

Everyday Practices of Bosnian Muslims

Ahmet Alibašić

Abstract

This paper examines certain significant practices and customs used by Bosnian Muslims to manage major life cycle events, both as individuals and collectively. The focus is on what is often termed *lived everyday religion* rather than on normative structures. While the paper looks at Muslims and how they live their religion, without prejudging how aligned that practice is with Orthodox teachings, any discussion of such practices will naturally touch on ethical dilemmas they face as individuals while doing so.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muslims, Religious practice, Customs

This paper examines certain significant practices and customs used by Bosnian Muslims to manage major life cycle events, both as individuals and collectively. The focus is on what is often termed *lived everyday religion* rather than on normative structures. While the paper looks at Muslims and how they live their religion, without prejudging how aligned that practice is with Orthodox teachings, any discussion of such practices will naturally touch on ethical dilemmas they face as individuals while doing so. The practices are presented in the following order: (1) life events, (2) daily life, (3) annual, monthly, and weekly events, (4) holidays, and (5) everyday Islamic morality. The paper addresses sensitive issues related to interacting with Muslims and, where appropriate, compares the practices of Bosnian Muslims with those of their non-Muslim compatriots and of Muslims elsewhere.

1. Life Events

We will approach the story of Muslim life in Bosnia and Herzegovina through practices associated with birth, name-giving, basic religious instruction, puberty, marriage (and divorce), pilgrimage to Mecca, and death.

1.1 Birth

The earthly lives of Muslims start with birth, an occasion of great joy and humanity. Muslims are encouraged to have children and the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said, “Reproduce, I will be proud of your numbers.” Some have found this alarming, both in the past and today. Some even speak of “demographic jihad,” as a form of Muslim conspiracy to take over the world and more particularly Europe. Such rumours were used in the 1990s to mobilize anti-Muslim forces in the Balkans. Today, Muslim birth rates are commonly used to scare non-Muslims. In Europe, non-Muslims often think there are a lot more Muslims around them than in fact there are (Duncan 2016). What is more, Muslims don’t all share the same views on contraception and abortion. For example, some classical Islamic scholars developed very liberal views on abortion. As it happens, (Bosnian) Muslims have not joined radical Christian calls for a total ban on abortion, to the great disappointment of some Christian friends.

In fact, Muslim birth rates depend on socio-economic conditions even more than on Islamic teachings, such as the saying of the Prophet quoted above. Generally speaking, Muslims share in the wider culture of which they form a part. When it comes to family planning, for example, about half of Bosnian Muslims consider it morally acceptable, while fewer than one in five (18%) reject it as immoral. The rest apparently do not consider it a moral issue. About 66% consider abortion morally unacceptable, compared to 14% who consider it morally acceptable. The first figure is lower than the global or regional averages for Muslims. Such attitudes, combined with the continued impact of the war and difficult socio-economic conditions, have led to a low fertility rate of 1.29 among Bosnian women. There are no disaggregated figures for Muslim women, but there is no reason to think them significantly different in this regard. Given the added toll of youth migration to Europe, it is no surprise Bosnia is aging fast. This is true of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Christians. It is bitterly ironic to see this war-torn land deserted by those who killed or were ready to kill for it.

To return to Muslim families, every new child, boy or girl, brings great joy. That has not always been the case in Bosnia, of course, which was once a highly patriarchal society, despite the Prophetic tradition that “He who raises three

daughters and treats them well deserves paradise.” Today, while pockets of discrimination remain, the lot of female children has improved considerably. The modernization project of Socialism deserves credit for some of this improvement, but one should not forget the many religious modernizers (like the Grand mufti Džemaludin Čaušević, d. 1938, or the Young Muslims) who advocated for female emancipation independently of the Socialist programme.

The UNDP Human Development Index shows that Bosnians enjoy relatively good healthcare. Life expectancy at birth is a creditable 76.3 years and almost all Bosnian children are now born in hospitals, after pre-natal care, often at private clinics. (The Roma are the most disadvantaged group in this regard). Hospital births have been common since at least the late 1970s, but I was born in the early 1970s at home, with my grandmother as midwife. Religious sentiment is a factor in the preference for female gynaecologists, but many religious Muslim women will visit male doctors if necessary, and the Islamic Community has issued a religious opinion (*fatwa*) approving the practice.

Once the baby is back home, it is still common for the mother to keep going out to a minimum during the first forty days. This coincides with the extended period of potential post-natal bleeding, during which Muslim women neither pray nor fast. Once that period is over, family and friends flock to visit baby and mother (known as the *babina*) and bring gifts, including money to place “by the head” (“*na čelo*”), a traditional way of sharing the cost of bringing a child into the world that was as important in the past as it is today. Many Bosnian women are housewives and look after their children. High female unemployment rates, especially in rural areas, contribute to this. Working mothers are entitled to a year of maternity leave, but few in the private sector actually get paid while taking it. Once back at work, in rural areas family (often grandmothers) take care of the children. In urban areas, there may be a kindergarten or a babysitter.

1.2 Name-giving

The first major religiously sanctioned custom related to birth is name-giving, which is known by its Arabic name, *aqiqa* (bos. *akika*). It can take place at any time, but preferably on the 7th, 14th, or 21st day after birth. It is often deferred in practice until the mother has fully recovered. The ceremony may take place at home or in a mosque and involves several rites. One is the recital of calls to prayer (*adhan* and *iqamah*) into the child’s ears by a family member, friend, or, not infrequently, imam. Bosnian Muslims traditionally (until c. 1950) gave their children Oriental “Muslim” names or nicknames (Mujo, Suljo, Haso, Huso, Fata, Mina), with the occasional Slavic name thrown into the mix (Zlata). Up to the 1950s, the most common Muslim names in Bosnia were Fatima and Ibrahim.

Fatima has remained a common female name, but it has been joined or surpassed by others like Sanela, Emina, Lejla, Sara, Ajla, and Amina. The most common names for boys are now Mirsad, Senad, Edin, Adnan, Haris, and Amar. Non-Oriental names that have become popular with Muslims include Damir, Jasmin, Sabina, etc. From a strictly Islamic point of view, one should not really talk of Islamic names, as even the recommended names (Abdullah, Ahmad, Muhammad) date from the pre-Islamic era. Most names are simply neutral. That being said, it is possible to speak of un-Islamic names, thanks to a negative or anti-Islamic meaning (e.g., as implying service to a deity other than God). The Prophet Muhammad's practice was to change only such names. In Bosnia, names are identity markers and often classified as Muslim or non-Muslim, even when they are newly coined.

