

Vinac Marijana Jaića Molitvenik ili dio kućne baštine

*U ovom članku želio sam pokazati kako se mnoge stvari mogu i moraju redefinirati i nanovo razjasniti u recentno vrijeme. Marijan Jaić, vjerojatno najtiražniji hrvatski pisac, dugo godina je bio u zapečku proučavanja hrvatske književnosti. Iako je zanimanje za Jaića u posljednjih desetak ili petnaest godina naraslo (napisano je puno knjiga o njemu i njegovu radu), još uvijek nije njegov rad do kraja obrađen i prostora za istraživanje o Jaićevu radu još uvijek ima. Jaić možda i nije književnik u uobičajenom smislu koju ta riječ nosi, no on je pisac-teolog čija su djela, a pogotovo *Vinac*, izdana i podana u ogromnim nakladama.*

*No najvažnija i za etnologa najzanimljivija stvar je ta što je *Vinac* bio više od pjesmarice ili svojevrsnog molitvenika već i dio kućne baštine, jer ga je imala gotovo svaka kuća, pogotovo u njegovoj biskupiji. Osim toga, stavljanje *Vinca* uz pokojnika u lijes vjerojatno je pretkršćanska tradicija, ali i činjenica kojom bi se još ili tek trebalo pozabaviti.*

Ključne riječi: Jaić, molitvenici, filološka analiza

Uvod

Interdisciplinarnost! Toliko se puno govori o tome da se znanosti moraju prožimati. A što to u stvari znači? Vraćanje u doba renesanse? Možemo s popriličnom sigurnošću tvrditi da se, govoreći o znanstveniku koji se služi različitim znanjima, vraćamo u doba Leonarda da Vincia. Njegova znanja i područja interesa pokrivala su gotovo sve što se u tadašnjoj znanosti moglo pronaći. Razlika je tek u toliko što je Leonardo bio i umjetnik, a ne samo znanstvenik. Danas, čovjek koji se bavi znanošću također mora voditi računa što se zbiva u drugim znanstvenim područjima. Dunja Rihtman Auguštin o tome je vrlo eksplicitno govorila kada je nabrajala sve što bi znanstvenik-etnolog morao znati po-

živajući se na članak Lydie Sklevicky koji citiram nešto kasnije. A to praktički znači sve¹. Mora biti involviran u sve znanstvene pore koje se tiču etnologije i koje mu pomažu da dolazi do zaključaka. Pravih ili krivih – u početku nije bitno. Važan je daljnji rad na nekom predmetu koji će tek sužavanjem i sabijanjem podataka te njihovom višestrukom revalorizacijom i promišljanjem doći do nečega što može biti točno, ali ne mora. No svakako može poslužiti drugom znanstveniku – etnologu da te podatke vidi iz svog subjektivnog kuta i koji će naoružan vlastitim znanjima i metodama ponuditi drukčiji odgovor ili potvrditi prethodno viđenje.

Etnolog se bavi i pojedincem i grupom. Njegovo područje interesa je najšire od svih znanosti jer se bavi ljudskom kulturom – starom i novom. Njenim mijenama koje su dinamične. I to je jedina konstanta na koju se etnolog može osloniti. Da ništa nije vječno i da se činjenice u narodnoj kulturi mijenjaju iz dana u dan te da ih treba gotovo svakodnevno iznova proučavati². Dakle znanja nikada dosta i nikada dovoljno. Sve životne sfere, običaji, politika, povijesni podaci i, mogao bih nabrajati u nedogled, bitni su za rad etnologa. Bez obzira na uske specijalnosti (bavljenje samo određenim segmentima življenja) etnolog mora biti više od toga. Zašto? Da bi shvatio cikluse i mijene. Da bi razumio zašto je narod (bolje reći ljudi, zajednice, grupe) neki, nama tako omiljeni drevni (stari) običaj promijenio i zadržao tek poneki segment, a ostale, čini se na prvi pogled naglo odbacio i zanemario.

I sada se postavlja pitanje: Zašto toliki uvod o jednoj maloj knjižici? Baš zbog novog promišljanja³. Ili, konkretnije rečeno, radi li se tek o brevijaru ili o kućnom predme-

¹ Nakratko bih se udaljio od teme (ili) približio i spomenuo riječi profesora Milivoja Solara s *Odsjeka za komparativnu književnost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu* koji nam je, predavajući predmet *Suvremena književnost*, rekao da onaj tko ne poznaje *Bibliju* teško može razumjeti ono o čemu suvremeni književnici pišu. Također nam je prije ispitnog roka objavio da si zadržava pravo da pita bilo što, iz bilo kojeg područja znanosti pa i izvan njih. To je bio moj prvi susret s prožimanjem različitih znanosti i disciplina. Jedino onaj tko je imao široko obrazovanje mogao je, po Solarevim riječima, zaslužiti diplomu. Isto tako je govorila i mislila profesorica Dunja Rihtman Auguštin na predavanjima koja sam slušao na posljediplomskom studiju.

