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Magic and *Hodžas* as Magic Specialists in Contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina¹

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Abstract: While the early scholars thought that magic practices and beliefs would soon disappear, research from the second half of the twentieth and 21st centuries in Europe testifies to the fact that many people continue to believe in the effects of magic, and that counter-magic continues to be practiced. This paper gives a short overview of magic-related beliefs and practices in 21st century rural Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is based on fieldwork that I conducted in the countryside from 2016 to 2019, among the population of all three major ethnic groups, i.e., Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, as well as some Roma. Fear of magic is rather widespread: many interlocutors claimed to have suffered the consequences of bewitchment or narrated about the bewitchment experiences of their close relatives and acquaintances. While narratives on bewitchments referring to the time before the war were often related to bewitched cows and milk, after the war they mainly concern psychological and psychosomatic disorders, anxiety or depression, marital problems, problems within the family, but also unacceptable behaviour (such as aggressiveness, insubordination, cheating etc.) as well as infertility and bachelorhood, which are most often explained as a consequence of someone else's magic. To counteract the effects of bewitchment, people turn to various specialists, among whom the most popular are Muslim clerics called *hodžas*. In spite of their help against bewitchment, their reputation is generally extremely ambivalent: dealing with "magic" is considered to be contrary to Islamic teachings; taking money from people in distress is deemed problematic; and their knowledge triggers ambivalent attitudes.

Keywords: magic, witchcraft, Bosnia and Herzegovina, priest, *hodža*

Introduction

Witchcraft in the West today appears in many guises. Witches have become a commodity: they flood the movies, television and the internet, and feature in children's books and cookbooks, novels, journals, and board games; practitioners of "pagan witchcraft" perform their rituals; women dress up as witches for Halloween parties; witches have become a trademark of radical feminism; and witches' traditional places have become a lure for tourists and the adherents of new spiritual movements.² All this witchcraft, however, is usually reduced to several features

which comply with the needs of modern urban society and the demands of contemporary consumerist ideology, and has nothing to do with traditional witchcraft, which is typically set in more or less small-scale, close-knit, face-to-face agricultural communities, and which for centuries served as an explanation of misfortune, interpreting the source of personal troubles a consequence of others' malevolent agency.³ While particular individuals in modern urbanised Western societies might believe in the reality of witches, and convictions about the efficacy of witchcraft may be shared within certain circles, the generally accepted opinion does yet not usually hold the effects of witchcraft to be possible, and such opinion is not granted general societal support. The factors that are usually held to have

¹ This paper is largely based on interviews that are given in a special appendix (in original BHS language) after the integral text.

² Cf. Harmening 1991; Köhler-Zülch 1993; Paul 1993, 104-105; Blécourt 1999, 150; Hutton 1999.

³ Pócs 1999, 11-12; Levack 2006, 137-140.

triggered the decline of witchcraft are changing economic and social circumstances (industrialisation, urbanisation, and better communication channels), improved education and literacy and attempts by authorities to suppress “superstitious beliefs”, improved health systems and access to medical facilities, rationalisation of infrastructure, and road building and tourism.⁴ Improved public health initiatives, scientific medicine, and farming techniques helped render life less uncertain and less dangerous – as Jenkins states, “[m]odern medicine offers effective and dependable treatments for a wide spectrum of ailments, and this has at least some bearing on the decline of witchcraft beliefs in the twentieth century.”⁵ The decline of the neighbourhood and the associated rise of national and bureaucratic power structures as dominant forces in people’s lives, in addition to changes in the cultural and psychological sphere have also been given as reasons for the decline of witchcraft. While social tensions in traditional close-knit communities tended to eventually evolve into witchcraft accusations, people in contemporary industrial societies are able to resolve conflicts by moving and finding new groups to associate with when conflicts cannot be resolved otherwise.⁶

In spite of various factors that contributed to the decline of traditional witchcraft, several studies show that not only in the nineteenth but also in the twentieth and 21st century, in some places in Europe (as well as outside Europe), witchcraft is (still) present as a part of people’s social reality – as a matter of personal belief as well as a social institution explaining misfortune, informing personal experiences and cultural practices, and regulating personal relationships in the community. As Jenkins puts it, “local interpersonal jealousies, feuds and conflicts of interest, and the psychodynamics of blame, guilt, resentment and projection that nurture them, have doubtless altered little over the centuries. Thus, witchcraft beliefs did not necessarily become suddenly obsolete: they may still *work* (whatever that means in intimate and neighbourly contexts).”⁷

Research that proved the continued existence of traditional witchcraft in the twentieth and 21st century Europe has usually been conducted in rather isolated, traditional, close-knit rural communities, where those factors that were recognised as contributing to the decline of witchcraft elsewhere were experienced to a limited extent or not at all and had very little influence on the everyday life of the population. More or less isolated, close-knit traditional rural communities, in which people tended to stay in the same village or region from birth to death and usually did not move outside the region for longer periods, where people lived in precarious and often harsh living conditions, mostly depending on themselves for survival, where strained relationships among members of the community were more often the rule than a mere possibility, appears to be the typical specific socioeconomic context in which the continuity of traditional witchcraft has been most often encountered, and where witchcraft continued to provide a means for an explanation of misfortunes and shape social reality. Even though the “rationalist” designation of traditional knowledge as “ignorance” and “superstition” has weakened its potential opposition to the scientific way of knowing associated with intellectual, political, and economic power, people would not have continued to believe in the reality of witchcraft were their belief merely based on “foolish misunderstanding and ignorance”, as assumed since the Age of Enlightenment.⁸ Blécourt rightly argues against a “vulgar rationalistic approach” which considers witchcraft to be an “obsolete, oldfashioned way of thinking” by pointing to its “presupposed narcissistic hegemony.”⁹ Witchcraft has its own logic, no less rational than other ways of thinking, and seems to provide “another kind of rationality”,¹⁰ a way of knowing that can be set alongside the positivist and rational explanations, covering domains that are not satisfactorily explained in their frames, and internally consistent within its local contexts.¹¹

Although magic was not the original topic of my field research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it turned out to be such an important theme for my interlocutors that it was impossible to ignore it.

⁴ Cf. Blécourt 1999, 212; Gijswijt-Hofstra 1999, 150; Blécourt / Davies 2004, 2, 9.

⁵ Jenkins 2007, 210-211.

⁶ Briggs 2002, 1-3; cf. Bleek 1976, 530.

⁷ Jenkins 2007, 210.

⁸ Cf. Henningsen 1982, 131; Motz 1998, 344.

⁹ Blécourt 1999, 212-213.

¹⁰ Ibid. 2004, 89-90.

¹¹ Cf. Paul 1993, 16; Motz 1998, 344.

Primarily based on the narratives I recorded during my fieldwork, I shall in this paper give a rather brief overview of beliefs about magic, magic practices and magic specialists, with an emphasis on the most popular specialists – *hodžas*. In addition, I will try to point to some possible factors that contribute to the persistent importance of the role of magic and traditional (counter-) magic specialists in Bosnia at the beginning of the 21st century.

Magic in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Witchcraft, or rather magic,¹² in Bosnia and Herzegovina has since the very beginning of scholarly interest in “folklore” in the nineteenth century, attracted the attention of folklorists and ethnologists alike.¹³ While the early researchers on the one hand lamented that the lore they were collecting would disappear, and on the other hand advocated for the cultural changes that would lead to their disappearance,¹⁴ under the socialist regime, established after the Second World War, when every sort of religiosity became stigmatised, they directly expressed the hope that better living conditions, knowledge and enlightenment, and socialism, would help extinguish “the phantom of witches.”¹⁵ Nevertheless, research from the second half of the twentieth century testifies that many people continued to believe in the effects of magic, and that counter-magic continued to be practiced under the socialist regime.¹⁶ While Tone Bringa, who conducted field research in central Bosnia in the late eighties, wrote that according to her interlocutors (as well as according to *hodžas*, i.e., the Muslim clergy-

men themselves), fewer people than before were turning to *hodžas* to help them against bewitchment, she nevertheless noticed that this was still a widely used strategy for coping with misfortune.¹⁷ Some three decades later Larisa Jasarevic too concluded that the traditional practice, or rather a healing therapy as she understands it, called *salijevanje strave*¹⁸ – which often, although not necessarily, identifies magic to be a source of health problems and implies “unwitchment” – is hugely popular in Bosnia.¹⁹

Indeed, during my fieldwork conducted from 2016 to 2019 in rural regions around Bosnia and Herzegovina, among the population of all three major ethnic groups, i.e., Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, related to the cultures of Islam, Catholicism and Orthodoxy respectively,²⁰ as well as some Roma, magic was a topic that continuously cropped up in the conversations. Comments such as “There are kilometres of magic here!”, “There is plenty of magic in Bosnia!”, “Nobody will talk about being bewitched, but there is plenty of this!”, are but a few of those given by my interlocutors. Many people claimed to have suffered the consequences of bewitchment, or else narrated about the bewitchment experiences of their close relatives and acquaintances. To counteract the ef-

¹⁷ Bringa 1995, 217.

¹⁸ *Salijevanje strave* literally means “the pouring casting (out) fear / horror”; cf. Ugljen 1893; Grgjić-Bjelokosić 1896, 151-152; Filipović 1949, 218; Bringa 1995, 215; Jasarevic 2012, 918.

¹⁹ Jasarevic 2012, 923.

²⁰ From 2016 to 2019, I conducted altogether 247 interviews; in the majority of them, there were multiple interlocutors involved in the conversation. Apart from conducting several interviews in Sarajevo, most of my fieldwork has been conducted in the countryside of Central Bosnia (villages between Visoko and Kakanj, around Busovača and around Jajce), of North-Western Bosnia (villages around Omarska), in Herzegovina (villages around Tomislavgrad), and in Eastern Bosnia (villages between Srebrenica and Bratunac). Due to the delicacy of the topic the exact villages of the research are not given and all personal and places’ names used in this article are deleted, changed, or are pseudonyms. I in the interviews indicates an Interlocutor, and M me (Mirjam). The number in the brackets after the interviews refers to the number of the interlocutor in the archive (see List of Narrators); all recordings and transcriptions are stored in the archive of the Hungarian Academy of Science. The interviews have been transcribed by native speakers and are done verbatim. I have omitted the parts of the texts where the authors discussed topics that are not relevant for the reader, explained local words and expressions, exact locations, etc.

¹² Although it is generally accepted that there is no justification in distinguishing witchcraft and sorcery / magic in Europe; cf. Mencej 2017, 172ff. I use the term *magic* rather than *witchcraft* as the word “witchcraft” was never used by my interlocutors (although they sometimes used the term “witch” – *vještica*). I use the term “magic” as an umbrella term for any human manipulation of “supernatural” forces, and “bewitchment” when harm is done to a person or their property; cf. Blécourt 1999, 151-152.

¹³ See Lilek 1896, 477-391; 1902, 274-276; Grgjić-Bjelokosić 1899, 618-624; Filipović 1949, 187-190, 217-220; 1952, 372; 1955, 132-135; 1963, 345-349; Bošković-Stulli 1953; Fabijanić 2004.

¹⁴ Cf. Jasarevic 2012, 920.

¹⁵ Cf. Bošković-Stulli 1953, 341.

¹⁶ Cf. Filipović 1949, 1952, 1955, 1963.

fects of bewitchment, people often turned to the specialists in healing and / or magic. As Filipović wrote in the mid-twentieth century, there was almost no village, or town, without at least one specialist in this field.²¹ Among the most popular magic specialists are women (but also, albeit more rarely, men) who practice *salijevanje strave*; *vračare*, *gatare* / *gataruše* who tell fortunes (*gatatati*,²² *ogledati*²³) from coffee, white beans,²⁴ water, etc., but also sometimes heal;²⁵ and women who pray (*klanjati*) *istihare* / *istijare(te)*,²⁶ providing the answers to the clients' questions about the future by praying for the revelation of the answer in dreams. While not necessarily, these practices sometimes also involve carrying out preventive measures against bewitchment and unwitching the bewitched. Some *hodžas*²⁷ too practice unwitching practices and are often addressed when people fear to have been bewitched. Healers, diviners, and therapists practicing techniques which have not been traditionally known in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as bioenergy and reiki, voodoo and others, have lately also invaded the market. Indeed, I was repeatedly told that magic has never before been as omnipresent in the life of Bosnians and that there have never before been so many practitioners of counter-magic as have appeared since the end of the war in the nineties. My interlocutors' view on the popularity of healing and counter-magic practitioners was confirmed by a female *strava* therapist from a town in central Bosnia, who said that before the

war,²⁸ occasionally only frightened children were brought to her for healing, whereas since the war visiting her "has become massive".

