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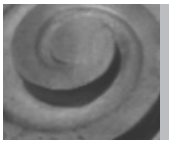

Ethnological, Teleological and Axiological Components of the Traditional Upbringing in the Early 20th Century in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is a country in South-eastern Europe with about 3.5 million inhabitants (2011) and slightly over 50,000 km². The time period we are dealing with in this paper (1908) is the beginning of the 20th century when B&H was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1878–1908–1918). According to the 1910 census, B&H had about 1.9 million inhabitants, a third of them were Muslims, and nearly a quarter Catholics (*W*). It was a time of industrialization and modernization on the social plan, the influence of the city population was rising, the working class started to appear, the number of educated people was on the increase. At the same time, however, there was still a feudal agrarian organization, the national tensions were intensifying, the emigration to overseas countries was extremely strong. There was a folkloristic and romantic mood in public life (*HE*, 1999–2009).

Nikola Buconjić (Neum Klek, 1865 – Sarajevo, 1947) was a poet, prose writer and ethnographer. Buconjić worked as a teacher and a school supervisor in several Bosnian-Herzegovinian places (Mostar, Bugojno, Doboj, Tuzla, Brčko, Travnik and finally in Sarajevo until 1925). From 1894 to 1944 he wrote and published children's and patriotic poems, stories, travel books, historical and ethnological descriptions, novels permeated by authentic Bosnian and Herzegovinian folklorism. He is an author of six books. While travelling the length and the breadth of the country of B&H for several years, Buconjić collected material for the book *The Life and Customs of Croat Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo, 1908, 124 p., 24 cm; reprint Matica Hrvatska, Mostar 1999). In the Preface (written in the town of Travnik around Christmas Day 1907) the author emphasized that the book had been written because of his love for the nation he had come from while seeing that many old customs were inevitably being forgotten. In the same preface he added that he hoped to keep some of the customs alive for his descendants. Buconjić learned about some practices from narrators (Šamac, Bihać, Livno, Duvno, Bihać,

Banjaluka and Prozor). He collected and edited the material in Brčko, a trading post through which people from different parts of B&H used to pass, so he had the opportunity to complete his records. He is well aware of the fact that Croats had been experiencing different social and historical circumstances, which in the case of B&H means, above all, the influence of a centuries-old Ottoman presence. This all resulted in different customs. Buconjić focuses on the general characteristics of the life and customs of Croat Catholics, and only incidentally the particularities of each region are mentioned. According to him, it can be concluded that what connects the Croats are not customs, but religion and language (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 4–6).

The book *The Life and Customs of Croat Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina* was printed in Sarajevo by Daniel A. Cayon printing house. In addition to *the Preface* and *the Introduction*, the book contains eight chapters with 125 pages in total. The first part ("House and Village") deals with the construction of the house, the beliefs and customs in this regard, the attitude towards the workers, the way the house is arranged, and what the people do to make life in the home happy. One-third of the book belongs to the most comprehensive chapter, "Life and Customs in General," where Buconjić presents folk customs through the rhythm of the seasons and church holidays. The chapter "Childbirth and Childhood" deals with pregnancy, childbirth and popular beliefs regarding it. This is followed by the chapters "Flirting and Cuddling (Dating)" and "Marriage Proposal & Wedding Ceremony", which make up a quarter of the book dealing with the prescribed relationships between boys and girls, explaining the role of parents and relatives, folk customs in the marriage proposal and in the wedding ceremony, as well as life immediately after the wedding. "Illness & Treatment of Illness" is a chapter in which Buconjić describes the attitudes of the people towards the problem of the disease and the patient, as well as folk remedies for various diseases given to children and the elderly. The chapter "Death and Burial" closes the life cycle by describing the attitudes of the people towards the dying people and the dead in general. The book ends with a short chapter entitled "Miscellaneous".

Antun Hangi (Petrinja, 1866 – Sarajevo, 1909), was an ethnographer and folklorist, teacher and school superintendent in Bijeljina, Maglaj, Livno Bihać, Banjaluka, and finally in Sarajevo. In addition to his teaching and educational activities, he had been researching the cultural traditions of the urban Muslim population in B&H (*HBL*, 2002). His book *The Life and Practices of Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina* has been published in several editions: the first edition in Mostar in 1900, German second edition in 1906 and the second edition in Croatian in 1907, and the third edition in Sarajevo in 1990. As the (first) Mostar edition had been completely sold out, Hangi decided to publish the second and significantly expanded (242 pages) and corrected edition with illustrations that was printed in the Sarajevo Daniel A. Kajon printing press. With the release of this second edition the author tried to react to criticism he had received after the first edition. He said