² Dunja Rihtman Auguštin zalagala se za otvorenost etnologije prema svemu i to je stalno naglašavala. Njene riječi je izvanredno obrazložila Lydia Sklevicky u svom radu *Profesija etnolog, analiza pokazatelja statusa profesije*. Na str. 56 ona piše da etnologija u otvorenosti prema drugim znanostima može samo dobiti, a ne izgubiti. Radi se o tome kako etnolog mora biti otvoren i surađivati i sa znanstvenicima iz drugih znanosti, a ne samo historiografskih. Ona navodi sociologiju, socijalnu povijest, psihologiju, modernu lingvistiku, semiotiku, kibernetiku, a može se dodati i informatologija, psihijatrija i bilo što drugo. Kako vrijeme i pojedine okolnosti uvjetuju pojavu nekih novih disciplina zapitao sam psihijatra i književnika Bartula Matijacu pročelnika Odjela za psihijatriju, etnopsihijatriju i antropologiju pri Matici hrvatskoj u Zagrebu što zapravo označava riječ etnopsihijatrija (iako je termin već postojao od prije). Odgovorio mi je da je rabljenje te riječi bilo bitno za Domovinskog rata. Bio je to odgovor na istupe Jovana Raškovića, njegova kolege psihijatra kojega je osobno poznao. Rabljenjem riječi etnopsihijatrija želio je, kako mi je objasnio samo učiniti «tuk na utuk» i ništa više. Sam pojam po njemu je tek kovanica prilagođena datom političkom trenutku i ona danas nema više nikakvog smisla. Moje je mišljenje da ima. Slična kovanica iako sasvim drukčijih konotacija i razloga pojavila se u SAD-u gdje je Marcia Ascher uvela pojam etnomatematika (Vidi: Ascher, M. (1991) *Ethnomathematics: A Multicultural View of Mathematical Ideas*, Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co).

³ Otprilike kao što svako novo vrijeme traži nove prijevode književnih klasika poput Homera ili Shakespearea. Namjerno spominjem njih zbog stalnih istraživanja jesu li bili stvarne povijesne osobe ili su njihova djela napisala skupina autora. No to ipak ostavimo povjesničarima književnosti.

tu – knjizi koja je služila za religijski odgoj, ali i za duhovni odmor u trenucima kada je seljak-radnik mogao otpočiniti. Evo i primjera iz književnosti. Iso Capelić u pripovijetci «U Tiborjancima» piše: «Stari Jozo se uskoro nepazice, u svojoj osjećajnoj duši skroman i učitiv a gostoljubiv, iskrao iz družinske sobe i nečujno zavukao u svoju. Domaći rekoše, da će sada da se moli iz svoga stogodišnjega molitvenika, iz Jaićeva Vinca, što ga već napola zna naizust.» (Capelić, 1994: 49)⁴.

Marijan Jaić – kratki životopis

Svako vrijeme nosi svoja otkrića pa tako i naše. Iako je jedan od najčitanijih i najtiražnijih hrvatskih pisaca uopće o Marijanu Jaiću znalo se malo ili bolje reći ništa. Razlog tomu je nesustavno bavljenje našom poviješću i različitim promišljanjima i pogledima u drugim vremenima. U *Predgovoru Jaićevu zborniku* akademik Stjepan Babić stavlja Jaića uz bok Andriji Kačiću Miošiću i Matiji Antunu Reljkoviću. Prijašnje izostavljanje Jaića iz enciklopedija i leksikona Babić objašnjava tako da su Jaićeva djela vrednovana književno-estetskim mjerilima, a ne s područja s kojih su njegova djela bila i vremena u kojem su nastajala i živjela (Babić, 1998:9). Ovaj citat smatram posebno važnim za vrednovanje Jaićeva djela i s područja etnologije, odnosno njega kao jednog od prethodnika etnografa u Slavoniji, iako sam Jaić toga sigurno nije bio svjestan.

Antun Barac Jaićevo djelo karakterizira beznačajnim (Babić u *Predgovoru Jaićevu zborniku* (Babić, 1998:9) citira Barca, ali ne navodi izvor.), a beznačajnim proglasiti njegovo najpoznatije djelo molitvenik - pjesmaricu *Vinac* koje je doživjelo 27 izdanja i tiskano, po nekim proračunima u 120.000 primjeraka, je u najmanju ruku smjelo.