Bewitchment

When no physical source of illness or other misfortune could be identified, these were often explained within the "supernatural" discourse – either as a consequence of someone else's intentional bewitchment, of someone's spell (*urok*), usually caused by looking, or, in the regions populated by Bosniaks, also of the intrusion of malevolent spirits (*džins*)²⁹ into one's body. I will not discuss the latter two in this particular paper but will solely focus on bewitchment as ascribed to people knowledgeable in magic, usually called *sih(i)rbasica*³⁰ / *sihirbašica* / *sihirbazica*, *anamonna*, *stonoga*, *razparača*, *veštica*,³¹ but also *gatar*,³² *vračara*,³³ or to malevolent human being who performed the bewitchment with their help.

While narratives on bewitchment referring to the time before the war were often about bewitched cows and milk, that is, witches magically milking others' cows, or causing them to give bloody milk, bewitchments lately seem to be particularly aimed against personal health and well-being.³⁴ It is mainly psychological and psy-

²¹ Filipović 1949, 218.

²² In the narrow sense the word means "to tell fortunes"; cf. Filipović 1949, 220; in a wider sense it encompasses various magic activities.

²³ The word comes from *ogledalo* (mirror) and *gledati* (to watch, gaze); Jasarevic 2014, 268.

²⁴ An ancient technique practised in central and south-eastern Europe, particularly in the Balkans; cf. Moszyński 1967, 379-382; Pócs 1999, 145-147.

²⁵ Cf. Filipović 1949, 217-220. Filipović writes that around Visoko the words *gatanje* (lit. "to tell fortunes"), *vračanje* (lit. "to do (black) magic") and *bajanje* (lit. "to do incantations") mean the same thing; he also refers to women who *salijevaju stravu* as "gatar" (lit. "a woman who tells fortunes").

²⁶ Bringa 1995, 215, writes that *istihara* is usually *bula*, i.e., religiously educated woman, but the woman *istijareta* whom I personally interviewed was not. In addition, she also practiced unwitching.

²⁷ *Hodža* might better be called a religious specialist but as in this paper I particularly focus on their role of unwitchers (and bewitchers), I understand them, in this function of their, as "magic specialists".

²⁸ The war that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992–1995 and ended with the Dayton Agreement.

²⁹ The intrusion of *džins* (i.e., djinns, or genies), (malevolent) spirits in Islam, is called *ogramak* and the act referred to with the verb (*na*)(*o*)*gra(j)isati*; cf. Glück 1890, 46, 51; Bringa 1995, 178-179, 216. Among Catholics, psychological disorders were also sometimes considered to be a result of the Devil's intrusion.

³⁰ The word derives from *sihir*, i.e., a Bosnian variant of Arabic word *sihr*, meaning "magic"; Bringa 1995, 181; Davies 2012, 9. Jasarevic 2012, 914, 922, translates *sihir* as "sorcery", whereas Bringa 1995, 182, 214, 218, translates it as "spell" or "sorcery", and explains the local term *sihirbasica*, i.e., person who does *sihir*, as "sorcerer, that is, one who casts evil spells". None of them, however, problematized the difference between the term *sorcerer* and *witch*. In Bosnia both terms are in most cases used interchangeably and the distinction between the two is not justified.

³¹ Lit. a *witch*.

³² From the verb *gatatati*, which in a narrow sense means "to tell fortunes", but in a broader sense encompasses various magic activities.

³³ From the verb *vračati*, i.e., "to do magic" or "to tell fortunes".

³⁴ That cows are no longer targets of bewitchment is understandable, as they have become rare in the village commu-

chomatic disorders of some sort, particularly if they occur in several domains simultaneously, which lead some people to assume that they have fallen victim to bewitchment and others to proclaim their behaviour to have been a result of bewitchment. In addition, infertility and bachelorhood, marital problems, problems within the family, and any strange and unacceptable behaviour – such as aggressiveness, insubordination, cheating, divorce, as well as strange behaviour that later turned out to be the result of drug abuse – were also likely interpreted as a consequence of bewitchment (see Ap. 1).³⁵

Bewitchment (*sih(i)r*, č(v)arka,³⁶ *namet*,³⁷ *nabacak*,³⁸ čini³⁹) was typically assumed when objects such as eggs or broken eggshells, mixtures of hair, fingernails, threads of wool, and pieces of bats, or cloth stained by (menstrual) blood, sometimes sewn in a pad, and buried underground, were found in one's property. Foam from water taken from a mill race and "unclean water", i.e., water mixed with menstrual blood, were likewise assumed to have been poured over another person's territory as a means of bewitchment, especially when none of the above-mentioned items was found (see Ap. 2).

In addition, it was generally thought that magic could be performed with any item that was in some way related to death – for instance, items taken from the graveyard. This could be the soap and water with which people washed their hands after the funeral, the thread with which the corpse was measured and placed under the cross on the coffin during the (Orthodox) funeral, the wheat served after (Orthodox) funerals, but also earth, stones and wooden boards taken from a graveyard. This method was mentioned especially often by those of the Orthodox faith, although it was also occasionally referred to by people of Bosniak ethnic affiliation. In fact, the Orthodox priest I talked to told me that he him-

ities. I have often heard it said that before the war there was hardly a house without a cow, while nowadays one can hardly see a single cow in an entire village.

³⁵ Ap. refers to the Appendix in which original interviews are presented verbatim.

³⁶ From the verb *čarati* (lit. a bewitchment).

³⁷ From the verb *nametnuti* (lit. "something that was being foisted").

³⁸ From the verb *nabaciti* (lit. "something that was being placed or thrown").

³⁹ From the verb *činiti* (lit. "something that was being done").

self had witnessed a woman during a funeral who was secretly cutting off the thread placed under the cross on the coffin and forced her to put it back (see Ap. 3). My Bosniak interlocutor, whose house in Srebrenica was demolished by Serbs during the last war, started to build another one in a central Bosnian village, but has since experienced many health and other problems. A magic specialist he turned to explained that this was due to a plank taken from the graveyard and secretly built into the wall of his house by his neighbour who envied him his success in building his house faster than him (Ap. 4). One could also get bewitched by another person gaining access to and magically manipulating one's cut-off nails, hair, clothes or other belongings, as happened to my young Muslim interlocutor, whose trousers that were drying outside were stolen and, as she later found out, buried in a grave. This resulted in her long-term physical and psychological problems – depression, fatigue, anxiety, and marital problems (Ap. 5).

In the region prevalently populated by the Croats in particular, but elsewhere too, it was bewitchment through a gift that was particularly feared, and food received as a gift by a suspicious person was never eaten. When an ex-girlfriend sent an apple as a gift to a man who had broken off their engagement and married another, he was sure this was *nabacak* and threw it away – if he didn't, "anything could have happened to him", he claimed (Ap. 6). A husband whose wife left him for another man has been convinced that his wife left him when she ate a chocolate that the other man gave her (Ap. 7).

The moment when bewitchment started to affect the person's body, or psyche, was often referred to as *nagaziti* (lit. to trample),⁴⁰ which implies that it was the moment when a person stepped on or crossed over the bewitching item which was placed on the ground when the bewitchment actually took place. While among the Bosniak population in Central Bosnia it was most often thresholds (of the house, barns), doorjambs, and yards where *sih(i)r* was expected to be found, among the Serbian population in the researched regions it was the crossroads

⁴⁰ Sometimes also *(na)(o)gra(j)isati*, but this term implies that the bewitcher interacted with the items containing malevolent spirits; cf. Bringa 1995, 178-179, or refers to one's trampling on *džins*.

that were deemed particularly dangerous places for stepping on bewitching items, and people generally avoided crossing them in the middle (instead, they walked along the roadside). While crossroads were not considered dangerous during the day, they became extremely so after dark and remained so until the dawn, especially in the dead of night (*gluvo doba noći, mrtvo doba noći*), between 11 p.m. and about two or three a.m., when “no cocks are crowing, and no dogs are barking.” Lately, however, they have not been that troublesome anymore, I was told, as people tend to drive by car, and do not walk around at night anymore. For the Muslims, on the other hand, it is the time around sunset (*akšam*) when people are thought to be particularly vulnerable to bewitchments.⁴¹ They thus avoid going out, and Internet forums are full of the discussions of young mothers talking about the danger of taking children out at sunset.⁴²

Envy

Historical and anthropological witchcraft research has often assumed the existence of tensions between neighbours prior to the accusation of bewitchment, yet much research has proved that tensions among neighbours are not always a *conditio sine qua non* for the accusations to occur.⁴³ Although some cases reveal underlying neighbourhood conflicts preceding the bewitchment (cf. Ap. 8), tense relationships were not necessary for the accusation of bewitchment in Bosnia either. On the contrary, people often claimed that they enjoyed good relationships with their perpetrator before the bewitchment took place. Whether the bewitchment was placed in order to break up the relationship of a person in love with another person, and thus to assure that person's affection for oneself, or to do harm to another person, like causing illness, psychological problems, or to make a cow die – it was generally thought that it was envy that had made the perpetrators resort to magic that would do harm to another party.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. also Bringa 1995, 179.

⁴² <http://www.ringeraja.ba/ankete.asp?id=2177&arc=1&postBack=1>; last accessed 10 August 2020.

⁴³ Cf. Bleek 1976, 530; Favret-Saada 1989, 54; Gijswijt-Hofstra 1999, 110; Hesz 2007, 20; Mencej 2015; 2017, 119-120.

⁴⁴ Cf. Filipović 1949, 217.

Indeed, ethnological and anthropological research in Europe has demonstrated that envy, especially the envy ascribed to neighbours, is the most feared emotion. It is the emotion to which people ascribe the greatest destructive power and is firmly associated with witchcraft.⁴⁵ As de Pina-Cabral states, envy is understood as more than just an emotion: the concept of envy is wider and is one of the central concepts of the peasant's worldview. It is nothing less than the principle of evil, an uncontrollable force. As opposed to envy as an emotion, it does not exist only inside the person who feels it but is more a relationship between the person who generates it and the person who suffers due to its effects. The power of envy is destructive and is considered the main reason for misfortune: if misfortune occurs, there must invariably be envy, is the logic that could not be shaken.⁴⁶ Envy and the fear resulting from it may have been grounded in the underlying cognitive orientation of limited good, typical of close-knit communities. By this cognitive orientation, Foster understood various types of villagers' behaviour, the pattern of which indicates that they understand their social, economic, and natural universe as one in which all desired things (land, wealth, health, friendship, love, manliness, honour, respect, status, power and influence) are available only in limited quantities. There is always too little of them, and there is no way to increase the available supplies.⁴⁷ In the framework of the closed system of a rural community, in which the amount of “good” is understood to be limited and cannot be increased in any way, a person can increase his or her status only at the expense of others: all improvements of someone's position are viewed as a threat to the entire community – somebody else loses, whether they notice it or not. Those who have less therefore envy all those who have more, while those who have more fear the envy of others.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Henningsen 1982, 132; Alver / Selberg 1987, 28; Schiffmann 1987, 160-161; Alver 1989, 114; Jenkins 1991, 323; Hesz 2007, 25, 28-29.

⁴⁶ Pina-Cabral 1986, 176-177.

⁴⁷ Foster 1965. Foster has been criticised by several authors – see for instance Kennedy 1966; Blécourt 1999, 153. The same cognitive orientation (“luck”, “economy of fortune”) was recognized by Toivo Vuorela already in 1960; cf. Honko 1962, 119-120.

⁴⁸ Alver / Selberg 1987, 28.

Envy, or jealousy, were often thought to trigger magic actions in Bosnia too. Božana, a Serbian woman, explained in the interview how she almost died of *čarka*, placed by the neighbour who allegedly envied her a leather jacket she got from Germany, and also feared that her husband would fall in love with her. She kept inviting her to lunch, which Božana – fearing her bewitchment – kept refusing. Not succeeding to bewitch her through food, she explains, the neighbour tried to bewitch her by “placing something” at the crossroads. After stepping upon the bewitching item, Božana felt a sudden pain in her leg, blood started to run from her mouth and for about five hours she said she could neither walk nor talk and was on the verge of death (Ap. 8). A young Bosniak woman whose boyfriend broke the engagement just before the wedding, and who has since been unlucky in her partnerships, started to wear a protective device against her neighbour’s envy, believing that it was this that had been destroying her relationships with boyfriends (Ap. 9).

Moreover, envy was considered such a powerful agency that a person experiencing it was thought to be able to bewitch through their envy alone, even without intentionally placing a bewitchment. In fact, the difference between envy and bewitchment was not always quite clear. Murveca, an educated fifty-year-old Bosniak woman from Sarajevo explained that her psychic problems and problems within the family that she had been experiencing for the last couple of years were due to her envious neighbours who allegedly bewitched her with her “envious thoughts”. When asked whether they must also carry out a magic practice, she claimed that there is no difference – envy and *sihr* are the same thing (Ap. 10).

