

## *Umjesto predgovora*

Dragi štioče, obraćam Ti se, umjesto uobičajenim *predgovorom*, s jednom molbom. Predoči si, molim Te, da si se vratio kući s dugoga puta. I nema više... nema više stakala u prozorima Tvoje kuće. Nema više ni prozora. Nema više ni vrata, ni krova, ni zidova ni podova. Nema više Tvoga doma! Zamisli si da želiš potražiti utjehu u crkvi, ali nema više cestâ koje bi joj vodile. Nema više ni crkava. Nema više ni groblja. Nema tamo više ni mrtvih. Nema više susjeda, nema nikoga s kime bi mogao porazgovarati o neshvatljivome. Nema ničega. Nema više nošnji u starim škrinjama, nema više škrinja u drevnim izbama, nema više ni izbi. Ničega. Ništa. Posvuda samo Ništa...

Želiš nekome pružiti ruku, ali nema odziva. Samo praznina, ispunjena bezgraničnom mržnjom. Nema više ljubavi. Želiš prosvjedovati, ali Ti više nemaš ni jezik, ukrali su Ti ga. Tvoje knjige pripadaju drugima. Tvoji su Ti pisci ukradeni. Tvoja Ti kultura živi samo još u Tvome srcu. Posvuda u Tvojjoj zemlji samo još dim, ruševine i pepeo. No i zemlju su Ti ukrali. Želiš se pogledati u ogledalo, ali u njemu nemaš odraza. Zaboga, postojiš li Ti još uopće?

Vidiš, dragi štioče, to se dogodilo Baranjcima. To se dogodilo Vukovarčanima. To se dogodilo Petrinjcima, Drnišanima, to se dogodilo mnogim dijelovima naše domovine. Uništiše im njihove domove, njihove crkve, njihova groblja, govorahu Hrvatima da nemaju jezik, nemaju zemlju, nemaju povijest. Da više nemaju identitet. Htjedoše im uništiti vjeru. Ali vjera ne stoji u crkvenim zgradama, ona počiva u duši. Htjedoše im uništiti kulturu, ali ona ne prebiva u muzejima, u spomenicima i knjigama. Uljudba je upisana u srca. I sve dok budu kucala hrvatska srca, opstojat će i Hrvatska. Opstojat će i hrvatska Baranja.

Ova knjiga želi biti skroman prilog posvješćivanju identiteta hrvatske Baranje. Identiteta ima više. Postoji osobni identitet, neponovljiv, vlastit samo čovjeku kao pojedincu. Postoji skupinski identitet, kojim svaki pripadnik određene skupine utvrđuje svoju istost s drugim njezinim članovima. Svoj vlastiti skupinski identitet imaju filatelisti, navijači nogometnog kluba, željezničari, pripadnici političkih stranaka. Lokalni identitet imaju stanovnici pojedinih ulica, sela, krajeva, a nacionalni identitet pripadnici čitavih naroda.

Istost s drugim pripadnicima *naše* skupine utvrđujemo pomoću posebnih znakova, simbola. Ima simbola vidljivih, dogovorenih, a ima i takvih kojih nitko nije ni svjestan. Svjesnih znakova istosti ima zapravo iznenađujuće malo. To su oni znaci za koje *znamo* da su naši jer smo se tako *dogovorili*: jezik, ime, grb, himna, zastava. Više ima znakova kojih postajemo svjesni tek u određenim prilikama. Pritom uopće nije važno jesu li to baš *naši* znaci. Glavno je da ih *osjećamo* kao svoje. Dalmatinac u Americi neće praviti razlike između konavoske, susačke ili šestinske nošnje: njemu su u dalekoj tuđini sve jednako *svoje*, jednako ga označuju kao potomka hrvatskih doseljenika. I ništa ga neće pritom smetati da takvih nošnji u njegovu zavičaju, u Komiži npr., nikada nije bilo i da su one tamo zapravo tuđe.

Ima konačno znakova kojih nikada nismo svjesni, a ipak podsvjesno prepoznajemo po njima ono što je naše. To su oblik ulice, nizanje kuća, vrste drveća koje raste u selu, položaj crkve u odnosu na krčmu i školu, način pozdravljanja među susjedima. Imati identitet znači znati tko će Ti pribjeći u nevolji, koga se valja čuvati, kada tko slavi imendan. To znači da se djevojka ima odijevati kao djevojka, a žena kao žena, kako bi ih momci mogli razlikovati. Da muškarac nosi pregaču, ako se u selu misli da to tako treba biti.

Ovaj daleko najbrojniji skup znakova–znakova kojih uopće nismo svjesni, no kad ih ne bismo podsvjesno prepoznavali, ne bismo znali da smo kod kuće, u svome kraju - tvori čitav jedan veliki sustav. To je pučka kultura. Ona se realizira na više razina kao kultura određenoga sela, kraja, pokrajine, naroda.

Bolno pogođeni besprimjnom sveuništavajućom agresijom na domovinu, promatrajući danonoćno, kao bespomoćni svjedoci, pakleni ples što ga na razvalinama hrvatskih sela i gradova vode pomoćnici Zloga, svjesni smo da nema te stvari koja bi mogla dovesti do smirivanja prilika osim sile. Snaga argumenata zamijenjena je argumentom snage, brutalnoj sili može se isprijeliti jedino jednako tako jaka protusila. No budući da su jedino oružje nas u *Etnološkom zavodu* istina i riječ, odlučili smo da se istinom i riječju pridružimo naporima cijeloga naroda za očuvanje vlastitoga bića. Odlučili smo ovom prigodom podatke, koji se čuvaju u arhivu Etnološkoga zavoda a odnose se na Baranju, obraditi u obliku manjih monograf-skih prikaza i objaviti u zajedničkoj publikaciji. Najprikladnijim nam se u tu svrhu učinio časopis *Studia ethnologica*, koga izdajemo u *Etnološkom zavodu Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (kako se danas zove raniji *Centar za etnološku kartografiju*), pa evo njegov četvrti broj posvećujemo hrvatskoj Baranji. Da budemo određeniji: posvećujemo ga Baranjcima i Baranjcima i njihovoj stoljećima njegovanoj kulturi.

Gradivo za prikaze koje objavljujemo prikupljeno je u prvome redu iz *Upitnica Etnološkoga atlasa*. Arhiv *Upitnica* (ispunjenih i prikupljenih za potrebe Etnološkoga atlasa što je trebao biti izrađen za područje čitave bivše višenacionalne jugoslavenske države) prava je riznica, jedan od najbogatijih izvora za poznavanje pučke kulture s prostora svih hrvatskih pokrajina. To je gradivo ovom prilikom dopunjeno podacima iz inače dosta škrte etnografske literature. Neki su autori usto mogli svoje prikaze dopuniti kazivanjem izbjeglih Baranjaca. Stoga je razumljivo da je struktura ovoga sveska nužno ograničena mogućnostima koje pružaju *Upitnice*. Ograničenja su postavljena ne samo tematski nego i na metodološkoj razini. *Upitnica* naime postavlja probrana ciljana pitanja o pojedinim konkretnim elementarnim kulturnim pojavama, a razrada tih pitanja na potpitanja nije imala za cilj što potpunije opisati dotičnu pojavu, nego dobiti što vjerodostojniji pojedinačni podatak, koji bi onda bio usporediv s još do 3200 odgovora na isto pitanje koje je postavljano u isto toliko naselja na području čitave bivše SFRJ. Konačni je cilj bio prikazati rasprostranjenost pojedinačnih elemenata nekih pojava u što gušćem rasteru na što većem području, kako bi se mogli iz etnoloških karata, a na temelju

iščitavanja prostornoga rasporeda pojedinih pojava odnosno inačica njihovih elemenata, izvoditi određeni zaključci o povijesti tih pojava pučke kulture. Upitnice dakle nipošto nisu imale zadatak opisati kulturu nekoga konkretnog mjesta ili pokrajine u svoj njezinoj cjelovitosti. Stoga podaci koje one sadrže mogu samo za nevolju poslužiti za pisanje monografskih prikaza kao što su ovi u ovome broju našega časopisa.

No ipak se pomoću njih mogu, kad nema druge, barem okvirno prikazati pojedini segmenti pučke kulture nekoga područja. Vlasta D o m a ć i n o v i ć obradila je *Predajno gospodarstvo u Baranji*, Jadranka P u n t a r o v i ć - V l a h i n i ć *Oblike naselja i kulturu stanovanja*, Božica S o m e k - M a c h a l a *Seosku prehranu*, Jelka V i n c e - P a l l u a *Životne običaje*. Na potonje se nadovezuje prilog Olgice V l a š i ć o *Godišnjim običajima*. Krešimir B l a ž e v i ć izložio je *Podatke o glazbenom folkloru Baranje iz arhiva Etnološkog zavoda*.

Kako bismo nadišli granice koje je postavila koncepcija *Upitnica*, zamolili smo nekoliko vrsnih poznavatelja baranjske pučke kulture da oni kao izvanjski suradnici svojim znanjem dopune ovaj baranjski broj. Mladen K l e m e n č i ć prikazao je *Demografsku sliku hrvatske Baranje*, Žarko Š p a n i ć e k iz Regionalnoga zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Osijeku iscrpno je izložio rezultate vlastitih istraživanja o *Špiljskim stanovima i gospodarskim prostorima u lesu*, a Nerina E c k h e l i i Nadja M a g l i c a, vrsne stručnjakinje za obradu tekstila i odijevanje iz Etnografskoga muzeja u Zagrebu, temeljito su obradile, služeći se pritom brojnim podacima prikupljenima za Muzej, *Tekstilno rukotvorstvo i Narodnu nošnju baranjskih Hrvata*. Miroslava H a d ž i h u s j e n o v i ć dodala je Blaževiću prikazu veoma iscrpan rad (koji nije temeljen na podacima iz ovoga arhiva, nego je posljedak višegodišnjega istraživanja i terena i etnomuzikološke literature) o glazbenom folkloru hrvatske Baranje pod prkosnim naslovom *Baranja je tvrd orah*. Na kraju objavljujemo *Etnološke zapise iz Baranje*, sjećanja na Baranju kakva je nekoć bila iz pera jedne od ponajboljih njezinih poznavatelja, dugogodišnje kustosice Muzeja Slavonije u Osijeku, Zdenke L e c h n e r.

Dobronamjerni će štilac razumjeti zašto ovaj broj časopisa *Studia ethnologica* odudara od prethodnih. Znat će zašto prilozima u njemu nisu uvijek posve zaokružili temu koju nose u naslovu. Shvatit će grč u kome je ovaj broj nastajao. Bude li ovaj broj dobro prihvaćen, slijedit će mu novi koji će također biti posvećeni hrvatskim područjima u kojima je privremeno zatrt sav život, svaki trag hrvatskoga naroda. Poznavati sebe, biti svjestan svoga suća, naj snažnije je i nepobjedivo oružje u borbi za narodni opstanak.

Vitomir Belaj

## *Instead of Preface*

Dear reader, instead of a conventional *preface*, I would like to address you with a request. Imagine for a moment that you have come home after a long journey. There is no longer glass in the panes of your windows. There are even no longer windows. No doors, no roof, walls or floor. Your home no longer exists! Imagine that you want to seek comfort in the church but there are no longer roads leading to it. There are no longer churches. No graveyards, nor the buried in them. Your neighbours are no longer there, there is nobody you could have a chat with talking about the incomprehensible. No longer old costumes in the old chests, no longer old chests in ancient cloakrooms and even the cloakrooms no longer exist. Nothing is there any longer. Nothing. All around you there is only Nothing...

You want to offer your hand to somebody but there is no response. Only emptiness filled with boundless hate. There is no longer love. You want to protest, but you have no language. They have stolen it. Your books belong to others. Your authors have been stolen. Your culture lives only in your heart. All across your country there is only smoke, ruins and ashes. They have deprived you even of your country. You want to have a look in the mirror, but there is no reflection in it. For God's sake, do you exist at all?

You see, dear reader, this is what happened to the inhabitants of Baranja. It happened to the people from Vukovar, Petrinja, Drniš and many other parts of our homeland. The aggressor destroyed their homes, churches, graveyards. The Croats were told they had no language, no country, no history. That they no longer had any identity. The aggressor wanted to destroy their faith. But faith does not reside in the church buildings, rather deep in soul. The aggressor wanted to destroy their culture, but that is not to be found in the museums, monuments and books. Culture is engraved in the heart. And as long as Croatian hearts beat, Croatia will live. And Croatian Baranja will live.

This book intends to be a modest contribution to the development of the consciousness of the identity of Croatian Baranja. Identities are various. There is a personal identity, which is unique and peculiar to man as an individual. There is a collective identity which enables a member of a certain group to determine his sameness with other members of the group. A particular, collective identity is shared by philatelists, football club supporters, rail workers, members of political parties. Local identity is shared by the inhabitants of particular streets, villages and regions while national identity is shared by members of entire nations.

Sameness with other members of our group can be determined by a range of special signs, symbols. There are visible symbols, agreed on, but there are also those which nobody is aware of. In fact there are surprisingly few conscious signs of sameness. These are the signs which *we know* are ours because *we have agreed* to them: a language, a name, a national coat of arms, a national anthem, a flag. But far more numerous are those which we become aware of only in particular

situations. At such moments it does not matter whether they are really *our* signs. What matters is that *we feel* they are ours. An immigrant from Dalmatia who finds himself in America will not distinguish between a costume from Konavle or Susak or Šestine: in a far away country all of them are equally *his*, determining him in an equal measure as a descendant of Croatian immigrants. And it will not matter to him that in his native region, for example in Komiža, such costumes have never been seen and are actually foreign there.

Finally, there are signs that we never become aware of, though on the subconscious level they enable us to recognize what is ours. These are, for example, the shapes of streets, the way in which houses are arranged in a row, types of trees growing in our village, the relation of the church building to the pub and school building, the way neighbours exchange greetings. To have an identity means that you know who will give you a helping hand when you find yourself in difficulties, who you should be wary of, when someone has their nameday. It means that a girl should be dressed as a girl and a woman as a woman so that boys can distinguish them. It means that a man should wear an apron if the village thinks he should.

This, by far the largest, group of signs—the signs we are not aware of, but if did not recognize them subconsciously we could not know that we are at home, in our native region—creates a complete large system. It is the system of popular national culture which is being realized on various levels as the culture of a certain village, region, province or a nation.

Painfully struck by unprecedented, all-destroying aggression on our homeland, being like helpless witnesses who, day in, day out, watch the apprentices of Evil in their infernal dance on the ruins of Croatian villages and towns, we are quite aware that there is no thing which could pacify the situation but the force itself. The power of argument has been replaced with the argument of power, and brutal force can be blocked only with an equally strong counterforce. But since the sole weapons of us in the Ethnological Institute are truth and words, we decided to use them to join the whole nation in the struggle for preservation of her own being. On this occasion we decided to present the data referring to Baranja, kept in the archive of the Ethnological Institute, in the form of small monographic articles and publish them in a joint publication. Since the journal *Studia Ethnologica*, published by the *Ethnological Institute of the Faculty of Arts at Zagreb University* (formerly *Centre for Ethnological Cartography*) seemed most suitable for the purpose, we have dedicated its fourth issue to Croatian Baranja. To be more precise: we have dedicated it to the women and men from Baranja and their centuries-old and fostered culture.

The material for the articles in this issue has been primarily collected from the *Questionnaires of the Ethnological Atlas*. The archive of the *Questionnaires* (filled and collected for the needs of the Ethnological Atlas which was to have covered the whole area of the former multinational Yugoslav state) is a genuine treasure, the richest resource for the judgement of national popular culture in all Croatian regions. This material has been enhanced with the data from the usually

scarce ethnographic literature. Some authors were able, in addition, to supplement their accounts with the testimonies of refugees from Baranja. Therefore it is understandable that the scope of the Questionnaires necessarily limited the structure of the issue. The limitations were imposed not only on the thematic, but on the methodological level as well. Each questionnaire is so structured as to ask selected, targeted questions on individual, specific, basic cultural phenomena. The purpose of the elaboration of these questions into subquestions is not to present as complete as possible description of the phenomenon, but to gain the most credible single piece of evidence which could in turn be compared with up to 3200 answers to the same question asked in as many settlements on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The ultimate objective was to present the diffusion of the single elements of certain phenomena on as dense as possible screen in the largest possible area. This made it possible for certain conclusions about the history of these phenomena of national popular culture to be drawn from ethnological maps, on the basis of the reading out of the arrangement in space of particular phenomena or the variations of their elements.

Thus, only in case of need, the data contained in questionnaires can be of help in writing articles like these in the present issue of our journal. However, when there is no alternative, they can be of use to provide at least the framework for reviews of particular segments of the national popular culture in a certain area. Vlasta Domaćinović dealt with traditional economy in Baranja, Jadranka Puntarović Vlahinić with forms of settlements and the housing culture, Božica Somek Machala with traditional rural food and Jelka Vince-Pallua with living habits. Olgica Vlašić's paper on annual habits is, in a sense, a continuation of the latter article. Krešimir Blažević presented data on the musical folklore of Baranja from the Archive of the Ethnological Institute.

In order to surpass the limitations imposed by the concept of the Questionnaires, we asked several distinguished experts on the national popular culture in Baranja to enhance this issue with their knowledge.

Thus Mladen Klemenčić presented demographic picture of Croatian Baranja while Žarko Španiček from The Regional Institute for Preservation of Culture Monuments in Osijek elaborately presented results of his own research on caval living and agricultural spaces in les. The outstanding experts on textile processing and dressing from the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Nerina Eckhel and Nađa Maglica, presented a fundamental account of folk handicraft and national costumes of Croats in Baranja, using numerous data collected for the purposes of the Museum. Miroslava Hadžihusjenović added to Blažević's review an elaborate work (not founded on the data from this archive, but a result of years of research conducted on the ground and on ethnomusicological literature) on the musical folklore of Croatian Baranja under a defiant title "Baranja is a Hard Nut". At the end we publish the Ethnological Records from Baranja, the memories of Baranja as it used to be, by one of the best connoisseurs of the region, Zdenka Lechner, long-time head of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.

A well-intentioned reader will understand why this issue of *Studia Ethnologica* is so different from the previous ones. He will know why the reviews presented in it have not always completed the topic indicated in the title. If this issue gets a good reception, it will be followed by a new one dedicated to the Croatian areas in which, temporarily, every trace of Croatian people and life has been stamped out. To know oneself, to be conscious of one's own being, is the most powerful and invincible weapon in the struggle for national survival.

*Vitimir Belaj*

Translated by Snježana Veselica