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## **The ethnopedagogical and culturological dimensions of the traditional rural Bosnian family**

Etnopedagogiczne i kulturologiczne wymiary tradycyjnej  
rodziny bośniackiej

### **Abstract**

The results of field research which was conducted in several villages in North-East Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented in this article. The aim of the research is related to understanding the culturological processes and dynamics in the organization of marital life and the structure of family life in rural Bosnia in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The results are the presentation of the organisation of family life in extended (multi-generational) and nuclear families. The structure and dynamics of intra-family culture, the work and the sharing of work obligations/chores of family members, the house decorations, the traditional folk costumes and footwear, the healthcare and treatment of family members, the nutritional culture, the role of traditional folk beliefs and religion in family life, as well as the distortion of intra-marital and intra-family life, are described. The claim that the culturological organisation of family life arises from the everyday life of a concrete community, and that it includes the life cycle from birth until death, is the main conclusion. In the process, a specific ethnopedagogical activity is inherent for various life situations; thereby, a functional connection is being achieved between the individual and the community. All the components of the traditional, rural

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Bosnian culture, such as work, habitation, nutrition, clothing and decoration, and especially folklore and folk creativity in all its forms, have a primary role.

**Keywords:** ethnopedagogy, culturological determinants, traditional family, rural community, Tuzla region, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Streszczenie

W artykule zaprezentowano wyniki badań terenowych, przeprowadzonych w kilku wsiach w północno-wschodniej Bośni i Hercegowinie. Cel badań związany jest ze zrozumieniem kulturologicznych procesów i dynamiki organizacji życia rodzinnego w wiejskich rodzinach bośniackich, w pierwszej połowie XX wieku. W wynikach zaprezentowano organizację rodzin poszerzonych (wielopokoleniowych) i rodzin dwupokoleniowych. Struktura i dynamika kultury wewnątrz rodziny, praca i podział obowiązków, dekoracje domów, tradycyjne stroje i obuwie ludowe, opieka medyczna nad członkami rodziny, kultura odżywiania się, rola tradycyjnych wierzeń ludowych i religii w życiu rodziny, jak również naruszenia życia wewnątrzrodzinnego i wewnątrzmałżeńskiego opisane są w artykule. Głównym wnioskiem jest stwierdzenie że kulturologiczna organizacja rodziny bierze się z codziennego życia konkretnej społeczności i zawiera w sobie cykl życia od urodzin aż do śmierci. W czasie tego procesu pojawiają się specyficzne działania etnopedagogiczne w różnych sytuacjach życiowych, dlatego też osiąga się związek funkcjonalny między jednostką a społecznością. Wszystkie elementy tradycyjnej wiejskiej kultury bośniackiej, takie jak praca, odżywianie, ubrania, dekoracje, a w szczególności folklor i twórczość ludowa, mają wiodącą rolę.

**Słowa kluczowe:** etnopedagogika, determinanty kulturowe, tradycyjna rodzina, region Tuzla, Bośnia i Hercegowina.

### Introduction

The contemporary Bosnian family has gone through numerous changes typical for the so-called transitional and post-conflict society. During these transformations, the Bosnian family has largely lost its traditional characteristics. For this reason, some basic ethnopedagogical and culturological determinants of the organization of marital and family life in a traditional rural Bosnian family that existed until the end of 1970's will be presented.

This review represents the results of the ethnopedagogic research conducted in the Tuzla region in north-east Bosnia. The research encompassed villages where members of the three largest ethnic and religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina live, i.e. Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Cath-

lics)<sup>1</sup>. In the field research, the research interest was directed towards the most important aspects of growing-up and upbringing, as well as of the organization of family and marital life in a rural society and within the framework of a traditional Bosnian culture<sup>2</sup>. The aim of such an approach is to gain insight into the significant ethnopedagogical and cultural processes and dynamisms of family culture modified in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and partially lost. The reason why the research is aimed towards a smaller, spatially and culturally homogenous group (a group of villages) is the effort to record a large number of source data related to the research problem<sup>3</sup>. Since the environment in which the study is conducted consists of several villages with populations of different ethnic and religious affiliations, the organization of marital and family life is analyzed in the context of the acculturation process. In this regard, in addition to consideration of the most important elements of family organization within different ethnic and religious groups, the interaction among the different religious and cultural teachings, customs, habits and norms that exist in a common framework of a traditional Bosnian culture (Bosnian syncretism) is also studied. This approach determines the methodological framework of the study<sup>4</sup>.