Counter-magic: *hodžas* as magic specialists⁴⁹

Magic specialists were consulted when preventive protection against bewitchment was needed,

⁴⁹ *Hodžas* are, of course, primarily Islamic religious specialists but as I in this paper focus on their function as unwitchers (and bewitchers), I refer to them in their assumption of the role of magic specialists. Not every Muslim priest serves in this role, though. While I also interviewed some *hodžas*, I will in this paper focus on the perspective of my interlocutors.

or in order to remove a bewitchment that has already been done (*skidati sihr*). People who experienced health problems would often first consult a doctor. When no physical reason for their problems could be established, the doctors were alleged to have stated “This is not for us” (*To nije za nas*). This phrase I often heard repeated in exactly the same words – in the framework of magic discourse this worked as official proof that their problems were the consequence of someone’s bewitchment. There are many types of magic specialists in Bosnia, as mentioned above. Some only focus on one particular practice, whereas others offer a wider scope of practices: they can for instance also tell future, heal, find marital partners or separate couples, find lost and stolen items and identify the thieves. Nevertheless, *hodžas* seem to be those most frequently visited specialists when misfortune suspected to be of magic origin was assumed, and in this paper, I shall focus solely upon this type of specialists. Not all of them offered this kind of help, though, yet some of them had a wide reputation for their knowledge in matters of magic. Indeed, there is frequent evidence of help sought from priests or monks in other parts of Europe, too, sometimes from the priests and monks of other religion, rather than the one practiced by a client.⁵⁰

Hodžas are often believed to not only have the capacity to undo the bewitchment or liberate people possessed by *džins*, but also to identify the person that had placed the *sih(i)r* on them, help people in counteracting its effects and protect themselves from it, and, on request, to also bewitch the perpetrators – all of which are typical elements in a procedure of unwitchers elsewhere in Europe too.⁵¹ In addition, they sometimes predict the future, perform love magic,⁵² i.e., bring a man and a woman together, or else separate couples, help infertile couples conceive,⁵³ identify

⁵⁰ Favret-Saada 1980, 57; Schöck 1978, 98-99, 143; Pina-Cabral 1986, 194, 201-202; Blécourt 1999, 154, 185; 2004, 96; Pócs 2004; Hesz 2007, 25.

⁵¹ Cf. Mencej 2015a.

⁵² Bringa 1995, 218, writes about love “spells” but according to what I was told, these were not really “spells”, that is a “verbal bewitchment”, but rather a sort of ritual, related to an item, and I shall thus rather use the term “love magic”.

⁵³ Infertility was also cured by women who *salijevaju travu* – the Serbian therapist I interviewed and observed during her practice for instance claimed that “she has mothered five hundred children”.

thieves and retrieve stolen or lost items;⁵⁴ some also practice *salijevanje strave*. In the scope of their activities, the *hodžas*' services resemble that of other European cunning-folk, who offered a similar range of services.⁵⁵ They would typically give a patient a *zapis*,⁵⁶ i.e., a piece of paper with a verse or phrase, or a (part of) prayer from the Qur'an, written in Arabic, which is believed to secure good fortune, and serve as a preventive, as well as curative measure against bewitchment.⁵⁷ Azim, a Bosniak man, born in 1978, for instance, told me about his experiences with *hodža*'s treatment of his wife when she experienced health problems. She was all right during the daytime but the moment she lay down to bed in the evening she experienced a feeling akin to suffocation. They first visited a doctor, but the tests did not produce evidence of asthma or any other respiratory illness. When the doctors could find no physical origin of her problems and officially proclaimed that "this case was not for them", the husband and his wife decided to consult a *hodža*. Upon their visit, the *hodža* confirmed that it was indeed the *sih(i)r* that lay at the root of the wife's problems and gave them a detailed description of the female neighbour who had placed it, yet he refused to reveal her identity. Still, even if they had had no previous conflicts with her, they immediately identified their neighbour as *the* perpetrator: she was often observed outside at night,

which was immediately suspicious, as magic is generally believed to be carried out at night ("A 60 to 70-year-old woman has no business being outside at night!", my interlocutor argued). She was different in other respects too: she "didn't like cleanliness" (according to Islam, dirt attracts *džins*) and she already had a reputation in the village for doing black magic out of envy to others. When they could not find any buried object under the door, as suggested by *hodža*, they concluded that she must have caused bewitchment by pouring "unclean water", i.e., water mixed with menstrual blood, the traces of which cannot be found. This manner of bewitchment is believed to typically cause headaches, stomach aches, foot pains, strained relationships, and, as Azim said, once one has to spend money on specialists in healing and counter-magic one soon ends up being without any money, too. Luckily, the *hodža* that Azim and his wife consulted was able to cure the wife's problem by giving her the correct *zapis*. According to his instruction, this had first to be put into water for ten to twenty days, after which the wife had to drink and wash herself with the water into which *zapis* had been put, diluted with plain water and, when the therapy was completed, to throw it in the river (Ap. 11).

In spite of their help against bewitchment, the reputation of *hodžas* is generally extremely ambivalent. Dealing with any kind of "magic" is considered to be in opposition to Islamic teachings,⁵⁸ and pious Muslims have often condemned the activities of *hodžas* on these grounds alone. Moreover, their magical power is generally feared. *Hodžas*' knowledge of writing *zapis* is based on knowledge of Islamic religious scriptures, and their knowledge of reading and writing in Arabic. In an environment in which much of the elderly population is still illiterate, the knowledge of reading, the more so in Arabic, is certainly a powerful tool for making an impression on the customers.⁵⁹ Yet this knowledge at the same time also triggers ambivalent attitudes among the people. As most people are not able to read Arabic, those who receive *zapis* often feel they are entirely at their mercy: one could never be sure what message the *zapis* they were given was actually carrying. Stories about *hodžas* who

⁵⁴ Cf. Bringa 1995, 214-215.

⁵⁵ Cf. Blécourt 1994, 299; Davies 2003, 163.

⁵⁶ Such *zapis* (pl.) have been known in Bosnia at least since the 14th century; at first, they were hand-written, but later they could also be printed and lithographed. They are usually folded in a special way, for instance in a triangle or folded four times, and attached close to the body, usually by a safety pin to the undershirt, or sewn in a waxed cloth and worn close to the body (under a band around the left upper-arm, or around a neck, sometimes under a belt, in a cross, or in special jewellery and boxes etc.). They were often attached to a child against spells, for adults in case of illness, as protection on a journey, against witches and *moras*, devils and anything coming from the other world. In addition, there was also *zapis* meant to protect the house and the family, or the entire village and community. Fabijanić 2004; cf. also Filipović 1955, 133; Bringa 1995, 216-217. In the past both Catholic and Orthodox clergymen gave out *zapis*, written in Latin or Old-Church Slavonic; cf. also Bošković-Stulli 1953, 338; Fabijanić 2004. A Catholic monk I interviewed even claimed that Catholic priests and monks sometimes used to write *zapis* to prevent Catholics from turning to Muslim clergymen for a *zapis*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Lilek 1896, 490; 1902, 275; Fabijanić 2004.

⁵⁸ Cf. Bringa 1995, 216-218.

⁵⁹ Cf. Bringa 1995, 218-219; Davies 1999, 37; 2003, 119.

deliberately (sometimes related to inter-ethnic tensions), or out of lack of sufficient knowledge of language, wrote “satanic”, instead of Qur’anic, verses, have been rather frequent (some stories of such negative *zapis* can even be found on the internet⁶⁰ (Ap. 12).

An additional reason for the rather negative reputation of *hodžas* was their taking money from people in distress. The same critique, but to a much lesser extent, actually refers to all magic specialists. In fact, they were often said to be allies, sending customers to each other,⁶¹ according to their previous mutual agreement, in order to help each other earning even more money. While traditionally magic specialists, healers, diviners and so on are not supposed to charge for their treatments but only to accept gifts that are willingly given,⁶² unofficial prices for their treatment are more or less known, and stories about how much was to be paid circulate around. Still, the appropriate payment was a matter of some discussion, and ultimately tensions, as people feared that to give too little could offend the specialist, who consequently, could resort to retributive action. A story I heard, for instance, tells of a *hodža* who refused to take any money for treatment from a patient who he heard complaining to other patients in the waiting room that the unofficial price usually paid for this *hodža*’s services was too high⁶³ (Ap. 13). Moreover, *hodžas* were sometimes quite blunt in demanding money they thought they deserved. Naila, who brought her mother to a *hodža* a few years ago, complained that she had planned to pay ten convertible marks for the therapy, but when he noticed a bank note for twenty marks in her purse, he demanded to be paid twenty, as “he would have to fight with the *đins* for the whole night” (Ap. 14).

The main reason for the *hodžas*’ negative reputation, however, is their alleged activity as be-

witchers.⁶⁴ Indeed, the *hodža* was generally considered to be able not only to unwitch bewitchments, but also to cast them. I have very often heard stories of *hodžas* who “do what you pay them for – good or evil.” (Ap. 15). Through narration of such stories, people were able to address ambivalent feelings towards the magic specialists and fears of their power and engage in the social valuation of their services. The stories about *hodžas* thus also served as a “performative locus employed by tradition participants to negotiate their conflicting perceptions” of these specialists.⁶⁵

Even a *zapis* itself, people say, could be employed as a bewitchment item. When Mara, my Serbian interlocutor, allegedly stepped over a *zapis* written by a *hodža* and placed in her field by her envious neighbour, she suddenly felt pain, and stiffened so that four people could not stretch her body. She endured in such a state for almost a year, she told me, while doctors found no physical reason for her state. Finally her husband paid a visit to a *hodža* in a nearby town. Luckily, he was able to help just in time – if the bewitchment had worked for nine more days, that is, for an entire year, she would have turned into a dog, the *hodža* explained (Ap. 16).

Several first-person testimonies indeed testify that *hodžas* were not only ascribed the bewitching but were also involved in it. While nobody ever admitted to having asked a *hodža* to make the initial *sih(i)r*, some did admit that they asked them to make them a *sih(i)r* as a “retribution” to the perpetrator.⁶⁶ While the cows of Danica, a young “bride” married to a Catholic family, allegedly bewitched by a neighbouring Bosniak family because she would not sell them, miraculously recovered from the near-death state, their recovery did yet not prevent her husband from later paying a visit to the nearby *hodža* to confirm his suspicions about the identity of their bewitcher and to request a *sih(i)r* against them in revenge – as he proudly told me, the Bosniak couple died soon afterwards (Ap. 17). Dragan, a Bosnian Serb, even gave a detailed report on his own personal involvement in placing a bewitch-

⁶⁰ Cf. <http://www.n-um.com/?q=node/5449>.

⁶¹ Cf. also Bošković-Stulli 1953, 338.

⁶² Cf. Bringa 1995, 218; Jasarevic 2012, 933.

⁶³ One might assume that *hodža* mentioned in the story may have resorted to some tricks to be able to listen to his clients’ conversation and thus not only got to know what they thought of the price, but also what their problems were – perhaps having a hole in the wall of the waiting room through which he could overhear the discussion, or employing a person who mixed among the patients and reported to the *hodža* on their discussions. Davies 1999, 38-39; cf. also Blé-court 1999, 187.

⁶⁴ Whether an act is considered as bewitching or unwitching is in some cases a matter of perspective.

⁶⁵ Cf. Tangherlini 2000, 290.

⁶⁶ Cf. Pócs 2004, 174-175; Hesz 2007, 22; Mencej 2017, 302-303.

ment aimed toward a “justified” destruction of a marriage. Her aunt’s son married a woman in spite of his mother’s and other relatives’ disagreement with his choice. Soon after the marriage, when the quarrels began, his mother decided to pay a visit to a *hodža* and asked him to separate the couple.⁶⁷ The procedure turned out to be successful and the couple separated only a week later.⁶⁸ As my interlocutor concluded: “The master did it, the master will also spoil it!” (*Majstor je radio, al majstor će i pokvariti!*) – meaning that just as the marriage was accomplished by the wife through the *hodža*’s magic, i.e., *nabacak*, in the first place, now it was the *hodža* who also destroyed it by magic (Ap. 18).

Social context and “ethnic identity of magic”

Since the nineteen-eighties, and especially after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, followed by the war in 1992–1995, and at the same time by the end of the socialist regime and the transition to a capitalist economy, economic conditions in Bosnia have worsened dramatically for the large majority of the population. Social relationships also changed dramatically after the war. I was told time and time again that before the war neighbours used to chat, drink coffee, celebrate together, and help each other at work, whereas since the war everybody simply keeps to themselves, minds their own business, rarely greet each other, and, moreover, are envious of one another. Indeed, envy, or rather fear of it, seems to be the emotion that has greatly permeated the relationships in the neighbourhoods in particular in the last few decades – there has never been as much envy as there is now, mostly everybody agreed.

⁶⁷ One can assume that the person who performed some illicit act during the night probably experienced fear and anxiety and therefore tried to carry it out in a hurry, thus he could be easily persuaded that the *hodža* – at the same time the religious authority – was right in accusing him of not having carried out the instruction correctly. These “mistakes” made by the executor of the magic procedure could, of course, later serve as an excuse for the *hodža* if the procedure turned out to be unsuccessful. At the same time, such narratives about *hodžas*’ ability to “see everything” certainly contributed to their general reputation as magic specialists.

