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Neki aspekti porodičnog i društvenog života u Kraljevoj Sutjeski

Pregledni rad

UDK: 314.6:316.3 (497.6 Kraljeva Sutjeska) " 19/20 "

U radu se nastoje predstaviti pojedini segmenti porodičnog i društvenog života na području Kraljeve Sutjeske u periodu od Drugog svjetskog rata do 2008. godine. Istraživanje je najvećim dijelom zasnovano na razgovoru sa kazivačima koji su rođeni u prvoj polovini ili sredinom 20. stoljeća. Rad je podijeljen u četiri tematske cjeline: seoska zajednica, struktura porodice, brak i bračni odnosi i elementi pravnog života.

Ključne riječi: Kraljeva Sutjeska, porodica, brak, podjela imovine, zajednica

Istraživanje porodičnog i društvenog života stanovništva Kraljeve Sutjeske obavljeno je u okviru projekta Etnološko–folkloristička istraživanja Kraljeve Sutjeske koja je izvršilo Odjeljenje za etnologiju Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine tokom 2008. godine.

Podaci na terenu prikupljeni su metodama neposrednog posmatranja i razgovora sa kazivačima, uz korištenje objavljene literature koja se odnosi na spomenutu tematiku. Istraživanje je provedeno u tri navrata, po pet dana. Prilikom ispitivanja tradicionalnih socijalnih odnosa držali smo se jasno određenog vremenskog razdoblja – od Drugog svjetskog rata do 2008. godine.

U ovom istraživanju interes se kretao od strukture porodice, sklapanja braka, principa nasljeđivanja, do tradicionalnih oblika međusobne pomoći na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske. Podaci prikupljeni na terenu pohranjeni su u pedeset audiozapisa, s tim da se u prikupljenom materijalu nalaze i segmenti koji se odnose na narodnu privredu, tradicionalnu ishranu i nošnju kao i već spomenuti podaci o socijalnim odnosima stanovništva Kraljeve Sutjeske.

Some aspects of family and social life in Kraljeva Sutjeska

Review article

UDC: 314.6:316.3 (497.6 Kraljeva Sutjeska) " 19/20 "

This paper sets out various aspects of family and social life in the Kraljeva Sutjeska area from World War II to 2008. The research was based mainly on discussions with interviewees born in the early or mid 20th century. The paper consists of four thematic sections: the rural community, family structure, marriage and marital relations, and legal issues.

Key words: Kraljeva Sutjeska, family, marriage, division of property, community

The study of family and social life in Kraljeva Sutjeska formed part of the project entitled *Ethnological folklore studies of Kraljeva Sutjeska* conducted by the Ethnology Department of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2008.

Data in the field were collected by direct observation and discussion with interviewees, with reference to published literature relating to the subject of the research. The study was conducted over three five-day periods. While studying traditional social relations we held to a clearly defined time frame – from World War II to 2008.

The study ranged from the structure of the family, marriage and the principles of inheritance to traditional forms of mutual aid in Kraljeva Sutjeska. The information gathered was deposited in the form of fifty audio recordings, and includes matter relation to the folk economy, traditional diet and costume as well as the data on social relations in Kraljeva Sutjeska.

Seoska zajednica

Grada prikupljena tokom terenskog rada ukazuje da je područje Kraljeve Sutjeske bilo dobro organizovana lokalna zajednica sa razvijenim oblicima društvenog, ekonomskog i kulturnog života. Kraljeva Sutjeska je malo naselje koje administrativno pripada općini Kakanj. U prošlom stoljeću ovo područje se, kroz duži vremenski period, pojavljuje kao gravitacijski centar i šireg ruralnog područja. Nekada je Kraljeva Sutjeska predstavljala mjesto gdje se čuvala bosanska kraljevska kruna, a danas je središte čuvanja kulturno-historijske baštine.

U selu se nalazi veliki franjevački samostan sa crkvom, kao i Dusper kuća (najstarija kuća u centralnoj Bosni koja potiče iz ranog 18. stoljeća). Kuća je nacionalni spomenik i predstavlja izvanredan primjer autentične bosanske arhitekture. Pored navedenog, u Kraljevoj Sutjesci se nalazi i jedna od najstarijih bosanskohercegovačkih džamija, koju je, prema predaji, sagradio Mehmed II Fatih. (Filipović, 1928: 592)

Nekada je ovaj prostor predstavljao trgovački centar sa pijacama, velikim brojem dućana, gostionica, mesara i zanatlija.

Dom kulture izgrađen još za vrijeme austro-ugarskog perioda, predstavljao je centar okupljanja i druženja stanovništva. Iz istog perioda potiče i zgrada osnovne škole, te Vatrogasno društvo.

U selu se ostvarivao najveći broj kontakata lokalnog stanovništva, ali su međusobni kontakti prelazili i granice sela (sajmovi, odlazak na sezonski rad, vojna obaveza, školovanje). Navedeni kontakti bili su integrativni mehanizmi seoske zajednice, kao i međusobne pomoći između seoskih domaćinstava.

Na osnovu provedenog istraživanja nismo ustanovili postojanje zajedničkih seoskih dobara (zemlje, pašnjaka, šume) na području Kraljeve Sutjeske. Kolektivnost u korištenju pojedinih dobara bila je ograničena na različitim socijalnim nivoima, shodno ekonomskim mogućnostima udruživanja porodica koje su posjedovale svoju zemlju, npr. suvlasnički mlin. Međe sela nisu svuda jasno izražene, ali lokalno stanovništvo zna koja zemlja pripada kojoj porodici. U selu su se obavljali zajednički poslovi kao što su: održavanje škole, crkve, puteva i sl. Postojali su i načini uzajamne

The rural community

The material collected in the field reveals that Kraljeva Sutjeska was a well organized local community with advanced forms of social, economic and cultural life. Kraljeva Sutjeska is a village in Kakanj Municipality which remained the gravitational centre for the surrounding rural population during the 20th century. In the more distant past it was the place where the crown of the kings of Bosnia was kept, and is now a place where cultural heritage is preserved.

There is a large Franciscan monastery and church in the village, which also contains the Dusper house, the oldest house in Central Bosnia, dating from the early 18th century. Designated as a national monument, it is an outstanding example of authentic Bosnian architecture. One of Bosnia and Herzegovina's oldest mosques is also located in the village; tradition has it that it was built by Mehmed II Fatih, the Conqueror (Filipović, 1928: 592).

The village was once a trading centre, with markets, numerous shops, an inn, a butcher and artisans.

The community centre, built in the Austro-Hungarian period, is a place where local people meet and socialize. The primary school building and the Fire Service date from the same period.

Most contacts were made within the village, but there were also links beyond it, made at trade fairs, during seasonal work elsewhere, on military service and at school. These contacts were an integrative mechanism for the rural community and for mutual assistance among households.

We did not identify any common holdings (of land, pasture or forest) in Kraljeva Sutjeska during our research. The communal use of individual properties was limited to various social levels, in line with the economic opportunities for families owning their own property to join forces – for example, a jointly-owned mill. The boundaries of the village are not clearly marked everywhere, but the local residents know what land belongs to which family. Various tasks, such as maintenance of the school and the church, road maintenance and so on, were a shared responsibility. There were also ways in which households helped each other out, and good neighbourly relations often developed into friendships or *kumstvo* [from *kum*, a godparent, but with implications of particular closeness]. People

radne pomoći između seoskih domaćinstava, a dobrosusjedski odnosi često su prerastali i u odnose prijateljstva ili kumstva. Stanovništvo je nastojalo održavati dobre susjedске odnose temeljene na prijateljstvu. To se može vidjeti i danas, posebno kod nekih većih poslova, a i u slučajevima nesreće. Takva vrsta pomoći se ne naplaćuje, nego se provodi po pravilu reciprociteta.

Ukupni socio-ekonomski odnosi stanovništva Kraljeve Sutjeske nivelisani su kroz tradicionalne ustanove poput *mobe* i *šišanog kumstva*,¹ te uzajamna pozivanja i posjećivanja prilikom proslava vjerskih i porodičnih praznika, pri čemu se kolektivnost izražavala i u izvanekonomskoj sferi.

Razvijenost sela kao obredno-vjerske zajednice bila je i jeste u zavisnosti od stepena opće razvijenosti sela kao društvene i ekonomske zajednice. U Kraljevoj Sutjesci se proslavljao *Ivandan*,² a tako je i danas kada se okupi više hiljada vjernika i kada se slavi glavna sveta misa. Stanovništvo se okupljalo i za druge blagdane, kao što je blagdan *Spasova*.³ Posljednjeg petka u augustu Bošnjaci održavaju tradicionalno *mevlud* kojem prisustvuje više hiljada muslimanskih vjernika. U selu je organizovan i tradicionalni maskenbal, koji se održava i u novije vrijeme.

U vjerskom životu sela i porodice, crkva je bila prisutna u obredima pogreba, krštenja, te vjenčanja. Institucija *šišanog kumstva* postojala je i postoji u interkonfesionalnim relacijama. Primijeti se i pojava da se pojedine bošnjačke porodice i pojedinci iz reda hrvatskog stanovništva međusobno nazivaju *kumovima*, a da prethodno nisu obavili ovu simboličnu radnju – obred. Među samim katolicima postoji *kršteno* i *krizmano kumstvo*, dok je općepoznato *vjenčano kumstvo*.

tried to maintain good neighbourly relations based on friendship, which can still be observed today, particularly where major works are concerned or in the event of an accident. This kind of help is not paid for, but given on the principle of reciprocity.

The overall socio-economic relations of the residents of Kraljeva Sutjeska were evened out by means of such traditional institutions as *moba* [informal cooperative] and *šišano kumstvo*¹ [a *šišani kum* is the person who first cuts a child's hair] and by inviting people to celebrate religious festivals and family occasions together, where collectivity was expressed in the non-economic sphere.

The level of development of a village as a religious community was and is dependent on the level of its general development as a social and economic community. In Kraljeva Sutjeska, *Ivandan*² [St John's Day] was celebrated, and even now several thousand worshippers come together to celebrate high mass. They also gathered for other feast days, such as Saint Saviour's.³ On the last Friday in August, Bosniacs hold a traditional *mevlud* attended by several thousand Muslims. A traditional masked ball is still held in the village too.

The church was present in the religious life of the village and the family at funerals, christenings and weddings. The custom of *šišano kumstvo* was also present in interconfessional relations. Some Bosniac families and individuals from the Croat population call each other *kum* even without having first performed this symbolic act or ceremony. Among Catholics themselves *kumstvo* can mean standing as godparent when a child is christened and at confirmation, as well as the familiar wedding *kumstvo* [acting as best man or matron of honour].

¹ Josip Brđanović je naveo da je njegov otac bio kum djetetu iz bošnjačke porodice, što pokazuje činjenicu da je kumstvo predstavljalo kohezivnu snagu unutar sela i povezivalo je pripadnike različitih vjerskih zajednica. Ponekad je kumstvo nosilo i neke društvene i ekonomske prednosti, te povećavalo broj osoba na koje se može računati u slučaju životnih neprilika.

² Katolički praznik dvadeset četvrtog juna u čast Ivana krstitelja. U predvečerje tog dana pale se krijesovi (svitnjaci), a preko pepela se preskače ujutro prije izlaska sunca da se ne bi imalo naboja na tabanima, boli u leđima i sl. (Cvitković, Ivan, *Rječnik religijskih pojmova*, 1991., 132.).

³ "Svake godine o Spasovu se sjetim skoro zaboravljenih običaja iz našeg sutješkog kraja. Govorim o običaju kićenja krave ili kako smo to mi zvali križi" (V. Tomić, *Sutješki vjesnik*, 2004., str.12.).

¹ Josip Brđanović said that his father was godfather to a child from a Bosniac family, which shows that *kumstvo* was a cohesive force within the village, uniting people from different religious communities. It also sometimes provided certain social and economic advantages, and increased the number of people upon whom one could rely in times of misfortune.

² A Catholic holiday on 24 June, in honour of St John the Baptist. Bonfires are lit in the evening, and people jump over the ashes in the morning, before sunrise, to guard against sore feet, back pain and suchlike ailments (Cvitković, Ivan, *Rječnik religijskih pojmova*, 1991, 132).

³ "Every year on St Saviour's I recall an almost forgotten custom of ours in Sutjeska. I mean the custom of decorating cows, or crossing, as we called it" (V. Tomić, *Sutješki vjesnik*, 2004, p.12).

Ustanovili smo nekoliko društvenih institucija koje su dihotomno uticale na intenzitet međusobnih odnosa porodica i pojedinaca na razini lokalne zajednice. Ova pojava čini se da je najpodložnija promjenama zbog toga što je vezana za pojedine privredne aktivnosti. (Stojaković, 1986:233) Uz poslove koji su obavljani u grupama, vezivala su se različita *sijela ili prela (divani)*. Takve su bile tzv. *žetelice*, mobe koje se okupljaju za ubiranje žita. Žetva je predstavljala posao u polju, a nakon žetve uveče bi se *ašikovalo* uz kolo i pjesmu.⁴ Institucija *mobe* provodila se najčešće uz ratarske poslove prilikom kosidbe, žetve, vršidbe, okopavanja ili prilikom izgradnje objekata za stanovanje.⁵

Prema izjavama ispitanika, često su se volovi davali u najam onome ko nije imao volove, obično da uzore zemlju, nešto prevuče i sl. te je shodno tome jedan dan oranja donosio povratnu spregu u vidu kopanja ili nekog drugog oblika rada.⁶

Dalja istraživanja pokazala su da je danas institucija *mobe* sačuvana u manjoj mjeri nego što je to bilo ranije – uglavnom su to udruživanja između dvije ili tri porodice prilikom određenih aktivnosti, *moba* za gradnju i pokrivanje kuće, oko pripremanja hrane povodom svadbi, pogrebnih običaja, vjerskih praznika, uređenja groblja, okoline i sl. U periodu osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća postojao je zajednički fond stanovnika Kraljeve Sutjeske, u koji se sakupljao novac za pomoć onome ko nije bio u mogućnosti da snosi troškove npr. sahrane ili u slučaju elementarne nepogode.

Kod katoličkog stanovništva u Kraljevoj Sutjesci poznat je poseban oblik *mobe*, tzv. *crkvena moba*. Budući da je veliki dio plodnog zemljišta pripadao franjevačkom samostanu (zemlja i voćnjaci oko samostana, zemlja prema Teševu i Ratnju, Gvardijanova luka⁷), to se zemljište obrađivalo

We identified a number of social institutions that have a dichotomous impact on the intensity of interpersonal relations between families and individuals at the local community level. This phenomenon appears to be very liable to change, being associated with various economic activities (Stojaković, 1986:233). Group work was associated with various types of gatherings. One such was the collective field work of harvesting grain, known as *žetelice*. This would be followed in the evening by *ašikovanje* [court- ing], kolo [round dance] and singing.⁴ *Moba* was usually associated with field work – hay- making, harvesting, threshing, earthing up – or with building houses.⁵

Interviewees said that oxen would often be lent to those who had none, usually for ploughing or to haul a load. In such cases, digging or other work would be offered in exchange for a day's ploughing.⁶

Further investigation revealed that *moba* is less common than it used to be, now mainly taking the form of two or three families joining forces for such activities as building and roofing a house, preparing food for a wedding banquet, funerals, religious holidays, or tidying the cemetery and public areas. In the 1980s, the residents of Kraljeva Sutjeska had a mutual fund on which people could draw if they had no money for a burial, for example, or in the case of natural disaster.

The Catholics of Kraljeva Sutjeska have a particular form of *moba*, the church *moba*. Since much of the farmland belonged to the Franciscan monastery (the land and orchards around the monastery itself, the land towards Teševo and Ratnje, and Gvardijanova luka⁷), this land was cultivated

⁴ Poslije večere mladež je izlazila na selo i duboko u noć se čula tambura i pjesma (V. Tomić, *Sutješki vjesnik*, 2004., str. 14.).

⁵ Ivan Pavlović kazuje da se na mobu nije moralo pojedinačno pozivati, nego se moba najavi, obično u kafani gdje je prisutno više ljudi. Ivan napominje da je moba bila kao jedna vrsta zaduženja, on je išao na mobe kod drugih ljudi, te bi oni došli njemu. Ako bi neko bio spriječen da dođe na mobu, zauzvrat bi poslao hranu i piće.

⁶ *Zora sviće, haj ustani Mare, došle lole kopati bunare* – pjevalo se kada bi se okupljala moba.

⁷ Sutješki samostan sticao je zemljišne posjede kupovinom i davanjima vjernika bez ikakve obaveze ili sa nekom obavezom. Darivanja su bila česta osobito za vrijeme epidemije koja je harala u sutješkoj župi. Na nekim svojim

⁴ After the evening meal, young people would go to the village, and the tambura and singing could be heard well into the night (V. Tomić, *Sutješki vjesnik*, 2004, p. 14).

⁵ Ivan Pavlović says that people did not have to be invited to the *moba* individually; the *moba* was announced, usually in a café where there were plenty of people. He said the *moba* was a kind of indebtedness, because he went to the *moba* for other people and they would do so for him. If someone was unable to come to the *moba*, he would send food and drink instead.

⁶ *Zora sviće, haj ustani Mare, došle lole kopati bunare* – this was sung when the *moba* assembled.

⁷ The Sutjeska monastery acquired the land by purchase and by gift from members of the congregation, either with or without some obligation. Gifts were common,

mobom, odnosno kolektivnim besplatnim radom lokalnog stanovništva. Danas postoji samo dio te tradicije, pri čemu se početkom jula organizuje zajednička kosidba samostanskih imanja.⁸

Povod okupljanjima stanovništva Kraljeve Sutjeske često su bili i značajni vjerski praznici. Također, svadba u selu je bila povod za okupljanje i međusobno druženje. Za širu regiju karakteristično je da su sve proslave bile popraćene zabavama i igranjem kola.⁹

Porodica na području Kraljeve Sutjeske

Prema riječima većine ispitanika, u Kraljevoj Sutjesci nisu bile prisutne velike porodične zajednice¹⁰ koje su se sastojale od braće, njihovih roditelja, supruga i djece. Međutim, postojale su privremene proširene porodice sa više članova, koje su činili roditelji i djeca, sa jednim ili dva pripadnika starije generacije, te zajednice dva oženjena brata.

Prosječan broj članova jedne porodice na području Kraljeve Sutjeske varirao je najprije s obzirom na broj djece u kući.¹¹ Broj članova jednog domaćinstva kretao se od 5 do 10 članova, što ukazuje na činjenicu da su domaćinstva u Kraljevoj Sutjesci u prosjeku bila mala. Porodice koje su činili roditelji i djeca u određenom su vremenskom periodu imale karakter i obilježja proširene porodice.¹² Takav oblik privremene proširene porodice kod većine ispitanika je bio u onom razdoblju života kada su se sinovi ženili i živjeli kod roditelja određeno vrijeme, odnosno do pronalaska drugog stambenog rješenja. Period zajedničkog

by *moba*, collective work without charge by the local residents. Only part of this tradition still survives, when people come together in early July to mow the monastery fields.⁸

The major religious festivals were other occasions when the people of Kraljeva Sutjeska came together, as were weddings in the village. In the wider region, celebrations of all kinds were typically accompanied by parties and kolo dancing.⁹

The family in Kraljeva Sutjeska

Most interviewees said that there were no extended families¹⁰ in Kraljeva Sutjeska, consisting of brothers, their parents, their wives and their children. However, at times a family of parents and children might also include one or two members of the older generation or consist of two married brothers.

The number of people in a given family in Kraljeva Sutjeska ranged from five to ten, depending on how many children there were in the house.¹¹ This shows that the average household in Kraljeva Sutjeska was not large. Families consisting of parents and their children might also at times become an extended family.¹² In the case of the majority of our interviewees, this occurred when sons married and lived with their parents for a while, until they found their own accommodation. This might last from a few months to three or four years. Jasna Čapo-Žmegač writes that “the process

posjedima imao je samostan svoje kmetove. (B. Gavranović, *Franjevački samostan Kraljeva Sutjeska 2*, Sarajevo, str. 112).

⁸ Ilija Jurjević spominje da je 1993. godine bilo oko 200 kosača, dok ih danas jedva bude 50.

⁹ Prema izjavi Josipa Brđanovića, svake godine se organizuje manifestacija *Susret Sutješćana* koja traje tri dana. Počinje sa biciklijadom, zatim se igra nogometna utakmica, te takmičenje u natezanju konopca.

¹⁰ Pojam zadruga i zadržni porodični život nije poznat, već se upotrebljava izraz zajednica.

¹¹ Anto Aždajić ističe da se šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća moglo nabrojati trideset porodica koje su imale od sedmero do desetoro djece. Danas trenutno tri bračna para imaju po četvero djece.

¹² Proširena porodica za većinu ispitanika označavala je zajednički život roditelja i djece sa nekim od bliskih srodnika (djed, baka/nana ili jedan od braće).

particularly when epidemics were raging in the parish. The monastery had its own serfs on some of its holdings (B. Gavranović, *Franjevački samostan Kraljeva Sutjeska 2*, Sarajevo, p. 112).

⁸ Ilija Jurjević says that in 1993 there were about 200 haymakers, but now there are barely fifty.

⁹ According to Josip Brđanović, a three-day event called *Susret Sutješćana* was held every year. It began with a bicycle race, followed by a football match and a tug-of-war.

¹⁰ The term *zadruga* is unknown; the term used is *zajednica*, community.

¹¹ Anto Aždajić says that there were thirty families with seven to ten children in the 1960s and 1970s, but currently three families have four children each.

¹² For most interviewees, the family meant parents and children living with a close relative (grandfather, grandmother or a brother).

života u porodici uglavnom se kretao od nekoliko mjeseci do 3 ili 4 godine. Jasna Čapo-Žmegač navodi da je "proces transformacije obitelji u društvu stalno prisutan. Domaćinstvo sastavljeno od muža, žene i djece, ženidbom sinova koji ne osnivaju vlastito domaćinstvo nego ostaju živjeti kod roditelja, prerasta u proširenu obitelj, odnosno kućanstvo sa više nuklearnih obitelji. Prema takvom shvaćanju nuklearne i proširene obitelji ne predstavljaju dva tipa/oblika, nego isti tip obitelji u različitim trenucima njenog postojanja". (Čapo-Žmegač, 1998:253)

Potvrdu o privremenom zajedničkom životu na području Kraljeve Sutjeske dobili smo od nekoliko kazivača, a jedan primjer privremenog suživota i organizacije porodičnog života sa bratovom porodicom naveo nam je i Ilija Jurjević: "Kada sam se oženio došao sam u kuću svojih roditelja, gdje je u jednom trenutku bilo deset članova u obitelji. Kako otac nije bio živ, majka je vodila glavnu riječ u kući, ona je dijelila poslove a kasnije i zemlju. Međutim, sama organizacija unutar porodice je bila takva da je svako svoje novce trošio. Četvorica braće su radila u Njemačkoj, jedan od njih je bio oženjen i imao petoro djece. Trojica su slali novac majci, dok je četvrti slao svojoj ženi, tako da je svako imao svoj budžet. Moja supruga, majka i snaha posebno su nabavljale hranu i kuhale, svako za sebe i svoju obitelj, iako smo živjeli u zajedničkoj kući. Takva zajednica se relativno brzo raspala, odnosno svako je gledao da se što prije i što bezbolnije iskoprci iz zajednice."

Period zajedničkog življenja je često zavisio od brzine nadogradnje stare ili gradnje nove kuće koju je započinjao sin odvajajući se od oca. Promjena u strukturi domaćinstva se tako odražavala na arhitektonski izgled sinove kuće u odnosu na očevu. (Bringa, 1997:60)

Početkom 21. stoljeća su zabilježeni slučajevi kada u jednoj porodičnoj kući žive dvije ili više nuklearnih porodica, ali svaka na posebnom spratu, uz jednog ili dva pripadnika starije generacije.

Na području Kraljeve Sutjeske smanjenje broja djece započinje sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. Većina kazivača rođenih tridesetih i četrdesetih godina 20. stoljeća potvrdila nam je da su žene rađale četvero i više djece, što nije slučaj sa mlađom generacijom, u čijim porodicama se smanjio broj djece u odnosu na starije generacije. Uzrok tome je prvenstveno društveno-ekonomske prirode. Jedan od najčešćih razloga koji su kazivači

of family transformation is ever-present in society. A household consisting of husband, wife and children becomes an extended family or a household with several nuclear families when sons marry and continue living with their parents rather than setting up their own households. In this view, nuclear and extended families are not two different types, but the same type at different times." (Čapo-Žmegač, 1998:253)

We received confirmation of short-term extended family life in Kraljeva Sutjeska from a number of interviewees, one of which consisted of a temporary arrangement with his brother's family, related to us by Ilija Jurjević: "When I married I came to my parent's house, where there were ten family members at the time. Since my father was no longer alive, my mother ruled the roost, allocated tasks and later divided up the land. However, the way things were arranged within the family was that everyone spent his own money. Four brothers were working in Germany, and one of them was married with five children. Three sent money to our mother, and the fourth to his wife, so we all had our own budget. My wife, my mother and my sister-in-law bought and cooked their own food, for themselves and their family, even though we all lived in the same house. This did not last long, as everyone wanted to extricate themselves from the community as quickly and painlessly as possible."

The length of time spent as an extended family often depended on how long it took to extend an old house or build the new one begun by a son to become independent of his father. Changes to the structure of the household were thus reflected in the appearance of the sons' houses as compared with the father's (Bringa, 1997:60).

In the early 21st century instances were recorded of two or more nuclear families living in a single family house, but each with its own floor, along with one or two members of the older generation.

The number of children per family began to decline in the 1970s. Most interviewees born in the 1930s and 1940s said that women had four or more children, but the younger generation had smaller families. The main reasons were socio-economic in nature. One of the most common reasons stated by interviewees was to ensure that the children could enjoy basic social

navodili jesu nastojanja da djeci pruže osnovnu socijalnu sigurnost, često upoređujući prijašnji težak život u svojim porodicama u kojima je bilo mnogo djece. Također, sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća zapošljavanje žena i ženske omladine uticali su na smanjenje broja djece u porodici.

Kako navodi Vesna Čulinović-Konstantinović, sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća na području Bosne i Hercegovine su započete intenzivne transformacije ekonomskog i porodičnog života seoskih zajednica. (Čulinović-Konstantinović, 1981:79) Naime, početkom šezdesetih godina, s otvaranjem rudnika Haljinići i industrijskih centara u obližnjim gradovima Kakanj i Vareš, započela je industrijalizacija Kraljeve Sutjeske. Većina muškaraca, čije je osnovno zanimanje bila poljoprivreda, zapošljava se u industriji.¹³ Također, u potrazi za poslom i boljim uslovima života, sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća mnogo ljudi je boravilo na privremenom radu u zemljama Zapadne Evrope, a kući bi dolazili jednom ili dvaput godišnje.

Budući da su muškarci radili u industriji, žene su uglavnom preuzele poslove koji su dotad smatrani muškim (rad na zemlji i teži poslovi oko stoke). Pri tome su imale i svoje tradicionalne obaveze.¹⁴ Zasnivanjem vlastitih domaćinstava i zapošljavanjem u industriji dolazi do nove podjele poslova unutar porodice.¹⁵ Tradicionalna podjela prema spolu i uzrastu umnogome nestaje, što rezultira ne samo smanjenjem broja članova porodice, nego i povremenim isključivanjem stalno zaposlenih iz poljoprivrednog rada.

Porodica u Kraljevoj Sutjesci je svoju osnovu imala u temeljnim funkcijama: biološkoj, ekonomskoj,

security, often referring to how hard life had been in their own families where there were numerous children. Another factor was that more women and girls were finding employment, resulting in smaller families.

As Vesna Čulinović-Konstantinović notes, the 1970s saw the rapid transformation of economic and family life in rural communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Čulinović-Konstantinović, 1981:79). The industrialization of Kraljeva Sutjeska began in the early 1960s, when the Haljinići mine was opened and industrial centres in the nearby towns of Kakanj and Vareš were developed. Most of the men, who were basically farmers, took jobs in industry.¹³ In the 1970s, seeking jobs and better living standards, many people took temporary jobs in Western Europe, returning home once or twice a year.

With the men working in industry, women took on most of the jobs that had previously been regarded as man's work – working the land and the heavy work of looking after the farm animals. They also still had their own traditional duties.¹⁴ The combination of setting up nuclear households and working in industry resulted in a new distribution of tasks within the family.¹⁵ The traditional gender-based and age-based division of labour largely vanished, which not only resulted in smaller families, but also led to the temporary exclusion from agricultural work of family members in permanent employment.

The family in Kraljeva Sutjeska was based on fundamental biological, economic, social and

¹³ Kazivači su isticali težak život zbog mukotrpnog rada na zemlji, te naglašavali da je lakše bilo zaraditi u preduzeću nego na ledini, jer su vremenski uslovi diktirali urod. "Rudnik je za Kraljevu Sutjesku bio život", govori Katarina Kvesić.

¹⁴ Pored odgoja djece, pripremanja i posluživanja hrane, brige o čistoći i higijeni u kući, žene su muzle i prerađivale mlijeko, često obavljale poslove tkanja ćilima, serdžada, te pletenja i šivanja odjeće za potrebe ukućana.

¹⁵ Anto Aždajić ističe da je podjela poslova u porodici bila prema spolu i uzrastu – muškarci su uglavnom obavljali poslove oko oranja, kosidbe, izgradnje objekata, dok su žene radile u kući, spremale hranu, radile na zemlji i oko stoke. "Uglavnom se to pazilo dok smo bili u porodičnoj kući i živjeli sa mojim roditeljima i od poljoprivrede. Poslije, kada smo se podijelili i kada sam se zaposlio, podjela poslova je bila uobičajena za muškarce i žene, s tim da smo određene poslove (na zemlji, oko stoke) obavljali zajedno."

¹³ Interviewees stressed how hard life was working on the land, and said it was easier to make a living working for a company than tilling the land, where the harvest depended on the weather. "For Kraljeva Sutjeska, the mine was life," said Katarina Kvesić.

¹⁴ As well as raising the children, preparing and serving food, and keeping the house clean, women milked the cows and did the dairy work, and often wove kilims and prayer mats or knitted and sewed clothes for family members.

¹⁵ Anto Aždajić explained that the division of labour in the family was based on gender and age – men usually did the ploughing, haymaking and building, while women worked in the home, prepared meals, and worked on the land and with the farm animals. "That mainly held good while we were in the family housing living with my parents and making a living from agriculture. Later, when we split up and I got a job, the division of labour was the usual one for men and women, except that we did certain jobs on the land and to do with the farm animals together."

društvenoj, obredno-vjerskoj. Biološka funkcija porodice je ostala od prvorazrednog značaja. Prema dobijenim podacima, svaka porodica je težila da se održi i da se proširi. Sve do polovine 20. stoljeća, dok je poljoprivreda bila ekstenzivna i predstavljala osnovu egzistencije, sve porodice su nastojale da imaju više djece, koja su, kada odrastu, bila izvor radne snage i sigurnosti u procesu privređivanja. Povećanje broja članova porodice, posebno muških,¹⁶ zahtijevali su širi društveni razlozi. S obzirom da se trajanje porodice računa po muškoj liniji nasljeđivanja i da porodično bogatstvo i ugled nose isključivo sinovi, bilo je poželjno imati više djece, odnosno sinova koji će osigurati produženje porodične loze. Pored navedenog, imati muško dijete u velikom broju slučajeva je značilo da će ostati u porodičnoj kući i biti od pomoći roditeljima. Kćerke su udajom uglavnom odlazile iz porodične kuće, često i nekoliko kilometara dalje, te nisu bile od velike pomoći roditeljima.¹⁷

Društvena i obredno-vjerska funkcija porodice su posebno naglašene u organiziranju proslava u povodu obilježavanja važnijih događaja u vezi sa ciklusom društvenih običaja (ženidbenih, rođenja djeteta, običaja vezanih uz smrt – ukop), te vaspitanju i vjerskom životu. Prema izjavama ispitanika, glavnu ulogu u odgoju i vaspitanju djece uglavnom su imali roditelji, a nekada i stariji srodnici (*nane/bake, djedovi*). Djeci je ukazivano na porijeklo i srodstvo, obavezu poštivanja starijih u kući i izvan nje, kako da se oslovljavaju i sl. Djeca su dobijala imena po djedovima i bakama/nanama.

Između muškaraca i žena su postojale razlike prilikom izražavanja autoriteta i donošenja odluka. Bila je prisutna društvena hijerarhija po dobi i spolu, odnosno bilo je izraženije vrednovanje muškaraca i starijih ukućana. Autoritet je pripadao muškarcu. Prevladavalo je patrilinearno prenošenje prezimena i nepokretne imovine, kao i virilokalno stanovanje. Zbog navedenog, autoritet je bio u rukama muškarca koji je imao mnoge upravljačke i organizacijske dužnosti, a uživao je i poštovanje

religious functions. The biological function remained the most important. The information we gathered revealed that every family strove to survive and grow. Until the mid 20th century, when agriculture was extensive and formed the basis of existence, every family tried to have as many children as possible who, when adult, would provide the labour force, their future security. Wider-reaching social reasons dictated the increase in the number of family members, particularly boys.¹⁶ Since the survival of the family is based on the male line, and only sons are the bearers of the family's wealth and repute, it was desirable to have several children, especially sons, to ensure the continuation of the family line. In addition, in most cases having boys meant that they would remain in the family house and help their parents. Daughters usually left home when they married, often moving several kilometres away, and were of little help to their parents.¹⁷

The social and religious functions of the family were particularly evident when celebrations were held to mark major rites of passage (marriage, the birth of children, death and burial), and in upbringing and the practice of religion. Interviewees said that parents were usually responsible for bringing up their children, but that older relatives (grandparents) sometimes did so. Children were told about their origins and their relatives, and were taught to respect their elders at home and outside, how to address people, and so on. They were named after their grandparents.

There were differences between men and women in the expression of authority and decision-making, with the social hierarchy based on age and sex – men and older family members were more highly regarded, and authority was vested in the man. