Kodrić, Sarajevo: Bosansko filološko društvo, 2014, pp. 139–169.

<sup>29</sup> S. Bašagić, *Misli i čuvstva* [*Thoughts and Feelings*], Sarajevo, 1905.

ems, 1913]<sup>30</sup>. Its peculiar climax Bašagić would attain in his book entitled as *Mevlud* [*Mawlid*, 1924]<sup>31</sup>, where, at the time of the Western European avant-garde and its diverse innovative “-isms”, he was able to revive in his own manner the genre of *mawlid* as a traditional poetical form in the Oriental-Islamic provenance. *Mawlid* refers to a specific poetic interpretation of what had been known in the Muslim world as “*sira*” or “*siretur-resuli*”, which covers the life of the messenger of Islam, Muhammad. It was the kind of genre which had been deeply rooted in, primarily, Ottoman Turkish, and in the same manner in the Bosniak Muslim tradition<sup>32</sup>. Having followed the paths of his great predecessors, such as, for instance, hafiz Salih Gašević, who had composed his *Mevlud* at the time when the Bosniak *aljamiado* literature was coming to its end, Bašagić wrote his own poems together with the experiences of many other poets from the first decades of Western European culture in Bosnia. In this way, based on the accomplishments from the period of Ljubušak, one could see in the case of Bašagić, but also in many other similar examples, the comprehensive phenomenon of cultural and poetical syncretism as well as liminal and hybrid forms. As one of its most prominent specificities, it would mark in quite a visible manner the literary production of Bosniaks in the Period of Rebirth, but also in all the later historical and development stages of recent Bosniak literature, having started from the modernism of Musa Ćazim Ćatić, and up to the contemporary and most recent literary practice, where numerous examples of meeting between the tradition of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident could be mentioned<sup>33</sup>. In such a sense, it would not be possible, or equally hard to imagine that, even without a real foundation in literary history, to propose, in a rather liberal essayistic manner, that without such phenomena in the early history of recent Bosniak literature, to envisage similar phenomena in the more recent Bosniak literary practice, such as, for instance, the novel *Derviš i smrt* [*The Death and the Dervish*, 1966] by Meša Selimović as just one possible example of a kind.

However, Bašagić was not just a poet or committed Bosniak cultural activist in the Period of Rebirth, but also an excellent translator from

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<sup>30</sup> S. Bašagić, *Izabrane pjesme* [*Selected Poems*], Sarajevo, 1913.

<sup>31</sup> S. Bašagić, *Mevlud*, Sarajevo, 1924.

<sup>32</sup> *Mevlud u životu i kulturi Bošnjaka: Zbornik radova, izbor mevluda, bibliografija*, ed. by Dž. Obradović, Sarajevo: Preporod, 2000.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Istok i Zapad...*, op. cit., pp. 139–169.

Oriental-Islamic languages and the real founder of the Bosniak literary historiography, or the modern studies of the Bosniak literary past, based on Western European methods of research<sup>34</sup>. One refers here, above all, to the Bosniak literary heritage in Oriental-Islamic languages, which he had written about in his Ph.D. dissertation *Bosniaken und Herzegovcen auf dem Gebiete der Orientalischen Literatur* [*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Field of Oriental Literature*]<sup>35</sup> and defended in Vienna in 1910.

Both this work by Bašagić, and, later on, his book *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic Literature: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 1912]<sup>36</sup>, rest on similar assumptions. In the introductory pages of his book, Bašagić would repeat in an explicit way his own verse from the poem *Čarobna kćeri!* [*O, Marvellous Daughter!*], having emphasised again and again the imagologeme on the European Occident as the place of Reason, and the Muslim Orient as the space of poetry, or heart, but also the importance of their reconciliation in the cultural identity of Bosniak people. Related to it, Bašagić reminds the new Bosniak generation about some “honourable names” from their own people’s past, whom he does not want leave in oblivion, but, at the same time, he makes a statement that Bosniaks are the nation “on the border,” which makes the meeting between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident both necessary and unavoidable, but also, in their own case, quite fruitful, which has been shown, after all, in his own work as a poet:

It is the duty, nowadays, for the younger Islamic generation in Bosnia and Herzegovina to pass on these honourable names further on, to keep those precious works as legacy and – by looking back to the old pride – seize both the Eastern and Western book, and, according to the very spirit of its own people, create something new, since, having stood on the border

Može da goji,  
Može da spoji  
Istok i Zapad, pjesmu i um!

<sup>34</sup> S. Kodrić, *Utemeljenje...*, op. cit., pp. 140–154.

<sup>35</sup> A hand-written manuscript of the original of doctoral dissertation by Bašagić had been placed in the University Library in Vienna; one of its copies belongs to the author of this text.

<sup>36</sup> S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti: Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine* [*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic Literature: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Bosnia and Herzegovina*], Sarajevo, 1912.

[Could raise,  
 Could fuse,  
 East and West, a poem and mind!]<sup>37</sup>.

In addition, in the final parts of his book *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic Literature*], Bašagić would, even in a more pronounced manner than Ljubušak before him, enter into a dialogue with Eurocentric, or Orientalist representations about the Bosniak culture and literature, or Bosnia in the Ottoman times, in general. He was particularly opposed to those representations that spoke about the “slave” and “dark province” of Bosnia during the Ottoman period. He wrote:

I would also like to make a note here that this small work has been nothing else but a short instruction into a single chapter of our cultural history in order to prove to all of them who know little, or who do not have not the faintest idea about our past that Bosnia and Hercegovina, up to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was a rather cultured country, even more cultured than its neighbouring lands in the (Austrian) Monarchy before 1848. A concocted phrase, that can be often heard by both those invited and uncalled-for factors, namely, that our homeland languished in darkness and slavery during the Turkish Ottoman rule had to stop once for all, since, until 1840, we fared better in a political and economic sense than our neighbouring countries, where half of the population had been *glebae adstricti* (slaves of the land). In addition, the purpose of this dissertation is to bring the attention of literary historians, when they write about South Slavs who sang or wrote in Latin or Italian, to speak also on our countrymen who had sung in the Arabic, Persian or Turkish language. Religion is not supposed to make a difference in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, education is education, whether it has come from East or West. (Our poet) Gaibija, who had managed to take an excellent position among the Eastern writers, could have won the same place in Europe had he written in Latin. Kafija (Pruščak), Nerkesi, Mezaki and others the same, if not even more so.

If I happened to accomplish at least one out of the three aforementioned, I would consider this dissertation a useful work<sup>38</sup>.

One can see here a peculiar anti-Eurocentric and anti-Orientalist position by Bašagić, but, if compared to Ljubušak, Bašagić makes an obvious

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<sup>37</sup> S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti: Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine* [*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in the Islamic Literature: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Bosnia and Hercegovina*], in: S. Bašagić, *Izabrana djela* [*Selected Works*], vol. III, ed. by D. Čehajić, A. Ljubović, Sarajevo: Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine, Svjetlost, 1986, p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 223–224.

step further, since his discourse about the Muslim Orient and the European Occident has been less burdened with the sense of colonial enforcement. It leads to a conclusion, from the viewpoint of post-colonial theory and criticism, and in relation to the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, that Bosniak culture, as well as the literature at the moment when Bašagić wrote about them came out from its pronounced adoptive stage (through which it had been going through during the period of Ljubušak), and gradually was coming nearer the next stage of adaptation. In this way, it created assumptions for the final, adaptive stage of liberation from the colonial burden, which would, eventually, take place much later, after the times of Bašagić<sup>39</sup>. In the end, the Muslim Orient for Bašagić has never been in a submissive position to the European Occident. On the contrary, they have been in a concurrent relationship in every possible sense. That is why the possibility of adaptation of the Western European heritage by the Bosniaks had not been their unhappy fate, but, totally opposite, their comparative advantage. However, at the same time, the European Occident had to accept the Bosniaks as the same kind and, consequently, equal.