Posebno zanimljiv rad je, po mom mišljenju i iz dnevne perspektive *Hrvatsko filozofsko nazivlje u rukopisima Marijana Jaića* Zvonimira Kornelija Šojata⁵. Već iz samoga naslova jasno je o čemu piše u tekstu no izuzetno je zanimljiva pregledna tablica u kojoj autor uspoređuje Jaićev prijevod: latinsko njemački izvornik te ondašnji hrvatski termin. Evo samo nekoliko primjera: umoslovno znači logično, mudrozboritelj je dijalektičar, umoznačje – pojam, naravoslovje – fizika, čovikoslovje – antropologija, stvaroozbiljnost- realizam, umoslikovnost – idealizam itd. Ovaj primjer samo još više svjedoči o Jaićevu zanimanju za različite znanstvene discipline, a što je nama etnologima posebno važno spominje antropologiju.

Fra Marijan Jaić rodio se 4. srpnja 1795. u Brodu na Savi od oca Šimuna i majke Klare te dobio ime Stjepan. Od 1807. do 1816. školuje se i studira u Brodu, Našicama

⁴ Valja napomenuti da je izvorni naziv knjige *Vinac*. Kasnije je nazivan i *Vienac* i *Vijenac*. Skoro posve sigurno je da je pri promjeni naziva bio važan Ilirski pokret. *Vinac* je, po mojoj pretpostavci, izraz kako se govorilo u Slavoniji – ikavski. *Vienac* je vjerojatno ime koje je promijenjeno kada se stvarao hrvatski književni jezik.

⁵ Šojat, Z. K. (1998) *Hrvatsko filozofsko nazivlje u rukopisima Marijana Jaića*, Zagreb, str. 90-105.

i Mohaču. 7. svibnja 1812. u Baču se zareadio te dobiva ime Marin, a 7. srpnja 1816. godine polaže zavjete u Vukovaru i uzima ime Marijan. Jaić je bio čovjek širokog obrazovanja i područja djelovanja. Bavio se glazbom, dušobrižništvom, ćudoređem, bogoslovljem, filozofijom, jezikoslovljem i drugim srodnim granama znanosti i bogoštolva. Osim toga bio je na važnim crkvenim funkcijama. Predavao je kao nastavnik u osnovnoj školi u Vukovaru, 1821. postaje kapelan vukovarske župe i svečani propovijednik te knjižničar i orguljaš. Bio je i provincijal u Budimu, gvardijan osječkoga franjevačkog samostana i ravnatelj osječke gimnazije te prefekt sukarnstva. 1843. godine izgradio je samostansku knjižnicu u Osijeku, a potom se opet vraća u Budim gdje je ponovo izabran za provincijala Franjevačke provincije sv. Ivana Kapistrana sve do 1854. godine. Dakle, opet sam na početku – više nego širokog obrazovanja. 12. srpnja 1858. nakon povratka u Hrvatsku odlazi brodom u Budim i tamo 4. kolovoza iste godine umire. Kako piše u nekrologu koji je za njega sastavio Kajo Andrija Adžić: «...smrt... nemilosrdni neprijatelj ljudskoga roda nezasitnom kosom svojom... iznenada, poput razbojnika nasrnu namnogopoštovanoga oca bivšeg provincijalnog ministra Marijana Jaića, moždanom ga kapi pogodi ...» (Adžić, 1998: 247)⁶. Marijan Jaić pokopan je u franjevačkoj crkvi u Budimu.

Jaićev *Vinac*

Najvažnije Jaićevo djelo je *Vinac* ili, kako je nazvano prvo izdanje *Bogoljubne pisme kojese pod svetom misom i razlicitim svetkovinama pivati mogu; iz razlicitih knjigah skupljene*, odnosno Luka Marjanović u svome tekstu odlično objašnjava duh *Vinca* i njegovu izuzetnu popularnost među pukom. «Da je Jaićev *Vinac* postigao nečuvan uspjeh ne treba se čuditi. U njemu se ipak najvećim dijelom odražava Kanižlićev duh. A čega se prihvatio Antun Kanižlić (1699.-1777.), sve je bilo dosta savjesno i dubokoumno učinjeno. Smije se čak reći: za narod možda i previsoko. Franjevci su u tom pogledu bili jednostavniji pa zato bliži puku. Visoku teologiju «*prizemljuju*»» (Marjanović, 1998: 128).

Da se *Vinac* naslanjanjao na Kanižlićeve radove svjedoči i pjesma *Mario! Mario!* Kanižlićeva verzija ide ovako:

Mario! Mario!
Daj slavno procvasti, po tvojoj oblasti,
Puku slovinskomu Mario;
Svitlose glasiti, svitlost pogasiti
Puku Turskomu Mario!