that the book was intended for brothers "across the River Sava, over the Dinara and Biokovo Mountain Ranges", i.e. for Croats, so that they could learn about the life and customs of Muslims as well as that people of these two faiths could both get to know each other and gain mutual trust and friendship. The second edition that we use here was published only two years before the author's death. It is the culmination of his twenty years of collecting the customs of Bosnian Muslims (H a n g i 1908, 3–4). The book consists of two parts. The first one is entitled "Life", where the author, on some hundred pages, gives a general description of everyday life of Muslims in B&H. The second part, entitled "Customs" is divided into seven equally long sections: I. Childbirth II. Childhood III. Dating IV. Marriage Proposal V. Wedding Ceremony VI. Husband and Wife and VII. Death.

This paper provides a comparison of what was written about the child in the Buconjić's and Hangi's books. The authors of the article also refer to some other books dealing with folk customs, such as: Ivan Alilović's *Croatian Folk Traditions in Herzegovina* (1977). While writing his own book, Alilović seems to have relied on Buconjić's book to some extent. Hence it is a testimony of a time that also changes folk customs. At the end of the paper there is a supplement with folk beliefs about pregnancy, pregnant women and children. Based on what has been written here, research has been conducted on today's beliefs related to the same topic.

Children are the Greatest Treasure

"To a B&H Croat all the children are dear, and he can never have enough of them, because children are dew to the sun. God, who creates them also cares for their lives" (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 57). Dealing with the same topic, Hangi gives examples of several folk songs where it is claimed that a woman who gives birth to many children is more valuable and dear to her husband: "For a Muslim person a marriage is a happy one, only if it has been blessed, i.e., if there are plenty of children." (H a n g i 1908, 106) Buconjić continues with an explanation that if there are no children in the early years of marriage, the mutual trust between husband and wife will be lost and perhaps even love: they tend to accuse and blame each other that it is the other person's fault that they do not have any children. This is the very reason why the barren woman prays all sorts of prayers, makes vows, gives alms so that God would listen to her prayers and give her children" (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 57). If a woman does not have children, according to Hangi (1908, 110), "she is advised to give alms to her poor neighbours for nine months. However, although all the children are dear to their parents, preference is given to male children, because family remains with them. And the husband likes more women who give birth to sons." Buconjić's book has a lengthy, decasyllabic, moving poem about a mother who has given birth to nine female children and who jumps into the river with the tenth, newly born girl (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 57–58). Among Muslims, there is also greater joy when a son is born, especially

if the first child is a son (H a n g i 1908, 106–108). It should be added that at the beginning of the previous century women in B&H used to give birth as long as they could, so having seven to ten children was almost a normal occurrence, and it was not uncommon for a woman to have even more children than that. However, the relatively high percentage of infant mortality at a young age should not be forgotten. It happened due to the lack of medical care and basic knowledge of hygiene as well as to general scarcity. More information about the causes of mortality in Mostar in the 20th century as they are described in church documents can be read elsewhere (T o m i ć 1999d).

When a Christian woman was in a blessed state, she wanted to hide it from other household members, with the exception of her husband. For this reason, she would wear some wider clothes. She would continue to work as she used to before, but avoiding any kind of very hard work, especially lifting heavy loads. When Alilović writes about this in the late 1970s, he is not as romanticized as Buconjić, and warns about the hard work of pregnant women in poor families whose children have experienced the full weight of burden of life as early as in their mother's womb (A l i l o v i ć 1977, 34). The book about Muslim customs does not leave an impression that a Muslim woman ever hides her pregnancy; on the contrary, the future mother is being pampered by everybody (H a n g i 1908, 106–108). Both authors, Buconjić and Hangi, give close to one hundred folk beliefs regarding the pregnancy and future happiness of mother and child, which were singled out by the authors of this article (T o m i ć and L e g a c) and they conducted a survey about them and their results are presented in this paper in the chapter on the research. Here, because of the lack of space, these popular beliefs have been dropped. The above mentioned author Alilović, after a time span of seventy years, finds only two beliefs in the Herzegovina's village: anyone who does not offer a pregnant woman a meal, will get a *stye* on the eye, that is, the mouse will bite his clothes, and speculations regarding whether the woman is carrying a male or a female child (A l i l o v i ć 1977, 34).