## Methodology

In terms of methodology, the approach to the problem of the research is qualitative. In accordance with the previously mentioned intentions of the research, the following methods were used: content analysis and case study method with the elements of field method for the study of culture<sup>5</sup>. Techniques and procedures used in the research were the following: documentation analysis, qualitative in-depth interviews, and the instruments that were used were record

<sup>1</sup> For more information on this, see: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije* [*The Basics of Ethnopedagogy*], Dobra knjiga & CNS, Sarajevo 2012.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on this see: A. Tufekčić, *Etnopedagoški prikaz tradicijskih dječijih igara s Majevice* [*The Ethnopedagogical Review of Traditional Children's Games from Majevice*], "Školski vjesnik", Split 2009, vol. 59, no. 2, pp. 223–240; Idem, *Radni odgoj u tradicijskoj kulturi* [*Labour Education in Traditional Culture*], "Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne", Tuzla 2009, no. 2, pp. 77–85; Idem, *Etnopedagoške odrednice očuvanja dječijeg zdravlja u tradicionalnoj kulturi* [*The Ethnopedagogical Determinants of Children's Health Care in Traditional Culture*], "Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne", Tuzla 2010, no. 1, pp. 102–111; Idem, *Osnove etnopedagogije* [*The Basics of Ethnopedagogy*], Sarajevo 2012; Idem, *Religijski odgoj djece u tradicijskoj kulturi* [*Religious Education of Children in a Traditional Culture*], "Školski vjesnik", Split 2013, vol. 62, no. 1, pp. 27–42; Idem, *Growing up and Upbringing in a Traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian Family*, "Wychowanie w Rodzinie", vol. IX, (1/2014), pp. 63–91, doi: 10.23734/www20141.063.091.

<sup>3</sup> For more information, see the works listed in the previous footnote 3.

<sup>4</sup> Also, for more information, see the works listed in the previous footnote 3.

<sup>5</sup> D. Krech, R.S. Crutchfield, E.L. Ballachey, *Individual in Society-A Textbook of Social Psychology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, NY 1962. Furthermore, see also the aforementioned sources listed in the footnote 3.

files for content analysis and the interview protocol. This means that relevant data were collected through the content analysis of relevant documents, folklore, costumes, different items (tools and household items), and through conducting interviews, i.e. in direct contact with respondents. This method of data collection was necessary due to the nature of the facts that needed to be collected; these were data related to the private life of the respondents, their personal habits and characteristics, facts of their family life as well as their opinions and beliefs<sup>6</sup>. In all of this not only the data related to the life history of individuals were collected, but also data related to social processes. In this way, we have tried to establish how the individual lifestyles of the respondents are linked to the occurrence which is being studied. “Even though many of the apparent group traits can be approached through combining individual data, they may also be approached through an organized framework emphasizing the characteristics of the group, or process, or social structure as a whole”<sup>7</sup>. Conducting the interviews entailed the application of individual and group interviews. The individual interview was used when interviewing only one respondent and when personal and intimate information was being collected, as well as when the accuracy of certain information in a variety of informants was being checked. The group interview included more than one respondent. It was used in a situation when it came to data that were not of a personal nature, but rather referred to the situation and processes in the social community. During the interviews, ethical aspects pertaining to qualitative research, preparations for the interview process, methods for starting the interview, the duration of the interview, respect and sensitivity to respondents were taken into account<sup>8</sup>. Small talk was mostly used in the interview because it allowed for a more comfortable contact with the respondents. During the interview, some parts of the answers were recorded in a situation where it did not interfere with the course of the interview, while other parts of the response were recorded after each individual interview. When possible, photos and video camera recordings were made in situations where it did not affect the interviewees, methodological “purity”, and the course of interview<sup>9</sup>. Participants of the research, i.e. interviewees, were men and women from these villages who were born before 1940.

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<sup>6</sup> C.V. Good, D.E. Scates, *Methods of Research: Educational, Psychological, Sociological*, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc, New York 1954. Furthermore, see also the aforementioned sources as in footnote 3.

<sup>7</sup> W.J. Goode, P.K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., New York – Toronto – London 1952, pp. 338–339.

<sup>8</sup> C.V. Good, D.E. Scates, *Methods of Research...*, op. cit.; S. Đurić, *Fokus grupni intervju [Focus-group interview]*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2007. Furthermore, see also the aforementioned sources as in footnote 3.

<sup>9</sup> See the works listed in the footnote 3.