⁶ Adžić, A. K. (1988) Nekrolog ocu Marijanu Jaiću, *Jaićev zbornik*, Slavonski Brod, str. 247-250. Nekrolog je preveo dr. Josip Barbarić, a original se čuva u Arhivu Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama pod nazivom *Protocollum circulatum provinciae Sancti Ioannis a Capistrano cum Bulgaro-Valachica canonice ab anno 1855-1879, vol. 7 pp. 82-85.*

Jaićeva verzija tek se neznatno, ali bitno razlikuje:

*Mario! Mario!
daj slavno procvasti, po tvojoj oblasti;
puku krstjanskomu Mario;
svitlose glasiti, svitlost pogasiti
puku nevirnomu Mario! (Ptičar, 1998: 114)*

Kanižlić piše o puku *slovinskom*, a Jaić o puku *krstjanskomu* te na kraju Kanižlić spominje *puk Turški*, a Jaić *puk nevirni*. Već same te razlike ukazuju na vrijeme i različite političke i povijesne prilike u kojima se puk živjeći na istom prostoru zatekao. Pjesma je jednostavno prilagođena novim okolnostima i novom vremenu.

Peter Burke piše: «Od osamnaestoga se stoljeća pučki leci, «broadside» i pučke knjižice javljaju mnogo češće nego prije, bilo zbog toga što ih je u to doba više odštampano, bilo razmjerno što je veći dio sačuvan. Velik postotak predmeta što se čuvaju u muzejima narodne umjetnosti potječe od osamnaestog stoljeća naovamo. ...tek se potkraj osamnaestog stoljeća javlja sustavno sakupljanje usmenog stvaralaštva – balada i priča, kao i sustavno opisivanje narodnih običaja i svetkovina. Imamo, dakle, jasnih razloga za ispisivanje povijesti narodne kulture unazad, pri čemu nam kasno osamnaesto stoljeće može poslužiti kao podloga pri promatranju fragmentarnijih svjedočanstava iz sedamnaestog i šesnaestog stoljeća.» (Burke, 1991:74).

Teško da bi *Vinac* mogli usporediti s pučkim knjižicama jer je on namijenjen liturgiji. U njemu su zabilježene pjesme koje se pjevaju u crkvi, a ne životi svetaca i slične priče. On nije služio za zabavu već za religijsku poduku i, ako je vjerovati Capeliću, za razdoblja kontemplacija. Razmišljanja o životu. Možda zvuči presmiono govoriti o meditacijama neukog seljaka koji ne poznaje osim *Vinca* niti jedu drugu knjigu osim možda *Biblije* u fragmentima. To je još jedan izazov na koji bi etnolog mogao ili trebao pokušati naći odgovor. Koliko jedna mala knjižica određuje njegov svjetonazor, a time i njegov odnos prema vlastitoj prošlosti i neumitnoj budućnosti?

Osim već spomenutog *Vinac* je služio i kao mali katekizam – udžbenik iz kojega su djeca učila kod kuće crkvene pjesme. «Koliko je pjesmarica *Vinac* bogoljubnih pjesama o. Marijana Jaića ušla u upotrebu, može se vidjeti na primjeru biskupije đakovačke i srijemske. U njoj je riječ «vinac» sinonim za molitvenik i pjesmaricu uopće. Kod starijeg svijeta se još na selima može čuti izraz «moj vinac» tj. moj molitvenik, što pokazuje koliko je bio odbljubljen i poznat.» (Zečević, 1998:89-90)⁷.

Ipak najvažniji podatak vezan uz Jaićev *Vinac* je taj da se knjižica stavljala uz pokojnika u lijes. Nisam dosada zapazio da je netko zabilježio da se knjiga (bilo kakva) stavlja u lijes pokraj preminuloga. Branko Đaković piše da su uz pokojnika stavljali

⁷ Divna Zečević u knjizi Hrvatske pučke pjesmarice 19. stoljeća ističe kako «U Jaićevu *Vincu*, međutim, nema više prijetećih slika kakve nalazimo u Kanižličevoj pjesmarici u izdanju iz 1773. godine u Pismu od pakla. Jaić je u istoj pjesmi o paklu ispustio pet strofa drastičnih prijatnji paklenim mukama.» (Zečević, 1987:89-90.). O daljnjim mijenama pišu i neki suvremeni teolozi spominjući prazni pakao.