A Christian woman used to take care of the equipment for the new-born on time and would be helped in this by gifts from her mother, mother-in-law, sisters and others (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 59). During pregnancy, a Muslim woman would also prepare everything that was needed for a newborn baby, especially clothing and other supplies. When she suspected that she would give birth, she would not leave the house, and no one would come to her (H a n g i 1908, 110). Neither would a Christian woman that was about to give birth leave her home. She would only go to church for confession and communion. She would not be left alone at home. When she felt that labour would occur, she would usually secretly call an elderly woman, skilled at delivery, mother or mother-in-law (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 60). In the case of Muslim assistants at childbirth and the assistants that were supposed to take care of the child for the first days of life, this was the mother or her mother-in-law, or some relative from her family or from her husband's family. If they were

not able to be present for some reason, then this was done by her friend or in the last case, by some other woman. This woman would stay with the new mother for seven days (H a n g i 1908, 112).

Some Christian women used to deliver alone; they would take the baby, cut off the navel, bathe the child, put on its clothes, swaddle it and set it in bed. Some post-partum women did not even lie down in bed. It is because of such courage and strength of individual women that songs were written that used to be sung by the cradle to the babies, and Buconjić gives examples of such songs. The Catholic Christian woman would lie in bed at least for a week, and if there is a possibility even for a longer period of time. Surely, she had to be kept away from hard labour for forty days, and then she would go to church (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 60–61).

Buconjić gives several customs regarding the baby: when it is born, its navel is cut off, it is bathed, dried, wrapped and placed next to its mother. He emphasizes that the baby needs to be well dried, it is not good to put on its cap because its hair is still wet, it is not good to tie it too tightly with swaddles, as this impedes its normal development. Until the mother received milk, the baby was fed with butter mixed with sugar or fresh water, or they would find another woman to feed the baby with milk until its own mother was able to. If a new-born child was not healthy, then Christians used to *make a sign*, i.e. they would perform emergency baptism. And everybody was allowed to do it, even a heterodox person. And a healthy baby used to be taken to church for baptism as soon as possible. Before being taken to church for baptism the child had to be bathed and had to look nice. Most often it was carried to the local church by the woman who had helped at the delivery. During baptism the baby was held by godfather or godmother. The godfather had to pay the baptism fee and was supposed to give a gift to the priest, the child that had kept the candle during the baptism ceremony and to the woman that had brought the child to the church. The child was given gifts by the people that had come to congratulate, and the money was placed on the pillow by the child's head. After some time, the Christian mother would visit her mother-in-law with the child, if they did not live under the same roof. This was followed by a visit to her mother, then to her godmother, and the woman who helped give birth. These all were obligatory visits, visits to other people's homes were optional if possible (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 63). Alilović writes that being a godfather or godmother used to be regarded as something very important by its nature, as the greatest expression of friendship. However, in recent times it has been characterized not by friendship but by material interests (A l i l o v i ć 1977, 36).

Muslim parents used to organize a supper and used to give their child a name on the seventh evening after child's birth, most often it was the name of the father or mother, or from someone in the immediate family, or it was given according to the day and month when it was born. In that case they used to say that the child made a name for itself. If they could not agree, they called a *khwaja* who would write forty names on forty pieces of paper and then the paper with the child's name

used to be pulled out. On the seventh day after child's birth they put the child into the cradle. The very first time this had to be done by a strong and healthy relative so that the child might become strong and healthy too. An egg used to be put next to the child so that it might be full and round. It used to be believed that a child might die if the cradle is not covered when the child is not inside; it might also die if an empty cradle is swung. Forty days after the birth, the woman who gave birth to a child would visit her relatives and friends and give them presents. She would first visit the woman who had helped her during the delivery and then other people (H a n g i 1908, 117). Muslims had haircutting godfathers, circumcision godfathers, and wedding witnesses. Haircutting godfather was the person who had first cut the hairpin on the child's forehead. The circumcision godfather was the person that held the child in circumcision. Haircutting godfathers used to be appreciated very much. Members of these families were considered relatives and could not be married to each other, and women were not expected to cover their bodies in the presence of these godfathers if they were of Muslim faith. This kind of a godfather did not have to be Muslim. Hangi states that they used to strictly adhere to the custom that the haircutting godfather was the one who came out first in the morning when the baby was brought out for a haircut, and more recently, if the child was healthy, they would agree on when to bring the child out to the street, i.e. when the future godfather had to appear in the street (Ibid., 114–116). Most children were circumcised before they started attending school, always in the house where the child lived, and this was the biggest family ceremony and joy. The person who held the child at that ceremony was referred to as circumcision godfather (Ibid., 145–148).

