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Growing up and upbringing in a traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian family

Dorastanie i wychowanie w tradycyjnej rodzinie w Bośni
i Hercegowinie

Streszczenie

W artykule zaprezentowano wyniki badań terenowych przeprowadzonych w grupie osiedli wiejskich na górze Majevica w północnowschodniej Bośni. Cel badań związany był z etnopedagogicznymi problemami i zagadnieniami procesu dorastania i wychowania w tradycyjnych rodzinach bośniacko-hercegowińskich w społeczeństwie wiejskim w pierwszej połowie dwudziestego wieku. W badaniach starano się uzyskać wgląd w procesy dorastania i najistotniejsze wzory wychowania po nich następujące, które zmieniły się i zostały częściowo utracone w drugiej połowie dwudziestego wieku. W badaniach wykorzystano metodę wywiadu intensywnego, a istotne dane zebrano w bezpośrednich kontaktach z narratorami (badanymi), którzy urodzili się w latach 1900–1945. Najważniejsze wyznaczniki wychowania w rodzinie w tradycyjnym wiejskim społeczeństwie zostały zaprezentowane w opisach codziennych zajęć związanych z narodzinami dziecka, podtrzymywaniem życia i zdrowia nowo narodzonego, wspieraniem jego duchowego i fizycznego rozwoju, pozycją w rodzinie, relacjami z rodzicami i innymi starszymi w środowisku, stosunkiem dzieci do rówieśników, wartości, pracy oraz własności. Co więcej, ukazano znaczenie dziecięcych obowiązków związanych z pracą, podobnie jak dziecięce zabawy, religijne wychowanie w rodzinie, jak i działania edukacyjne związane ze stosunkiem do sierot i dzieci pozamażeńskich oraz opiekę nad duchowym i fizycznym zdrowiem dzieci i ich higieną osobistą.

Słowa kluczowe: wychowanie w rodzinie, dorastanie, tradycyjne społeczeństwo, Bośnia.

Abstract

This paper will present the results of a field study that was conducted within a group of rural settlements on the Majevisa Mountain in north-east Bosnia. The aim of the research was related to ethno-pedagogical problems and aspects of the process of growing up and upbringing in traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian families in a rural society in the first half of the twentieth century. The research seeks to achieve insight into the processes of growing up and the most significant patterns of upbringing that followed these processes and which were modified and partially lost in the second half of the twentieth century. The method of intensive interviews has been used during the research and the relevant data was collected in direct contact with narrators (examinees) who were born between 1900 and 1945. The most important determinants of family upbringing in a traditional rural society are presented through descriptions of educational actions related to the birth of a child, preserving the life and health of a newborn and encouraging his spiritual and physical development, the position of the child within the family, the relationship with the parents and other elders in the environment, the children's attitude towards their peers, and attitudes towards values, work and property. In addition, the importance of the children's work responsibilities is presented, their games and religious upbringing within the family upbringing, as well as the educational provision related to the attitude towards orphans and illegitimate children, and the taking care of the spiritual and physical health and personal hygiene of the children.

Keywords: family upbringing, growing up, children, traditional society, Bosnia.

Introduction

Upbringing, as a universal (timeless and generation-wide) phenomenon, is a specific characteristic of the human race. It encompasses *conditio sine qua non* when it comes to a person's path of development and their growth as a human being. The history of pedagogy and pedagogical ideas very accurately and clearly indicates that the historical period leading to the birth of formal pedagogical science was a time marked by numerous thinkers, some famous and others unknown, in the area of upbringing, during both prehistory and recorded history. Their pedagogical insights and initiatives contributed to the birth and development of the most significant pedagogical ideas which humanity has at disposal today. Their viewpoints and ideas were mostly rooted in the people (in the broadest sense of the word) amongst whom they lived. Prominent pedagogues in history paid much attention to studying pedagogical views among the populace and its pedagogical experience. Classical pedagogues (Komenský, Pestalozzi, Ушински/Ušinski etc.) believed that folk pedagogy enriches educational science and serves as its base and support¹. The reason for this is the fact that the initial

¹ G.N. Volkov, *Ėtnopedagogika, Učeb dlâ stud. sred. i vysš ped. učeb zavedenij*, Akademiya, Moskva 1999.

upbringing always takes place in the medium of a concrete culture, therefore “the incentive to reach new cognitions regarding upbringing and education stems precisely from research which explores the relationship between culture and upbringing”². The nature of this culture – upbringing relationship may be understood through ascertaining the difference between authentic (primal) and instrumentalized (institutionalized) upbringing and education. This difference presupposes upbringing as an anthropologic category on the one hand, and upbringing as a pedagogical (didactic) category on the other hand. Authentic upbringing is connected with culture, “but this term *surpasses* the notion of mere cultivation of inclinations which a human being is born with. This means that authentic upbringing stems from the values of living, from objective (universally accepted) values, from religion. These are precisely those values that cannot be ‘spent’ through human use and application, which cannot be lost in the fog of the past”³. This is why understanding the pedagogical tradition in a population is of the utmost importance in understanding contemporary pedagogical challenges and problems. The research which will be presented in this paper is an attempt in that direction.

The methodological approach to the problem

The intention of this research is to shed light on the most important characteristics of upbringing and growing up from newborn child and through childhood, in the medium of traditional Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture⁴. This served to provide insight into the processes of growing up and the most significant patterns of child-rearing which accompanied these processes in the period from birth and through childhood were modified in the second half of the 20th century

² M. Slatina, *Od individue do ličnosti – uvođenje u teoriju konfluentnog obrazovanja*, Dom štampе, Zenica 2006, p. 61.

³ M. Slatina, *Kultura i odgoj*, “Takvim za 1999”, Rijaaset Islamske zajednice u BiH, Sarajevo 1999, p. 246

⁴ Research that will be presented in this paper is a part of a more encompassing and wider research, which reflected ethno-pedagogical problems of growing up and upbringing through all periods, from birth to maturity and end of life, and it was conducted in rural communities on Majevida Mountain in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The largest part of that research is presented in the authors book ‘*Osnove etnopedagogije*’ (*Basics of Ethno-Pedagogy*), Sarajevo, 2012; as well as in several published papers regarding traditional children’s games, traditional patterns of healing children and religious upbringing of children, all of which will be mentioned with bibliographic references in the following parts of this paper, when we tackle the above-mentioned topics. The book and papers mentioned here present the basic source for detailed explanation of methodology used during this research. Especially informative is the chapter ‘*Gathering ethno-pedagogical corpus*’ (pp. 101–109). For this reason, in the following sections of this paper, in order to meet the needs of the research, the most important elements of methodological approach to the research problem will be presented in a somewhat summarized manner in comparison to the mentioned chapter, so that the reader is provided with a clear description of applied research methodology.

and partly got lost under the influence of school as a social institution of formal upbringing and education, as well as under the influence of the so-called mass culture⁵. Here are the basic guidelines and starting points for approaching the research problem, which defined its aim and tasks.