alat, lulu i pribor za pušenje, muzički instrument, piće (vino i rakija), obavezno kapa ili šešir, štap. Sa ženama se sahranjuje preslica, vreteno, šivaći pribor, nešto nakita ili neka draga uspomena (Đaković, 1985:13-14). Podataka nema ni u knjizi *Etnografija* niti u Gavazzijevim *Vrelima* koje se dotiču u nekim poglavljima pokapanjem mrtvaca. U Petrovaradinu godinama se uz pokojnika u lijes stavljao i Jaićev *Vinac*. Jedinu bližu usporedbu vežem uz stavljanje svetih sličica koje pokojnik treba ponijeti na drugi svijet i predati svojim umrlim rođacima. Tako se možda i *Vinac* stavljao u lijes da bi živi dali pokojniku *obol*⁸ na njegovu zadnjem putu. U svakom slučaju mislim da je ovo primjer kojeg bi valjalo pomnije istražiti i ispitati. Zašto baš *Vinac*, a ne neki drugi molitvenik i pjesmarica? Zašto ne *Biblija*? Odgovore bi valjalo potražiti na terenu, jer se *Vinac* još uvijek čita i to ne samo u Hrvatskoj i Vojvodini već i Mađarskoj, a pogotovo u Rumunjskoj na području gdje žive Hrvati. Osim toga bilo bi zanimljivo saznati je li u Jaićev lijes, što je malo vjerojatno jer se ipak radi o svojevrsnom poganskom kultu, pokraj njegova tijela položeno i njegovo životno djelo – *Vinac*.

Na kraju da se vratim na razmišljanje s početka teksta. Da bi etnolog zaista bio etnolog njegovo znanje mora biti široko. U to se, kod Hrvata posebno, uključuje i poznavanje kršćanstva i teologije. Stavljanje Jaićeva *Vinca* u lijes vjerojatno je ostatak pretkršćanskih vjerovanja. No taj običaj pokazuje kako se stare navade vremenom mijenjaju i kako preuzimaju nova svojstva. Radi se o istom, a ipak različitom. Ili, kako su to napisali Hobsbawm i Ranger, (samo ću parafrazirati cijelu ideju njihova djela) radi se o novom otkrivanju tradicije ili uspostavljanju nove. To je područje u kojem se etnolog mora snalaziti kao riba u vodi. Jer svaki drugi pristup, ma koliko smionu zvučim, dovodi do koprcanja na suhom.

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⁸ Riječ *obol* dolazi od grčke riječi *obolos* koja označava sitan srebrni novac (šestina drahme) koji se stavljao pokojniku pod jezik da bi mogao, prema grčkoj mitologiji, platiti lađaru Haronu prijevoz kroz podzemni svijet. Ovdje sam je upotrijebio iz dva razloga: zato što se rabi u krive svrhe, ali i zato da bih naglasio moguću vezu između pretkršćanskih i kršćanskih vjerovanja.

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2.01



2.02

VINAC
BOGOLJUBNIH PJESAMA,
koje se
NEDJELJOM I PRIGODOM
RAZLIČITIH SVETKOVINA
POD S. MISOM
I O DRUGIH BOGOLJUBNOSTIH
PJEVATI OBIČAJU:
IZ RAZLIČITIH DUHOVNIH KNJIGA
PO
O. MARIJANU JAIĆU,
reda s. Franje drlave kapistranske mislika
SABRAN I SLOŽEN
ter
s dopunjenom starijima sada veći držadesti put
i množenjem izdavanja na svijetlost i dobrotu vinacana

2.03

Vinac by Marijan Jaić A Prayer Book or an Item of Household Inventory?

*In this article I tried to show that many concepts could and should be re-defined and re-interpreted in accordance with the contemporary situation. Marijan Jaić, probably the most published Croatian writer, was on the margins of the research of Croatian literature. Jaić might not have been a writer in the strict sense of the term. He was a writer-theologian whose works, especially *Vinac*, were published and sold in large editions. *Vinac* was more than just a collection of poems or a prayer book – it was a part of the household heritage. Even though the interest in Jaić's work has increased in the last decade, there is still room for additional research.*

Key words: Jaić, prayer books, philological analysis

Introduction

Interdisciplinarity! So much has been said about the necessity for the interdisciplinary work in science. And what does this really mean? Return to the Renaissance? We can safely say that when we talking about a scientist who truly used different types of knowledge, we go back to the time of Leonardo da Vinci. His knowledge and various interests covered almost all that could be found in the science of that time. The difference is only that Leonardo was also an artist, not only a scientist. Today, a man who works in science also has to pay attention to anything that is happening in other scientific fields. I am referring here to an article by Lydia Sklevicky, I will quote it a bit later, which included the explicit directions by Dunja Rihtman – Auguštin on what a scientist-ethnologist

should know. Practically everything.¹ He/she should be familiar with all the scientific niches which are linked to ethnology and which help him/her reach conclusions. Right or wrong ones – doesn't matter at the beginning. What is important is the subsequent work on a subject, and only through narrowing and distilling of the obtained data and through their multiple revalorization and analysis, we can get to something which can, but does not have to, be correct. But, by all means, it can serve to another scientist-ethnologist who will observe the data from his own subjective point of view and then, equipped with his/her own knowledge and methods, offer another answer or confirm the existing one.