Considering childcare, the authors recorded that it was bathed once or twice a day except on Sundays and church holidays. An egg was mixed into the warm water in order to soften the rash. The author gives very detailed advice on maintaining hygiene, washing the baby's swaddling garments and rags and the way they had to be dried. Both authors give examples of several lullabies. Buconjić mentions that it may happen that a child dies in the crib at night because it is too tightly wrapped or if too many blankets are placed on it (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 61–66). Hangi also notes that women sometimes tighten swaddles too much, leaving the child with red hoops on the head. It is mentioned that members of both religions used to cover babies in tight swaddles for at least a few months so that the baby would have straight legs and strong bones (H a n g i 1908, 110–111). When the child got stronger, they would put it in a stand so that it could learn to walk, and when it started to walk, everyone used to be happy. The mother would then bake a pie and mix some money into it and would give it to the members of the household (Ibid., 211).

Babies used to be fed exclusively with breast milk, and later they would start to give them other kinds of liquid food. On the third day of the third month, they would be put into a stand so that they could learn to walk. Thereby they would

be told different nursery rhyme and their examples are given by Buconjić. People would also teach them to clap their hands and to swing on their knees while being held on the lap. All these teaching actions were accompanied by appropriate nursery rhymes. According to Buconjić, it was impossible to predict exactly the day when the child would learn to walk, but he states that it would take shorter for the child to master it, if it was healthier and if it was less carried in arms. When they noticed that their baby's teeth would start sprouting, they would give it a bread crust (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 67–69). In Muslims, women from a rich house had servants, so they would take care of the baby (they would wash the baby, they would swaddle it, and would do other useful things) and mothers would breastfeed the babies, sing to them, kiss and coddle them. In poor homes, the woman takes care of the child on her own or is helped by her mother-in-law, her own mother or a friend for the first year. The baby always used to be breastfed by the mother, but if she was sick or if she died, then they would give it to some other woman to be breastfed, but it is emphasized that they were very careful about the nature of that woman and would very carefully choose the family to take the woman from. They made sure that she did not have a bad character, because they were afraid that the child could copy it from her (H a n g i 1908, 211–212). Men and women used to dine together in the *harem*, except when the husband had a guest. Then he would dine with him in a different room (Ibid., 204).

As far as dress is concerned, it is noted that male children wore a long shirt, panties, waistcoat and a fez until the age of five. Later a pair of trousers (čakšire), a belt and an overcoat were bought or made by a tailor. Children used to be mostly barefoot until the age of five or six if it was not cold. Female children also wore a shirt, waistcoat and a fez, but the shirt was more elegantly tailored than shirts that were worn by male children. Waistcoats also had a different pattern; they were not made of the same material. It was also made sure that they went well with the child. Female children's arms and neck were decorated with women's bracelets and necklaces (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 69–70). Starting from the age of two, Muslim children started to be dressed as adults. The author gives a detailed list of names of individual items of clothing and the price of each particular item. He also describes the clothes of female children. Jewellery used to be put on female children starting from the age of two or three (H a n g i 1908, 125–128). The author describes that it used to be a custom that male children's hair was dyed. This was more often done with female children's hair. Colours were applied to female children's nails and palms. They used to comb them on Mondays and Thursdays. They used to knit braids to female children, a male children's hair was let to fall down their shoulders (Ibid., 129–130). They used to oil children's hair with paraffin so that it would grow faster; they also used to add a reddish colour (henna). A male child's hair used to be cut for the first time when he was four years old (sometimes seven or even nine years old). It was always done on Thursdays or on Sundays after the full moon. When they had cut the child's hair, it was weighed, and then they would

distribute coins to poor people and their number was equal to the measurement of the weight of the child's hair. The barber received a special reward in addition to his ordinary wages. They would then put that hair in a ball and tuck it under the eaves (Ibid., 125–130).

When the schools began to open, parents would send their children to school to learn to read, write and count. They were sent to school when the children were between the age of eight or nine. Buconjić is not pleased that the people of B&H did not take care of the child's progress in school but left everything to the teacher. "After graduating from primary school, more affluent parents used to send their more gifted children to study at higher schools. They would give less gifted children to work in shops and to learn trades, and many children were taught a trade by their own fathers. The same things were done by poorer parents with their male children. If a boy continued with higher education, he developed into a fully mature young man and when he graduated, he could earn for his living. This was also the case with those who learned a craft or a trade. When a young man became capable of earning for his own living and was also able to support anyone else besides himself, then the boy was ready to get married" (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 69). When they started with learning a trade, they first helped with doing little things like making coffee. Buconjić says that in recent time younger people were becoming skilful merchants, and they were learning a lot about it in schools (Ibid., 43–44). Some aspects of the language of that time period in B&H are dealt with in Tomić (2019).