⁶⁸ This, of course, was only to be expected as the husband himself participated in the ritual on the second day.

Strained relationships, impregnated by envy, can further trigger psychic and, consequently, physical problems, which within the magic discourse are attributed to bewitchment. As my Bosniak interlocutor told me: “Here in Bosnia, magic is being performed in every fifth to tenth house – people simply do harm to each other as a result of envy. The Devil brings this: this is envy. Everything stems from envy!”

As particular magic practices do not exclusively pertain to one particular ethnic group, and magic specialists do not exclusively treat patients of their own ethno-religious community, counter-magic techniques do not reproduce the “ethno-national differences”, as Jasarevic rightly emphasises in her discussion of the *strava* treatment.⁶⁹ Christian holy water, for instance, is used against *sih(i)rs* by Bosniaks, and both Croats and Serbs, in addition to Bosniaks, turn to Muslim clergy for unwitchment,⁷⁰ and so on. Even so, bewitchment narratives seem to function, to some degree at least, also as a platform enabling people, among other things, to release ethno-religious tensions and perpetuate ethno-religious prejudices.

Magic, for instance, is often ascribed to members of another ethnic group, at least when people speak about it in general⁷¹ (Ap. 19). Bosnians of Croat ethnic origin thus as a rule emphasised that “magic is performed by Muslims, and, much more seldom, by Serbs,⁷² but never by the Catholics!” One should not forget, though, that these narratives circulate in the rural communities where ethnic and religious differences have been – compared to the urban environment – more emphasised and that many other practices also testify of the good inter-ethnic and inter-reli-

⁶⁹ Jasarevic 2012, 922–923.

⁷⁰ Cf. Filipović 1955, 133; Bringa 1995, 214. Many people even thought that in case of grave illness a priest of another faith would be more helpful; Bošković-Stulli 1953, 338; Fabijanić 2004, 43. The phenomenon of turning to priests of another religion in seeking help from bewitchment has also been reported in other parts of Europe; Blécourt 1999, 185; Pócs 2004; Hesz 2007, 25.

⁷¹ On the ascription of negative characteristics to supernatural beings in ethno-religious determination in Croatia see Šešo 2016, 197–203.

⁷² In the particular Catholic villages where I carried out research there was no Orthodox population. In addition, there had been combats between Croats and Muslims during the last war, which may have influenced their choice of “ethnic identity of magic”.

gious communication.⁷³ My Croatian and Serbian interlocutors also often claimed that their priests too, knew how to perform counter-magic, but wouldn't want to do it as "they didn't want to have anything to do with it" (cf. Ap. 16) – as opposed to the Muslim clergy, that is. Since the Catholic discourse relating all magic to the Devil is strongly internalised in the region under research, populated by Croats, Bosniaks (and to a lesser extent Serbs) who perform magic are in this way consequently implicitly related to the Devil and evil. Through magic narratives, Bosnian Catholics who, like many religious groups in the past, accused others of magic as a matter of self-identification and reinforcement of their political and cultural legitimacy,⁷⁴ thus indirectly establish the Muslims as the backward and religiously deviant, "devilish" Other.

While my research showed that Bosnian Serbs in the region, primarily populated by Serbs, which has never been ethnically mixed, often resorted to magic practices, magic is nonetheless mostly attributed to Bosniaks. As for the Bosniaks, Tone Bringa writes that it was the Serbs whom they most generally accused of doing magic; this she explained by their more ambivalent feelings toward Orthodox Serbs than toward Catholic Croats. She also writes that Bosniaks (Muslims) claimed that if their priests did *sihir*, "they would not be real *hodžas*."⁷⁵ Her observations, however, do not comply with my recent fieldwork experiences: attribution of magic was the least ethnically related in the region populated by the Bosniak population. In the few cases when it was, it was usually attributed to the Roma. A 42-old Aida thus told me that "there are Serbian, Gypsy, and Muslim *sihrs*, yet Gypsy *sihrs* are the most dangerous!" When her husband added that Catholic *sihrs* count more or less for nought, she protested: "They do not count for nought, all *sihrs* are dangerous, but the Gypsy *sihrs* are the worst as they are the filthiest!" (Ap. 20).

Latent inter-ethnic tensions are also expressed in the narratives in which magic is suspected or an accusation of bewitchment is made by parents whose child chooses a partner of another ethnic origin, especially frequent among Croatian

Catholics. When a Serbian guy came to pick up a young Catholic woman to take her out, bringing a chocolate as a gift, they allowed her to go out with him but warned her against eating chocolate as "it could be *nabacak*." These narratives, on the one hand, offer an outlet for the parents' disappointment in their child's choice and are a way to clear the family's name in a community which does generally not approve of such inter-ethnic marriages. On the other hand, the accusation of bewitchment in these cases can also serve as an excuse for drastic measures undertaken by the parents. A daughter from a Catholic family who eloped with a Bosniak man, for instance, was brought back by her parents under restraint, with the argument that her husband's mother had bewitched her into marrying him. The bewitchment was undoubtedly confirmed when she spat in her parents' face when they came to "rescue" her – in the strict Catholic community this act was considered so outrageous that only the bewitchment interpretation could possibly do it justice (Ap. 21). Stories about bad treatment of Croatian women who married men of Bosniak origin by their mothers-in-law, with whom they usually lived under the same roof, were also circulating in the region populated by Croats, and can be understood as didactic stories aimed at preventing young women from marrying into Bosniak families. Although most of the accusations of bewitchment after the war are made in more or less ethnically homogeneous communities, narratives attributing the use of magic to people of another ethnic origin can thus still serve as a platform upon which ethnic prejudices and hostile emotions toward Bosnians of other ethnic origin are projected and negotiated and latent inter-ethnic tensions released.

Conclusion

Bewitchment narratives recorded in the rural environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016–2019 clearly display that for many people the bewitchment interpretation serves as the most appropriate interpretation at hand, helping the victim and/or their family to cope with misfortune, with the socially unacceptable behaviour of their members, or their stigmatised acts and conditions, such as bachelorhood, infertility, disobe-

⁷³ Cf. for instance, Belaj / Martić 2014.

⁷⁴ Cf. Davies 2012, 5–8.

⁷⁵ Bringa 1995, 182.

dience, depression, suicides, and the like. These narratives offer a convenient explanation to the victim and the community, save face, and prevent the reputation of the family from destruction,⁷⁶ while at the same time allowing the victims and their families to undertake counter-actions, no matter how drastic they might be. In addition, they offer a platform for the negotiation and release of inter-ethnic tensions.

Magic does not, however, only thrive in the countryside, where I did the field research, and is far from being restricted to the rural, uneducated, or elderly population who formed the majority of my interlocutors. Many of my interlocutors who believed in the effectiveness of magic were well educated, lived in towns and/or belonged to a younger generation. While magic, out of the sight of the socialist government, showed continuity throughout the twentieth and into the 21st century, it is becoming publicly advertised within the new channels of communications. Internet forums are full of discussions on how to avoid becoming bewitched, how to recognise bewitchment, and whom to turn to in case one is bewitched.⁷⁷ Counter-magic is a good way of making money and many practitioners have become extremely rich (my interlocutors often drew my attention to their large houses) – which in itself testifies to their popularity. Magic specialists prove their mastery on television, and advertisements for various magic specialists flood popular magazines.⁷⁸ The “first and only spiritual healer Hida” is a “guarantee for your better tomorrow”, an advertisement in the popular magazine *Aura* assures us, and by removing black magic, spells, and other bewitchments with the help of the Qur’an, she has helped, we are told, hundreds of people who have suffered madness, depression, nocturnal incontinence, fear, pains, headaches, migraine, infertility, stomach problems, or speech difficulties, “to liberate themselves from the claws of black magic, and to recover after the hard blows of *sihirbaza*.” The

⁷⁶ Cf. Argyrou 1993, 267-268; Hesz 2007, 30-31; Mencej 2016.

⁷⁷ cf. for instance <http://forum.klix.ba/imali-jos-is-pravnih-hoda-koji-pravilno-lece-od-sihira-p8127297.html#p8127297>; <http://www.islambosna.ba/forum/islam/kako-unity-sihir/300/>; <http://www.lijecenje-kuranom.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=1920>; last accessed 21 June 2016.

⁷⁸ Cf. Jasarevic 2012, 923, 926.

hodža Aljo efendija Harić offers invisible protective amulets, “removes 701 problems with Allah’s help” and makes people happy with the help of the Holy book. The seer Lea-Lejla “sees future, past and present”, removes *sih(i)r* and other sorts of black magic, brings peace and health into homes, saves marriages and aids in reuniting divorced couples, solves all sorts of love problems, assists in the passing of exams and finding as well as keeping a job – all you have to do is to call and “all your problems will be solved”,⁷⁹ etc. Even though the articles on (advertisements for) unwitching specialists appear in popular magazines amidst articles on extra-terrestrials, ghosts, bioenergy, miraculous health diets, and various New-Age alternative medical therapies etc., their practices often rely on Islam and traditional methods which seem to have gained a new momentum in the changed economic and social circumstances. Indeed, “Tradition” and “Religion” are often emphasised as trademarks imparting the specialists with the authority and credibility. “Spiritual healer Zijad efendija Majdančić is the best!”, an advertisement in a popular magazine *Aura* thus assures us, relying on the reputation of the *hodža*’s famous healing ancestry and the Qur’an which was handed down within his family for generations.⁸⁰

The devastating conditions of post-war Bosnian society, in which many people still suffer from war trauma, where many live at subsistence level and where a huge number of people are unemployed, certainly contribute to the increase of psychic tensions such as anxiety and depression and related physical illnesses.⁸¹ Persistent existential uncertainty has further triggered profound changes in the social relationships within the communities, which seems to have become impregnated by (fear of) envy and rivalry. Consequently, explanation of misfortunes by magic and accusations of bewitchment seem to continue to be a suitable and convenient explanation for the misfortunes that befall people.⁸²

⁷⁹ Cf. *Aura* 2016, no. 295, 297, 299; cf. also Jasarevic 2014, 272.

⁸⁰ *Aura* 2016, no. 297, 63.

⁸¹ Cf. Dekker / Schaufeli 1995.

⁸² In fact, several authors pointed out that witchcraft accusations tend to escalate after wars; Klaniczay 1990, 224; Niehaus 2012, 58.

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Sažetak

Magija i hodže kao specijalisti za magiju u savremenoj Bosni i Hercegovini

Iako su učenjaci ranije smatrali da će magijske prakse i vjerovanja uskoro nestati, istraživanja iz druge polovice 20. i 21. st. u Evropi svjedoče činjenici da mnogi ljudi i dalje vjeruju u učinke magije i da se kontramagija i dalje prakticira. Ovaj rad daje kratak uvid u vjerovanja i prakse povezane s magijom u ruralnoj Bosni i Hercegovini u 21. st. Zasnovan je na terenskom radu koji sam vodila na terenu od 2016. do 2019. godine, na prostorima sa stanovništvom s tri glavne etničke skupine, kao i nekim Romima. Strah od magije je prilično rasprostranjen: mnogi sagovornici su tvrdili da su pretrpjeli posljedice čaranja, ili su pričali o posljedicama čaranja kod svog bližnjeg, ili kod poznanika. Dok se narativi o čarolijama prije rata odnose na općinjene krave i mlijeko, nakon rata se uglavnom tiču psiholoških i psihosomatskih poremećaja, anksioznosti ili depresije, bračnih problema, problema unutar porodice, ali i neprihvatljivog

ponašanja (kao što je agresija, neposlušnost, varanje itd.), zatim neplodnosti i neženjenosti, koji se najčešće objašnjavaju kao posljedica tuđe magije. Kako bi se suprotstavili učincima čarolija, ljudi se okreću raznim specijalistima, među kojima su najpopularniji muslimanski svećenici, zvani hodže. Uprkos njihovoj pomoći u općinjavanju, reputacija im je ambivalentna: bavljenje „magijom“ smatra se suprotnim islamskim učenjima; uzimanje novca od ljudi u nevolji se smatra problematičnim, a njihovo znanje pokreće ambivalentne stavove.

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7.
Female, Bosniak, b. 1969, university education;
11.
I1: Female, Bosniak, b. 1957 (wife);
I2: Male, Bosniak, b. 1957 (husband);
35.
I3: Female, Bosniak, b. 1964, secondary school education;
37.
I1: Male, Bosniak, b. 1969, craftsman (husband);
I2: Female, b. 1972 (wife);
40.
I: Male, Bosniak, b. 1978, craftsman;
60.
I: Male, Bosniak, b. 1938, retired civil servant;
63.
I1: Female, Croat, b. 1964 (mother);
I3: Female, Croat, b. 1991, secondary school education (daughter);
70.
I2: Male, Croat, b. 1947, retired worker;
72.
I2: Female, Croat, b. 1989, university education;
73.
I1: Male, Croat, b. 1930;
76.
I1: Female, Croat, b. 1933;
79.
I1: Female, Croat, b. 1946;
I3: Male, Croat, b. 1968, secondary school education;
93.
I1: Female, Serb, b. 1955;
I2: Female, Serb, b. 1953;
97.
I: Female, Serb, b. 1947;
98.
I1: Male, Serb, b. 1931;
103.
I: Female, Serb, b. 1950;
114.
I1: Male, Serb, b. 1964 (son);
I2: Female, b. 1935 (mother);
115.
I: Male, Serb, around 65 years old, retired Orthodox priest;
203.
I1: Male, Croat, b. 1961, employed;
I3: Female, Croat, b. 1960 (wife);
I4: Male, Croat, b. 1956 (husband);
222.