An ethnologist deals with an individual and with a group. His/her subject of interest is wider than in any other scientific discipline which deals with human culture – old and new, and with its dynamic changes. And this is the only continuity on which an ethnologist can count - that nothing is eternal and that the facts in folk culture are changed on a daily basis and that they should be studied over and over again.² Therefore, there will never be enough knowledge. All the segments of life, customs, politics, historical data and, I could go on forever, are important for an ethnologist and his/her work. Regardless of his/her narrow specialty (researching only specific segments of human life), an ethnologist has to know more. Why? To understand cycles and changes, to understand why people (communities, groups) change certain ancient (old) customs we are so fond of, or preserve just a segment of them, or, on the other hand, seemingly neglect and discard certain other customs. And now the

¹ I would just briefly move away from, or maybe move closer to the subject of this article, and mention the words of Professor Milivoj Solar from the Department of Comparative Literature of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb who, during his lectures on Modern literature, said that the person who does not know Bible, can barely understand what the modern writers are writing about. He also said that at the exam he reserves his right to ask anything, from any scientific discipline and outside of it. This was my first contact with intertwining of different sciences and disciplines. Only a person with a very broad education should, according to professor Solar, obtain a university degree. The same words were spoken by Professor Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin during her lectures on postgraduate study.

² Dunja Rihtman Auguštin was propagating the openness of ethnology to other disciplines and she was constantly emphasizing that point. Her words were nicely discussed by Lydia Sklevicky in her work *Profession of ethnologist, an analysis of the status of the discipline*. On page 56 she says that ethnology can only benefit, and in no way suffer, from the openness to other disciplines. She wanted to point out that an ethnologist has to be prepared to cooperate with scientists from other fields, not only historiographic. She mentioned sociology, social history, psychology, modern linguistics, semiotics, cybernetics, and we can also add computer sciences, psychiatrics and many more. Since time and historical circumstances are responsible for the appearance of certain new disciplines, I asked the psychiatrist and writer Bartul Matijac, the Head of the Department of Psychiatry, Ethnopsychiatry and Anthropology of the Martix Croatica in Zagreb, what exactly is ethnopsychiatry (even though the term was older). He told me that the usage of this word was very important during the Homeland War. It was the answer to the public appearances of Jovan Rašković, a psychiatrist and his colleague whom he knew well. By using this word he just wanted to, as he explained himself, to 'return tit for tat' and nothing more. The term itself was, in his opinion, a concept adjusted to the prevalent political ideas of the time and has no meaning today. My opinion is that it has. Similar term, even though different in connotation and origin, appeared in the USA where Marcia Escher introduced the term ethnomathematics (see: Asher, M (1991): *Ethnomathematics: A Multicultural View of Mathematical Ideas*, Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co).

logical question: why such an introduction for such a small book? Because of these new trends.³ Or, to be more precise, are we here talking only about a breviary or about a household item – a book which served for a religious education but also for spiritual interlude in the moments when the peasant/worker could rest for a while. Here is an example from literature. Iso Cepelić in his novel '*U Taborjancima*' said: 'old Jozo almost secretly, in his sensitive soul so modest and polite and yet generous and kind, sneaked out of the common room and silently crept into his own bedroom. The family said he was now going to pray from his hundred-years old prayer book, from Jaić's *Vinac*, one half of which he knew by heart (Cepelić 1994:49).⁴

Marijan Jaić – short biography

Each period had its discoveries and so did our own. Eventhough he was one of the most widely read and popular Croatian writers of all times, little, or better to say nothing, is known about Marijan Jaić. The reason is that we are rather unsystematically dealing with our own history and that different opinions and views were prevalent in different periods of time. In his Introduction to *Jaić's Collected Works*, Academician Stjepan Babić compared Jaić to Andrija Kačić Miošić and Matija Antun Reljković. He explained the omission of Jaić's name from encyclopedia and lexicons as the consequence of the fact that his works were evaluated through literary-esthetic criteria and not from the aspect of the 'regions in which they were created and periods in which they were written and in which they lived' (Babić 1998:9). I consider this quote to be especially important for the evaluation of Jaić's work from the ethnological aspect as well, or, in other words, I see his work as the incentive for future ethnographers in Slavonia, although Jaić himself was probably not aware of that.

Antun Barac characterized Jaić's work as worthless (Babić in his Introduction to *Jaić's Collected Works* (Babić 1998:9) quotes Barac, but does not mention the source), and to proclaim Jaić's most famous work, a prayer-book-collection of poems *Vinac*, which was printed in 27 editions and, according to some data, sold in 120 000 copies, worthless is, to say the least, a bit audacious.