The subject of this research are ethno-pedagogical problems of growing up and upbringing in traditional Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture, which are concerned with life periods of a newborn child and childhood, using the example of a small rural community, consisting of a cluster of villages (Zahirovići, Memići, Straža, Jasenica) on Majevisa Mountain in northeast Bosnia. This community is multicultural and comprises of settlements with Muslim (Bosniak), Catholic (Croat) and Orthodox (Serb) population. The aim of the research relates to examining the most important content, manners and processes of transferring and learning culture as a space for growing up and nurturing during the first year of life in the second half of the 20th century in the area of a rural multi-ethnic environment. In this research, the method of content analysis was used, as well as environment case study method with elements of the terrain method for culture research and comparative method⁶. The content analysis method was used to analyze the content of all documents relevant for research of this problem (examinees' personal documents, documents kept in churches and in the Islamic community centre). Beside this, the contents of folk intellectual creations which were gathered during the course of the research, were also analyzed. The instrument for application of this method was the evidential sheet (protocol), while analyzing the content of relevant documents and folk intellectual creations. The method of location case study, with elements of terrain analysis method, is "a way of organizing social data with the aim to preserve the unique character of the examined object"⁷. The social entirety in this case is a group of rural communities on Majevisa Mountain in northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina. This entity cannot be viewed as a social object which is a completely hermetic unit. Therefore, location case study method "cannot be imagined as encompassing a unit, but as an attempt to encompass, as a social unit, those characteristics that are significant for the scientific problem at hand"⁸. The technique employed within this method was intensive interview⁹. This means that relevant data was

⁵ V. Spajić-Vrkaš, *Odrastanje u tradicijskoj kulturi Hrvata*, Tučepi, Zagreb 1996.

⁶ D. Kreč, S.R. Kračfeld, L.I. Balaki, *Pojedinac u društvu*, Naučna knjiga, Beograd 1972, p. 363.

⁷ V. Gud, P. Het, *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja*, Vuk Karadžić, Beograd 1966, p. 313.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 314.

⁹ In the context of this research, interview had special advantages, such as: age structure of examinees was such that a questionnaire could hardly be applied: examinees (respondents) can provide personal and confidential data in personal contact; the examiner can carefully follow and direct the flow of examinee's telling, the examiner can shape the impression about the examinee which gives relevant information and, to a certain point, judge the verity of response ('reading between the lines'). During conducting interviews, special attention was paid to preparations for interview procedure, methods for beginning an interview, length of the interview, relation and sensitivity towards examinees (for more details see the following: V.C. Good; E.D. Scates, *Metode istra-*

gathered through the process of interviewing in direct contact with the respondents. This manner of gathering data was necessary, considering the nature of facts we aimed to gather, which were: intimate information from personal life, personal habits and characteristics, facts from family life, as well as opinions and beliefs¹⁰. Conducting interviews in this case implied the use of so-called individual and group interviews. Individual interviews were conducted with one respondent and were used when the nature of needed information is personal and intimate, as well as when there was a need to check verity of certain information with different interviewees, while group interviews with more than one respondent were used in situations where the needed information was not personal, but related more to conditions in the social community and social processes. The comparative method was employed to compare certain data gathered from various respondents. Also, a comparison of different religious teachings and cultural norms and customs with regard to multi-religious character of communities is included in the research.

When it comes to the research sample, it is possible to distinguish its three directions. In a territorial sense, a research sample is a group of rural settlements in the northwest section of Majeвица Mountain in northeast Bosnia. These settlements comprise of Bosniak population (Zahirovići, Memići), Croat population (Straža) and Serb population (Jasenica). The settlements are not intermixed in terms of ethnic and religious belonging, but spatially they are in immediate proximity to one another and are connected. The second explanation of the term sample is related to the number and category of interviewees.. In that sense, the sample comprised of men and women in above-mentioned settlements, who were born up to 1945. In content analysis, the sample is comprised of birth certificates, christening certificates, oral folk intellectual creations, and pieces of clothing.

Growing up and upbringing in the period of a newborn child and toddler

Expecting and foretelling pregnancy

With the arrival of *mlada snaha* (the newly arrived young bride) in the household and upon her assumption of the position of *ona najmlađa* (the youngest daughter-in-law) in the family community, she is expected to *ostane noseća*

živanja u pedagogiji, psihologiji i sociologiji, "Otokar Keršovani" Rijeka 1967, p. 516, and also to the following S. Đurić, *Fokus – grupni intervju*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2007, pp. 61–144). With all this, the interviews were not one-sided, i.e. they implied providing certain information to respondents by examiners, that could serve the examinees as incentive in conveying certain information.

¹⁰ V.C. Good, E.D. Scates, *Metode istraživanja...*, op. cit., p. 510.

(become pregnant). There were not many cases where a child was not born very soon, and if that was the case, then it was usually understood within the community as *božije određenje ili davanje* (God's will). Whether childbirth occurred or not in the first year of marriage significantly influenced both marital and family relations, and sometimes even led to disturbances in those relationships. In the case where *mlada* (the young bride) got pregnant right away, a lot of attention was paid to *gatanju hoće l' bit muško il' žensko* (fortune-telling whether it would be a boy or a girl). Monitoring the pregnancy and determining the baby's sex was assigned to older women from the village. The most common 'test' these women used to foretell the child's sex included wrapping a knife in one cloth and scissors in the other and put both in front of the pregnant woman. If she chose the cloth with the scissors inside, that meant she was pregnant with a girl, and if she chose the cloth with the knife, she was pregnant with a boy. As well as foretelling the baby's sex, there were also attempts to influence it. Often, after a male child was born, its umbilical cord was saved and kept to be given to a future pregnant woman, so that her future child would also be male. The baby's sex was not one of the reasons for disturbance in marital and family dynamics, unlike as was the case when the woman could not have a child. However, there were cases where fathers insisted on having a male child, which resulted in a great number of pregnancies for the wife, until she gave birth to a male child. Muslim communities also exhibited occurrences where the man (father) would perform special prayers far from the village and near a spring with a plea to God *da dobije muškog evlada* (to have a male child).

A pregnant woman was recognizable also by often having different specific yearnings regarding food that is sour and also green, unripe sour fruit, especially *zelene rzdeliije* (green cherry plums). During family meals, when the pregnant woman would eat with the rest of the family or other people, everybody would have to be very careful not to take any food from her plate because it was believed that person would get a sty.

Delivery

During pregnancy, young women were not spared from agricultural chores, although they were assigned easier tasks on the arable land. There were often cases of women giving birth right after performing an agricultural chore and coming home. There were also cases when women did not have time to come home and the delivery would begin or even finish on the field. During the research, we came across data that certain women had up to 10 or 11 childbirths on the field while doing chores. However, childbirth mostly took place in the family house. Help during childbirth, in members of all three ethnic communities, was provided by other women, mostly older women or married ones who had already

given birth. These women were called *babe* (midwives). There was a popular belief that childbirth can be made easier and faster. That is why the women who helped during childbirth would put an axe or some other metal object on the floor and the pregnant woman would step over it several times, since the belief was that this could facilitate childbirth. Also, some water was poured into the husband's shoes, i.e. the future father's shoes, which was also thought to make childbirth easier. These instances occurred in all three ethnic communities. In the Muslim population it was often customary, if a mosque is nearby, to open its doors when delivery began, which was also supposed to make childbirth easier.