## Results

### Organization of marital and family life in extended families

A young couple, after marriage<sup>10</sup>, mainly lived in the house of husband's parents together with other married or unmarried brothers and sisters, and sometimes other relatives. These were extended, i.e. numerous and multigenerational families, and that extension (complexity) of the family was the major determinant of inter-family dynamics, interpersonal interaction, and inter-generational relations, and it certainly had a special role in the process of socialization and enculturation, not only for children but also for adults. This means that, in a certain way, a young couple became a subsystem of a larger family system, until *dijeljene od oca*<sup>11</sup> (the separation from the father) would occur i.e. they would form their own households.



**Illustration 1.** An extended (complex) family<sup>12</sup>. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracija 1.** Rodzina poszerzona (złożona). Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

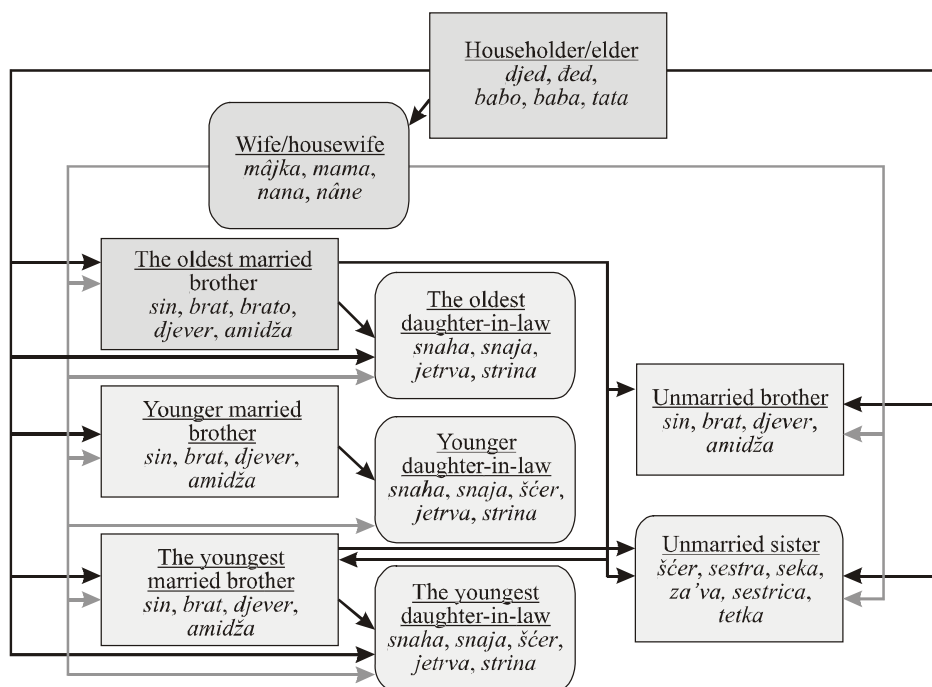
In the family hierarchy (see Scheme 1.) *starješina* (the elder) or *domaćin* (the householder) who obtained the highest position had been a grandfather or

<sup>10</sup> For understanding of some specific marriage customs in Bosnia (e.g. the elopement of girl) it is very inspiring and useful to consider the following book: K. Doubt, *Through the Window – Kinship and Elopement in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Central European University Press, Budapest – New York 2014.

<sup>11</sup> The original Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian folk phrases are italicized and they are translated, explained, or partly explained in English (in brackets).

<sup>12</sup> All photographs presented in this article were collected by the author during his field research. Some of them (numbered as 1, 2, 3 c and d, 9, 10 and 12) were also published in the monograph A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije [The Basics of Ethnopedagogy]*, Dobra Knjiga, CNS, Sarajevo 2012, pp. 308, 304, 337, 334, 358, 334.

father, depending on whether the common family was three-generational or two-generational.



**Scheme 1.** The hierarchy of interpersonal relations in an extended (complex) family. Source: the author's own scheme.

**Schemat 1.** Hierarchia relacji interpersonalnych w rodzinie poszerzonej (złożonej) Źródło: Schemat autora.

Other family members addressed him as *babo* (dad, Muslim population) or *tata* (dad, Orthodox and Catholic population), and sometimes *djed* (grandfather) or *ded* (granddad). *Starješina* (the elder) took care about the whole life of his family, and as the housefather was a kind of its representative in relations with the various factors of the social environment (neighbourhood, religious organizations, and state institutions). A special function of *starješina* (the elder) was to direct others to work, to distribute and schedule their chores and obligations, which were of existential importance for every family. He also took care of *zirat* (land holdings), money, important documents, purchase and sale of land and *mal* (livestock), as well as the procurement of everything *što se nije moglo proizvest, što se moralo kupit u dućanu* (that could not be produced, and which had to be bought in a store). At home, *starješina* (the elder) sat *u pročelju* (at the most prominent place in a room), and during meal time, he broke and shared the bread and led the prayer.