A second religious practice is to offer a sacrificial lamb on the day of *aqiqa* and share it with family, friends, and the poor. Third is cutting the baby's hair and the distribution of alms (more precisely, an amount equivalent to the value of the baby's hair's weight in silver). The cutting of the hair is not always strictly observed, but alms are often distributed, as they are believed to bring the baby good luck. The Prophet is held to have said that alms (*sadaqa*) prolong one's life. For boys, circumcision (*obrezivanje, sunnetluk, džerašenje*) can take place on this day but is often deferred until a doctor is available to perform it, usually under local anaesthetic between the 3rd and 12th month. It used to be performed by barbers at home, which made them bogeymen for young Muslim boys. Today it is done at hospital as a minor 15-minute procedure. Male circumcision is thus another occasion for family to visit and bring gifts, including money. Recent years have seen mass circumcision ceremonies like those in Turkey. They are supported by Turkish organizations. Female circumcision is not practised among Bosnian Muslims.

Parents are legally obliged to register their children with the municipal authorities, and most do, the exception being some Roma parents. In the past, the birth date was manipulated for various reasons, from wanting to defer school or military service to not prioritizing the trip to a distant municipality office. The Islamic Community does not keep birth registers.

1.3 Basic Religious Instruction at the Mosque

Muslim children are required to learn the basic tenets of Islam and get used to performing Islamic rituals and customs, but it is naturally (grand)parents who feel obliged to ensure their children grow up in Islam. As a rule, mothers are more important in the transmission of Islamic values and teachings, especially during Socialism. Today, many families give their children religious instruction at home, but in a lot of families the adults were brought up under Socialism and do not feel

up to providing their children with the required religious education. In any case, most parents send their school age children to a local mosque or *mekteb* (informal Islamic elementary school adjacent to the mosque) for the local imam to teach them the major articles of their faith, a few short chapters of the Qur'an (*suras*), how to pray, fast, and carry out their other duties in Islam, and basic Islamic ethics. More ambitious children can learn to read the Qur'an in Arabic, though generally not the language itself. Classes are normally on Saturday and Sunday. This informal education is in the hands of the Islamic Community (*Islamska zajednica*), the only formal Islamic religious organization in the country, which prepares the teaching materials and trains imams for the more than 2000 *mektebs*. While such education has no formal end point, most children are done with it by age 15. Practicing Muslim parents try to ensure their children start to pray by age 10, as recommended by the Prophet, but it is only mandatory once they have turned adolescent, which is our next topic.

1.4 Puberty

There are no formal rites of passage in Islam or among Bosnian Muslims. Puberty is, however, very important, as the dividing line between childhood and adolescence when the individual becomes fully responsible for her or his actions. While the age of puberty varies for each individual, it is often set by law in countries where Shari'ah matters. For all its importance, however, there is no public ceremony. It is a very private moment, news of which rarely leaves the family walls.

1.5 Marriage (and Divorce)

The next crossroads is marriage. Early marriage is recommended in Islam, while extramarital sexual relations are forbidden. (About 53 per cent of Bosnian Muslims today consider premarital and extramarital sex to be morally unacceptable). Bosnian Muslims used to marry young, but as time has gone by, they increasingly postpone it. Many never marry. Those who do usually choose their spouses themselves through a form of courtship known as *ašikovanje*. Families do eventually get involved and are consulted. When the young people and their elders cannot agree, the matter can end tragically, but a standoff between the girl and her family, who refuse to accept the fact that she has snuck off (*ukrala se*) to a family they don't approve of, is the more likely outcome and the family will eventually accept the realities of life. Honour killings are unheard of and Bosnian Muslims are one of the Muslim communities most opposed to them (79%), regardless who committed the offence (Pew Research Centre 2013: 82-89).

Legally speaking, Islamic marriage is a contract involving the consent of a wife and a husband who are not closely related to each other by blood, co-suckling (which is not common in Bosnia), or marriage, as attested to by two witnesses, and involving a dowry. As a result, it can be conducted in front of civil authorities. Since the 1990s, “Shari’ah marriage” has gradually established itself as a regular practice for Muslim couples. It is a ceremony presided over by an imam at the mosque or at home. The main difference from civil marriage is that the witnesses must be either two males or one male and two females. A dowry is specified, which latterly is set at the cost of the hajj (in 2019, about 4100 Euro). Its repayment in the case of divorce cannot be enforced. Finally, a prayer is said for the happiness of the couple.

Until the 1990s, cohabitation was rare in Bosnia but has become more common since. Sometimes, it is accompanied by a “Shari’ah marriage” with two witnesses but no official registration. This is what the Socialist authorities wanted to stop when they imposed fines on imams or clergy conducting marriages that had not been registered with the civil authorities beforehand. Most Muslims, including the Islamic Community, have since concluded that civil marriage is the best way to protect women’s rights, though there are still cases of people opting for “Shari’ah marriage” alone, especially in the rare cases of polygamous marriage, which do happen. Polygamous marriages were never widespread in Bosnia, even during Ottoman times. Today 85% disapprove of them, the highest rate for the 37 Muslim countries surveyed by the Pew Research Centre. Only 4% accept them as moral, compared to 49% of Malaysians and 86% of Senegalese (Pew Research Centre 2013, 82-89).

Wedding customs have been changing fast. As in all traditional societies, Bosnian Muslims used to follow an elaborate protocol of things to be done beforehand, during and after the wedding. Most of this has been discarded and young people generally follow whatever is trendy, while avoiding such outright un-Islamic things as alcohol or inappropriate music. Car processions and wedding gifts are still a must. Reciprocal visits between the families before and after the wedding (the *prošnja*, *mijerdžije*, and *haljinače*) are reduced to one visit before and another after the event.

Unfortunately, not all marriages last. Some end in divorce, which is a singularly civil affair as there is no “Shari’ah divorce” in Bosnia. While Islam does allow divorce, no one seems to want to be there when the spouses need support. One in five Bosnian Muslims consider divorce morally wrong, while 60% say it is morally acceptable. This places them amongst the more liberal Muslim communities in the world. Bosnians still perceive divorce to be a great failure, however, especially for women.

1.6 Pilgrimage to Mecca (the Hajj)

The *Hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca is considered the peak of spiritual growth. A ritual four-day trip during the Feast of Sacrifice (*Eid al-Adha*), it comes 65 days after the end of Ramadan. It is mandatory at some point in their lives for both male and female Muslims with the financial means, in good health, and with safe passage to Mecca and back. Being a pilgrim (*hajji*) carries status, especially in rural areas. It used to be done later on in life, but now younger people go on it too. In the old days, men who had performed the *hajj* would wear a special *hajji* yellow turban. Some still do.

Nowadays, pilgrims from Bosnia travel to Mecca by air. Before the civil war in Syria, some went by bus (or less frequently by car) via Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria, and Jordan. In pre-modern times, the trip lasted a year and many never returned. Modern pilgrimage usually takes two weeks, preceded by months of preparation in rural areas, including visits by family, neighbours, and friends. Many *hajjis* write accounts of the transformative experience.