When the child is born, *baba sveže pupak* (the midwife cuts the umbilical cord and ties it off). She would use a piece of thread, and in Muslim population, the thread would come from a broken *tespih* (Muslim rosary). In addition to *sveže pupak* (tying the umbilical cord), *baba* (the midwife) would also come to the new mother's house to bathe the baby. Beside older women, during childbirth the mother-in-law and sisters-in-law would also help. There were cases where the mother-in-law would not allow some other woman to be *baba* (midwife) to her grandchildren. There were also occurrences when a woman would be her own *baba* (midwife) after birth, if she was not able to call an older woman from the village or if she did not have a mother-in-law. In order to avoid these occurrences, women made an arrangement. A pregnant woman would agree during pregnancy with some neighbourhood women to call her to be her *baba* (midwife) after giving birth. So, women would sometimes give birth alone and call the *baba* (midwife) afterwards. If the pregnant woman had other children, she would often send them for the *baba* (midwife). All children delivered by the same *baba* (midwife) in the village were called her *unuci* (grandchildren) regardless of the fact that they were not blood relatives. There were cases where women had so many such grandchildren in the village that they called them *baba Mara*, *baba Mina*, *baba Jela* etc. (grandma Mara, grandma Mina, grandma Jela etc.) all their lives. Aside from the custom that mothers-in-law helped their daughters-in-law during childbirth, there were cases where the situation was reversed. Namely, if the first mother-in-law died and the father-in-law remarried and had children with the second wife, i.e. second mother-in-law, the *baba* (midwife) during childbirth for that woman would be the oldest daughter-in-law. In these situations when the oldest daughter-in-law was the *baba* (midwife) during delivery for her new mother-in-law; i.e. when she was *baba* (midwife) to her brothers-in-law, a special emotional connection was formed between this daughter-in-law and her younger brothers-in-law in terms of great respect and mutual help. This can be clearly seen from the following statements of our female storytellers: *Ma to su isto k'o i moja braća, opeta malo još i pretežnije neg' moja braća* (They are like my brothers, and even more than my brothers).

Some women had difficult childbirths, which made them ill or they even died during delivery, or several hours or days after. The folk belief was that they

died because those women *poremete utrobu* (disturb the inner organs in the body). In these cases, often both mother and child would die. However, there were a significant number of cases where the mother died during childbirth or days after childbirth and the baby survived. Women who died during childbirth were shown special respect in all three ethnic groups: Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim. These women were considered *dobrimženama* (as good women). In the Muslim population, it was considered that women who *presele na drugi svijet* (passed away) in this situation were especially *odabrane* (selected by God). Women died not only due to difficult childbirth, but also because sometimes they wanted to abort the pregnancy and not give birth. There were not many cases of this, and deliberate abortion was considered as a very bad deed and a sin.

Care for a woman after childbirth

In members of all three ethnic groups there was a norm which required that a woman stayed in bed during the first forty days after childbirth. This norm was formulated as follows: *Porođenoj ženi čet' est dana je otvorena raka or otvoren mezar* (a woman who just gave birth is one foot in the grave for forty days). It was considered, therefore, that the woman in that period is especially sensitive and vulnerable. However, hard living conditions often led to deviations from that norm. The amount of work the new mother did at home and outside depended on the number of people in the household, i.e. whether there were enough adult family members who could perform different chores instead of her. Also, the norm regarding above-mentioned forty days was symbolically respected in a way that the woman would stay in bed forty days after giving birth or at least her bed linen was not moved for forty days, which served as a reminder that there is a newly delivered woman in the house, and in folk belief, this had a significant meaning. The mother-in-law would pay special attention to daughter-in-law just after childbirth, and if there were enough capable family members in the household, she would not let the daughter-in-law work. The new mother was given better food. Immediately after childbirth, women would come to visit and bring *maslenjake* (traditional pie with dough and butter oil), cheese and sour cream. When possible, the women would also bring some eggs and a piece of meat. If the mother of the woman who gave birth was nearby, that is, if the new mother got married in the same or a neighbouring village, the mother would regularly send through her other children, usually the new mother's sister, one *maslenjak* (traditional pie with dough and butter oil) every day. Mothers would then also make special egg cakes called *cicvare* and send them to their daughters who had just given birth. New mothers would also receive *maslenjak* regularly from all the women who came *na oblaz* (to visit) and at that time the child was given gifts. The usual gifts (*stavljanje na čelo*) were one or two chicken eggs.

While giving gifts, the child was especially blessed, most commonly with words: *Dabogda bilo živo i zdravo, ni za kakvo zlo ne znalo, imalo svoju sreću* etc. (May God give you life and health, May you never know of any evil, May you have your happiness etc.). In the late 50s of the 20th century, newborn children received gifts of money. Often it was customary to use money given to the baby girl (*stave na čelo*) to buy earrings and keep them until the girl grew up and became *cura na udaju* (a girl ready for marriage). These earrings women bought from one another and they were mostly called *grmiluci* because they were made from ducat called *grmiluk* (Turkish ducat coin, from the era of Sultan Mahmud II; the older ducats were more expensive than the newer ones).

During the entire *četresnica* (forty days after childbirth), the midwife would *činila uslugu ženi* (be at the new mother's disposal to help her). However, there were instances, if the midwife was preoccupied with her own chores, then she would spend only three days with the new mother, who would then continue taking care of the newborn child on her own.

Caring for a newborn child

The newborn child would immediately be bathed and then wrapped in its first diapers that women had woven during the pregnancy. If there were not any woven diapers made from *četeno* (flax), the child would be wrapped in diapers made from old clothing, mostly old women's shirts. After bathing and wrapping the child, it was time for the first breastfeeding. The newborn baby was usually, in all three ethnic communities, breastfed for the first time by another woman from the village who was already breastfeeding her own child. This custom had several reasons, such as: a woman who had just given birth was not strong enough, so she did not breastfeed until she felt better, and, also, it was considered important that the child was first breastfed by another woman who could become its nurse in the case of the biological mother's illness or death. The woman who breastfed a newborn baby, in all three ethnic communities, became its mother by milk. In later life, this was a significant fact regarding marriage. Namely, children who were breastfed by the same woman, could not get married in adulthood. This norm of restriction of marriage between brothers and sisters by milk was very important. In order to avoid an unwanted situation, beforehand, whenever possible, children were breastfed, aside from mother, by a close family member. That way, brothers and sister by milk were also blood related and could not get married in any case. Relation by milk was, therefore, considered stronger than blood relation and there was a belief that this relationship could never disappear. However, there were cases where marriages were formed between spouses who were breastfed by the same woman. That was mostly the case only when it was not the first breastfeeding, i.e. when a woman breastfed

someone else's child when it was a bit older and not a newborn. In all ethnic groups, breastfeeding lasted mostly for about a year. There were cases when children were not given any other food but mother's milk, which was not a rule. If the mother had problems breastfeeding, i.e. if she did not have enough milk, pulpy meals with milk and flour were made for the child. In the case when mother died at childbirth, and the child survived, it was taken care of by the mother-in-law, or if the father remarried, the stepmother. If the father did not want to get remarried right away, and his mother or mother-in-law could not take care of the child, he would give the child to another woman, usually from his family (mostly his sister-in-law) or from the neighbourhood. He would often provide compensation for this.