**Illustration 2.** *Domaćin* (householder/elder) and *domaćica* (housewife): muslims (a), catholics (b), orthodox (c). Source: The photographs was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 2.** *Domaćin* (pan domu/starszy) i *domaćica* (pani domu): muzułmanie (a), katolicy (b), prawosławni (c). Źródło: Zdjęcia wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

If *starješina* (the elder) was absent, his family was led by his wife – *domaćica* (a housewife). She was addressed as *mâjka* (mother) (Orthodox and Catholic population) and *mama* (mom), *nâne* (nana), *nana* (nana) (Muslim population).



**Illustration 3.** *Domaćica* (housewife): muslims (a, b), orthodox (c), catholics (d). Source: The photographs was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 3.** *Domaćica* (pani domu): muzułmanie (a, b), prawosławni (c), katolicy (d). Źródło: Zdjęcia wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

So, *domaćica* (a housewife) was in charge of everyday functioning of a family (scheduling house chores and giving obligations *snahama/snajama* (to daughters-in-law), taking care of food and its preservation. Usually, the key that was used to open a box or rooms where the food was kept “represented” her. This meant that she solely decided what and how much money would be spent for preparing everyday meals, as well as the meals that were prepared for

*poslanike na njivama* (field workers) or for holidays. The next place in hierarchy was held by the oldest married son – *djever* (a husband's brother, brother-in-law), who was addressed as *brato* (brother) by adults, *djevere* (brother-in-law), or by his name, and children belonging to all three ethnic groups addressed him as *amidža* (uncle, a father's brother). In case there was no father in the family, the oldest married brother would, together with his mother, assume the role of *starješina* (the elder) and *domaćina* (the householder). His wife – *najstarija snaha/snaja* (the eldest daughter-in-law), would after the death of her *svekrve* (mother-in-law) assume the role of *domaćice* (a housewife). *Snahe/snaje* (daughters-in-law) would address each other by their names, and they were *jetrve* (sisters-in-law). Adult family members would address them as *snaho/snajo/ćeri* (daughter-in-law/sister-in-law), and children would address them as *strina* (aunt-a wife of the father's brother).



**Illustration 4.** *Domaćica* (right) with the eldest daughter-in-law (left) in the traditional outfits (muslims). Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 4.** *Domaćica* (po prawej) z najstarszą synową (po lewej) w tradycyjnych strojach muźmańskich. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

A young *snaha/snaja* (a newly married daughter-in-law/sister-in-law) had the lowest position in the family. Other adult family members were *neoženjena braća/djeverovi* (unmarried brothers, unmarried brothers-in-law), and for children they were *amidže* (uncles) and *neudate sestre/za've* (unmarried sisters, unmarried sisters-in-law), and for children *tetke* (aunts) and other adult unmarried cousins. Young *snahe/snaje* (daughters-in-law/sisters-in-law) would most often address their unmarried sisters-in-law as *za've*, by their names, and sometimes *seko* (sis), *sejo* (sis), *sestrice* (little sister), and Muslims also *keko* (sis). The marital life of a young couple was determined by the system of values that was in force within the extended family as the intergenerational system. It was mostly related to the fact that they could not sit next to each other during meals because it was frowned upon and not being able to have a proper conversation due to this. During meals, daughters-in-laws, especially the youngest ones, never sat *za siniju* (at small round tables with short table legs) next to their husbands.



Moreover, they could sit next to another man in the family (brothers-in-law) during other occasions, but never next to their husbands. Young husbands and their wives obeyed the rules and never showed disrespect. The young couple would communicate during certain mutual chores (going to the mill – *žunje* or *vodenica*, or in the fields). The most intimate part of the communication was reserved for the intimacy in their bedroom, if they had one in the house. For all young members of the extended family among the members of all three ethnic groups, a sense of great respect towards parents was developed and nourished.

### **The distribution of duties among the members of the extended family**

Chores that were existentially necessary for each *zadruga* (shared household/joint family) were usual agricultural chores whose main purpose was to produce food, everyday household chores, maintenance of the house and the area around it, and various crafts. These jobs and chores could be distributed based on the sex and whether they are common for solely one or for both sexes. The distribution was also based on which chores were for which member of the household, according to their place in the hierarchy of the family. That is the way we can speak about jobs and chores for only men, only women, or for both. Furthermore, we can speak about the jobs and chores assigned to *snahe/snaje* (daughters-in-law), especially the youngest ones and jobs and chores assigned to only one married couple within a joint family.