List of interlocutors:⁸³

1.
I2: Female, Bosniak, around 70 years old;
I3: Female, Bosniak, b. 1984;
6.
I1: Female, Bosniak, b. 1928 (mother-in-law);
I2: Female, Bosniak, b. 1958 (daughter-in-law);

⁸³ Unless stated otherwise, all my interlocutors were without any formal education apart from completing primary school (often not even that) and unemployed, surviving on the produce from their gardens and/or welfare support.

I: Female, Bosniak, b. 1993;
232.

I: Female, Serb, b. 1979, secondary school education.

Appendix

Ap. 1.

In the following two interviews we can see illness, aggressive behaviour and infertility explained as consequences of bewitchment:

I2: *A napravljen mi sihir kad sam je nosala u stomaku. A jesam bila s njom, Bože sačuvaj, tražila sam bilo šta da se ubijem, tolko mi je bilo ružno.*

M: *A šta nije bilo..., mislim, da li vas je boljelo nešto ili...?*

I1: *Ma to ti dođe nervoza, to dođe, ne znam ni ja ti objasniti kako. Nešto, nervoza, unutra osjeća bol. Ne da ti dihat, ne da ništa, eto.*

I2: *Nije ona plakala, ona, ona ti je pretežno kašljala. Kad se rodila tek, nije mogla disati.*

M: *Pa zar je bila astma onda možda?*

I1: *Ma nije, kakvi asma!*

I2: *Onaj bronhitis.*

M: *Bronhitis?*

I1: *Ma to ka... ništa to.*

I2: *To nam doktori kažu.*

I2: *Al poslje toga, eto sad kako ona veća, raste, nama je lakše sve s njom, manje kašlje.*

I2: *Ona je kašljala, umirala pa ponovo živila, koliko je kašljala. Ona [pointing to his wife] je dvaput spasila. Bila umrla pa oživila. Tolko je kašljala.*

I1: *A zaguši se, zaguši. Kašlje.*

I2: *I, i, i sad sve što koji dan. Što treba da mi je pametnija deset godina, uvijek je nervozna, uvijek je nervozna.*

I1: *Agresivna.*

I2: *Agresivna! [...]*

I2: *Eto taj siher se nije skino. Išla sam, vodila sam je [kod istijarete] al ne, ne, ne radi ni ona više ko što je radila. Poslala me kući, haj ti kući, ja ću tebi učiti od kuće, a nije ništa ni uradila. (37)*

I2: *Da ti još ovo ispričam, eto... to je možda i hajde ti sad znaj, 20 godina ja djece nisam imala i poslije rata rodila sina, eto ga, devetnaesta mu godina. I nana je otišla u P., hodža je jedan bio, i rekla ona njemu sve ispričala, rekla: Eto, imam*

sina i nevjestu, nema djece. I on je nešto pogledo i reko: Ovaj će tvoj sin dobiti sina nakon 20 godina. I tako je i bilo. Mislim u to, eto hajde sad. [...] On je tako reko nani. Isto nam je jedna rekla to, onaj, kad smo otišli u M. dole... i ona je nešto na grah.

I1: *Na karte.*

I2: *Na karte... karte ili grah?*

I1: *Karte!*

I2: *Ona je nama rekla isto, mi smo otišli povodom toga, kaže da mi je neko napravio kad sam došla mlada, dok to ne pritrne, negdje da mi tražimo. Dok to ne istrune, zakačeno, ko kapanac nešto. Tako nam je nešto objasnila. Da je to da nađemo, kad bi to raskopčali, mogla [bi] odmah [izništiti]... eto, kad to pritrune, al kad sam mlada bila ista, pa možda za tih 20 godina to pritrlo, aj ti sad znaj.*

M: *A dal vam je kazala gdje vi to da tražite?*

I2: *Ona je nama rekla – jedna lipa je bila vamo – i ona je nama rekla, dve su lipe bile, velika lipa. Kao imate neko veliko drvo, pa da rovite, našli biste.*

I1: *Jedno drvo s jednu stranu kuće, drugo s drugo... I ispod toga drveta pod žila, rovite i nać ćete. Šta ću nać, nisam ništa rovila!*

I2: *A možda je to i bilo, a na kraju možda je to i pritrulo, dok to ne istrune ne mogu ništa.*

I1: *Nismo nikad tražili...*

I2: *Prošlo je nekih 20 godina...*

M: *A jel kazala ko bi to vama učinio?*

I2: *Šta je ona nama rekla...?*

I1: *Pa ne znam... jebiga.*

I2: *Ko, neko bliži...*

M: *Komšija ili iz familije?*

I2: *Ona je rekla ko neko bliži da je to. (6)*

Ap. 2.

I1: *Ali isto hoću da kažem, to je opet od jedne komšinice koja je, inače bavi se time. E sad, kako to ona radi, šta, na koji. Ova komšinica koja to pravi, koja se bavi crnom magijom.*

M: *Je l ona napravila sihr?*

I1: *Ja, dok je nijesmo, ja, dok se nije razotkrilo sve. Eto, uglavnom.*

M: *A šta je bilo?*

I1: *A dobro, ništa, ja, ništa, ništa onaj, ništa, mi nismo našli onaj da je nama nešto, nego je najvjerojatnije tu neku nečistu vodu sipala nam ispred vrata, znaš?*

M: A šta je nečista voda?

I1: Znači, krv i tako te stvari, znači od ženske menstruacije, znaš? Tako ti.

M: To se sipa pred vrata?

I1: Ja, da bi ti naograjiso i znači neš bit dobra sigurno. Možda će te sam glava bolit, možda ćeš imat sam probleme u stomaku, noge, ovo-ono i tako. Il ono jednostavno, za ne da ti se, što onaj reko.

M: Šta to?

I1: Nit ima para, nit ima ljubavi, nit ima, ništa, ništa, znači znaš kako je kad krene naopako?

M: I vama se sve to desilo?

I1: Pa konkretno samo, samo sa ženom, onaj, bilo i onda normalno, ti ostaješ, čim to se desi, ti počinješ hodat, znači tražiš lijeka. Trošiš puno para. Razumiješ? Onda ostaneš i bez para na kraju. Ostaneš i bez svega. (40)

Ap. 3.

I: I raskršća, kasno kažu da se ne prolazi, zato što to gatare žene idu po tom raskršću... Kaže, koje gataju i znaju gatat, one idu i od tuda, valjda po tom raskršću, tu... Najviše gataju, i po groblju gataju svašta nešto.

M: Šta rade po groblju?

I: Što, koja gata, koja uzmeju od mrtvacu nešto, ako ugrabe, ili dođe do sapuna, koje te neke vračare, rade sa tim tako nešto, onda... One to prave, i onda bacaju po raskršću, ko će znati.

M: A znači, baš ono, ovaj sapun sa kojim se mrtvac oprao.

I: Da, da, tako neko... To sam čula da tako rade te vračare, da one to upotrebljuju u nešto, i onaj konac što se mjeri, i šta ja znam.

M: Konac što se mjeri leš?

I: Da, da. Da i to upotrebljuju, onda ko zna. Onda, kosti, svašta nešto, to... (103)

M: Pa jel se pričalo da neko može naograjisat?

I: Pa jesu to.

M: A šta je to u biti, šta to znači?

I: Pa kao tipa, sapunica ako se prospje, naograjisaćeš na to, a ja ne znam šta znači, da ćeš poludit možda, tako nešto. (232)

I: Najviše se vrača sa... Vrača sa... Kod nas, pravoslavni Srba, ovaj, ima... Konac... Preko sanduka. Taj konac znači, ovaj, umrlo. I sad, to se ukrade,

na sve načine, ovaj... To se, taj konac krade, i sa-pun kojim se kupaju ljudi.

M: Aha! A zašto se krade?

I: Ukrade se!

M: A zašto, šta će raditi s njim?

I: Da može da vrača, da... Da nekom, ovaj, uvrača, i tako.

M: Znači, vi mislite da to stvarno rade?

I: Ne, ja to znam, to sam vidio! To je istina, vračanje je istina!

M: Šta, vi ste videli da su ukrali, ili da su pravili magije?

I: Da su ukrali. Da su pravili magije, ne znam, kako se pravi magija.

M: A šta ste onda... Ste kazali tom čovjeku ili ženi koji su ukrali, šta ste im...?

I: Nisam ja, ništa ja sam to zaustavljao kad sam vidio, al to sam ja čuo oduvjek, to... radilo... čula. Sve ja ti znam koji su te u, u...

M: U selu?

I: Da. U parohiji, znaš... Imamo, posebno na njih se pazi, znaš... Odjedanput sad, i sad jedan, ode M... On je obavezno, bio malo pogan... Da psuje... Hoću da ti kažem, ljut bio, znaš... Neš ti shvatit šta znači pogan... Ljut bio. Kač ne može ona ukrast, nema teorije, ovo... Malo dizo ton. A kod svakog mrtvacu on sedio, znaš tako. I dobro... I ja čujem da dolazi ta i ta iz C. i sad ću ja pazit na sanduk... Doć ću ja ranije sat vremena, da vidim, 'naš... I krade ona taj konac. [...] I prilazi, znaš kako prilazi... Dolazi tamo, ima, na mrtvacu ima krst, ispod krsta je taj konac, vidi se, znaš... I ona prilazi, ljubi taj krst ... Dobro, a ja imam, bio, pedeset godina, znaš, pies' godina. I ja kačem – stan na vrata tamo. Stan na vrata! I staju na vrata. I dobro. I sad mi, ja kažem, ajmo svi izać, okrenemo se svi izać, a ti – neka ona ne izlazi – kažem ja njem, ne daj! Reko sam ja šta je uradila. Njem. Tom đedu kažem da ne mereš... Đavo je... Ne mereš sačuvat sad, znaš. I ajd sad ti daj taj konac što si uzela! Daj, eto ga u džepiću, vido sam kad si ga, odsekla si ga makazama kad si ljubila krst. Kad ovaj skoči... Pa men' to niko u životu nije dosad uradio! Pa nisi ti dosad vidio! [laughs] (115)

Ap. 4.

I2: Čula sam da, ako ti je napravljen objekat blizu groblja ili na groblju, normalno da tu nema života, ni opstanka, ni govora...

I1: Ako ti neko udari iz groblja ekser u kuću... nema, sve to ide nazad, ne more naprijed nikad ić...

M: Kako to mislite ako te netko iz groblja udari...?

I1: Ekser, ekser... što kuje se daska.... ja, sve potrebiš u kuću nešto...

M: Neku dasku iz groblja...?

I1, I2: Ja, ja...

M: A da bi to neko napravio namjerno mislite?

I1: Namjerno...!

I2: To niš, to nemaš ni u čemu napretka, nemaš napretka, zdravlja, to ti je to...

M: Vi znate da je neko nekome stvarno radio?

I1: Pa bilo je u meni...

M: Kod vas? Ovdje ili?

I1, I2: Ovdje...

I2: Kad smo kuću, povratnici kad smo uzeli da gradimo, donesena je s groblja, što se šaluju grobnice... pa odatle je daska uzeta, prenesena mojoj kući i zakovali je. Mi nismo znali...

M: A ko je to uradio?

I2: Pa sad... ne možeš ga...

I1: Da znam i ubio bi ga!

I2: Ja, ne moreš to, ne znaš...

M: A kako znate da vam je...?

I2: Jer sam išla jednoj ženi da mi pomogne i ona mi je odma rekla s koje strane je udarena daska, odakle je donesena i sve, e to znam...

M: A kakve su onda posljedice bile toga?

I2: Kad smo morali tu dasku iščupat, uklonit, to onda...

M: Našli ste je?

I2: Pa našli, rekla je s koje strane i sve.

M: A kako ste znali da je baš to ova daska?

I2: Pa znali jer nismo mi imali, sve daske otklonjene, samo ona je stajala.

M: Mhm... to je bilo kad je bila kuća srušena?

I1: Kad sam ovu počeo gradit...

I2: Kad smo počeli graditi drugu...

M: Aha... a zašto ste uopšte posumnjali da vam je neko nešto uradio...?

I1: Nema nigdje, sve ide naopako, ne ide nikako kako si ti...

I2: Ja...

I1: Ti oš onako, on ode drugo, ne mere nikako kako ti očeš, ne mere.

M: A šta se dešavalo konkretno u vašom primjeru?

I1: Bolest, odma bolest...

I2: I onda se bolest...

M: I onda ste išli kod ove žene neke?

I2: Ja, kod žene da nam pomogne, ona nam je rekla sve to šta je i zbog čega i od čega i odakle, to smo otišli otklonili, izvadili...

M: I onda je bilo bolje?

I2: I onda je već malo bolje krenulo naprijed, eto.

M: A zašto bi to netko napravio uopće?

I2: A zašto, šta ja znam...

I1: Jer te mrzi, mrzi...

I2: Pravi ti smicalice, nemaš...

I1: Eto, ja bio zdrav, radio, nisam dao, ja sam prvi napravio, prvi se ovdje vratio, prvi sve. Bez ikoga, bez ičije pomoći.

I2: Ja...

I1: Zato te mrze, što radiš.

M: Da l ste imali neki konflikt s nekim od komšija?

I1: Nikad ja nisam...

M: To bi bio neki komšija ili iz porodice?

I1: Komšija neki...

M: Komšija?

I1: Ma ja.

M: Zar ste imali neke, recimo da se niste slagali s nekim od komšija?

I1: S nikim ja u zavadi nisam bio, ni prije rata ni poslije...

I2: A džaba, nije te moglo, namjerno...

I1: Mrzi te i završeno... i oće namjerno, on ne mere pa nećeš ni ti i eto.

I2: Ja...

M: Da, mhm... a zašto daska od groblja, zašto bi to bilo nešto loše, zašto to može utjecati na takav način?

I1: Pa šta ja znam, šta ja znam! Evo ti stari narod kaže od štale nemoj da bi šta stavio na kuću, od štali... da bi ugradio šta u kuću, kaže gotovo je, sve naopako, ja sam imao štalu ovdje prošle godine jedan mesar držao iz V., nova štala, on istovario šuban, blokove, građu imao, nije mi branio čovjek, mogo sam dvije kuće napraviti, samo sklopljeno i rasklapa, meni je sin to radio, nije čovjek branio njemu, i nismo ni drveta dovukli kući. Narod tako kaže, sad ajde znaj je li to to, nije... narod svašta zna, onda i ti poslušaj... (11)

Ap. 5.

I3: Pa kod mene se to desilo, onaaaj... kod mene se desilo, mi na more htjeli ić, ja pantole oprala i da se suše na štrik, dok sam gore živila, i ja ono pred mrak da skinem veš, kad ja nemam pantola nigdje, da bi nakon pet godina saznala... da bi nakon

pet godina saznala da meni to smeta i da mi na to napravljen sihir i da su mi zakopane u greblje pantole.

M: Znaete ko vam je to uradio?

I2: Ma kakvi...

M: Vi znate [turning to I3]? Ne trebate meni kazati imena...

I3: Razumijem, razumijem... zna se, zna.

I2: Zna se...

I3: Možeš samo molit dragog Allaha da mu da razum i pamet. Da to više ne radi...

M: Kakva je bila posljedica za vas?

I3: Bolest, muke... muke. Žive muke. Bila sam bolesna, umorna.

I2: Neko želi da...

I3: Nervoza, depresija...

I2: Među čovjeka i žene ne valja, među djecu, a ovamo sve ti...

I3: Nemaš problema, problem se stvara. Ne možeš konkretno navest problem, a problem je... (1)

Ap. 6.

I: I od B. žena meni donese jabuku... Dobra jabuka, fina bre. Kaže poslala ti... jedna Mara. A ja sam ašikovo i sa njom, a nisam je tio ženit. Bolje mi se svidla ova, ova mi se, iz sela, komšinka. [...] Pa, ja sam mislio da je bio nabacak neki. Da sam pojo, možda bi sad... bilo sa mnom svašta.

M: Aha. Vi niste, znači, niste pojeli onu jabuku?

I: Nisam. Ovde sam i sidio... A bio sam ja oženjen, i napravio ovu kuću kad je ona meni donjela, strina, jabuku. Ja sam uzeo onu jabuku prid njom. Dole u šumu.

M: Bacio?

I: Ja, rekla ona meni odakle je. Ona se cura nije još bila udala, i... sigurno je napravila čarku. I ja nisam htio pojest. (73)

Ap. 7.

I1: A još sam čula jednom, već kad sam, čovek meni priča. Ženo, znaš ti kako sam sa ženom živija? Milina. I on kaže, došo je drugi čovek i dao joj čokoladu. Pojela je čokoladu i otišla je za njega. I on sad traži koga da nađe da tu svoju ženu vrati. Ona je pojela. A jedan slučaj, što je cura doživjela...

M.: Čekajte samo malo, ova čokolada, to bi bila ista takva...

I1: Isto ona j' bila...

M.: Čarka?

I3: Začarano.

I1: Isto čarka bila. (79)

Ap. 8.

M: Jel ima žena za koje se priča da prave čarke?

I1: Da. Bilo je, bilo je. I ja sam jednom bila. Ja sam ostala živa umalo.

I2: Eto. Ona je, vidiš!

I2: Ona ovaj... Pa šta, žena stara, star čovek, i ja tako, ovaj... Ja to kad sam bila mlada, ja nisam gledala da l' sad da idem mladima, slabo mladih i bilo. Ja odem i starim ženama, ja volim tako. I ona se prepala da ja dolazim radi njezinog muža. Joooj, jadna sam!

I2: A on stariji dvaes godina!

I1: A on stariji dvadeset, ma dvaes pet godina!

I2: Ma više!

I1: Trideset.

I2: Jest.

I1: Joj majko moja, pa što... Ja kad bi, ovaj, ja bi tražila, ne bi... Ha! I ona posumnjala i u mene, kaže otkud njoj kožna jakna, otkud ona obučena? A u mene brat bio u inostranstvu pa meni kupi. Kupio mi kožnu jaknu, neka bela i tako, ovaj, kad dođe, dadne mi para. Ja baš imam braću neku, nešto posebno onako dobru. Dva brata. I sad otkud je ona posumnjala na mene. I šta ću, mene naruči, oće da ja dođem njoj za slavu i odredila mi kad da dođem. A šta, ja sam se onako premislila pa što da ja moram doći, iz naše kuće bilo ko da... Kad je slava neka. Prepala sam se, možda [silently] mi nešto ovaj, onako sam posumnjala, na svaku ženu više. Onda možda i na mene kad ja odem, to sam se ja sama... Ovaj... I reče ona meni kad ću ja doći, moraš ti doći meni na ručak, moraš ti. E baš neću! Neću doći. Ne odem. Kasnije, odem kasnije, nekoliko dana, ona mene pita, zove ona mene da ima neko meso pečeno, ajde da ti sječem. [...] Ona onim nožem mene. Kad sam ja ušla. A ja ništa nisam kriva. Ništa! Ja još toj ženi i pomognem onako, ako pijemo kavu, sad stara žena, ja ovaj... Ajde, reko, onaj sud da joj... Nisam ni znala da je žena zlo. I onda ona imala još jednu ženu koja sarađivala. I ovako, ja uveče tud,

ovaj, na neko raskršće, i ovaj... Ona meni pravila, al' nisam direktno stala, znaš.

M: Stavila na raskršće nešto?

I1: Da. Nego sam ja ovaj... I onda, ovaj... Mene je tako, ovaj, kad sam došla kući zbolelo, al' sam ja stala samo jednom nogom. Pa sam ostala živa. To je mene držalo, pa ne znam koliko. Jedno pet sati da sam ja, išla sam ja i doktoru i sve.

M: A šta se desilo, šta se... Bol, bolove osjetili?

I1: Da. Da. Zbolelo me. Zbolelo me...

M: Baš noga ili sve?

I1: Ma sve, sve, sve me raznese, sve kad mi... Krvi iz desni... Njezin me sin vozio [pointing to her neighbour].

I2: Kad je moj sin vozio pa se s njom šalio, znaš, kiša pada, pljušti, kako je ono reko, nemoj samo umrijeti u autu?

I1: Da. Ja vičem otvori....

I2: Kad sam ja vidio, veli, ono nabacuje kišu u auto, a ona mora otvoriti vrata, znaš, ne može više gotovo...

I1: Pa govoriti ne mogu ništa.

I2: Ja sam, veli, mislio gotova je.

I1: Ništa nisam mogla govoriti, pet sati me je držalo to. Pet sati!

I2: Onda sam se, veli, ućutio.

I1: Eto. Će god odem, ja otišla u Prijedor na EKG i, kaže pa ova žena zdrava, ovoj ženi ništ ne fali. [...]

M: A onda, onda nakon pet sati je bilo sve u redu?

I1: Onda me popustilo. Onda je još kasnije, još me jednom čak malo bilo blaže, nisam ja onda kasnije išla. To je mene prošlo, eto mene. (93)

Ap. 9.

I2: Jedna cura mi je baš pričala kako ona vjeruje, kako ona sad ide nekim ljudima da to kao skinu, pa da nosi neku zaštitu...

M: A što joj se desilo?

I2: Mislim ja osobno ne vjerujem u to, al ona osobno tako priča, ona vjeruje u to. [...] Da kao vjeruje ona da je njena susjeda njoj, um... pravi nešto, sad ja ne znam kak se to radi, šta to ...

M: Sihir?

I2: Da, to, na to mislim. Ne znam kak se to pravi il kak se radi, kao da se to nešto – da li nešto moraš imati, neku stvar od te osobe, kao, da bi ti njoj nešto nabacio. Na primjer ja uzmem od vas neku vašu stvar, i onda nešto na tome radim kao

da se vama nešto dogodi. U tom smislu. Kao neka njena susjeda da to radi.

M: A jel stavi to negdje ili kako?

I2: Mislim da zakopa, kao da zakopa. Mislim, ona to vjeruje tako, ne znam, to sad pričam iz njene...

M: A zašto bi ona njoj to radila? Jesu u nekom konfliktu ili što?

I2: Pa nije. Ona kaže da ona to radi kao više ljudi, ne samo njoj, nego ona tako ona u tom svom svijetu, ne znam ni ja, bez nekog opravdanog razloga. Ne znam. Možda ima ona neki svoj osjećaj da je ljubomorna, da je nesretna, da nešto nije u redu s njom pa da onda ide svima oko sebe to radit.

M: A što je njoj htjela da uradi time?

I2: Kao da joj neku nesreću, da bude nesretna u životu, da joj loše ide stvari, da je [laughs]. Tako nešto u tom smislu.

M: I sad ona išla, šta, kod nekog čovjeka da joj pomogne, kod koga je išla?

I2: Išla je, ne znam, kao postoje neke osobe koje se bave time da skidaju to. Imaju te neke vjerske, imaju koje su ono il hodža, znači vjerski vođa u islamu, ili on, mislim najčešće tako neki koji su povezani sa religijom, sa islamom. Kao da on nešto uče, mole, čitaju. Pa da daju neku zaštitu isto. Sad ne znam kako to kod njih ide, kao neku stvarčicu, kao amajliju, kako oni to zovu, to nose protiv tih zlih, ne znam ja, kao da im netko ne može nabaciti [laughs].

M: I to je pomoglo? Je li išla, je li pomoglo?

I2: Pa mislim čak da nije. Mislim da. Ja više to gledam da je to nešto na psiho-... da je to opet ono koliko čovjek vjeruje. Nešto u glavi. Mislim da nije. Jer ona je išla već kod različitih osoba, stalno mijenja da pokuša kod nekoga.

M: Kod različitih hodža ili još drugih?

I2: Bila je i kod... mislim da je bila i kod žene neke isto, ona... Al mislim da je opet povezana sa vjrom.

M: Kod bule?

I2: Nešto kao bula. Mislim da jeste. Mislim da mora bit nešto, ili bula ili hodža. Išla je kod više njih, mislim da joj nisu pomogli.

M: A kakvih problema uopšte ima?

I2: Pa... Ne znam ni ja. Ona umišlja to je kao nešto nesretna, pa ne može imati normalnu vezu kad krene s nekim, s momkom ne može biti sretna jer uvijek joj se nešto dogodi čudno. Prvo kao trebala se udat i sve isplanirali i samo jedan dan joj se nije ta osoba javila. I kao ono, prečudno da ona, eto kolko je to, ne može vjerovat da na kraju da vje-

ruje u to da je to kao neki nabacak, sihir ili kako to zovu [laughs] [...] Malo čudno. I sad onda za sad nekog tog koji je sad bio, isto tako nešto kao vjeruje da se to njoj radi, da ona ne može biti sretna i onda... ne znam ni ja. Onda uopće ne razmišlja o tome kako se ponaša ona ili on, odnosno ne razmišlja o njemu, ne analizira ga kakav je na primjer kao osoba, nego samo vjeruje da je on kao njena sudbina ili nešto. Da je kao to tako treba. Previše vjeruje u tu neku... (72)

Ap. 10.

I3: Pa to je vjerovatno, sad da vam kažem, to je utjecaj ljubomornih ljudi na porodicu znači koja, onaj... Kad vidi da je sve u redu. Uvijek se kaže, kako bi rekla, sad ja ne znam recimo šta je vama pa da vama zavidi, svatate? Ne treba nikome da se zavidi. Nitko ne zna kako, kakvih ima problema. Mislim, to je jednostavno, ne znam, vidi porodica fina, muž, žena, djeca fini, onda iz neke ljubomore, iz zavisti, to ti, ne znam.

M: Onda namjerno naprave sihar?

I3: E, naravno.

M: Ili zavist sama već može to da prouzrokuje?

I3: To je inače od ljubomore, od zavisti, od... mislim znači to prenese.

M: Zna, znači to je dovoljno, ili treba još sihr da naprave?

I3: To je valjda to.

M: Pa to je isto?

I3: To je valjda to. Tako ti valjda napravi tako iz ljubomore, iz zavisti, mislim znači. (35)

Ap. 11.

M: I šta ste onda uradili kad je on vama to kazao [da je sihr uzrok problema]?

I1: Pa ništa, onda smo, što onaj reko, hodža ti da neke zapise. Ovo-ono, voda, tamo-vamo, drži – ne daj, i tako da se to očistilo, sredilo, došlo sve na svoje mjesto i, hvala dragom bogu.[...]

M: Znači, ovaj zapis treba da se stavi u vodu, jel, i onda?

I1: Ma ja, piješ to i tako.

M: Piješ i bacaš u rijeku [referring to his previous statement], ne? Ili ne?

I1: Ja.

M: Kako?

I1: Baciš u rijeku na kraju kad sve to prođe, kad sve ovaj...

M: Znači kako to ide tačno? Staviš zapis u vodu, a onda?

I1: Staviš zapis taj u vodu i znači u vodi bude deset-dvaes dana, nije bitno.

M: I onda?

I1: Umivaš se tom vodom, piješ tu vodu i nakon toga svega, znači, sapereš se tom vodom. Pomiješaš je ovamo u kantu vode. Ovaj, sapereš se i zapis baciš u rijeku i to je to. (40)

Ap. 12.

I1: I da vam pričam ja sad da je čovjek doživio nekakvu istinu ili nešto, ali to obično, što je onaj kad je hodži otišo, ne znam, izvinite ako sam vas uvrijedio. Srbin otišo hodži da zapiše, a on mu je napiso tamo, kaže: Srpska kravo, da si zdravo, ako krepaš, imaš pravo. (60)

Ap. 13.

I2: Al to kasnije onaj hodža u D., on je, kaže, znao. Kaže, kad ti kreneš, šta si god pomislila, kad mu dođeš, on zna šta si pomislila. Ako si krenula i naumila dat ću mu ovoliko para, a ti njemu sad il ako si mu nešto opsovala, on zna. Kad mu dođeš, kaže: to si mi opsovala...

I1: Žene su mu išle kad su one međusobno govorile kolko će ti dat, onda kolko ćeš ti. A ja sam rekla ja mu neću dat, meni je puno 10 hiljada, one bile prije pare... Meni je puno dat 10 hiljada, ja neću. I kad su došle tamo, ona je došla na red, i ona je rekla: hodža, eto, kolko je, kaže: neću ništa. Ti si rekla da ti je puno 10 hiljada dat, neću ništa. [...] Sad ti si rekla kolko će dat, ona je rekla kolko će, na priliku ja sam rekla: meni je puno 10 hiljada, neću mu dat toliko. E kad je on njima ogledo i završio, došla je red na onu ženu i on je njoj ogledo i rekla: kolko je, neću, kaže, ništa. Rekla si da ti je puno 10 hiljada. Ona se ufatila da jest i sad neće rijet jesam il nisam. Neću, kaže, neću.

I2: Za njegov su uvijek govorili da je znao... (6)

Ap. 14.

I2: Moja mati rahmetli imala udar pa ajde da je vodim tom hodži, sanjala ona njega. Ma hajde ja

i moj daidža smo nju odvukli, ona nije moglo dobro na jednu nogu i rukom. Hodža, ona ima volju, ima volju, ajde, mi smo nju odvukli. Hajde, mi smo došli, on nama kaže, daidže ajd izađi, a kao da ja š njom ostanem, on je nju nako stavio na tabure, ona stara žena. Hej, kad je on pošo kod nje, fuuu, fuuu, fuu, fuuu, oko nje obletati nešta. On je mene ispričao. Kaže on njoj: jest, jest, ima nako raskršće gdje živiš, tebi je neko nešta podmetnuo, ti si na to udarila, ona huda, nisam ja vjerovala u to. A ona huda sve muke, kao jest to. I on je njoj onda, kad smo mi krenuli, ja sam njemu dala po 20 maraka, vidim ja njemu je malo. Al hajde, ako treba njoj amajliju napraviti, da ona nosa amajliju, jer ta amajlija košta po jedno 100 maraka, znaš. Ovim ćeš je okupat, ovo nek nosa, nake neke napravio zapise da stavim u vodu, ja sam njoj sve izdeverala. Ona veli od te neke sugestije, ona više meni je lakše, meni je bolje.

I1: Ma ja, vjerovala ona to da...

I2: Ma ne znam ja, ona to... ma ona imala moždani udar i to je to, nemaš ti. Al onda pare. Hajde, on će njoj nešta napraviti, da ja dođem, prvi maj bio, ona bila kod mene ovde. Ja i u mene muž i dole kod njega, on mene i ne zna, hajde, mi smo došli, pa koja si, pa šta si, hajde, ja njemu objasnim: onu nanu šta sam odvlačila, tamo-vamo. On sjede, uze kalo, nešto našavrlja, zamota ono, ja ja, bit će njoj fajde, ti ovo njoj u vodu, pa nek ona tu vodu pije. Ja opet vako otvorim novčanik, bilo mi 10 i 20 maraka. A ja ti ono od 10 maraka, samo mi je to napravio, evo ti 10 maraka, a on nako lijepo pogleda i kaže: malo je to, veli, daj ovu od 20 maraka. Onda je meni kroz glavu prošlo, ma jebem ti i hodžu, i... ja sam, ono, ja sam mislila da je dala to 20 maraka i ja sam došla vamo i rekla nikad više. Ja tako ispričam, ma bježi, goni, samo pare uzimaju. A da ja dođem drugi puta, 100 maraka ko ta hamajlija dođe, ja ću njoj napraviti amajliju, ja došla pa ovde ja njoj vičem, pa reko znaš ti šta je mati, nema od tog ništa. Kaže ona: ma što bona, ona meni žalosno, tako ja njoj ispričam, ma kakav hodža, nema od tog ništa. Sad sam ja, ja ispričam njoj, znači, da je pravi hodža da je htio pomoć, on je samo 3 put sa 10 maraka, hoće on 20 maraka, vidi on 20 maraka. I ja kažem: nema od toga ništa više, ja nisam više ni išla, i ona ušuti, veli nema ništa i... Meni se, kaže, valja s džinima boriti čitavu noć. On meni dok on to hamajliju napravi, ne znaš kako je to, to se pravi u gluha doba, to ja s džinima, džine otjerajem od sebe! (6)

Ap. 15.

I1: I sad da ja idem hodžama i da ja idem, nosim, bog te jebo, treba odžama, ko god ide, odžama njemu treba, dvjest, tristo maraka, ženo. Ako hoćeš da ti napravi ono što nije u redu. Ma đavo nek i nosi!

M: Znači, hodže ne samo skidaju nego i prave?

I1: I nameću i skidaju, isto.

M: Isto?

I1: I jedno i drugo! Pa onom kome nameću, oni to i skidaju. Sam para. (97)

Ap. 16.

I1: Pitaj je [referring to his mother] šta b se dogodilo ako za devet dana da nije završila gdje je završila, bila bi pas.

I2: Aj, bježi s tim!

I1: Pas! [...]

M: Što? Kažite!

I2: Šta on zna, on bio dijete? Bila ja bolesna. [...] Ma niš, išla doktoru i doktor izliječio i gotovo.

M: A šta je bilo, kakva bolest?

I2: Ne znam, ni on čit, ni kad mi reče šta je.

M: I šta vaš sin priča?

I2: Ah. On blesi se nako.

M: A kažite vi šta se vama desilo.

I1: Znaš ti tko ti je najjači za te magije i kad bi ti htio to? Kad bi htio otvoriti dušu. Hodže!

I2: Al dobro, neće oni, oni time se, oni zarađuju.

I1: Popovi naši svi znaju, al neće.

I2: Oni zarađuju.

I1: Ona bila otrovana sa tim ... Samo je prešla preko tog njegovog zapisa i...

M: Preko zapisa? Hodža vam je to napravio?

I1: Da, i... I doktor reko da je zdrava potpuno, ozdravila.

M: A što nije valjalo, što vam se desilo kad ste prešli preko zapisa?

I2: Ma ništa, bila ja bolesna i... Nisam mogla nikuda, ni mogla se ispraviti.

M: I to baš u onom trenutku kad ste prešli?

I2: Ne znam šta bi ti sad počela pričati i što bi ja teb od tog rekla. Ne znam. Zaboravila sam. On još bio maleški. Samo on se blesi, 'nako, to čuo pa priča. Zabolilo me na njivi kad smo kopali i... ukočilo me, nije se moglo, po četiri čovjeka otvaraju usta i ruke i ne mogu otvoriti. I onda kad mene popušti, mene muž onda vozio, svukud, vozio me doktoru.

Doktor kaže: dajte joj čašu rakije i komad kruva, glavicu luka i motiku u ruke nek ide kopat. Nalazi svi u redu, krv uredna, mokraćna uredna. Pregleda ne[m]a ništa.

M: A vi još uvijek niste mogli ništa?

I2: Pa... znaš kako. Bilo ti je budaleština, nekakva žena meni dodala da ja popijem kavu. Napravili tam, bilo onda, kad moram se izjasnit, tako hodža, oni pravili to. Dala meni u kavi, ja popila i godinu dana sam falilo devet dana da odem. Ja sam bila mrtva, meni gorila svijeća petnaest dana neprekidno. Sad gori, sad se gasi, sad gori, sad se gasi. Ja sam ovako, ona meni ovo, ja sam uzmem dvojka ovako sve samo da pije. I latit se u rukava.

I1: Šta smo ženu nasekirali, ostala pet dana...

I2: I tako to. Imala sam.

M: A kako znate da je baš ona to vama napravila?

I2: Ma ko se mogla sjest na njivi, ja samo metnem ruku, one same raspletu.

M: A kažite mi kako ste znali da je baš ona to, da je baš ovom kafom?

I2: Pa ne znam ni ja, kak sam ležala, i... pop došo i reko...

I1: Naš, naš, naš svećenik.

I2: Reko, reko mužu mom, kao okreni se ti malo, kao, ti idi kaže, mene da ne obnaša zakon, ja bi je sad izliječio. Tog D. mati bivala uvijek, baba, kod mene. Moja mati. I on ode na poso i njega neki čovjek odvede, muslimani, da to skine s mene.

M: Vaš muž?

I1: Mhm.

I2: Pa skine.

M: I onda kad se je vratio odmah vam je...?

I2: Pa ja, dok se on...

I1: Kupo je dva-tri puta nekom vodom.

I2: Okupam se tom vodom što je on dao, i pijem. Dok je on to počeo taj čovjek raditi, ja sam ustala. Ja počela raditi normalno, ko da ništa.

I2: I sedam dana i otišla nasijavat zob po njivi. [...]

I2: To je, to je, to je trovat onda tako. Znaš, ja tebe mrzim i onda te otrujem i eto, to ti je to.

M: Šta ste kazali, ako bi trajalo još devet dana, da bi postali pas?

I1: Počela lajat.

I2: Da, da, da prolajala.

M: To je bilo tako...

I1: Ne bi razgovarala ko mi, neg bi, znate kako ker...

M: A šta, takva je bila čarka napravljena?

I2: Ne znam ni ja, to muž mi išo.

M: A to je hodža kazao?

I1: Da

I2: E.

I1: On zna ko je.

I2: On je to radio i skido...

I1: Hodža zna ko je to uradio.

I2: Pa zna, kad on radio, on skido. (114)

Ap. 17.

M: A jel vama hodža nudio mogućnost da vratite to što su vama nabacili, da vi njima nazad vratite. Jel kazao možete to uraditi?

I2: Ja.

M: Pa ste to napravili?

I2: Ne...

M: Niste ili ne želite kazati? Ne smijete kazati? Mislim, jel se vratilo to onda njima?

I2: Je. Pa jest se to vratilo.

M: A gdje se to vidjelo?

I2: Pa, bilo je sve. Ko zna šta, kako, kolko su stari, kad su umrli, odam pose. Nisu dugo, odma su i oni. Odma.

M: Umrli?

I2: Pa ja.

M: Brzo nakon toga? I to je bilo zato što ste vi kod hodže...

I2: Pa ja.

M: Odlučili ste da vratite. Aha. Znači može hodža da to vrati ako želi?

I2: Može. Može, može. Isto kravu ko što može must. Krava što je muzla mleko u štali, a moje mljeko. E tako isto sve. Znaš.

M: I to je hodža njima napravio? On im je vratio?

I2: Pa da.

M: Niste vi neki obred napravili? Il je on vama kazao šta tačno treba da uradite?

I2: Pa može se i kazat, a i ne mora. Vrati se to, drugi, opet vrati njima.

M: Mhm... A jel hodža vratio njima?

I2: Ja. (70)

Ap. 18.

I: Bila preko V. tamo jedna stara džamija, H. se prezivo. Hodža. Ode kod njega i tako... Dal' bi moglo šta, kaže, uraditi, kaže? Bi! Da skine, tetka, to sa sina, da se to razbaci, da se raskinu [sa ženom]. Onda tek shvatio da je ona, govor'la ona

njemu šta je i kako je. Onda već i taj S., i on je to njima govorio. Braco, ne valja, to nije, kaže, žena za tebe, videćeš, imaćeš, kaže, problema. A kaže stari, videćeš. Ali dobro. I došlo jedanput kad je ona [tetka] došla iz B., kaže, V., otić' ćeš [...] preko ribnjaka, sad je tu ribnjak, prije bilo šume, nekad i bare. Kaže, otić' ćeš, a tu nema neko, na stanicu [...]. I otiđi, kaže, tamo i sačekaćeš čoveka u francuskoj, kaže, kapi, crne naočare, kišobran u jednoj ruci i tašnu u drugoj ruci. Sačekaćeš ti njega. Dobro, reko'. [...] Ja ležim i zbilja, što ona kaže, čovek izlazi iz vagona i... Opisala kako je ona sve i on dolazi i pravac meni. [...] On, kaže, napravi da on ovde dvoje, jednom kaže, kad rastavi dvoje, kad se vjenčaju i uzmu, da je ne znam gde... Sad u Americi, nek kaže ovde momak, koju tu curu zavoli, ona će kaže doći njemu. [...] Da može sad od toga što oslobodi s time da sastavi drugo, da je ne znam gde! Pa bila ljubav – ne bila. I moj brate. [...] I on je, eh... On je sedam dana radio otude. E, sad... Nešto on, on je, šta je on imao u onoj tašni, to niko ne zna, on je u sobi, u svojoj samo sobi, da je on radio, da izvinete, samo u ve-ce, izađe i sjedne. Efendija, 'oćel' bit' išta? Ako Bog da, kaže, biće. Prošlo... Četvrti dan, a njezina kuća... [...] E, kaže, otić' ćeš, a imala kera, kera velikog, vučjaka, ona i njezin brat. Kaže, dade me jabuku i krušku. Oni su razrezani na četiri dijela. I jabuka i kruška ... Idi, kaže, kud ideš odavle, krušku, kaže, na čošak kuće baci, a jabuku na... Na primer sad, evo [showing] krušku ovako, kad budeš, a jabuku na sred, opet tamo krušku, jabuku tamo na sred, tamo na onaj čošak. I na stranice i na zidove.

M: Znači, to je hodža njoj dao, tetki, da stavi pored kuće od...?

I: Da ja odnesem! Da ja odnesem! Neće tetka...

M: A tetka je, tetka je poručila da on to napravi?

I: Ma on je reko! I on tu radi i dao meni! Zvao na mene.

M: Dobro. I da stavite uz kuću od ovog čoveka koji bi trebao da se rastavi?

I: Da, da bacim, ne okreći se, šta bilo – on će spatovati, kaže, ništa ti, kaže, ne beri brige. I ja o'šao, e, ali sam... Na jednome čošku krušku, možda jedno metar i po od čoška bacio, ja sam došlo njemu... I tako me, e, jesi li, on otvorio knjigu i gledaj, gledaj, dobro sve si, a što si, kaže, ovu krušku, kaže nisi na čošak bacio, bacio si, kaže, ovu dolje.

M: To je on video u knjizi sve?

I: I to ... arapski, turski, te knjige, ja to ne razumijem, to... Ništa, a kaže, dobro je opet. I taman prid

završetak ja i taj brat moj, groblje ima, možda jedno dvesta metara od kuće, [...] i sad otići u groblje i jedan kao ovaj kopirajući, indigo papir šta je u, po onom papiru zamotano, to ja nisam gledao ni ništa i ubo sam ga na primer od one testerice za željezo što se režalo tako jednim komadićek samo je tu kao oštro, sa jednom oštricom. Otiđde, kaže, sa tri krsta u groblje i strugnuti po onome krstu sa onim željezom, mislim sa onom... I u ovu, kaže, do ovoga... zamotaj. Zamotaj. I ja sam sa dva-tri puta, sa trećega stavio dva puta i zakopaj, kaže, da još niko, kaže, nije bio zakopan. I vrat' se, ne okreći se.

M: A jel' treba zakopati negde uz kuću ili...?

I: Ne, ne, ne, ne... U groblje da još niko nije bio zakopan. Ovim, kaže, podigne ih, ovo otvori, i poklopi, i ja opet došo. Došo njemu tamo – e jesi uradio? Jesam. Opet on gleda. Pa jel' ti iskušavaš, kaže on, mene? Pa efendija, ne iskušavam, reko. Al dobro, ništa, kaže.

M: Pošto niste tri puta potegli.. ?

I: Sa trećega što nisam tri puta sastrugo to. I kad sam to uradio, e, to je već šesti dan naveče bilo i sedmi dan ujutru treba ići dole do... jedan mlin bio. Nit ja tamo sam kad išo, nit ja znam, jes' bila i kaže, P, ti ćeš me, kaže, odvesti. Pa ne znam ja, reko... Ja ću tebi pokazat', kaže. Samo ipak, čeka nas, kaže, čamac, kaže, tamo. Da prije sunca budemo, kaže, tamo. Hajdemo. I mi krenemo fino doli do brega, vamo mlin se čuje, melje, i mi vamo kako smo došli, zbilja čamac stoji kraj obale i ovaj samo zviznu, kad čovek dolazi, pozdravi se on s njime, pozdravi se sa mnom, e, P, kaže, doviđenja, nek je sa srećom! I, kaže, onda su se rastali, on se oženio onda sa drugom, imo je dva sina, tu su prodali, otišli i baš preklani je umro on, a tetka je umrla odavno.

M: Znači, to je onda uspeo ovaj čar? Kol'ko kasnije, kol'ko kasnije on od toga, nakon što ste vi to napravili, su se oni rastavili?

I: Pa nema tu, to je odma, nije bilo šes-sedam dana. To je, nema..., pa ko odma, što kažu, počeo on, skočio, ko da nije onaj čovek.

M: A pa jel' on znao da ste vi to njemu napravili?

I: Pa i on je, pa i on je bio tu kad smo išli u groblje. I on je znao, njemu rekla mati šta je, da mu je to nabačeno. I onda je on pristo da se ona, da se ide, da se bori, da se to skine.

M: A znači da se bori protiv toga što je njegova žena njemu nabacila?

I: Pa da. To je dala njemu da se oni uzmu, da se požene.

M: Znači on se slagao sa time da se to napravi?

I: Pa da se rastane, pa nije mogo biti više, što ono kažu... Gotovo. [...]

M: Stvarno, znači, ima hodža stvarno takvu moć?

I: Ma šuti, pa zato i ja kažem... Da evo, oni to pričaju, ja evo, sad ovo rastavim ne znam koga, nađi mi na fotografiji, kaže, u novinama sliku, e, ja hoću, hoću ovu da sam... U roku od četrdeset osam sati dobčeš, kaže, zadnje vesti. Pa eto, što kaže, sa đavolom radi. A zašto, kad ga tetka pita, 'oćel' efendija išta biti. Ako Bog da, ide, kaže, na bolje, sve će, kaže, bit dobro. Znači, radi i sa jednim i sa drugim! I da kaže nema nešto...

M: A zašto mislite da ste trebali baš na groblje ići to sa križa s krsta da...?

I: A pa dobro, zašto, šta ja znam?

M: Nije ništa on objašnjavao?

I: Da, to on ništa nije objasnivao za to.

M: Aha. A jel' žena onda pristala na to da se...

I: Pa ona nije ni znala! On ju reko da se, nema tu, rastati se moramo i gotovo. I onda već kad je shvat'la, pa kaže: Majstor je radio, al, kaže, majstor će i pokvariti. Nema tu, kaže, kako te odže, malo ko da, da, da ne znaju sa tim đavolskim poslovima. (98)

Ap. 19.

M: A to su uvijek samo muslimanke radile, ovo, ovo...

I1: Ja, ja, to Muslimani i oće i, kažu, i Srbi to radit. (67)

I1: U B. čovek mi priča sa mnom radi kolega, njegova mati isto, nema mljeka i ona tu čula od nekoga uzme i na šporet. I došla ta žena. Oni su znali da ima...

M: Muslimanka, ili...?

I1: Ja, ja. Oni znaju, kaže, otprilike zna se ko t' more nabacit. I došla i ona nju otjerala, nije dala. Nije dala ništa. Tražila ona [...]

I4: Ako išta joj ti, kaže, daš, onaj, ne vrjedi ti ništa. Gotovo ti. Ako ne dadneš, ona.... E ona ti kaže tako. Nemam mljeka. Srbi su bili samo preko one vode.

M: A to su bili Srbi sad...

I1. I Srbi znaju, kaže. I Srbi i muslimani.

I4: Kaže, a Srbi, srpsko još gore.

I1: Kažu da je gore to.

I4: Zato što...

I1: Kad oni nabace...

I3: Pa i oni su, i oni su isto kršteni.

I4: Kaže da je njiovo gore neg muslimansko. (203)

I: Magija postoji, vra... Jes' čula za vraćanje?

M: Da.

I: Jezik, vračke postoje, i to mogu radit samo nekršteni ljudi.

M: Aha? Znači nekršteni, recimo, što nisu pravoslavci?

I: Da, to većinom odže rade...

M: Aha... Znači, muslimani?

I: Da. I to nekršteni. I mogu radit oni koji su već zaglib'li, ošli đavolu u školu, kao što kažu. Jer to kršten čovek ne mere radit. (115)

Ap. 20.

I2: Imaju i srpski sihiri, imaju i ciganski, imaju i muslimanski. A ciganski su najgori.

M: Imaju i katolički?

I2: Imaju, imaju.

I1: Katolički su manje-više ono, nula, ništa.

I2: Nisu oni nula nijedni, svi su oni opasni.

I1: Naj, najopasniji su ciganski i naši, muslimanski.

I2: Svi su oni opasni, al ciganski su najopasniji.

M: A zašto baš ciganski?

I2: Zato što su oni najpoganiji. (37)

Ap. 21.

I3: Ova gore susjeda. Znaš da je bili na silu odveli da se uda?

I1: Ja.

M: Šta, na silu su je htjeli da se uda? To je vaša generacija?

I3: Odveli je. Odveli je. Mlada je ona, mislim.

M: Roditelji ili ko?

I3: Ne, ne. Fina cura bila. To je nedavno bilo. Ima možda misec, dva.

I1: To su ćaća i mater, vala to mlado.

I3: Fini ljudi. Ono, ne bi nikad očekivo od, tako nešto. Valda je se ona s nekim spetljala. Valjda taj, šta joj je uradio, a pretežito to, da izvineš, oni tamo muslimani, te hodže i tako to mogu nabacit to. I valda su njoj nabacili. Da se ona uda za njega.

M: A to je bio katolik za kog se udala ili musliman?

I3: Musliman.

I1: Musliman.

I3: I eto, vratili su je. Uspjeli su je vratit.

I1: Jesu je vratili?

I3: Aha.

M: Ko je vratio?

I3: Valda roditelji.

M: A kako su to uspjeli?

I3: Valjda su otišli hodži.

I1: Pa kažu da je trudna.

I3: Nije.

I1: Bože, Bože.

M: Znači to je bila čarka neka? Magija što su napravili?

I1: Pa ja.

I3: Ma ja, nešto.

M: I onda, kad se vratila kod roditelja, ona je s, s, onda nije više volila ovog muslimana, jel, kao što je prije?

I3: Normalna eto bila. Roditelji kad je se to tek desilo, kad su roditelji otišli po nju. Saznali su i gdje je i šta je. I ko je odveo. I kad su roditelji otišli, ona roditelje pljune, pljunula. Vidiš da je to, da je to nabačeno.

I3: Znači, nije čista posla.

M: Da. A šta bi, onda su je, šta, odveli?

I3: Nisu je tad onaj, nisu je odveli, nije htjela ić sa njima.

M: Aha. Nego kako su to?

I3: Valjda su otišli hodži, šta ja znam, tako sam čula.

M: I da je hodža onda to skinuo?

I1: Pa ja.

M: A zašto hodži, zašto ne svešteniku? Il ne bi mogao sveštenik više pomoći?

I3: Slabo se ko sad tim od svećenika bavi.

I1: To je rijetkost.

I3: To je rijetkost. Rijetkost.

M: A hodže, hodže skidaju uroke?

I3: Hodže skidaju. (63)

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