The mother's care for the child after *četresnica* (the first forty days after childbirth) was always determined by her work commitments in the house or on the land. This presented a great difficulty for women who were trying to harmonize the need to be with their child and centre their attention toward it on the one hand, and their work chores on the other hand. In the cases when there was no one in house to take care of the child while the woman was working on the land, she would often take the child with her, where she would work and care for it. The woman would take her child with her only when working on her own land, but when she went to help others on their land, she would leave the child at home. Leaving children alone sometimes had tragic consequences and that is why women were freed from agricultural chores in order to take care of the child. For some women, this represented resting from hard labour. This was in accordance with the folk belief that breastfeeding immediately after a woman comes home tired can be very dangerous for the child's health and life. Namely, there was a belief that breastfeeding can be healthy only if the mother is not tired and under stress.

After bathing, wrapping the child and first breastfeeding, the child was *spuštalo u bešiku* (laid in the cradle). Newborns were laid in the cradle by an older brother or sister, depending on the sex of the child, and firstborn children by their cousins. *Bešika* (the cradle) was made by craftsmen in the village, and oat straw or hay from young grass, which was gentle, was put inside the cradle. Oat straw was put in the cradle because it was believed that the child would not be ill because of it, and also it was softer than wheat straw. Straw or hay was covered with cloth or thoroughly washed old clothing. Before the child was settled in the cradle, it was wrapped in a hand-woven nappy. The swathe (a long strip of cloth) for the child was made mostly from wool, and children were swathed because it was believed that it would enable regular bodily growth and development. Since straws or hay were put in *bešika* (cradle), different insects would often appear. That is why much attention had to be paid to the hygiene of the cradle. Apart from hay and straw, in all three ethnic groups, a little bit of dirt from a horseshoe was also put in *bešika* (cradle) because it was believed that the

child will sleep better because of it. Beside this, in Orthodox populations especially, one or two garlic cloves were put in the cradle, as well as the wrapped up umbilical cord part had fallen off.



Illustration 1. *Bešika*. Source: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije*, Dobra knjiga i Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo 2012.

Ilustracija 1. *Koľyska*. Žródlo: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije*, Dobra knjiga i Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo 2012.

The *bešika* (cradle) is connected with the patterns of putting the baby to sleep. Women who put babies to sleep would sing and make up various forms of lullabies. That means that lullabies were appropriate and women made them up while putting the child to sleep. Some of the most common lullabies in all three ethnic communities are presented below. In Muslim communities, putting the baby to sleep in the *bešika* and lullabies were mostly connected to religious content, such as (in original, authentic form):

*Lailaheilellah san u bešu, uroci iz beše,
Lailaheilellah Muhammedu resulullah.*

Lailaheilellah naš Muhammed Mustafa,

*Naš Muhammed, naš peygamber, lailaheilellah.
Lailaheilellah de zaspani malehni/malehna (ime djeteta).*

The most common lullaby in Muslim population was this (in authentic form):

*Kad ja pođoh u džamiju, lailaheilellah,
Tu me trefi naš peygamber, lailaheilellah,
Naš peygamber naš Muhammed, lailaheilellah,
Đi me trefi, tud mi reče, lailaheilellah,
Valja nama pomrijeti, lailaheilellah,
U kabur se zatvoriti, lailaheilellah,
U kaburu niđi ništa, lailaheilellah,
Niti vrata nit pendžera, lailaheilellah,
U džennetu tri buraka, lailaheilellah,
U džennetu badem drvo, lailaheilellah,
Pod njim sjedi naš peygamber, lailaheilellah.*

Another form of this lullaby is connected with death of children in early childhood:

*Kad ja pođoh u džamiju, lailaheilellah,
Susrete me naš Muhammed, lailaheilellah,
Naš Muhammed, naš peygamber, lailaheilellah,
Đi me srete, tud mi reče lailaheilellah,
Znaš li robe da ćeš mrijet, lailaheilellah,
Znaš da valja umrijeti, lailaheilellah,
U kabur se pritoriti, lailaheilellah,
Iz kabura govoriti, lailaheilellah,
Kabur kuća neobična, lailaheilellah,
Niti vrata nit pendžera, lailaheilellah,
Otvori se jedan pendžer, lailaheilellah,
Ugleda se badem bašča, lailaheilellah,
Niz nju teče bistra voda, lailaheilellah,
Sitna djeca iz mekteba, lailaheilellah,
Svako nosi po maštrafu, lailaheilellah,
Da napoje svoje majke, lailaheilellah,
Svoje majke i babaljke, lailaheilellah,
Maštrafe im izbodene, lailaheilellah,
I pozderom potrunjene, lailaheilellah,
Majke su im petkom šile, lailaheilellah,
Petkom šile, petkom prele, lailaheilellah,
Pa maštrafe im izbodene, lailaheilellah,
I pozderom potrunjene, lailaheilellah.*

In this lullaby the belief is represented that women whose young child had died, should not sew or weave on Fridays. Besides this lullaby, women would sing *ilahije* (Muslim religious songs) while rocking the child in *bešika* (cradle). Besides *ilahije*, we found in our interviewee's stories that this lullaby was also used (in authentic form):

*Spavaj, bebo, spavaj, zlato moje,
Ljubi majka medne usne tvoje.*

Besides singing lullabies, women would *učile* (read, recite) a *sura* (certain chapters from Qur'an) in order to protect the child from evil influences and doings. This shows that much attention was paid to the act of putting the baby to sleep, since the baby was considered vulnerable to *naude i uroke* (hexes and curses) while asleep and needed to be protected.

In Catholic and Orthodox population, as well, the child was *pjevalo i tepalo* (sung and baby-talked to) while putting it to sleep in the cradle. Apart from prayers with religious content, the following lullabies were sung and prattled to babies (in original, authentic form):

Spavaj bebo, nina buba, evo i ja spavam.

Nina majka svoga sina.

*Hrani majka sina u bešiki malo,
Hrani majka sina sedam godin dana.*

*Buba nina, puna beša klina,
Nina buba, puna beša zuba.*

Ninaj ninaj spavaj.

Buba nina, suđena mi bila.

Nina buba, bubala te majka.

Spavaj, spavaj, nina buba

Majka buba sina, puna beša klina.

Buba majka buba, puna beša zuba.

Spavaj, spavaj, bebo moja,

Uspava te majka tvoja.

It can be seen that in all three ethnic communities there are common elements in lullaby forms, such as: *nina*, *buba*, *spavaj*, *u beši*. The difference in content related to lullabies in Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox population lies in different religious prayers.

In the busy times for agricultural work, young mothers had to work, so the children were most commonly put to sleep by mothers-in-law (grandmothers), sisters-in-law or older female children who stayed at home. During winter the situation was different, mothers spent much more time putting their children to sleep.

Before children would start walking, a *sijeda* (a wooden child seat) and a *dubak* (a wooden stand for a child to keep it in an upward position) were made for it to stay in after waking up. These pieces were also made by local craftsmen. The child would sit in the *sijeda*, which was in a shape of a wooden lifted chair with three closed sides. There was a large wooden bar on the fourth side, through which the child was put in the chair and it prevented the child from falling out of it. After the *sijeda*, the child would be put in the *dubak*. When the child would grow out of the *dubak*, then a *hoda* (children's walker) was made to help the child start walking. The *hoda* was in the shape of a wooden round pillar which connected the floor and the ceiling in the room, and there would be a fence around it in the shape of a stand, so that the child could walk around that pillar.

In the first months of its life, the child would spend most of its time sleeping in a *bešika* (cradle). When it grew stronger, it started using the *sijeda* where it spent most of the time sitting. When the child is capable of standing up it is transferred to the *dubak*, and when it is time for the child to walk, the *hoda* was made in the house. These acts of supporting and encouraging the child's development were correspondent with natural laws in processes of its upbringing. Of course, this also had other reasons related to organization of life and work. *Dubak* and *hoda* made the care for the child easier in periods when most of the time had to be dedicated to agricultural work. During the time when the child was starting to learn to walk, mothers used every free moment to encourage that learning. They would say soft words to the child, such as: *Hajd'*, *hajd'*, *dušo moja*, *baci lipove noge*, *uzmi drenove noge* (start standing firmly on the ground) and they would open their arms toward the child in order to entice it to stand up on its feet and make several steps to reach the mother's hands. The *sintagm baci lipove*, *uzmi drenove noge* symbolically connected the strength in child's legs with the strength of a tree. This means that the child, while making its first steps would reject *lipove noge* (legs made from the soft and gentle linden tree) and gradually assume *drenove noge* (legs made of wood which is firm and sturdy). In this way the accent was placed on the gradual support of the child's development in early life. Namely, we can see here such a natural insight and completeness of knowledge of the child by the mother – the most significant and efficient folk pedagogue. We can only imagine how much subtlety, quiverings of the soul and steadiness in pedagogical tact was present while she held her hands

out and felt her child's legs transform from *lipove* to *drenove* in the very act of walking slowly and with joy. It can be easily said that this pattern of upbringing may serve as an ideal when we talk about pragmatics, gradual approach, the sense of what is too early or too late in nurturing activities. On the other hand, it can be implied how much we are adrift from that ideal when we "support" the process of children's learning to walk with contemporary so-called walkers with wheels, where children learn to walk without ever falling and their mothers never notice the change from *lipa* to *dren* in their children's legs.



Illustration 2. Child in dubak. Source: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit., p. 133.

Ilustracja 2. Dziecko w chodziku. Źródło: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit., s. 133.

Special attention in the entire relationship with a newborn child was paid to name giving and christening. In Catholic populations, the child was christened and assigned godparents after birth. Catholic children were christened in a church in Breške. The parents would not attend christening, only the godmother and godfather were there carrying the child. On that day, the parents would stay at home, where a special dinner was made. In Orthodox population, the child was christened by a priest in a church, but sometimes he would also

come to the house to christen the child. A neighbourhood woman or a family member who breastfed the child for the first time (the mother by milk) would usually carry it to the church for christening. The godfather did not carry the child to church, but during christening in the church, he would hold it in his hands and name it. The time from birth to christening was not always precisely determined. Upon birth, in the Muslim population, the child would be taken to the *hojja* or he would come to the house to recite *ezan* (Muslim call for prayer in Arabic) and certain sections from the Qur'an in the child's ear.

Parents, in all three ethnic groups, usually named the child after their parents, brother or grandfather.

Encouraging spiritual and physical development

During the first three or four years, a child was considered especially sensitive to various spiritual and physical ailments. That is why there were many different patterns for protecting the child's health. It was obligatory for Muslim children to get *prvi zapis* (first religious writing) which lasted forty days. *Zapis* (religious writing) was made by the *hojja*, and in the 50s and 60s having this writing made was paid from the first sum of money which the child had received as a gift. The *Drugi zapis* (the second religious writing), which was made after the first forty days after birth had expired, was wrapped in a little triangle, sewn in a red piece of cloth and pinned to the child's clothes. Soon after the first forty days of life, a barber was called to *sunet* (circumcise) the male child. Sometimes, if possible, parents would make the so-called *sunet* for the child. This was a sort of celebration which was organized several days after *sunećenje* (circumcision).

In all three ethnic communities, special attention was paid to *uroci i naude* (curses and hexes), which were believed to be able to hurt the child's health and life. It was considered that small children were susceptible to bad influences mostly from women with the "evil eye". The belief was that, among those women, there were some who wanted purposely to hurt the child. In most cases it was known who these women were and children were kept away from them. So, the belief was, if the situation happened whereby the child was *urekne* (cursed) and *naudi* (hexed), then there had been *urocibi prekidali djecu* (curses which would harm children), and could even lead to their death. That is why attention was given to preventing these *nauda* and *uroka*, as well as healing the child from them. Here, some of the ways of prevention and healing which were used in members of all three ethnic communities will be mentioned.

As previously mentioned, in Muslim population, children were given *zapis* which was supposed to protect the child. Besides *zapis* which was written by a *hojja*, there were other, so to say, folk *zapis*. Namely, in members of all three ethnic communities, there was a belief that the remainder of the umbilical cord,

which fell off from the child, had special protecting powers, so *zapis* was also made from it and it protected children from *uroci*. *Zapis* from the umbilical cord would be put on the child's cap. Also, in the Catholic community it was believed that a needle should be put through the child's clothing upside down, with the needle tip upwards, so that nothing could harm the child.

Children who were under a curse had a *učena je i dova uročnica* (a folk prayer against curses) recited to them. While reciting this prayer, women used *tespih sa pet dova* (5 connected tasbihs in order to get one long tasbih; a tasbih is a Muslim rosary). *Uročnica* which was *učila* (recited) to the child was called *Uročnica od devet braće*, koja glasi¹¹:

Uročnica od devet braće
Uročnicu učim od devet braće,
Od devet osam,
Od osam sedam,
Od sedam šest,
Od šest pet,
Od pet četiri,
Od četiri tri,
Od tri dva,
Od dva jedan,
Od jedan k'o nijedan,
Hajte uroci niz vodu k'o vjetar uz vodu.

After this, it was considered that the child was cured. Prayers against curses were recited also while putting the child to sleep and were often a replacement for lullabies.

Besides protecting children from curses, attention was given to their physical and spiritual health. It was believed that a child would be more intelligent if the piece of umbilical cord which had served as the *zapis* was thrown into running water (river, brook, etc.).

Along with *doveuročnice*, a special procedure was used to cure fear and restlessness in children, named in folk as *ižljevanje/saljevanje strave* (a special procedure in folk medicine where a heated and melted piece of lead would be carried around the child and afterwards immersed in a bowl of cold water). During this, the melted lead would become solid. From the appearance of this cold solid piece of lead, the existence of a fear or spiritual restlessness was interpreted, as well as its cure. Most commonly, children from all three ethnic communities were taken to Muslim women who were skilled at *saljevati stravu* in a small village Kurtići. The form of the *ižljevanja strave* was the same for all

¹¹ A. Tufekčić, *Etnopedagoške odrednice očuvanja dječijeg zdravlja u tradicionalnoj kulturi*, "Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne", Tuzla 2010, № 1, pp. 102–111; Idem, *Osnove etnopedagogije*, Dobra knjiga i Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo 2012.

three ethnic (religious) groups, only the prayers to God were different with regard to the different religious teachings. Here, elements of acculturation can be seen, which are related to the belief by all three ethnic groups that the *ižljevanje strave* can help children and their spiritual health. Attention was not paid to the religion of the woman who would do the *ižljevati stravu* to the child, what was important was that she knew how to do it. These women were usually Muslim. There was a belief that this procedure would have better results when special prayers and *dove* (Muslim prayers) were recited, while following guidelines of a certain religious teaching – all teachings had the same significance. The woman who performed the *ižljevanje strave* believed that the *strava* would be successful when prayers were recited for the child, according to its religious teaching.

In the case that a child gets a high temperature, in Catholic and Orthodox populations, pork fat was often taken and spread on a rag or paper, then used as covering on the child's body, mostly the chest and feet.

Growing up and nurturing in the period of middle and late childhood

Chores and playtime

Middle childhood was a period in which children were involved in everyday jobs and household chores. The age at which children started to become involved in specific chores depended on the type of the chore and the gender of the child. Hence, when household chores were to be done, such as the milking of domestic animals and preparing food, female children were guided by their mothers from as early as their eighth year. Besides milking the animals and taking care of food girls were also taught to dance and do embroidery and weaving. It was considered that the period between seven and eight years of age was the best period to teach young girls how to weave and do embroidery. During this tutoring, mothers paid attention to the order in which these skills were taught. It was considered that a girl should first learn how to weave and embroidery was taught only after a girl had learned to weave and crochet. There is a notable systemisation in the learning process and the age of a child. Teaching these skills to girls was done mainly when there were no other chores to be done. The main reason for this is because the most important obligation for these children was to take care of the livestock. Children started taking care of livestock around the ages of nine and ten. It can be said that their entire lives and all their individual and social activities revolved around taking care of livestock. Since every house had several children two were usually sent to take care of the livestock, one younger (nine to ten years) and an older one (twelve to thirteen years). Besides taking care of the livestock the older children had to take care of their younger siblings. The intergenerational effect was present here. Namely,

children took care of the livestock since youths and the adults did not have time to take care of it because they had to do other more difficult agricultural jobs. Younger children had no introduction to this job but were tutored by their older siblings. In this way a certain distribution of jobs happened between the children themselves. A single child almost never went alone to take care of the livestock. Every child had its herd: Muslim children had goats and sheep, and Catholic and Orthodox children had goats, sheep and pigs. However this was a group activity and children from all three ethnic groups went together. On this secondary level of socialization (the first level being the family) group norms and interpersonal relations formed. These weren't determined by ethnicity or religion, but by mutual territory and a common task of feeding and taking care of the livestock. When children became "čobani" (a person whose profession is taking care of a herd of specific domestic animals) they then took a big part of the chores and responsibilities upon themselves. During grazing time the children were in charge of feeding and bringing the livestock back home. During these tasks they encountered numerous difficulties in their social and natural environment which they had to overcome. To prevent possible accidents and casualties, elders who were unable to work on the fields followed the children every morning to oversee them and make sure nothing happened to them. These elders only watched over the children and did not interrupt them in their activities.

Turning fourteen and fifteen meant for the kids that besides taking care of the livestock they were now to become involved in field chores. Male children in this period already became involved in ploughing. If the first child of a family was a girl she also helped during ploughing. This continued until the male children became old enough. First encounters with ploughing frequently meant injuries. Besides helping during ploughing, boys at the age of fifteen often went with their older brothers to Majevisa to get timber. This is when they started to learn how to cut trees and which trees should or should not be cut. They also gained ethno-ecological knowledge about their natural environment. Besides working with their families children also went to other locations to work for other families in exchange for money¹².

As noted, the main childhood activities were looking after the livestock and gradual involvement in family chores. It is because of this that playtime wasn't a separate activity. Playtime was more of a part of the main chores the children had. This, of course, did not apply to children who were too young and too weak to be involved in everyday chores. These children usually spent time playing near their houses. Older children made up their games and they were a part of the everyday chores. These games were either gender specific or they were mutual games in which both girls and boys were involved. Playgrounds for these games were the fields and meadows where the livestock grazed. Children made

¹² For additional references read: A. Tufekčić, *Radni odgoj u tradicijskoj kulturi*, "Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne", Tuzla 2009, № 2, pp. 77–85.

their own toys, mainly from natural materials such as wood, cow hair, dirt and fruits. During the Fifties metal coins also become a part of the games. The most common games were: *treska* (a game for both boys and girls), *zvrk* (a boys only game), *titaraka* (a girls only game), *kamenčići* (pebbles – a girls only game), *topovi* (cannons – boys and girls), *kuće* (houses – boys only), *baće* (boys only), *piriz* (boys only), *topići* (boys and girls), *žmirka* (hide and seek – boys and girls) etc.¹³

The above games had their rules and organization. Besides these, there were games that required no rules or had no determined number of players. The most common of these was *bebe* (swinging on a wooden board). In the period when children became adolescents, new games emerged. These were specific for boys and would happen at night time when parents were asleep. These games usually involved stealing fruits, riding horses and playing with sleighs.

As shown, playing was an everyday activity that happened throughout the day while the children did their chores and it represented a basic part of secondary socialization, during which peers had a major influence on the development and the establishment of social relations and contacts.

The religious upbringing of children

Religious upbringing began from early childhood and in its methods and was in its purpose was complementary with the maternal upbringing. It can be said that both religious and maternal upbringing at the early stages of childhood had the same goal. Learning and religious upbringing had the same basics of what is known today as authentic upbringing. The mother, as the most important factor in the nurturing of the child in early childhood and as an entire system of upbringing, in all three religious groups, was the main source and the main interpreter of the religious content as well of the implied religious ideas: there were cases where mothers themselves didn't know specific religious contents, but were still the main factor in the upbringing of their child. Namely mothers who didn't have large religious knowledge still tutored their children with what they knew and pointed out the importance of religion to them. Here we see a specific "supremacy" of the goal of the upbringing over the content of the upbringing which is certainly an important characteristic of the upbringing. This can be formulated with the next thesis: "The way in which the upbringing affects people is much more important than the content of the upbringing itself". We can understand this as a thesis that if upbringing is seen as a process then everything involved during that process will have an effect on its final outcome. For people from the Bosnian area this thesis is seen in proverbs such as: "učin-

¹³ A detailed description of the games can be found in: A. Tufekčić, *Etnopedagoški prikaz tradicij-skih dječijih igara s Majevice*, "Školski vjesnik", Split, 2009, Vol. 59, №, pp. 223–239.

doček” (what you do is what you what you will get) or “kako si posijo tako ćeš i žeti” (as you sow, so shall you reap) etc.

In the cases when a mother died during childbirth or some time later, her role was taken over by grandmas and stepmothers. Mothers had the best methods for teaching religion to children. This is proof for the theory that every transfer of knowledge begins with emotion. This was one of the key characteristics of authentic upbringing. After the time when children turned five or six years of age others became involved in the religious tutoring of the children, usually hocas, rectors, and priests. At this time the role of the father started to stand out as he gradually took over the religious upbringing from the mother. This meant that the father encouraged children to join the maktab or the church. At home the father also organized group prayers. In cases where the father died while the child was still young this role would be transferred to a grandfather or to a stepfather. Maktab education was at the core of the religious upbringing of both male and female Muslim children. It was also the first step to becoming literate as children learned the Arabic alphabet in maktabas. In the first decades of the twentieth century the number of children in maktabas was greater than that of those in schools. This started changing in the fifties and the sixties when the number of children joining primary schools started growing.

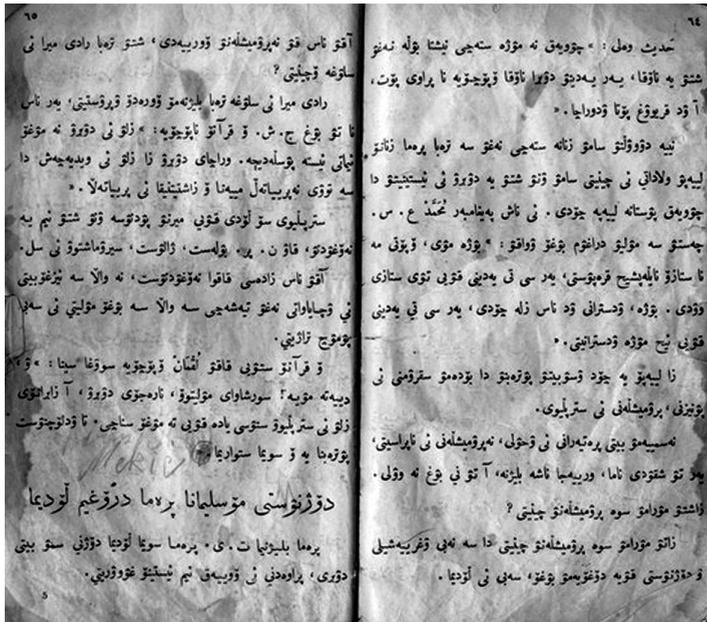


Illustration 3. Pages of a religious schoolbook written in arebica. Source: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit.

Ilustracja 3. Strony podręcznika do religii zapisane w arebica. Źródło: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit.

Catholic children had religious education every Sunday in churches. This period of their lives was also marked by the first communion which was one of the most important events in the life of every child. It usually happened when a child was around eight years old, and was preceded by a one year preparatory period. Boys and girls attended religious education together and were also prepared together for their first communion. Parents weren't involved in the preparation of the child for the communion but gave contributions to the church (money or groceries) for the preparation of the communal lunch on the day of the communion. After the preparation the child would do a confession, after which a checking of their knowledge of the obligatory prayers was done. The first communion was always done on Sundays in churches. During the communion girls would be located on one side of the church and the boys on the other. After the ceremony the Sunday mass would be served and the child would receive the *hostija* (the wafer) for the first time. After the communion the child received a candle and a holy painting. After that there was a communal lunch. A new traditional wardrobe was made for the communion, and this was the parents' responsibility. Sometimes clothes and shoes from older siblings were used. Girls had white scarves or wreaths of flowers on their heads. Boys would wear white hats or nothing at all on their heads. One minister was always in charge of the preparations and another one for the act of communion itself. These events were a joyful period in their lives which they would remember for a long time to come.

The period of late childhood was marked by the sacrament of confirmation. They were again well dressed and received presents.

In church or in *mehtef* (maktab) children acquired specific knowledge about their religion which in return changed the role of the parents in their religious upbringing. Parents were now in charge of applying the knowledge of the kids at home. It was a testimony to a mother's success in bringing-up their child when it went to the *parok*, *pop* or *hodža* (hojja or priest). This is why mothers showed great interest in their child's religious upbringing. The older children represented role models for their younger siblings. Children who learned and knew a lot about religion got a lot of recognition from society in all three religious groups. This attention and recognition is why younger children were motivated to learn from their older siblings. A special part of the religious upbringing was giving gifts to the children as well as designating special responsibilities for them during religious holidays which made the children happy¹⁴.

¹⁴ More on the traditional religious upbringing in: A. Tufekčić, *Religijski odgoj djece u tradicijskoj kulturi*, "Školski vjesnik", Split 2013, Vol. 62, № 1, pp. 27–41.

Guidelines (*sjet*) and prohibitions

Childhood is a period in which children acquire many social skills from which their position and their role inside their family and the community is derived. All three religions had prohibitions in the following areas:

- the relationship with parents,
- the relationship with other elders,
- the relationship with peers,
- attitudes towards values, work and property.

It was considered that children would have the correct behaviour towards other people only when they have learned to respect their own parents. The dynamics of their relationship with their parents determined the quality of their relationship with other elders. Parents aspired to develop in their children a sense of respect towards the elders. A child which turned their head away from an elder was considered as being badly raised. It was a shameful thing for a parent if their child did not greet an elder. Children were taught to respect the oldest members of society the most. It was a very bad thing if a child insulted an elder. These events often resulted in punishments for the children. Their behaviour towards visitors was another way of expressing their respect. Respect for the elders was also displayed through how a child was dressed when in their presence. The most common guidelines concerning children's behaviour towards their peers were mainly focused on the prevention of conflicts and the prohibition of socializing with problematic peers. Other common guidelines were directions and prohibitions about swearing, stealing and respecting other people's property. Swearing was one of the worst things a child could do and was often sanctioned by beating. Parents also paid a lot of attention to make sure their children wouldn't steal – especially fruits and vegetables. The punishments for stealing were general and social sanctions not only for the child but for the parents too. Every theft was publicly condemned which caused both the child and the parents to be embarrassed and ashamed. All of this shows that a child's behaviour was considered as a reflection of their upbringing and his or her parents. In the traditional society antisocial conduct was mainly related to either socialization or the child's parents themselves. It was considered that the most important factors that led to good or bad behaviour had their roots in the upbringing of the child. It is notable that in modern society there are numerous factors that affect the informal upbringing of a child such as the media, school, the outside world, different peers. These factors indeed have a massive effect in a child's upbringing. However, today, many justifications and reasons for a child's behaviour are sought after through these modern factors which in turn reduces the importance of the family.

Patterns of upbringing and actions related to clothing and shoes

In early childhood and much of middle childhood, the primary item of clothing was a *košulja* (a shirt). The shirt was white, made from *lan* (flax), and looked the same for both boys and girls. By the time they were ten years old they started wearing *gaće* (handmade trousers). These were also made from flax by weaving and tailoring. Some children could get their pants later which depended on the financial status of the family. The moment when a child got its pants was actually the moment when it became capable of working. The *košulja* was often inherited from an older sibling while the first *gaće* or *pelengaće* (pants) were always specially woven and sewn. This is why the act of acquiring their first trousers was a major event for the children. This is because they became the equals of their older siblings who were usually their role models. This was a very emotional moment which stayed carved in their memory for a long time. In the first decades of the twentieth century the shirt and the pants did not differ much between all three ethnic groups.

After the period of middle childhood specific differences in clothing started to emerge depending on the gender and the religious group. At that time besides the shirt and the trousers, an integral part of a boys clothing was also a *pâs* (belt) which went around the waist. It was made of wool and was very colourful. Mothers made sure that their children wore their belts for a number of reasons, principally the belt meant that the child was now an adolescent and is to be separated from the smaller children. It was considered that the children should start getting used to the belt from this early age since it will later be a part of their clothing when they become adults. Besides this, catholic boys later started wearing a *šeširić* (hat). Muslim children also wore a belt over their shirt and a *ćulah* (a type of a wool cap) on their heads in colder periods.

In later childhood in the middle of the twentieth century differences in clothing for female children emerged. In the period of late childhood, Muslim girls would change shirts and pants for *dimice* and *košuljci* (tschalvar and different kinds of shirts). Female catholic and orthodox children still wore shirts and trousers with the addition of *tkanica* (a type of female belt) made from wool in many colours. They were colourfully fringed at the ends.

A mandatory part of female clothing for all three ethnic groups during late childhood was a headscarf. Besides this, clothing for special occasions and holidays was made. These were specially cleaned and taken care of, although it looked the same as the regular clothing. Shoes were much scarcer, during childhood, than clothes. There were often no shoes and children would walk around barefoot which lead to many injuries. Another very emotional moment in child-

hood was when their parents bought them their first rubber shoes. It was as emotional as getting their first pants.



Illustration 4. Female Croat outfit in the period of late childhood. Source: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit., p. 182.

Ilustracja 4. Żeński strój chorwacki – późne dzieciństwo. Źródło: A. Tufekčić, *Osnove etnopedagogije...*, op. cit., s. 182.

It is noticeable that children's growth and development was marked by different clothing patterns. Clothing indicated the age of the children and also their position in the division of labour in the family, as well as in the broader community. This means that clothes represented not only a sign of a certain stage in physical growth and development, but also a sign of stages in social development while growing up, and gradually, a sign of religious belonging. New sets of clothing meant that the children entered new stages of their lives and had new obligations, as well as new positions within a wider group, which consisted of multiple generations in the entire community.

The status of orphans and illegitimate children

In the first half of the twentieth century every generation had children which had lost one or both parents. Children usually lost their fathers because of their participation in hard labour (in the forest, and the Jasenica mine which dated

back to Austro-Hungarian empire), or in wars (the First and the Second World War). The most common cause of death for mothers was during childbirth or soon after. The way the community treated child who had lost a parent depended on whether it was their mother or their father who had died. When a child lost its mother, the father was the mainly responsible for the child's upbringing. The role of the child's mother was taken by grandmothers, or aunts who mostly made sure that the child ate right. If a child lost its mother in early childhood, the father often got married again so the stepmother took on the responsibilities of the mother. Men (fathers) told their new wives that they had small children who needed special care, and this was usually well received by the new wives. Children that lost their fathers got into many depressing situations and often encountered problems when it came to various aspects of family socialization, as well as gaining their own position in society. The death of a father meant that the child would effectively lose its mother too in a certain way, since the mother would then usually remarry. Then the child would be taken care of by a grandfather, an aunt or an uncle from the father's side. If a mother got remarried the aunt and the uncle would become the guardians and the grandfather would be in charge of the material things the child needs. However, some children went with their mothers to live with the stepfather, as a request from the mother. Most men accepted the kids but in the first decades of the 20th century approximately six months needed to have passed before the new father invited his wife's children to live with them. Later, in mid-20th century, this period was much shorter and children could live with their stepfather after a month. If the stepfather promised to take in the children, he would, after the determined period of time, go and bring them home himself. This however did not break the bonds with the family of the deceased father. Grandmothers, aunts and uncles regularly visited their former daughter-in-law and her children. This helped develop specific interpersonal relationships between stepbrothers and stepsisters. This also led to the division of chores among children, which created more time and space for playing games. This cannot be said about those children whose mother and stepfather did not have any more children, because they had take on all the chores and had less time for playing.

Illegitimate children, who were very rare, would stay with their grandmothers after birth, who took most care of them. Grandmothers were the protectors of the illegitimate children and were usually the ones to raise them. This was because the mother usually got married later and because the grandmothers, as older women, had a more subtle and protective attitude towards the illegitimate child, than other members of society. A special ethno-pedagogical and social-psychological role was played by older women in the community, who took care of illegitimate children in terms of their entire development. These children formed special psychological bonds with their grandmothers. They were usually labelled and stigmatized amongst their peers but were protected by

their grandmothers, cousins or relatives, all of which were important factors in the development of their personalities.

Healthcare and personal hygiene

During the first half of the twentieth century curses and hexes were considered as the biggest threat to both a newborn and an older child. A belief that a child could die from a curse was widespread not only while the child was a baby, but throughout its childhood too. The parents themselves could in a way curse the child in special circumstances, such as making the child too happy or too joyful or if they went to play with it immediately after they got back from the fields after doing some difficult chore. This is why special attention was paid to treating the children thought to be cursed, and the best ones for this were women which had special knowledge that was transferred throughout generations. A very small number of women had the ability to treat these children. The most common procedures while treating the child were: *odučavanje* (chanting religious prayers), *saljevanje strave* (curing the child from fear), *proturanje kroz lozu*, *skidanje kroz tespih* and *paljenje alame...*¹⁵.

Skin diseases were also cured: *crveni vjetar* (erysipelas), *sugreb* (skin rash), other physical injuries and high fevers were treated by using balms. Wounds that children often got while shepherding and playing were mostly treated with different skin balms. In contrast to curing curses, which was the specialty of older women, older men were usually the ones that made balms. These balms were made from animal fat, certain grains and medicinal herbs. Not many people knew how to make these ointments and for this reason they were respected and children would come to them in the community from all three ethnic groups. Children with high temperatures would usually be treated with animal fat and vinegar. Apples were also believed to have healing characteristics and were given to sick children. Another cure that was given to children was fried flour, apart from fruit and other natural food.

By the middle of the twentieth century personal hygiene mainly consisted of washing the face, hands and feet. Children were encouraged to use fresh water to wash their face in the morning, i.e. to go to the first spring or drinking fountain and wash their face with fresh water. This was especially connected with the obligation of female children to go early in the morning and to bring fresh water to the house in *fučije* (special wooden water containers) so that the rest of the family could wash their faces with fresh water. Muslim children were obliged to bring fresh water before sunrise so the head of the house, the *domaćin* (father or

¹⁵ A detailed description of the procedures can be found in: A. Tufekčić, *Etnopedagoške odrednice očuvanja dječijeg zdravlja u tradicionalnoj kulturi*, "Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne", Tuzla 2010, № 1, pp. 102–111.

grandfather) could *uzeti avdest* (the ritual washing of face and hands before Muslim prayers) in order to *da klanja sabah* (perform the first morning Muslim prayer in the dawn before sunrise). Coffee was also made with the fresh water. The rest of the body, especially hair, was washed with *lukšija*. This was made from a combination of ashes and hot water, where *lug* (ashes) would be wrapped in a rag and boiling water was poured on it; then the solution was strained and used for washing the hair. During the middle of the 20th century soap became available in the stores, so children could bathe with water and soap. Children cleaned themselves especially for holidays when they also got new or freshly cleaned clothes. Male children were given haircuts by the older residents of the village. As the children entered adolescence and youth their personal hygiene and clothing became more and more important.

Short summary

This research was an attempt to gather, study and popularize a geographically concrete traditional pedagogical culture in the area of several villages on the west side of the mountain Majeвица in the northeast part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important processes of upbringing and growing up throughout the stages of a child's life, from newborn child, early, middle and late childhood in traditional culture are:

The period that includes the birth and the first years of life is characterized with special social expectations and predictions related to the pregnancy and the birth itself, as well as the work directed to the life and health of the newborn and the encouragement of spiritual and physical development. The most important ethno-pedagogical moments from this period are the expectation of the pregnancy, the obligations during the pregnancy, the birth and accidents during the birth, taking care of the mother, taking care of the baby, and encouraging the spiritual and physical development of the newborn.

Childhood is a period in which children adopted numerous social norms from which their status within the family and the community is derived. These norms referred to the following areas: relationship with parents, relationship with other elders, relationship with peers, relations towards values, work and property. The most important ethno-pedagogical aspects in this period were: work and chores, playtime, religious upbringing, directions and prohibitions, rules about clothing and shoes, relationships towards children who had lost a parent, orphans and illegitimate children, healthcare and personal hygiene.

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