The age limit which represented the period when the children were introduced to different jobs depended on the type of the jobs and chores and also on the sex of the child. It was thought that the age of seven to eight was appropriate age for teaching female children to knit, embroider, and weave. While acquiring these skills, the order of acquiring them was taken into account. Namely, it was thought that girls should first learn how to knit, and after they master this skill, the mother should teach them how to crochet and embroider and then how to weave. What is noticeable here is that systematization and gradualness followed the complexity of the skills and the age of a child. They were taught these skills mostly during the winter period, when there was no work and chores to be done outside the house. The reason for this was that, in addition to household chores, the most important and the most dominant obligation of the children of both sexes was herding *marva* (livestock). Children would mostly start doing this around the age of nine and ten. It can be said that, during this period, the entire life of children and all their individual and social activities were determined by this obligation. Since each family had many children, one young (8–10 years old) and one older (12–13 years old) child would go and herd *marva* (livestock). Besides taking care of the livestock, older children had to take care of the younger children as well. Intergenerational impact was present here. Since teenagers, adolescents, and adults did not have time for herding *marva* (livestock), it

was left to younger children. There was no special process of engaging children into this chore because it was left to older children. This way, there was a division of responsibilities and obligations between the older and younger children and a reciprocal educational influence.



**Illustration 5.** Older children looked after younger children. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 5.** Starsze dzieci opiekowały się młodszymi. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

All adult household members were in charge of agricultural chores in the field, i.e., *obradu zirata* (cultivation of land holdings), and it was mostly related to growing grains (corn, wheat, barley, and oats), fruit and vegetable growing, cultivation of plants for the production of garments (odd/hemp/flax) livestock breeding. In addition to growing grains and vegetables, every household had a large number of fruit trees (plums, pears, apples, cherry plums, walnuts, cherries). One part of the fruit, usually apples or pears were *trapljene* for winter (they were kept in special containers made of soil), the other part was “beaten” in *torkulja* (a special device for chopping and squeezing fruit) and was used for making *pekmez* (jam).

Out of the plants used for making clothing items, *konoplja* (hemp) was grown the most. It was planted by the majority of families because it was used for making many clothing items. In addition to hemp, another responsibility of women in the household was the processing of other materials used to make clothing items and items used for decorating the house. It mostly included twisting, spinning and dyeing wool, knitting, embroidery, crocheting and weaving rugs and carpets. These were performed by women mostly in the winter and also in the summer during rainy days when they could not go and work in the

field. Every household raised livestock (sheep, goats, cows, oxen and horses, Catholic and Orthodox population raised *krmke* (hogs) as well and poultry (chickens and turkeys). Horses used for riding were of a special value and that is why many people raised a large number of horses. All agricultural jobs and chores have always been closely connected an ethnoecological attitude towards the environment. The most important determinants of this attitude related to protection from adverse weather conditions and determining when certain agricultural chores can be carried out. Hail was a major threat to agriculture. It was believed that *led nije određen da obije sela* (hail is not destined to occur in villages) but only on the mountains and that people cause the hail in their villages because of their bad deeds. If a hailstorm would occur, it was thought that it would soon stop if a child, who is *šjerota* (orphan, without parents), put a piece of hail in his/her mouth. Carrying out agricultural chores was related to many guidelines of the people's calendar whose content was connected to *brojanje hefti po pravoslavnom Božiću i Jurijevu/Đurđevu* (counting weeks according to Orthodox Christmas and Saint Yuri's Day/George's Day), and the most important turning points of this calendar were *Blagovijest* (March 25), *Jurijev/Đurđev/Đurđevdan – početak ljeta* (May 6, Saint Yury's Day/Saint George's Day, the beginning of summer according to traditional beliefs), *Aldun/Ilinden – sredina ljeta* (August 2, Saint Elijah's Day, the middle of summer according to traditional beliefs) and *Kasum/Mitrovdan – kraj ljeta i početak zime* (November 8, St. Demetrius' Day, the end of summer and the beginning of winter according to traditional beliefs).

### **Organization of family life after 'separation'**

*Dijeljenje* (separation) of married brothers would occur after their father's death or during the period of time when he was still alive if the number of married and unmarried sons was too high for one house. In this case, *dijeljenje* (separation) would start with the oldest son who would *iziš' o od oca i odijelio se* (move away from his father's house) and later, *po starini* (according to their age), other sons would do the same. Beforehand, a house would be built for each of them. The most common materials for building the house were oak and beech trees, stone and soil. Due to that, *domaćini* (householders) especially cared for certain types of trees in the forests because they were used to build houses. They provided themselves with timber from their own forests. The start of building house foundations, among the members of all three ethnic groups, was followed by slaughtering a sheep in order to *pustiti krv* (put its blood) on the foundation. Among Muslims, putting a roof on a house was followed by *darivanje sljemena* (a ceremony of relatives and neighbours bringing gifts for a house under construction when the roof construction is done). *Na šljeme* (a ceremony, whose literal translation is "on the housetop"; *šljeme* is a gift for the completion of the roof of the new house), people would usually bring new woven towels, shirts, and from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bought shirts and money. All the presents

would be put on a bar which was on the roof of the house. For the occasion, a man with *dobro grlo* (a man whose voice is loud) who could *vikat na šljeme* (shout) quite well would be chosen for the occasion. His assignment was to shout in the name of all people who brought the presents to thank them on behalf of the owner of the new house and to bless them. He would shout *mašala, mašala*<sup>13</sup> several times as the introduction, and after that he would shout the name of a person who brought the presents and wished him/her all the best his/her life. All the presents would go to the craftsmen who built the house, not to the owner of the house.

The most significant elements of house decoration were related to the ways of heating the house, places for preparing food, sleeping and necessary household items. At the beginning of the century, people built *furune* (furnaces) in the form of *babura* (special type of furnace) which were not used for preparing food but for heating the house in the winter. Necessary household items were the ones used for storing, preparing and serving food, tools used for everyday household chores and women's handicrafts. Outhouses for the members of all three ethnic groups consisted of auxiliary facilities: *magaza* (a shed), *hudžera/udžera* (a very small house), *arovi* and *štale* (barns), *koš* and *hambar/ambar* (a small building commonly used for storing and drying maize). In *avlija* (a yard) near the house, mostly near the house entrance where the entrance of *hudžera* was, the members of all three ethnic groups grew flowers: *miloduh* (hyssopus), *ćabuša* (a type of fern bush), *koloper* (chrysanthemum), and *vrtić* (tansy). These flowers were usually planted *na primaljeće* (in the early spring).



**Illustration 6.** *Miloduh* (hyssopus). Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracija 6.** *Miloduh* (hyzop). Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

<sup>13</sup> *Mašala* (mashallah) is an Arab word that has entered into South Slavic languages in the period of the Ottoman rule and used for showing appreciation as well as joy when welcoming guests and visitors. Some believe that it should also be used when a person sees something nice and beautiful (See: A. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku [Turkisms (Turkish Loanwords) in the Serbo-Croatian Language]*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1989, p. 448). It is commonly used upon hearing good news and upon witnessing good deeds, too. It is very often (daily) used by population of Bosnia.

The area where these flowers were planted *ogradivao se kamenjem* (was surrounded by stones). Women painted the stones every spring. After their own house was built, the married couple, together with their children, would continue to live as an autonomous family but if the father/grandfather was still alive they would maintain ties with so-called complex family, especially when it was related to the organization of work and chores, and carrying out family duties related to religion and wider social environment.

### **Clothes and footwear**

Traditional garments are a very significant element of our traditional culture. Many important culturological moments are closely tied to these traditional garments. Considering that the parts of these garments were mostly homemade, studying the art of designing these clothes, whether for everyday or formal events, is an important area of folk-pedagogy. Besides, clothes and the style were a symbol of belonging to specific age, sex and other social groups (religious or ethnic), so the traditional clothes represented an important element of socialization on all of its instances. All three ethnic groups have the same name for most traditional clothes. The appearance of this wear, which is called *bjelina* (whiteness-because it was made out of white) *gaća* (pants) and *košulja* (shirts), were quite identical among all three ethnic groups at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Later, there was a difference in the appearance of traditional clothing in the three groups and, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this traditional clothing was lost as an everyday garment, being replaced by modern clothes without traditional décor. The clothes were washed *na česmama* (using outside taps) or in the river. Traditional clothing, especially the specific parts of it, was a significant part of the aesthetic component of folk upbringing. The handicraft process itself and *uređivanje* (dress-up process) along with *nadešavanje* (priming) developed special aesthetic experiences and evoked feelings of beauty and *udešavanja* (pampering). The creation of national clothes was always directed towards specific life situations: preparing the diapers for the newborn baby, making the first shirt for children, making shirts and underpants for those who were about to start their teenager life, shirts for men and women who were preparing for their wedding, creating pieces of clothing as a part of female *ruha/ruva* (attire), making clothes and shirts for *ogrtanje svatova* (white shirts would be put on the wedding guests), clothes and shoes for adults and the elderly, and, finally, preparing new clothes for the deceased.



**Illustration 7.** White shirts would be put on the wedding guests. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 7.** Gościom weselnym zakładano białe koszule. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

All the important moments in the process of growing up were connected with some elements of traditional garments. Because of that, it came to the internalization of values of each detail of these traditional garments in all parts of life. Among all three ethnic groups, *opanci* (traditional shoes worn in rural areas) were the most common footwear. *Opanci* were mostly handmade from cow skin and almost all adult men knew how to make them. During the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first shoes started to appear.

### **Deterioration of marital relations and divorce**

Disturbance of marital relations occurred due to disagreements between spouses and extramarital affairs but which rarely led to divorce. In such a situation, women were in charge of the most important chores and parental duties within the family, and their position in all of that was determined by taking special care for children. When it came to extramarital affairs, those were mostly the cases of husbands who *varali* (cheated) their wives. *Varanje* (cheating) was strongly condemned by the social environment. Otherwise, the disturbance of marital relations rarely occurred because marriage had a great value for members of all three ethnic groups. Only in some exceptional cases would marriage end in divorce.

## Religion in family life

Regardless of the fact that religious duties were not completely carried out at all times, religion and faith were a part of the everyday organization of life and work in the family and the social community of members of all three religious groups. Religion was reflected in prayers, visits to mosques and churches, marking of holidays and *svečanih dana* (ceremonial dates). The Muslim population took special care about fulfilling five daily prayers. Special place in religious life of was reserved for *izlaske na dove* (reciting Duas and prayers at the special places in the outdoors, mostly at the top of the hills) which took place at several nearby *dovišta* (places in the nature for praying-reciting Duas). Eids were marked by women cleaning the houses and gardens. A very significant event for a family but also for wider social community was trip to the Hajj by certain individuals.



**Illustration 8.** Common send-off ceremony of Hajj pilgrims to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 8.** Ceremonia pożegnania pielgrzymów Hadż, wyruszających do Mekki, Arabia Saudyjska. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

Among the Orthodox population, *starješine* (elders) would pay special attention to church visits on Sunday. Religious life of the family had a special place for marking Christmas and Orthodox Easter, as well as marking *porodične slave* (the family-patron saint's day). Besides attending Sunday masses in the church, Christmas and Easter represented a special, significant and cheerful holiday for every household among the Catholic population. Days of Eid, Christmas and Easter were marked together with friends and acquaintances that belonged to different ethnic and religious groups from wider surroundings.

### Food, health and the treatment of ill family members

An important concern of each family was providing food. All produce that was used to feed families were cultivated and *narađene* (provided) through daily agricultural work throughout the year. Grains that were used for food preparation were: *šenica* (wheat), *žito* (maize), *ječam* (barley) and *zob* (oats). Meat was rarely prepared, and it was usually on the menu *jenoć u mjesecu* (once a month). Vegetables that were used most included pepper, cucumber, *bunda* (pumpkin) and *ćurta* (squash). For sweet dishes people mostly used *pekmez* (jam), flour, boiled cheese and cream, fruit (mainly prunes) and vegetables (*ćurta*-squash). A special kind of a sweet dish in Muslim families was *halva* and, sometimes, when possible, it was made in large quantities. An integral part of the daily diet consisted of *hošaf* (a non-alcoholic beverage) made of dried plums and pears, and *vareno mlijeko* (boiled milk) in *pršulja* (a dessert made of milk) made in special pots made of clay. On special occasions (religious holidays, feasts, selected days of the week and the arrival of guests) a somewhat better meal was prepared. In Orthodox families, this was the case on Sundays, Christmas, Easter and family events. In Catholic families, special feasts took place *kad je Božić i Uskrs* (on Christmas and Easter). In Muslim households, special meals were made *u'či petka i u'či ponediljka i kad je Bajram* (in the evenings before Friday and Monday and on the days of Eid). All adults in the house ate together at the *sinija* (a small round table with short table legs).



**Illustration 9.** *Sinija*. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 9.** *Sinija*. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

For eating, almost until the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, people used wooden spoons which were mostly bought from people who hand made them. The dishes were mostly made of clay/soil (*ćupovi, ćase* – pots and bowls) and wood (*čankovi* – wooden dishes used for packing cheese and cream).





**Illustration 10.** *Čanak*. Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracja 10.** *Čanak*. Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

The first person to begin the meal would be *starješina* (the elder/chieftain) of the household. The elder *odsiječe i podijeli hljeb ostalima* (cuts the bread and shares it with everyone). When it comes to meals of Orthodox and Catholic people, they *moralo se pomoliti* (had to pray). Water used for drinking was mostly kept in gourds that had the stoppers made of *od paturika od žita* (maize/corn). Special attention was paid to the leftovers in all three ethnical groups. *Sinja* had to be clean from crumbs, and after that the crumbs would be stored in a safe and clean place *đi se neće gaziti* (where they can't be stepped onto). The reason for this was the fact that householders would teach their family members that if the food is thrown away, *gladne godine* (the hunger years) would strike.