Visiting Mecca outside the day of *hajj* is called '*umra* and is known in Bosnia as the minor pilgrimage. It has become very popular lately, especially amongst those who have already performed the *hajj*. The *hajj* and the '*umra* are both organized exclusively by the Islamic Community. The annual *hajj* quota for Bosnia is around 2000 *hajjis*, but Bosnia has been sending fewer than that recently, due to the high costs of the pilgrimage and to emigration from Bosnia. Many Bosnian Muslims take the journey from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, USA, Slovenia, and Croatia. Since 1993, many have performed the *hajj* at the invitation of the Saudi authorities.

1.7 Death

All roads lead to death eventually. Dying as a Muslim is a major concern of every pious believer. It is a moment each one prepares for because it is followed by the Reckoning. Muslims believe our account is settled at death, except for our lasting good deeds and our good children, who outlive us and may pray for us. This Prophetic account has motivated many to lasting good deeds, like contributing to mosque building or providing running water (*česma*) for the community.

The family may try to ensure that a person dying at home or in the presence of family members does so in witness to God's oneness and the prophethood of Muhammad. This is not always possible. People may try to have somebody read the Qur'an or at least play a recording of the Qur'an next to the dying person, in the hope that this testimony of faith will inform his or her last words or thoughts. Imams are generally not invited to attend the final moment, whether at home or in hospital.

There are many popular customs around the funeral and they are constantly evolving, but the main ones are washing the body and burial in white robes, except for martyrs, who are buried in their uniforms. Funerals are usually carried out on the day after the person dies. In some cases, families may wait a couple of days for close relatives to come from abroad, as many Bosnians live and work in the diaspora. Longer postponements are not common. The body is often washed in a special facility by an imam and his assistant(s). Before the 1990s, bodies were washed in the courtyard of the deceased's home, again by the local imam or other trained person. Women are washed by women.

Traditionally, and still in rural areas, both the death and the timing of the funeral are announced by the muezzin making a call (*sala*) in Arabic to remind people to pray before they are prayed for. Muslims consider attendance at a funeral their final duty toward family members, friends, and acquaintances. Condolences to family and friends are expressed using the Turkish phrases "*Basin sagolsun!*" (*May your head be healthy!*), to which the reply is "*Dostum sagolsun!*" (*May my friend be sound!*), or Arabic or Bosnian phrases meaning "May God bless the departed and grant you patience!"

The funeral prayers are themselves short and take only a few minutes. There is no prohibition on women praying at the interment in Bosnia, but they tend not to do so, though they may gather to watch the ceremony. After the funeral prayers, the body is lowered into the ground at a local cemetery, never cremated. Graves tend to be dug manually. Once the body has been interred, a few short chapters of the Qur'an are read over the grave, and that is it. In rural areas, people often go back to the deceased's home to console the family and share in some food or coffee.

Over the weeks and months that follow, a number of popular customs come into play that differ from place to place. They often include recitation of the Qur'an in full (*hatma*), or just the 36th chapter (*Yasin*) and the chanting of God's name (*dhikr*, *tevhid*), before, during, and after the funeral, on the 7th and 40th days, and on the anniversary. Bosnian Muslims collectively remember their martyrs of the 1990s on the second day of Eid al-Fitr, i.e. the feast following Ramadan.

Erecting gravestones a year or so after burial is a long-standing Bosnian tradition. Stones and tombs are disapproved of by Salafi authorities, and most Bosnian Muslims try to strike a middle way between opulent tombs and none. Roma Muslims tend to go extravagant. Wreaths are avoided.

2. Daily Life: It is all about the prayers

Nothing defines the everyday life of religious Muslims so much as their standard or formal prayers (ar. *salah*), locally known by the Persian term *namaz*. They require preparation beforehand, and a place, and must be performed at a set time that keeps moving in accordance with the sun. Before the relatively recent wide availability of watches, the five daily prayers were used to organize the day, including meetings, as people would meet before or after prayers.

There are five mandatory daily prayers, each of different length. They can all be done comfortably in less than ten minutes but can also take longer if one wants, e.g., in order to read longer selections from the Qur'an. If one decides to recite the recommended sections too, as most traditional Muslims do, then a little more time will be needed. The first and shortest prayer is performed between dawn and sunrise (*sabah*, ar. *fajr*), or between 2:30 and 5:00 am in summer and 5:30 and 7:00 am in winter. The noon prayer (*podne*, ar. *zuhr*) is between noon and late afternoon: 1:00 to 5:00 pm in summer (daylight saving time) and 12:00 to 14:00 in winter. The late afternoon prayer (*ikindija*, ar. *asr*) is between 17:00 and 20:30 in summer and 14:00 and 16:00 in winter. The sunset prayer (*akšam*, ar. *maghrib*) is between sunset and total dark, which sets in from 90 to 120 minutes after sunset. Finally, it is time for evening prayers (*jacija*; ar. *isha*), which can be any time before dawn. In practice this means that there is always some prayer to be made, except between sunrise and noon. The annual prayer calendar of the Islamic Community (*Takvim*) is one of the highest circulation publications in the country (rivalled only by gambling bulletins today). Between the late 1980s and the emergence of smartphones, special computer watches (e.g. from *Asr* and *Casio*) for calculating prayer times anywhere in the world were sold in quantity.

Prayer times were traditionally announced by the *muezzin/muadhdhin's* call to prayer from the minaret but are now mostly played by him over loudspeakers at the mosque. The *adhan* verses mean: *God is the greatest/greater; I bear witness that there is no god but God; I bear witness that Muhammad is His Messenger; Hasten to prayer; Hasten to salvation; Prayer is better than sleep [in the morning]; God is the greatest/greater; There is no god but God.*

Several mosques in Bosnia, including the main Sarajevo or Bey's mosque, have resisted the introduction of modern technology and you can still see and hear the *muadhdhin* go around the minaret calling the faithful to joint prayer in the mosque by voice. The call to prayer is a collective and not an individual duty. Prayers are preceded by ablutions (per. *abdest*, ar. *wudu*) or a bath (when ritually required, e.g. after intercourse or, for women, their period). Ablutions mean washing one's hands, face, feet and passing a wet hand over the hair. It is

recommended that one carry out the mandatory prayers in community (i.e., at the mosque) but few do so, as will be seen in a moment. In fact, collective prayers have not been common practice for some time now, but those who do attend are considered better Muslims.

Generally speaking, the local congregation or *džemat* (ar. *jama'a*) plays an important role in the life of Bosnian Muslims. Formerly, it was the only regular outing people had and so a way of exchanging news and mobilizing for collective action, from repairing a local road to bringing running water. New information technologies have changed much, but these daily physical gatherings have not lost importance. If the number of people praying regularly in the mosque has not increased significantly since the 1980s, Friday prayer numbers have soared.

Mandatory prayers are to be performed under all imaginable conditions: at home, at work, in hospital, if necessary, but not by women during their period. Travelers can shorten their prayers and even combine them, so that the five prayers are done in three slots. Combining prayers while traveling is a relatively recent phenomenon and a result of foreign Islamic influence, which is generally considered to make things more difficult but here has simplified them.

A 2012 Pew Research Centre survey found 14% of Bosnian Muslims claimed to pray five times a day, while another 4% prayed several times a day. In the 2017 Pew survey (p. 71), 20% said they pray five times a day. This compares to 23% of Russian Muslims. Some imams think these figures are inflated. Only 30% attend weekly prayers at the mosque, compared to 44% in Turkey. Still, Bosnian Muslims are more observant than the country's Orthodox or Catholic populations.

Standardized or formal prayers are only one type of prayer. Informal prayers or "supplications" (*du'a*) also play an important role in Muslim life. They are rather more personal and can involve texts from the Qur'an, the Prophet, or one's own words. They may be whispered in Arabic or Bosnian on all sorts of occasions: on waking or going to sleep, eating, entering or leaving the toilet, embarking on a journey, putting on new clothes, feeling stressed or excited, essentially on any and every occasion. Since supplications are considered a kind of self-help, collections in Arabic or Bosnian are amongst the best-sellers on the religious book market. Reading or reciting the Qur'an is considered the best personal form of worship, after the mandatory prayers, with a recommended daily dose of 20 pages, which would allow one to finish the book in a month, but few manage to keep up that pace.

3. Weekly routine: Friday is the day

Friday is a special day for Muslims, especially from morning until after noon prayer, but it is not a sabbath or day of rest. According to the Qur'an (62:10): "When the prayer is finished, then disperse in search of bounty of God..." In some countries, the weekend is Friday and Saturday or even Thursday and Friday, but not in Bosnia. In Islamic tradition, Friday is said to be the best of days, but its practical significance is that communal noontime prayer that day is mandatory for all adult men, replacing their regular noon prayers. It consists of a sermon delivered by an imam, usually about 15 minutes long, and prayers. Overall, it takes about 40 minutes. It is often said that missing Friday prayers three times in a row without a religiously valid reason places one outside the fold of Islam. This makes Friday prayers a weekly litmus test of sincere belief.

Observant Bosnian Muslim working men can sometimes find it difficult to make it to the mosque. Many employers show understanding, but others do not. The Islamic Community has tried to secure the right of Muslims to an unpaid Friday prayer break, where feasible, but has so far failed to get the state to sign up to an agreement. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the matter has been resolved at least partially, as the Employment Law provides for an hour's unpaid break per week, which many use for this purpose. In Sarajevo, a few mosques offer delayed prayers to accommodate those who cannot get to mosque by noon. Those who can afford it often follow prayers with coffee or tea and commentary on the sermon (*hutba*). As in other religious traditions, some sermons are remembered and especially popular, while others are quickly forgotten. It depends on the preacher (*hatib*). No preacher pleases everyone.

Women are not obliged to but can attend Friday noon prayer and many have been doing so in Bosnian mosques since at least the 1980s. A major reason for them not attending today is space, as most mosques are packed out, leaving many to pray outside, which is particularly problematic on cold and rainy days.

Because of the significance of Friday, many people bathe the night before and read the Qur'an or say prayers for their dead. This is done the night before because in Islamic tradition, like in some others, the day starts at sunset. The clock on the Ottoman clock tower next to the Ghazi Husref Bey mosque in Sarajevo strikes twelve at sunset.

4. Monthly fasting

The Muslim calendar is lunar and uses the Muslim migration from Mecca to Medina (622 CE) as its year zero. That exodus is known by the Arabic name, *Hijra*, and the Muslim calendar is sometimes called the *Hijri* calendar. The lunar year is 354 days, with each month counting either 29 or 30 days. As a result, Muslim holidays arrive about ten days earlier every solar year of the common or CE calendar. There is no specific monthly routine for Muslims to observe, but some fast voluntarily during the three middle days of the month (14-16), as recommended by Prophetic tradition.

5. Annual events

Here we will discuss the richness of Muslim religious life during the holy month of Ramadan and other Muslim holidays, festivities, and significant dates.

5.1 Ramadan

The ninth month of the Muslim year is Ramadan, a period of intense worship, including fasting, reading the Qur'an, and extra prayers at night. Fasting is by far the most demanding of these experiences. Its purpose is to become conscious of God, avoid sin, experience one's dependency on God, and feel the plight of the needy. In practice, that means abstinence from food, drink, cigarettes, chewing gum, and sex from dawn to dusk. In June, it lasts over 18 hours in Bosnia and even longer in the northern countries of Europe. Travellers, the sick, children, and women on their period, and pregnant and nursing women, if feeling weak, are all exempt. All of them, except children and the chronically ill, are expected to make up for any missed days once conditions change.

Ramadan events start with the special Ramadan evening prayer (*Tarawih*, *teravija*), performed after the final mandatory prayer. It takes an average of 30 minutes. Bosnians are known for praying "fast". In some mosques, however, the prayer takes longer, because the imams read through the entire Qur'an while standing in prayer during Ramadan. That is not for everyone. Prior to the 1990s, Tarawih in Bosnia always involved 20 *rak'ah* or units of prayer, but creeping foreign influences mean some now do only 8 or 10.

Then there is the first breaking of the fast before fasting starts. Everything must be completed before dawn. Most follow that with morning prayers and

go to sleep. Hunger and thirst can prove difficult, especially for those who work hard, but lack of sleep can be equally exhausting. This does not prevent some from fasting even in coal mines or in the fields at work under the scorching summer sun, however. Many Muslim children start by fasting parts of the day and then for a few days, so that by the age of puberty they can fast all of Ramadan. According to the Pew 2012 survey, 75% Bosnian Muslims reported fasting during Ramadan, but this probably does not mean all of Ramadan, just a few days. In the 2017 Pew survey, the figure was down to 66%. The figures are 55% for Russia, 48% for Georgia, and 36% for Bulgaria.

Those who can afford to are expected to attend daytime prayers in the mosque frequently, as well as public recitation of the Qur'an (*muqabala*), or otherwise to recite it themselves. The *Muqabala* (or 'meeting') is a practice whereby practiced reciters of the Qur'an, often *hafizes* who know it by heart, read a section while facing their listeners in the mosque, with a view to completing the whole book during the month. *Muqabalas* generally take place after late afternoon prayers, but may in some mosques be after noon or even early morning prayers. Those who want to can practice their (Arabic) reading skills by following the recitation. Others just enjoy listening. Smartphones have reduced the significance of this today, compared to the days when hearing a first-class reciter of the Qur'an was an event. Before the 1990s, there were not enough *hafizes* in Sarajevo or indeed in Bosnia to participate in *muqabala*. The deficit was made up by reciters from the then Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, who were invited for Ramadan. As of early 2021, Bosnia had more than 500 people who know the Qur'an by heart, of whom at least 163 were women with their percentage going up. Exclusively female *muqabalas*, where reciters and listeners are all women, are increasingly common.

At the end of the day comes the breaking of the fast (*iftar*), which is announced by lighting candles on the minarets, the *adhan*, and often a cannonade from a nearby hill or fortress. *Iftar* is often a collective event, bringing together families, neighbours, and friends. In many places, bakeries prepare a special bread called *somun* or *pitica* just for Ramadan. The other Ramadan specialties include *topa*, which is melted cheese and butter for dipping the bread into.

The routine peaks on the 27th night, which is popularly known as the Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadr*) and which the Qur'an (97:3) says is equivalent to a thousand months. It is the night on which the Qur'an was revealed from the Mother Book to the heavens. According to Tradition, the exact timing is hidden from humans, but it is known to have been one of the odd nights of the last third of Ramadan. Many people spend the whole night praying and reading the Qur'an. Some also attend an extra prayer at the mosque, known as *qiyam al-layl*.

At the end of Ramadan, alms known as *sadaqat al-fitr* are given for every member of the household, worth a day's food, estimated at 4-10 Euro per person, depending on the donor's standard of living. Originally, this charity went to the poor, but since the 1960s the Islamic Community has maintained that it should go for the maintenance of faith-based educational establishments (madrastas and the faculties of Islamic studies). The decision was made at a time when the Socialist state took care of the poor, while at the same time doing all it could to impoverish the religious communities, including the Islamic one. Since the 1990s, the state has returned some nationalized property to the religious communities and provided for their educational institutions from the public budget, but social services have dwindled. Adjusting to these new circumstances, the Islamic Community now spends an increasing part of that money on charitable causes. Despite appeals from the Islamic Community, some Muslims still choose to distribute alms directly to the poor. The poor themselves, of course, are not required to fulfil this obligation.

Many Bosnian Muslims elect to meet another annual religious obligation during Ramadan, namely payment of the poor tax or *zakah*. Unlike the *sadaqat al-fitr*, *zakah* is paid on one's wealth. The details of how it is calculated are many, but as a rule of thumb: persons who can save more than 88 gr worth of gold (i.e., 4400 Euros in 2020) over a given lunar year should give away 2.5% of it. *Zakah* (5-10%) is paid on some items like agricultural produce at harvest time, if it exceeds a certain amount (653 kg). It is also paid on livestock, merchandise, rent, and mining, but not on investments or machinery. Collection is as for *sadaqat al-fitr*, but it is distributed to other categories than just the poor, including to those who collect it, for the freeing of slaves, for debt relief, helping travellers in need, etc. *Zakah* thus differs from voluntary charity or *sadaqah* and is one of the five pillars of Islam but is not currently as widely practiced in Bosnia as fasting. According to the Pew 2017 survey (p. 73), more Muslims reported giving *zakah* in Bosnia (72%) than in Georgia (61%), Russia (45%), or Bulgaria (26%). Based on figures collected by the Islamic Community, it is possible that some respondents have confused *Zakat al-Fitr* with *Zakah*.

The declared purpose of *zakah* is to purify property and souls. It helps purify the giver's soul of miserliness and the recipient's of envy. Boastfulness is condemned and secret giving preferred to public, unless the aim is to encourage others to give as well.

Ramadan is said to have a special charm in Sarajevo, especially during summertime, when the *somun* fills the streets with its smell and the cannon roar to announce the end of the day, the hafizes recite the Qur'an beautifully and people flock to the mosques to perform *tarawih*, outside under the sky. Unfortunately, accelerating migration and falling birth rates mean that fewer and fewer young people are now enjoying these late-night gatherings over a soft drink or tea or coffee (*omladinsko sijelo*) in Bosnian towns and villages.

5.2 Holidays

After these 29 or 30 days of intensive spiritual service, there is a holiday to mark the end of fasting (*bos. Bajram; tr. Bayram; ar. Eid al-Fitr* or the *Holiday of Breaking the Fast*). The three-day holiday is a celebration of having accomplished the task and so one of great joy and satisfaction. At a practical level, people prepare by cleaning their houses and neighbourhoods, buying new clothes, and paying special attention to personal hygiene.

Islamic books advise that everyone is to gather after sunrise in an open space designated for the purpose and for prayers after the two major holidays. It is called the *musalla* or place of prayer. In reality, only a few such places have been preserved and they are rarely used. In Sarajevo, there used to be one where the offices of the Bosnian presidency now are. Today, only the men go to the mosques, which are in any case too small to receive everyone who comes that morning. Almost all men and young boys do come, even if they are not regular at Friday prayers. Because of the space issue, it is now common to rent big sports halls in urban areas for the occasion. Since 1990, many TV stations, including the state broadcaster, carry the ceremony live from a mosque.

The Eid prayer is not particularly long or as strict a duty as the Friday prayer. It is performed 45 minutes after sunrise, but people start gathering in the mosque an hour and a half earlier for morning prayers and to reserve a place. While waiting in the mosque they listen to the imam reading from the Qur'an and/or preaching. After the prayer, there is a formal sermon, which closes the programme in the mosque. On leaving the mosque, some in rural areas express their joy by shooting a few rounds in the air, while others use pyrotechnics.

People greet each other with Turkish phrases, the first saying "*Bajram mubarek olsun!*" (May the holiday be blessed!) and the other replying "*Allah razi olsun!*" (May God be pleased!). Youngsters traditionally kiss the hands of their elders, but the custom is on the way out. Hands kissed or not, adults are then expected to give the children money, colloquially known as the *bajram banka*. In front of some mosques, one finds traditional sweet makers selling sweets, but they are not as popular with children today as in the past, when sweets were a rare commodity. Beggars, often Roma, are a regular sight at the gates to the mosque courtyards on this day. Aware that this is a holiday of joy, Balkan brass bands (*trubači*) from Serbia often also choose it to tour neighbourhoods, performing for tips.

Back at home, first come the holiday greetings and then a feast. Coffee may be served with baklava, a traditional sweet that most households prepare for Eid, before or after breakfast. People then visit family, friends and neighbours, bringing gifts. In some villages, they travel in groups, visiting each house for just a few minutes. This was much more elaborate before than it is today and left the

womenfolk little time to enjoy the holiday. Their time came the day after, which is still known as “the women’s feast” (*ženski bajram*). People also visit their family graves over the holiday, at different times in the various parts of the country. The graveyards are therefore cleaned up in the days before the holiday. Since the 1990s, the second day of Eid has been designated the Day of Martyrs, because the war in 1992 started more or less on the holiday.

The other holiday with roots in scripture is the *Feast of sacrifice* (bos. *Kurbanski bajram* or *Kurban-bajram*; ar. *Eid al-Adha*), also known as the *Hadžijski Bajram* or Pilgrim Festival because of two events that mark it, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and the sacrificial slaughter of animals. It takes place some 65 days after *Eid al-Fitr* and lasts four days. It is a kind of spiritual encounter with the Prophet Abraham/Ibrahim and his son Ismail/Ishmael who, Tradition tells us, was to be sacrificed but was replaced at the last moment by a ram. Those performing the *hajj* also take part in various activities said to have been initiated by Abraham and his family, while those staying at home focus on the sacrifice (tr. *kurban*; ar. *qurban* or *adha*).

Although the *kurban* is not an obligation of the highest order, most families do try to do it, whether alone by sacrificing a ram/sheep or by clubbing together with a group of up to seven people and offering a cow. These days the average cost of a *kurban* is around 200 Euro, or 40% of the average monthly salary. Previously, people would kill the animal themselves, but more recently the practice is to hire professionals, even if the act is still often performed outside slaughterhouses. In principle, the meat is then distributed to the poor, family, and neighbours, incl. non-Muslims.

5.3 Popular Holidays and Popular Religion

The two *bajram* or *eid* festivals are the only two universally celebrated Islamic holidays. There are other significant dates, however, which are popularly celebrated or marked in other ways.

Mawlid: The Prophet’s birthday

The birthday of the Prophet Muhammad (bos. *mevlud*; ar. *mawlid*) is perhaps the third most popular festival. Introduced sometime in the 10th century in Egypt by the Fatimid dynasty, it has since become popular in most Sunni societies, including Bosnia. Its major content is the recitation of poetry in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. The poetry is known by the same name of *mevlud* and is recited in Bosnian by men, women, and children. Its date shifts across the year, as the Prophet is said to have been born on the 12th of Rabi’ al-Awwal in 570 C.E., which it is difficult to fix in terms of the modern solar year. Some Turks set it in April anyway.

The main communal ceremony takes place at a local mosque. This is followed by a season of ‘mawlid’, with people inviting each other to attend recitations of the Qur’an, *dhikr*, and *mawlid* poetry at their houses. Some convene such gatherings on occasions unrelated to the religious calendar, around family occasions like moving house. The *mawlid* ceremony near the Sufi *tekke* at Blagaj and the source of the river Buna is special for taking place in early May (except when Ramadan falls then), as nature is waking up from its long winter sleep.

Two particularly popular *mawlid* poems are one written by Salih Gašević (d. 1899, Montenegro), or rather translated by him from the Ottoman Turkish *mawlid* of Sulayman Chelebi (d. 1429), and another by Rešad Kadić (d. 1988). They are not the only two mawlid, however, and Džemal Latić, an established poet and professor at the Faculty of Islamic Studies, has recently written his own.

We may now say a few words about religious songs and music (bos. *ilahije i kaside* ar. *anashid*), which are very popular in Bosnia. As most people are aware, there is debate over the permissibility of instrumental music or musical accompaniment in Islamic tradition. Most Bosnian Muslims do generally accept it as accompaniment to their traditional and religious songs, but they do not generally perform such music inside mosques, with the exception of a few traditional instruments, like a simple tambourine known as the *def* in Bosnian. Songs may be performed in various languages (Arabic, Turkish, Bosnian, Albanian, and recently English) by children, or by more professional singers and groups. It was the singing of one of these child choirs in the 1990s that inspired Cat Stevens (Yusuf Islam) to return to singing. Such songs can be part of any occasion and are regularly performed during *dhikr* sessions in Sufi lodges. The texts of some of them date from the early years of Islam (*Tala’u al-Badr alayna*), while others were written by local poets and contain very local motifs (*Gdje su Mekka i Medina - Where are Mecca and Medina; Šehidi - Martyrs, etc.*).

Ashura: The 10th day of Muharram

The 10th of Muharram, first month of the Muslim year, is significant for various reasons. Historically, it is said, *inter alia*, to be both the day Noah’s ark finally landed on dry land and the day the Israelites were saved from Egypt. It is a Bosnian Muslim custom to prepare a meal called *ašura* on that day, which, in Sarajevo, is a sweet dish of different types of raisin said to resemble the last meal Noah made using whatever was left on the ship. In memory of Moses’ flight from Pharaoh, Muslims fast on the Day of Ashura, as well as one day before or after it. There are no specific gatherings on this day in the Sunni world otherwise. Things are rather different for Shi’a Muslims, who commemorate the tragic death of the Prophet’s second grandson, Husayn, who was massacred on that day in 680 together with members of his family at Karbala in

Iraq. This day of ritual mourning marks a peak in the religious life of Shi'a communities but very little happens in Bosnia, where the occasion is marked by only some Sufis and a few Shi'a.

The Muslim New Year

Religiously of no significance, the Muslim New or *Hijri* Year is nonetheless marked by some, in emulation of the standard New Year of the CE calendar. It is a holiday for Muslims in Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (Mostar). Bosnia as a whole does not have a law on holidays or religious holidays as yet, though there is in fact consensus on religious holidays, just not on the secular ones (specifically those related to national history). There is general agreement that the members of each religious community get five days a year for religious holidays. In some of its proposals, the Islamic Community asked for both Eids, Mawlid, and the Muslim New Year, but the proposal finally settled on is for two days for each Eid and the fifth to be a matter of personal choice. Efforts to introduce a custom of distributing gifts packages to children (*paketići*), as is done at the CE New Year, have not gained steam.

The Blessed Nights

The four so-called blessed nights are also of significance, especially for popular religion. Those are: 1) the Night of the Prophet's conception (*Laylat al-Ragaib*), which falls on the first Thursday in the month of Rajab, 2) the Night of the Prophet's ascension to the Heavens (*Laylat al-Mi'raj*), on the 27th night of Rajab, 3) the 15th night of the month of Sha'ban (*Laylat al-bar'a*), when the start of Ramadan two weeks later is announced, 4) and the above-mentioned Night of Power at the end of Ramadan. The Night of the Battle of Badr (*Laylat al-Badr*) is not formally a blessed night but is regularly marked on the 17th night of Ramadan by a sermon or some event at the mosque. Before the 1990s, donations were collected for Bosnian Muslim congregations in the diaspora, which sounds strange today. The scriptural basis for the first three nights is disputed.

Dovišta: places of supplication

A pre-Islamic custom that has continued in the religious life of Bosnian Muslims is the practice of going out to nature and offering prayers in the open. The schedule follows the solar calendar, which is what suggests elements of syncretism and pre-Islamic origin. Muslims gather during the summer at several such locations to offer prayers. By far the most popular is Ajvatovica near Donji Vakuf in Central Bosnia,

followed by Karići near Vareš, Lastavica in Zenica, Djevojačka pećina (the Maiden's Cave) near Kladanj, and many more. Ajvatovica has the most elaborate story behind it, as well as a programme that includes a mounted parade in traditional dress. The story behind it is that a nearby settlement had no stream or running water and that a saint called Ajvaz-dede prayed for forty nights, causing the rock stemming the water to split.

6. Community Life and Leisure Time

Community life is still very strong among Bosnian Muslims, especially in rural areas. People meet for all sort of reasons: to help each other in the fields, to share the joys and pains of life, or just to pass the time. Bosnian coffee is central to such gatherings, which foster the relationships that keep people going without counselling or psychotherapy, despite all their hardship. Not that there are never quarrels or disputes between neighbours or family members, over inheritance or land boundaries or whatever. They do of course occur and sometimes end in tragedy.

Leisure and entertainment are serious issues for Muslims. Finding halal ways to spend free time is a major challenge today. Sports are one of the best options. Bosnians are particularly keen on football and basketball. Many like watching boxing and other combat sports, but their religious acceptability has been questioned. Sadly, many Bosnians, including many practicing Muslims, have fallen victim to the gambling that so often accompanies such competitions.

TV remains a major source of entertainment, especially for older people. Younger generations prefer the Internet, whose degree of penetration is very high, especially in Sarajevo Canton. Access is practically unlimited. Using it in a *halal* way is always a challenge. The same is true of summer holidays. The Adriatic is just a few hours drive away and so very inviting, but that is when the dilemmas over proper swimwear and sunbathing start. Some people just refuse to go, while others seek out isolated or secluded spots along the coast. Some compromise and chose a burkini or longer shorts, preferably on beaches with like-minded people. Some beaches in southern Montenegro and Tukey tried to meet the needs of such customers by creating enclosures for women to sunbathe.

7. Sensitive issues

Bosnian Muslims are seen as highly secularized and European, making them easier for other Europeans to socialize with. There are however some issues that religious

Muslims deeply care about and that should be approached with understanding, to avoid awkward, embarrassing, or potentially upsetting situations. Your Muslim colleagues and counterparts will appreciate your sensitivity.

First, do not schedule anything for Friday at noon when dealing with Muslim men. A 90-minute break will normally suffice, if there is a mosque nearby. The same goes for both Eid festivals. I have been invited to important conferences organised on Eid, when I would have preferred to be with my family, no matter how much I enjoyed the conference itself. Like Easter, the dates of these holidays are not fixed. They come ten days earlier every year, the dates are well known in advance, ever since the Bosnian Muslims opted for astronomical calculation as the basis for their religious calendar, rather than sighting of the moon. They can easily be checked using the Islamic Community website (www.islamskazajednica.ba).

If you are organizing a whole day event with observant Muslims who do not have a room of their own in the vicinity make sure to provide a place for quick prayers. A single square meter covered by a sheet or towel will do. This is especially important in winter, when prayer times are concentrated with daylight hours. Some Muslims may compromise and combine noon and afternoon prayers, but even then a 15 minute break between noon and 4pm is the minimum required. Otherwise, they are liable to feel bad over not meeting their obligations.

Gender relations are always best approached sensitively. Even within the same culture, we come across situations where we may not be sure of how to behave. With practicing Muslims there are two particularly sensitive situations: shaking hands and being alone in an enclosed space. Since not all Muslims take the same view on these issues, we offer some quick ideas. If you are a man dealing with Muslim women, simply let them take the initiative on shaking hands. If you are a woman, it is probably better to play safe and not extend your hand, as some people will definitely not shake it. It is better to avoid embarrassment for all involved. It is perfectly fine to ask and so show awareness of the issue. As for being alone, cars are a bit difficult to resolve, but if you have to receive a Muslim lady in your office, keep the door open. If it is a glass door, that may not be necessary.

Muslims should be fine using any of the standard greetings when interacting with non-Muslims. The typical Muslim greeting (*Al-Salamu Alaykum*) is meant for interaction with other Muslims. If a non-Muslim greets a Muslim with it, some are very appreciative and will respond in kind. Others stick to a literal meaning of the supposed Prophetic prohibition. The story goes that a non-Muslim in Medina passing a group of Muslims hailed them with *Al-Sammu Alaykum!* (Poison be on you!). The Muslims did not hear him correctly and responded with *salam* but were later told what had happened. The Prophet then instructed his companions that when greeted with “salam” by non-Muslims they should reply

with “*Wa Alaykum!*” (And upon you!) instead of *Wa Alaykum al-Salam* (Peace be on you too!). Most Bosnian Muslims do not know these details and will accept *salam* from a non-Muslim but do not expect it.

Holiday greetings for Christmas, Easter, and so forth can be something of a challenge for some Muslims. The reason is concern their greetings may be interpreted as approving of the related beliefs (the Trinity, the crucifixion of Jesus, and so on). Others separate the two. Differences in belief are considered well-established and greetings are there simply to show acceptance of the religious other as they are, while leaving final judgement to God, regardless of one’s conviction in one’s own truth. This is the position advocated by the *European Council of Research and Fatwa* and practiced by many Bosnian Islamic authorities. Some people prefer to compromise by using neutral phrases (e.g., Happy Holiday Season to cover Christmas and New Year), while others use wording that indicates a Muslim position regarding the occasion. For instance, Christmas greetings might contain the syntagm “Jesus, the son of Mary”. In any case, there is not much to be done about it. If you do not receive greetings from Muslims on these occasions, try to be understanding and move on. It is a matter of personal conscience.

Next are food and drinks. Again, not all observant Muslims take the same position on all issues of food and drink, but none will drink alcohol or eat pork. They will ask for *halal* (or *kosher*) food and drink, but definitions may differ as to what that implies. Some basic rules follow. To be on the safe side, do not put any alcohol in any food at all (or offer it as a gift). Alcohol on the table is fine with many, but some may request an alcohol-free table. If in doubt, ask. Alcohol-free beer is not alcohol. When Catholic and Muslim representatives met at the Vatican in 2008, there was a minor dispute over the dinner arrangements. When some of the Muslim participants learned there would be wine on the table, they objected. Their hosts felt they should be able to have it, as they were hosting the dinner. Eventually, it was agreed that the Muslim delegation would host an alcohol-free dinner instead. Such situations are not frequent but do happen.

Muslim legal schools differ on what qualifies as *halal* food. Pork and its derivatives never do. (I was once at a conference where a dish was marked *halal* in spite of the label stating that it contained pork). As to the question of how the animal was slaughtered, there are significant differences. Some people do not ask, so long as they can reasonably assume it to have been slaughtered by a Muslim, believing Christian, or Jew for non-ritual purposes. So *kosher* is perfectly fine. Others, however, prefer only certified *halal* meat products or none at all.

8. Finally, can you trust (Bosnian) Muslims?

Let us conclude this overview with something more profound. In dealing with Muslims, one may rest assured that, despite claims to the contrary, Muslims apply the same set of ethics in dealing with Muslims and non-Muslims. Under certain conditions, Shi'a Muslims are allowed to exercise dissimulation (*ketman* or *tuqyah*), but that is of no concern here, as there are very few Shi'a Muslims in Bosnia. Scholars of the Hanafi school, which is what Bosnian Muslims follow, hold the dignity (blood and honour) of Muslims and non-Muslims equally inviolable. For example, malicious gossip is forbidden against non-Muslims too. According to one Prophetic tradition, there are only three situations in which a Muslim may lie: war, in trying to reconcile people, and to one's spouse, if telling a trivial truth may cause an unnecessary quarrel!

What about those violent verses in the Qur'an? The unusual structure of the Qur'an can make it difficult to get to the bottom of the Muslim attitude to non-Muslims, but the following two verses put it in a nutshell: "Regarding those who have not fought you over faith or driven you from your homes, God does not forbid you deal kindly and justly with them. Allah loves those who are just. It is only those who have fought with you over religion and driven you from your homes or helped to drive you out that God forbids you to befriend. Any who do befriend them are themselves wrong-doers" (60: 8-9). So, as long as you are not harming Muslims in any of those ways, relax and enjoy your stay in Bosnia.

Further reading

a) English

Bringa, Tone, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Centre for Insight in Survey Research, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Attitudes on Violent Extremism and Foreign Influence, January 4 - February 3, 2017", https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/iri_bosnia_poll_february_2017.pdf (accessed April 5 2020)

Centre for Insight in Survey Research, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Understanding Perceptions of Violent Extremism and Foreign Influence, March 29, 2018 - April 12, 2018", https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/march_28-april_12_2018_bih_poll.pdf (accessed April 5 2020)

Duncan, Pamela, "Europeans greatly overestimate Muslim population, poll shows", *Guardian*, (Dec 13, 2016) <https://www.theguardian.com/society/datablog/2016/dec/13/europeans-massively-overestimate-muslim-population-poll-shows> (accessed 2 March 2021).

Flaskerud, Ingvild and Richard J. Natvig (eds.), *Muslim Pilgrimage in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Funk, Julianne. "Public expressions of Bosnian Muslim religiosity and lived faith: The cases of Friday prayer and hijab" in *The Revival of Islam in the Balkans*, Olivier Roy and Arolda Elbasani (eds.) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 204-221.

Henig, David. *Remaking Muslim Lives: Everyday Islam in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020).

Pew Research Center, "Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe", <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/05/10/religious-belief-and-national-belonging-in-central-and-eastern-europe/> (accessed Apr 5 2020)

Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society", <http://www.pewforum.org/Muslim/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society.aspx>, (accessed April 19 2020)

Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity", <https://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-executive-summary/> (accessed April 5 2020)

b) Bosnian

Aličić, Ahmed. „O bakanju kod muslimanskog ženskinja u Bosni“, *Novi Behar*, 13:19-20 (1939-1940), pp. 286-288.

Bahtić, Faik, „Ženidbeni običaji kod muslimana na selu“, *Novi Behar*, 12:20-21 (1938-1939), pp. 248-251.

Begović, Mehmed, *Šerijatsko bračno pravo* (Beograd: Geca, 1936).

Bešlić, Zufer, „Ezan i ikamet i njihova upotreba kod nadievanja imena“, *Glasnik IVZ-a*, 13:1-3 (1945), pp. 5-9.

Čelebi, Evlija, *Putopis: odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967).

- Duranović, Elvir, *Elementi staroslavenske tradicije u kulturi Bošnjaka* (Bugojno: Elvir Duranović, 2011).
- Durmišević, Enes, „Prestanak važenja šerijatskog prava kao pozitivnog prava 1945. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini“, *Glasnik Rijaseta IZ u BiH*, 69:11-12 (2007), pp. 1056-1072.
- Hadžimešić, Vedada, „Svadbene i njima prethodeći običaji muslimana u BiH“, *Preporod*, 19:12-19 (1988).
- Hangi, Antun, *Život i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo: Naklada Daniela A. Kajona, 1907).
- Kulinović, Muhamed Fejzi beg, „Muhamedanska ženidba u Bosni“ u *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (sv.IV), Antun Radić (ur). (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1899), pp. 127-131.
- Lisičić, Sulejman. *Savremena imena Bošnjaka, Hrvata i Srba* (Maglaj: JU Opća biblioteka, 2006).
- Ljevaković, Enes, “Pitanja i odgovori”, <https://static.islamskazajednica.ba/dini-islam/pitanja-i-odgovori>
- Mulahalilović, Enver, *Vjerski običaji Muslimana/Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2013).
- Mustafić, Ifet, „Šeri'atsko vjenčanje Nikah“, *Preporod*, 29:13-14/662-663 (1.7.1999), pp. 28-29.
- Omanić, Ajnija, Mevlida Serdarević i Hajrunisa Čubro, „Nadijevanje imena i promjene prakse u zajednici“, *Takvim za 2014* (Sarajevo: Rijaset IZ u BiH, 2013).
- Škaljić, Abdulah, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1966).
- Smajlović, Ismet, „O osobnim imenima slavenskog porijekla u bosanskohercegovačkih Muslimana“, *Filologija* 8 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1978), pp. 283-290.
- Sokolović, Sinanuddin, *Islamski propisi o čuvanju zdravlja, posjeti bolesnika i sahrani umrlih*, (Sarajevo: Sinanudin Sokolović, 1972), pp. 19-23.
- Zbirka propisa Islamske zajednice i državnih propisa koji se primjenjuju u radu Islamske zajednice* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo IZ u BiH..., 1982.)
- Žene i muškarci u Bosni i Hercegovini: tematski bilten* (Sarajevo: Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine, 2018).

Običaji bosanskih muslimana

Sažetak

U ovom radu se razmatraju određene značajne prakse i običaji preko kojih bosanski muslimani, kako kao pojedinci, tako i kolektivno, upravljaju glavnim događajima životnog ciklusa. Fokus je na onom što se često naziva *živom svakodnevnom religijom*, a ne na normativnim strukturama. Iako se u radu posmatraju muslimani i to kako oni žive svoju religiju, ne dovodeći u pitanje kako je ta praksa usklađena sa dogmatskim učenjima, svaka diskusija o takvim praksama će, prirodno, dotaći i etičke dileme sa kojima se, obavljajući ih, oni kao pojedinci suočavaju. Prakse su predstavljene sljedećim redom: (1) životni događaji, (2) svakodnevni život, (3) godišnji, mjesečni i sedmični događaji, (4) blagdani i (5) svakodnevni islamski moral. U radu se obrađuju osjetljiva pitanja koja se tiču interakcije sa muslimanima i, gdje je to prikladno, poredi se praksa bosanskih muslimana sa praksama njihovih sunarodnjaka nemuslimana i muslimana koji žive drugdje.

Ključne riječi: Bosna i Hercegovina, muslimani, vjerska praksa, običaji