## 5.

In this way, with such and similar understanding, Bosniaks accepted the European Occident as their own space, in a manner of speaking, although they remained connected inseparably with so many ties to the Muslim Orient. This was the case with other Bosniak authors at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One should mention among them some important names, such as Osman Nuri Hadžić or Edhem Mulabdić, who would introduce a highly specific genre of European novel into Bosniak literature. They would also shape in their literary works some important representations about the Muslim Orient and the European Occident, mostly within the framework of the so-called “Austro-Hungarian topics”<sup>40</sup>. It is the topic of Bosnian Muslims’ confrontation with the modern Europe, which has taken place after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the Ottoman Bosnia in 1878. When dealing with such issues, those authors tried to resolve the dramatic and traumatic experience of the Austro-Hungarian occupation within the Muslim community in Bosnia, or they tried to resolve a conflict-

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. S. Kodrić, *Književnost sjećanja...*, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Ibidem*.

ing nature of relationship between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident among the Bosnian Muslims of these times. This refers to the very act of occupation, when Bosnia, which had been for centuries the most western part of the Muslim world and the Muslim “rampart” against the Western European, predominantly Christian, world, and, almost overnight, it was subjected to the foreign, even “infidel” rule. Even more so, it refers to a larger social problem of accepting the new living circumstances, including the Western European cultural and civilisation order. Similar to Bašagić, these authors would also define the Muslim Orient by, above all, its emotional aspect. The Muslim Orient would become the object of grieving and insatiable desire for this forever lost “bright past”, but the survival in the present, and especially in the future would be sought for, primarily, in establishing connections with the European Occident. That is why both Osman Nuri Hadžić and Edhem Mulabdić would also try to accomplish a peculiar kind of reconciliation between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident. It would be visible in the novel *Bez nade* [*Without a Hope*] by Osman-Aziz, or in the novel *Zeleno busenje* [*Green Turfs*] by Edhem Mulabdić, as well as in the remaining books of these two authors, including their next novels *Bez svrhe* [*Without a Purpose*, 1897]<sup>41</sup>, or *Nova vremena* [*New Times*, 1914]<sup>42</sup>.

Literary work by both Osman Nuri Hadžić and Edhem Mulabdić, respectively, as well as of other important authors and a larger number of minor writers of that period, would take place within the frameworks of folklore romanticism and the enlightened realism in the Period of Rebirth in the Bosniak literature. Their literary representations of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident would be shaped in that kind of mannerism. This is notably visible in relation to the idea of education, or learning, in general, which became, for both Osman Nuri Hadžić and Edhem Mulabdić a life-saving ideal in the new living and overall social circumstances, where the European Occident for those and many other authors functioned as the place of reason, but also as the living and social context that could be overcome only by the application of reason that enabled them to survive and continue to live. In this sense, instead of the meaningless resistance to the occupation and new historical situation, or instead of a mere passive and lethargic abandonment to what seemed to

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<sup>41</sup> Osman-Aziz, *Bez svrhe* [*Without a Purpose*], Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1897.

<sup>42</sup> E. Mulabdić, *Nova vremena* [*New Times*], Mostar: Prva muslimanska nakladna knjižara i štamparija, 1914.

be the unhappy historical destiny, or, instead of attempting to escape from reality, such as, for instance, the immigration or “*hijra*” to Turkey as the motherland of the remaining parts of the Ottoman Empire, these authors requested quite the contrary. They advocated staying in Bosnia as the only homeland, as well as quite an active attitude towards life, and, in particular, education, and, alongside with it, the overall acceptance of all the positive values of the European Occident. At the same time, they tried to retain their own values related to the tradition of the Muslim Orient, especially in the form of identity character, which was necessary to keep in the new times through the synthesis of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident. It is exactly against such a backdrop that the novel *Zeleno busenje* [*Green Turfs*] by Edhem Mulabdić functioned. It is a story about different possibilities to response to the fact of Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to the post-occupation conditions in the country. Mulabdić does not offer anything as a solution but suggests a rational acceptance of the new historical reality, and, above all, the education as the best answer to the new historical moment. In the context of the European Occident, it could be the only salvation for the community in the new times, including its traditional values tied to the Muslim Orient. This is a fundamental proposition of this novel, and it is due to such features that it represents a typical phenomenon in the understanding of the Muslim Orient and the European Occident within the frameworks of folklore romanticism and enlightened realism in the Period of Rebirth of the Bosniak literature.