Muslims say that "childlike wit" lasts in women until the age of 12 and in men until the age of 15 (H a n g i 1908, 230). At the age of four of five, children used to be sent to a religious school (*mejtef*), where they would learn Arabic script and the truths of Islam. It was a great joy for the whole family, and it is described in great detail by Hangi. Gifted children used to manage to learn the whole of the prescribed syllabus in three to four years, average ones in five to six years, and less gifted children hardly managed to achieve that goal in ten years. Going to the *mejtef* was not a legal but a moral obligation. If a child continued with education after graduation from *mejtef*, he or she was sent to a public primary school or to a *medresa* (Ibid., 130–145). He also adds: "They did not beat female children as much as male ones, because they are girls and they are weaker and gentler than boys; it would be wrong to beat them. The reason why male children were treated so strictly was because as soon as they grew a little, they were no longer taken care of by their gentle mothers, but by their more serious and stricter fathers. They used to leave the raising of female children more to mothers, so that they could raise their daughters as they wished and as they thought it to be the best but the husbands had control over the wives and they made sure that mothers did not spoil their children too much" (Ibid., 138–139).

Some Catholics also used to send female children to school, but after school they would usually stay at home where they would learn from their mothers different

household chores, from cleaning to those concerned with food preparation, and then others such as: washing, weaving, tailoring, liming, grating and milking livestock (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 70).

For Catholics dinner used to be a daily event when the whole family came together. It was preceded by an evening family prayer that lasted 45 minutes to an hour. It was led by the head of the house. The prayers were said aloud and clearly so that they could be heard even outside. Prayer was an indispensable point of the evening. It was made sure that all the members of the household were present including the children. In fact, it was recommended to pray in front of the children even as they were very young: "No Croatian mother lets her children go to bed without praying a prayer, for everyone knows that the faith received from her mouth in a child's breast is a firm and unwavering spark that cannot be dimmed or extinguished by any gale or storm. That is the main reason why in Croatian Catholic families serious songs of pious content were born out of the tenderness of the mother's heart. Such songs were intended to make it easy for children to pray and remember their prayers" (Ibid., 19). Buconjić gives examples of some devout songs. During Lent and Easter Season prayers would be further enriched with special prayer songs (T o m i ć 1999b, 1999c). Prayer was related to fasting, and numerous vows were also associated with Saint Anthony of Padua (T o m i ć 2003b, 2001e). In Muslim families, children did not go to mosque but prayed at home together with women (H a n g i 1908, 17).

Catholic children were not allowed to sit with adults at the table, especially if the family had guests at dinner because they did not yet know how to properly behave at the table. Specifically, one of the basic rules when eating was that food should not be grabbed in front of another person (at the beginning of the 20th century everyone used to eat with wooden spoons or forks from the same bowl): "… children need to be taught first how they are supposed to behave in the company of older people when they sit down with them or eat or generally how to behave when dealing with adults. Respecting older people at all times is the most beautiful feature of the children and the best praise for their parents. Fruit-trees are known for their crops and parents are known for their children" (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 16). They used to put children to bed as soon as possible in order to avoid other members of the household being bored by children's crying or napping during the adult's dinner, especially when guests were present.

In Muslim homes, the husband receives his guests in a separate room and the wife receives her guests in her rooms. Hangi states that if the stranger was the host's good friend, then the host would let the children greet him: "Children come before you quietly and calmly, so when they come, they take you by the right hand, kiss your hand, and then they put it to the forehead. If you have asked them something, they will answer you nicely, and it will never happen that they push each other in front of you, or that they laugh or shout at you. If their father waves them a sign to leave, they will leave, as they came – quietly and calmly. If the

father allows the children to come out to you, you should give them money and toys, or any other thing, because, as we could see, giving gifts has gone into the blood of Muslims. And if a Muslim comes to the house of a 'Swabian', or to the house of a Bosnian of a different faith, where there are children, he never comes empty-handed; he will give gifts to your children, therefore you have to give gifts to his children so that you return love with love" (H a n g i 1908, 203).

It should be mentioned, without going into details, that Buconjić lists all the duties of children for all church holidays. Thus, he describes what a child does at Christmas (T o m i ć 1999a, 2001a), Easter (T o m i ć 2001d, 2002, 2003a), at carnival days (T o m i ć 2001b, 2001c) at funerals and on other occasions. Buconjić describes in great detail children's games and social games played by young people of the time. He also provides us with an overview of the most common diseases that children used to be infected with as well as traditional folk remedies (B u c o n j i ć 1008, 104–108). However, the national sentiment towards doctors was beautifully captured with this quote: "Thank God you Bosnian ladies know nothing else but to breastfeed your baby for three years and to call a doctor after a year of illness." (Ibid., 103) Muslims, at least as reported by Hangi, had even less confidence in the doctor and his medication.

Indisputableness of Adult Authority

According to Muslim law, a child belonged to the husband, and if, in the meantime, he divorced his wife, after the birth of the child he was allowed to take it and give it to another woman to feed it (H a n g i 1908, 178). They usually used to refer to any child as an orphan that had lost parents, regardless of the fact whether the inheritance of the child was large or small (Ibid., 206). If a woman became a widow, she remained with the children and rarely married a second time, and it used to be appreciated much (Ibid., 210). Widows among Catholics, and especially, if they had children, would very rarely get married for a second time (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 12). Stepmothers usually did not treat their stepchildren badly, if for no other reason than because they were her husband's children, and because people liked to see that they were treated nicely (H a n g i 1908, 215). Since their childhood Muslims used to be taught to respect their wives. In fact, they used to despise a person who did not care for his wife and children. Therefore, it was rare for anyone to act improperly, if for no other reason than because of the people from the surrounding area (Ibid., 207). "It is an especially great sin, if the son forgets it, and raises his hand on his father, and even more if he raises it on his mother." (Ibid., 216) In Muslims, a parent can punish children by leaving the property to a mosque or *waqf* (Ibid., 68).

In Catholics, at the time dealt with in this paper, children (at least in the countryside and the areas inhabited by Catholic population were predominantly rural) were born in large family cooperatives, averaging ten members, or as Buconjić puts it, counting 15, 20 and up to 60 members (B u c o n j i ć 1908, 11).

These family cooperatives were led by elders. They used to give commands to all members of the cooperative. They used to have the right to praise and warn even those children and young people that were not really their own children. Buconjić reports on the relationships between old and young people in the following way: "… [children] in the house they hear from others that after God in heaven one should listen most to the house elder. It is the duty of every young person to be helpful to older people when they come to the house, regardless of the fact whether they are male or female, relatives or not relatives. From this it can be seen immediately what kind of instruction the younger ones in the house receive regarding respect for older people. If they know how to respect the home elder, they will be able to respect all the other people as well, and if they cannot respect their own, they will particularly not be able to respect any foreign person." (Ibid., 12–13)

It is understandable that in such family communities everything was decided by older people (especially the host who was listened to and feared by everybody). However, older people were happy to listen to the opinion of younger people when it came to common good, like marriages for example and similar things. The younger ones were taught by the older ones so that when their time came, they would be ready to take over the household (Ibid., 11–13). Buconjić likes to point out that love, harmony and peace are the most important things in the house. According to him, it is inconceivable that someone does not listen to a person who is older, or that a younger person ever says "I will not" to an older person. "Without a pure body and soul, without a clean house and order, there is no peaceful life nor health. The soul is thus purified by confession and communion, the body by washing and bathing; the purity of the work depends on the purity of the soul, and the purity of the house on the housewife." (Ibid., 46) And the reasons why large families are divided into smaller ones are children, and, of course, because of marriages, because of lack of space and because of dissention.

Hangi repeatedly emphasizes that young people in Bosnia are very respectful of older people (H a n g i 1908, 216). When parents invite children or young people to come to their room to say something to them, they enter quietly, listen to what is being said and go away, turning their back to the door, because it would be shameful to turn one's back to older people (Ibid., 205). He also brings this observation: "As parents love their children, so do children love their parents. The son respects his father and mother more than anyone else in the world and seldom does it happen that a son acts against his father's wish or will. I will not even talk about the daughter, because her mother's wish is a command for her, and her father's will is holiness that cannot be touched or changed. The father has taught his son to be blindly obedient and submissive in early childhood and this remains in his heart even when he becomes a man and a husband. <…> However, we must not think that children listen to their parents, because they have been driven to death by punishment and beatings, but they love and respect them, because they were brought up well. The father loves his child and he loves him very much – so

that his head would become boiling hot, but he is not a woman so that his love goes into weakness and that he lets the child do what it wants. The father is serious about his children. The main thing is that he does not speak in the house or outside the house anything that might tempt the child. He leads his children by showing them a good example and wants his children to act and speak in the same way as he does. However, if a child does what is wrong, the father does not shout or curse, but calmly and seriously, as it is appropriate for a serious man warns, rebukes and instructs the child. Is it no wonder, then, that a child, while seeing him as a role model, not only loves him, but also trembles at the thought, that it might offend or hurt him?! Practice teaches us that children are more loving and respectful of their parents, if they have been brought up strictly than if they have left them to their will, and thus raised them to become strong lads and rogues. It happens though, that a grown-up son does not always listen to his father, that he does not obey him, or it can happen that the son confronts the father – is there a grain without bugs? – but the father will not relent, he will punish the son to show him that he can be not only a good and gentle father, but also a strict master. And Sharia gives the father the right to punish the disobedient son. He can drive him out of the house, and he can disinherit him." (Ibid., 215)

Research on the Familiarity of Young People in Croatia with Popular Beliefs Mentioned in the Two Analyzed Books

At the beginning of March 2019, the authors of this paper conducted a research study for the purpose of the presentation of this paper at the conference in Siauliai. The aim of the research was to get an insight into the familiarity of today's young people in Croatia with the beliefs mentioned in the analyzed Buconjić's and Hangi's books. The participants were female 2nd year students of the 5-year integrated master's degree course (N = 58) at the Department in Čakovec – Faculty of Teacher Education of the University of Zagreb, studying to become primary school teachers. At the time of the survey they were all aged 19 or 20. The authors used a self-constructed questionnaire were they presented the participants in the research study with 92 national beliefs about pregnancy, childbirth and child, which are found in Buconjić and Hangi's book (the beliefs are not stated in this article due to lack of space; for the same reason only the most significant research results are given). Respondents offered an average of seven responses each. In doing so, they were more likely to recognize beliefs from Buconjić than from Hangi's book, which was in accordance with the authors' starting hypotheses. This can be justified because these beliefs are culturally closer to Croats living in Croatia. When asked about the origins of these beliefs, they answered that they heard it primarily from their grandmothers, then their mothers, aunts or sisters, and in rare cases they heard it while listening to women's conversations. Only one participant mentioned that she had heard about one of the beliefs on television. Most respondents verified beliefs regarding the appearance and nature of the child.

Thus, almost a third of them (20) have heard that a baby will not have large and limp ears if his mother tightens its ears while it is an infant. This was followed by the recognition of the following beliefs: the child will be jolly fellow if it has rolled over a lot in her mother's abdomen (recognized by 17 participants), the child will resemble the parents in the sense of: a cheerful father – a cheerful child (recognized by 15 participants), and the general belief that the child may resemble a father or mother, relatives, but also godparents (recognized by 12 participants). Respondents in this study have also heard that the nature of the child may also be influenced by the woman who first breastfed the child (recognized by 9 participants). Another group of beliefs in which the respondents' answers were particularly productive were those concerning the pregnant woman herself. Thus, 19 participants heard that if a pregnant woman desires something and touches her own face or abdomen, there will remain a stain or a mole on the child's body, even when she has secretly eaten and touched her belly (recognized by 8 respondents), or if the pregnant woman is denied food she will later want that food (recognized by 11 respondents). 17 participants in the study have heard that whoever does not share the last bite of food with the pregnant woman will get a *stye* on his eye. 19 participants in this study have heard that the same *stye* may occur also if a person makes a pregnant woman angry or slanders her. In addition, respondents have noted that they heard that the shape of the child's gender could be determined by the shape of the pregnant woman's stomach (recognized by 13 respondents). As it can be seen from the results, the familiarity of the students in this sample was low.

Conclusion

Buconjić and Hangi published at the same time two books that are very similar in concept. The former has written his work so that the customs would not be forgotten, and the latter has written his book for Croats in Croatia so that they might get to know the life of Muslims across the border. They are both teachers, so their works also have some pedagogical function. Although written in a distinctly romantic style, these books are also moral manuals, an etiquette of the time in which they were made, records that place the desirable rather than the real state of the people in the foreground.

Both authors were more concerned with the customs of the urban than the rural population, while the population in B&H, especially the Catholic one, were predominantly rural at the beginning of the last century. Buconjić focuses on the habits of the middle-class, seemingly urban and commercial strata of the Catholic population, while Hangi describes in detail the life of an aristocratic and wealthier Muslim population. Buconjić was more concerned with the customs in Bosnia than in Herzegovina, as it is evident from his list of narrators, as well as Hangi, who also prefers the characteristic features of Bosnia rather than Herzegovina. Buconjić elaborates more on the rhythm of the holidays and the role of children in them, children's and social games, folk medicine for children and adults, while folk beliefs are more prevalent in Hangi. Therefore, despite the existence of religious

and magical elements in Buconjić (M a r k e š i ć 2011), one cannot speak of their predominance in the exposed material.

When comparing the customs of the Catholic and Muslim population, similarities and differences can be observed. Similarities arise from the environment and the given conditions of life (birth, life and dying, climate, etc.), while the differences are obvious in the habits derived from religion and inherited socio-political relations. In both groups, one can sense a great love for the child, especially the male one, but also for the female one in a special way. There is a strong desire to protect the child from illness and accident, both before and after birth. Hence, many, from today's point of view, absurd actions are taken, which give the parent some assurance that he has taken all he knew and could do to help the child survive, grow up and be happy. There are some common fundamental elements that are the fruits of the experience regarding childcare (feeding and hygiene) as well as the practices related to maternity seven and forty days. At the forefront in the upbringing is the family in which the child is born and raised. Out of one's belonging to someone or something authority is developed towards the elderly, both by status and by age, especially parents and cooperative elders. Conspicuous differences are those that stem from very different religions that each in its own way influenced customs, rhythm of work and festivities. Thus, otherwise general phenomena such as birth, growing up and dying took on very different colours.

The results of the research study conducted for the purpose of this article have shown low familiarity of today's young generation with the popular beliefs from Buconjić's and Hangi's books.

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Draženko Tomičius, Vladimiras Legacas

Etnologiniai, teleologiniai ir aksiologiniai tradicinio švietimo komponentai XX a. pradžioje Bosnijoje ir Hercegovinoje

S a n t r a u k a

Pagrindinės sąvokos*: švietimas, autoritetas, švietimo teleologija ir aksiologija.*

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamos ir lyginamos dvi knygos. Pirmosios knygos *Katalikų tikėjimo kroatų gyvenimas ir praktika Bosnijoje ir Hercegovinoje* (Sarajevas, 1908) autorius yra poetas, prozininkas ir etnografas Nikolas Buconjićius (1865–1947). Antrąją knygą *Musulmonų gyvenimas ir praktika Bosnijoje ir Hercegovinoje* (Sarajevas, 1907, 2-asis leidimas) parašė etnografas ir tautosakininkas Antunas Hangijas (1866–1909). Abu rašytojai dirbo mokytojais. Knygos apžvelgė XX a. pradžios vaikų ugdymo metodus, teologiją ir aksiologiją viename Bosnijos ir Hercegovinos regione. Pastebėta, kad vaikų auginimas buvo grindžiamas pagarba šeimai ir hierarchijai, nors daugiausia dėmesio šeimoje buvo skiriama vaikui. Kita vertus, autoritetas šeimoje rėmėsi teise naudotis materialinėmis gėrybėmis, be to, jį dar labiau stiprino tradicijos, socialinė sistema ir religija. Ugdymo proceso įgyvendinimas (metodika) pasižymėjo minimaliomis švietimo ir medicinos paslaugomis. Vaikų mirštamumo procentas tuo metu buvo didelis. Remiantis tradiciniu ugdymo modeliu buvo manoma, kad nesubrendusiam asmeniui reikia leisti elgtis taip, kaip sako socialinės elgse-

nos normos, pagrįstos autoriteto pagarba (teleologija), laikantis principo, kad vaikui ir leidžiama, ir draudžiama. Autoritetais laikytini tėvai, mokytojai, valstybė, Bažnyčia. Tobulėjant gamybos priemonėms ir kylant raštingumo bei išsilavinimo lygiui, būdavo sudaromos sąlygos vaiką ugdyti kaip savarankišką ir sąmoningą asmenį, atsakingą visuomenės narį.

Draženko Tomić, Vladimir Legac

Ethnological, Teleological and Axiological Components of the Traditional Upbringing in the Early 20th Century in Bosnia and Herzegovina

S u m m a r y

Keywords*: education*, *authority*, *educational teleology and axiology.*

This paper looks at and compares two books. The first is entitled "The Life and Practices of Croats of Catholic Faith in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Sarajevo, 1908) and was written by Nikola Buconjić (1865–1947), a poet, prose writer and ethnographer. The title of the second one is "Muslim Life and Practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Sarajevo, 1907, 2nd ed.). It was written by Antuna Hangija (1866–1909), an ethnographer and folklorist. Both writers worked as teachers. The books served to look at the foundations, methodologies, teleology and axiology of the process of raising children at the beginning of the 20th century in one part of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population. It has been noted that the process of raising children is based on respect for authority and family hierarchy focusing on the child at the end of that process. The authority, on the other hand, builds its foundation on the right to have access to material goods and is further reinforced by tradition, social system and religion. Implementation (methodology) of the educational process is marked by minimal technical, educational and medical conditions, with a high percentage of child mortality. According to the traditional pattern of education, it was considered that it was necessary to allow an immature individual to adopt a form of socially acceptable behaviour based on respect for authority (teleology) according to the principle: the child is allowed – the child is forbidden. The relevant authorities are parents, followed by teachers or the state, and the church. With the development of the means of production and the raising of the level of literacy and schooling, the conditions can be reached for the child to be raised as an independent and self-aware individual and a responsible member of society. The results of the research study conducted for the purpose of this article have shown low familiarity of today's young generation with the popular beliefs from Buconjić's and Hangi's books.

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