The family's healthcare was, until the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, mostly in the hands of folk doctors and incantations. The most common diseases that were treated by folk medicine were cuts, wounds, fractures, *sugreb* (a skin disease), snake bites, etc. Apart from that, certain spiritual diseases (fear, anxiety, etc) were treated *kružanjem alame* (by circling alama), *salijevanjem strave* a ritual called 'melting the fear'), and *skidanjem sihira i uroka* (removing curses). Wounds, cuts and fractures were treated by a wide range of *melema/mehlema* (balms and creams). The most common *melem* was made out of hellebore in the spring. Among the Muslim population, if somebody hurt himself/herself with a sharp object, those wounds would be treated by butterfat. In order to pre-empt fractures of bones and to *ojačati noge* (strengthen the legs), at the beginning of spring they would often use *srijemoš* (ramsons-wild garlic) that was harvested in the woods because, *ako hoćeš dobre kosti i jake noge, trebaš do tri put' jesti srijemoša do Jurijeva* (if you want strong bones and legs, you have to eat *srijemoš* three times before Saint Yuri's Day). Balms were also used for curing headaches.

The most important elements for personal hygiene were face washing and bathing. For baths, they used wooden troughs. Muslim women would often *knile* (use henna to draw on or to colour their fingers (nails), their hands and feet. Among all three ethnic groups, long and clean hair was highly appreciated, especially worn in a braid. In the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the process of healing sick people was mostly done in the village itself; people would rarely visit

a doctor so it would often happened *da se umire kod svoje kuće* (that people would die in their own homes).

Death among people of all three ethnic groups was taken as an act from God and all traditions related to *dženaza ili sahrana/sa'rana* (the funeral) were connected to religious and folk beliefs.



**Illustration 11.** *Dženaza* (Muslim funeral). Source: The photograph was collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracija 11.** *Dženaza* (muzułmański pochówek). Źródło: Zdjęcie wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych.

*Čitavo selo je obilazilo* (the whole village visited) the sick person was visited and special grief would be caused by the death of young people and children. *Dženaze/sa'rane* (funerals) were also situations where people would visit and chat and connect with their friends and family regardless of the ethnic and religious group they belonged to.



a)

b)

c)

**Illustration 12.** Tombstones: catholics (a), orthodox (b), muslims (c). Source: The photographs were collected by the authors during their field research.

**Ilustracija 12.** Nagrobki: katoličke (a), pravoslavne (b), muzulmańskie (c). Źródło: Zdjęcia wykonane przez autorów podczas badań terenowych

## Discussion/Conclusion

The most significant aspects of the culturological organization of life in traditional Bosnian family in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century were with regards to organization of the family and marital life in extended (multiple generations) families and nuclear families; the position of the individual in the family; the intergenerational relations; the chores and activities of family members; the house and outhouse decoration; providing food; clothing and dressing up; the care about health and medical treatment; extramarital affairs; religious life of the family; attitude towards death; attitude towards social and physical environment (relations with neighbours, interethnic and interreligious relations; ethnoecological attitude towards nature). Bearing all of this in mind, we can say that everyday life in traditional rural Bosnian culture was a determining framework as well as a source for fundamental processes and dynamism within the family. Therefore, the basic ethnopedagogical and culturological determinants of organization of marital and family life in the traditional rural Bosnian family came out of the life itself in concrete communities and it included the entire life cycle from birth to death. Moreover, every life situation had an inherent culturological effect establishing harmonic relations between an individual and the family. In all of this, elements of traditional culture in every form had an important (primary) role and their essence included acculturation moments. Here, we cannot speak completely about the acculturation process because traditional Bosnian society was not about contact and permeating with completely different cultures. Here we can speak, instead, about the encounter of various individual elements of culture as well as the encounter of different religious teachings which were the primary source and determinant of specific (special) factors affecting processes within the family, but not in a way where they were always the absolute source of fundamental values in the life of a human and community. Besides the “space” of joint elements of traditional culture in different ethnic groups, there was also the organization of family providing “space” for the development of different elements of traditional culture and religious teachings.

In such way, there was the creation of different elements of structure and dynamics of family culture, which were related to the formation of ethical attitude towards others and towards social environment, all of which had sources in attitude towards particular natural and native surroundings.

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