An especially important shift would be present in the poetical work of Musa Ćazim Ćatić. He was the first author who would include the elements of European modernism and its poetics into the Bosniak literature. Ćatić was among the first ones who would indicate the elements of even newer, less burdened colonial awareness among the Bosniaks, which could be described as definitely of adaptive nature<sup>43</sup>. It is true that the beginnings of Ćatić’s literary work were, practically, a follow-up of Bašagić, or folklore romantic ones. However, during his stay in Zagreb, Ćatić would join the circle gathered around the renowned proponent of Croatian Modernism, Antun Gustav Matoš. Mingling with the members of that circle, Ćatić would be-

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<sup>43</sup> M. Ć. Ćatić, *Sabrana djela* [*Collected Works*], vols. I–II, ed. by A. Nametak, Tešanj: Narodni univerzitet, 1968.



come familiar with the features of European modernism, while also learning from the contemporary Turkish literature of the time, which, in the meantime, had become modernised and Europeanised through its contacts and direct relations with the French literature. Like Bašagić, Ćatić was also well-versed in Oriental-Islamic languages and Oriental-Islamic literary traditions, to which the Older Bosniak literature had been the integral part of, but it was only Ćatić who happened to attain what Bašagić had been just striving to – to, at last, join “the East and West, a poem and mind”, as Bašagić himself would have said, or to fuse his own literary and cultural traditional heritage tied to the Muslim Orient and the challenges of Modernity from the European Occident. In his mature stage, Ćatić communicated more freely with the modernist European culture, which he happened to merge quite well with his own Oriental-Islamic culture. He did it without the previous sense of urgent necessity of the immediate adjustment to the new European times in Bosnia, and what included a somewhat different representation of both the Muslim Orient and the European Occident. Except for his early poetical works having been done in the style and spirit of Bašagić, this could be seen more or less in the entire later works by Ćatić, while probably one of the most eloquent examples in this respect is his poem *Ja sam vjerni rob ljepote* [*I am the Faithful Slave of Beauty*], published originally in 1909. It happened only six years after Bašagić had written his poem *Jednome kritičaru* [*To a Critic*], and in Zagreb, the same city of Ćatić’s previous “modern schooling”. The poem was published in a modernist journal *Mlada Hrvatska* (*Young Croatia*), which had been supported by Matoš himself:

Ja sam vjerni rob ljepote... Kad mi majka život dala,  
S oblaka je vila pjesme nad bešiku moju pala  
I cjelovom, što no pali kao tropsko sunce vrelo,  
Taknula u usne moje i djetinsko sitno čelo;  
Zato vazda na mom čelu vječnog aška misli gore,  
A usne ih pjesmom zборе...

[I am the Faithful Slave of Beauty... When my mother gave me a life,  
A song fairy has fallen from a cloud on my cradle  
And with a kiss, which burns like a hot tropical sun,  
Touched upon my lips and my tiny baby’s forehead:  
That’s why on my forehead the thoughts of eternal love burn  
And my lips utter them in poems...]

Ja sam vjerni rob ljepote... Duša čista poput lijera  
Od iskona plivala mi u muzici šumskih sfera.  
Nju andžoska ta muzika svojim medom opila je,

Zato vazda duša moja s tajne čežnje podrhtaje,  
Pa me goni, da u žice lake harfe prstom diram  
I ljepoti himnu sviram...

[I am the Faithful Slave of Beauty... A soul as clean as a lily  
Has swum from origins in the music of spheres in woods.  
The music of angels intoxicated it with its honeydew,  
That's why my soul trembles with a secret desire  
And it forces me to pluck with my fingers the strings of a harp  
And sing a hymn to beauty...]

Ja sam vjerni rob ljepote... Slikar mi je bujna mašta  
Njezin kist je krilo lune, atelie – čarna bašta.  
U toj bašti na sve strane od boja se miris krili  
I ko sunce u Perzeju sjaju slike i profili,  
A ja samo u peru ih na hartiju b'jelu šljevam:  
Hej, ja slikam, sviram, pjevam

[I am the Faithful Slave of Beauty... A painter is my wild imagination  
Its brush is a wing of Moon, its studio – a magical garden.  
And a scent is spreading from colours on all sides in the garden  
And as a sun in Perseus pictures and profiles are shimmering,  
And I only pour them in pen on a white page of paper:  
Hey, I am painting, playing, and singing...]<sup>44</sup>.

Obviously, even with the very title, the poem suggests European Modernist Art for Art's sake, or the gist of the aesthetic utopia of the European Modernism. However, both in the title, but also in the poem, one can detect that peculiar "surplus" that Ćatić could never have learned from the great Matoš, but neither from the Turkish modernists in that kind of form – it is the holy teaching of Islamic mysticism, or the Sufi understanding of the world and life, which had permeated the majority of Oriental-Islamic poetical tradition, and, in the same manner, the Older Bosniak poetry in Oriental-Islamic languages. Simply, as "a faithful slave of Beauty", a poet or a lyrical subject is a subject to a *l'art pour l'art* aesthetic ideal, but also of the divine Absolute, who is, according to the Islamic mysticism, or Sufism, the very essence of Beauty, because "God is Beautiful and He loves Beauty", said the Messenger of Islam. The poem, which is simultaneously entirely modernist and European, but also entirely Islamic and mystical, Ćatić published

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<sup>44</sup> M. Ć. Ćatić, *Ja sam vjerni rob ljepote [I am the Faithful Slave of Beauty]*, in: M. Ć. Ćatić, *Izabrana djela [Selected Works]*, ed. by E. Duraković, Sarajevo: Kulturno nasljeđe Bosne i Hercegovine, Svjetlost, 1988, p. 79.

in the literary journal that happened to be a part of Croatian literary and cultural life. In this way, he legitimised himself as a true master, as a genuine, specific modernist poet, but, above all, he remained his own person, or the poet who, finally, reconciled in the best possible way “East and West, a poem and mind”. It should come as no surprise that some of these elements from Ćatić’s poetry would be found in some verse by his teacher Matoš. One can see it in the famous poem by Matoš *Srodnost* [*Being Akin*, 1910], which was published three years after equally important poem by Ćatić *Zambak* [*Lily*, 1907]. This poem was rather inspiring for Matoš exactly because it had been rooted in the literature and the culture of the Muslim Orient<sup>45</sup>.

Ćatić, therefore, was, finally, able to fulfil the ideal that had been set up first by Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, and afterwards by the literary generation from the Period of Rebirth, led by Safvet-beg Bašagić. Nevertheless, this path of merging and the full integration of Bosniaks into the Western European context would last further on, throughout the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until today, when Bosniaks, although not originally as “Asian settlers” into Bosnia, but as an old European people, as well as their neighbours in Bosnian and outside this country, have faced again yet another kind of new and different Europe to which they, again and again, had to adjust in the form of brand new pro-European adaptations, if they wanted its doors to open up for them. If one looks back to this path, it can be seen, among other things, that the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, or the Period of Rebirth in the Bosniak literature and culture, is a period when Bosniaks began to imagine themselves in the way as they happen to see themselves most often nowadays – as the people on a crossroads and as bridge between the Muslim Orient and the European Occident. It is a specific border position, which has come into a particular focus of interest in the contemporary theoretical discourse, and which had used to be and remained to be a kind of natural order of things in Bosnia. This, perhaps, is or may be a notable advantage of the Bosniak, but also the entire Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature and culture, which could be sensed from the actual deliberations of Dževad Karahasan, a living classic of contemporary Bosniak and Bosnian-Herzegovinian literary practice:

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. E. Duraković, *Pjesnik na razmeđu epoha* [*A Poet at the Crossroads of Epochs*], in: M. Ć. Ćatić, *Izabrana djela...*, op., cit., pp. 24–26.

A border is, namely, the objective state in itself, because the two entities that meet each other on the border happen to be equally its structural parts and equally present. The two units of space meet on the border, or the two units of time, or the two units of meaning, and both such units must be equally present with their respective identities, they must form in the same amount the border as their meeting place if it is to be the border at all. That is why *the border is, par excellence, a dramatic place*, and since it is the place of tension, it is *so exclusively prolific*<sup>46</sup>.

After all, the experience of Karahasan is the experience which has also been based in the historical perspective, on the same ground that the Bosniaks had perceived the Muslim Orient and the European Occident at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>46</sup> Dž. Karahasan, *Dosadna razmatranja [Boring Deliberations]*, Zagreb: Durieux, 1997, p. 109.