A work which is very interesting, in my opinion even from the perspective of everyday life, is *Croatian Philosophical Terminology in the Manuscripts of Marijan Jaić* written by

³ Because of the same reasons why each new period requires new translations of literary classics, such as Homer or Shakespeare. I deliberately chose them because of the on-going debates whether they were real persons or whether these works were written by a group of authors. But, let's leave this to the literary historians.

⁴ It is important to mention that the original title of the book is *Vinac*. The book was later called both *Vienac* and *Vijenac*. It is almost certain that Illyrian movement had something to do with the change of title. Namely, the ikavian form *Vinac*, which was used in Slavonia, was changed to iekavian form – *Vienac*, when standard Croatian language was being created.

Zvonimir Kornelije Šojat.⁵ The title itself clearly reveals what the text is all about, but what is especially interesting is the table in which the author compares Jaić's translation: Latin-German original and the Croatian terms common at the time. Here are some of the examples: mindgraphic meant logical, cleverspeaker was dialectician, mindsense – concept, naturelogy – physics, humanology – anthropology, verisimilitude – realism, mindpicturesqueness – idealism, etc. This examples point to Jaić's interest in other scientific disciplines and, what is important to us ethnologists, he also mentioned anthropology.

Fra Marijan Jaić was born on July 4, 1795 in the village of Brod on the Sava River, from father Šimun and mother Klara and was given the name Stjepan. From 1807 to 1816 he was educated and studied in Brod, and in the towns of Našice and Mohač. He became a priest on May 7, 1812, in the town of Bač and was given the name Marin, and on July 7, 1816, he took the vows in the town of Vukovar and he became Marijan. Jaić was a person of broad education and scope of work. He engaged in music, spiritual work, Church ethics, liturgical issues, philosophy, linguistics and other related branches of science and theology. Furthermore, he was appointed to several high church offices. He also taught as a teacher at the elementary school in Vukovar and in 1821 he was appointed the parish priest of the Vukovar parish, its honorary preacher, librarian and organist. He was also the Head of the Franciscan Order in the town of Budim, a Guardian of the Franciscan Monastery in the town of Osijek, the Principle of Osijek Gymnasium and the prefect of the weaving section. In 1843 he built the Monastery library in Osijek, after which he returned to Budim where he was re-elected as the Head of the Franciscan Province of St. John of Capistrano, and he retained this position until 1854. After his return to Croatia, on July 12, 1858, he took a boat trip to Budim and he died there on August 4 of the same year. As written in an obituary which Kajo Andrija Adžić composed in his honor: '...death ... this merciless enemy of human race with its insatiable blade ... hit suddenly, as a robber, our kindly honored father, the ex-Minister of Province, Marijan Jaić, and stuck him with a stroke...' (Adžić 1998:247).⁶ Marijan Jaić was buried in the Franciscan church in Budim.

Jaić's *Vinac*

Jaić's most important work is *Vinac*, or, as he titled the first edition *Poems for Praising God to be Sung during the Holly Mass or on Different Festive Occasions; Collected from Vari-*

⁵ Šojat, Z.K. (1998): *Hrvatsko filozofsko nazivlje u rukopisima Marijana Jaića*, Zagreb, pg. 90-105.

⁶ Adžić, A.K. (1998): Nekrolog ocu Marijanu Jaiću, *Jaićev zbornik*, Slavonski Brod, pg. 247-250. The obituary was translated by Dr Josip Barbarić and the original is kept at the Archives of the Franciscan Monastery in the town of Našice under the name *Protocollum circulatium provinciae Sancti Ioannis a Capistrano cum Bulgaro-Valachica canonice ab anno 1855-1879, vol 7, pg 82-85.*

ous Books. The spirit of *Vinac* and its extreme popularity among people were well explained by Luka Marjanović: ‘We should not be surprised that Jaić’s *Vinac* achieved such popularity. After all, it clearly reflected Kanižlić’s influence in most of its parts. And whatever was the enterprise of Antun Kanižlić (1699-1777), it was all thorough and well-thought. We could even say: maybe even too sophisticated for the folk. The Franciscans were in that respect rather simpler and therefore closer to the common people. They ‘grounded’ high theology.’ (Marjanović 1998:128).

That *Vinac* relied on Kanižlić’s work is obvious from the poem *Mary! Mary!*, with Kanižlić’s version being the following:

Mary! Mary!
Flourish in Glory, Under your Worry,
To Slovene folk, O Mary!
Bring Light, Bring Night
To Turkish Folk!

Jaić’s version is only slightly, but significantly different:

Mary! Mary!
Flourish in Glory, Under your Worry,
To Christian folk, O Mary!
Bring Light, Bring Night
To Pagan Folk! (Ptičar 1998:114)

Kanižlić speaks of *Slovene folk* and Jaić of *Christian folk*, at the end, Kanižlić mentions *Turkish folk*, while Jaić ends the poem with the term *pagan folk*. Even these slight differences point to different periods and political and historical circumstances in which people in the same regions lived. The poem was simply adjusted to new times and circumstances.

Peter Burke wrote: ‘During the eighteen century, popular pamphlets, broadsheets and popular booklets were found more often than before, because a greater number of them were printed in this period or rather because the majority of them were preserved. A large percentage of the items which are kept in the museums of the folk art originated from the eighteen century onwards ... only at the end of the eighteen century we have systematic collection of oral literature – stories and ballads, as well as the systematic descriptions of folk customs and festivities. Therefore, we have clear reasons for writing-up the history of folk culture backwards, where the late eighteenth century could serve us a starting point for the analysis of the more fragmented accounts from the seventeenth and the sixteenth century (Burke 1991:74).

We could hardly compare *Vinac* with broadsheets because it was primarily created for liturgical purposes. It contains songs to be sung in the church and not accounts from Saints’ lives and similar stories. Its aim was not entertainment, but religious education and, if we are to trust Cepelić, spiritual contemplation, thinking about one’s own life. It might sound a bit bold to talk about meditations of a common peasant who,

besides *Vinac*, did not know any other book, except maybe for some fragment from the Bible. This is another question to which an ethnologist should find, or try to find, an answer. How can such a small book determine one's worldview, and, therefore, one's attitude towards past and imminent future?

Vinac also served as a religious manual – a textbook from which children at home learned church songs: 'The extent to which the collection of religious songs *Vinac* by Marijan Jaić was part of everyday life, can be seen on the example of Đakovo and Srijem Diocese. In these regions, the word 'vinac' was a synonym for prayer-book and collection of songs generally. Older people would still use the term 'my vinac' to refer to their prayer book, which showed how well known and popular that book was (Zečević 1998:89-90).⁷

However, the most important information connected to the Jaić's *Vinac* is that this book was placed in the coffin next to the deceased. I have not found any other information that a book (any book) was placed in a coffin next to the dead person. Branko Đaković mentioned that, next the deceased, people used to put tools, pipes and smoking equipment, musical instruments, drinks (wine or brandy), commonly a cap or a hat, a cane. Women were buried with their distaffs, spindles, sawing equipment, some jewelry or a dear memory (Đaković 1985:13-14). I could not find other data related to this topic in the well-known *Ethnography*, nor in Gavazzi's famous work *Vrela*, which, in some chapters, deals with burials. In the town of Petrovaradin, they used to put Jaić's *Vinac* in the coffin next to the deceased for many years. The only comparison I can think of is with placing of the holy pictures next to the deceased, which the dead person should take with him/her to the other world and hand them over to his/her dead cousins. Maybe *Vinac* was also placed in the coffin so that the living would grant some help (*obol*)⁸ to the deceased during his/her final voyage. In any case, I think that this example should be researched and analyzed in more details. Why *Vinac*, and not some other prayer-book and collection of songs? Why not the Bible? The answers should be searched for in the field, because *Vinac* is still read, not only in Croatia and Vojvodina, but also in Hungary, and especially in Rumania, in the regions inhabited by Croatian population. Besides, it would be interesting to find out whether Jaić's life work – *Vinac* – was also placed next to his dead body, which however does not seem very probable, because we are, after all, speaking of some sort of a pagan cult.

⁷ Divna Zečević in the book titled Nineteenth Century Folk Song Collections of Croatia emphasized: 'In Jaić's *Vinac* we do not find anymore threatening images which could be found in Kanižlić's collection of songs from 1773 edition, in the *Song of Hell*. In the same song, Jaić omitted five verses of drastic threats with tortures of hell.' (Zečević 1987:89-90). Some contemporary theologians also wrote on the subsequent changes, mentioning the 'empty hell'.

⁸ The word *obol* comes from the Greek word *obolos*, which referred to silver coins (one sixth of a dragma) which was placed under the tongue of the dead person so that (s)he could, according to Greek mythology, pay Heron the ride through he underworld. Here I used it for two reasons: because its meaning is distorted in everyday language, but also to point to the possible connection between pre-Christian and Christian beliefs.

At the end, let me return to the thoughts from the beginning of this text. For an ethnologist to really be an ethnologist, (s)he has to possess a broad and wide knowledge. This, especially when researching Croatian culture, refers also to the knowledge of Christian religion and theology. Placing of Jaić's *Vinac* in the coffin is probably a relic of pre-Christian beliefs. But this custom also shows how old habits change in time and obtain new characteristics. The same, and yet different. Or, paraphrasing the idea of Hobsbawm and Ranger, we are talking about the new discovery of an old tradition or about the establishment of a new one. This is the area in which ethnologists should really feel at home. Because, every other approach, no matter how novel it might sound, would only take us in the wrong direction.

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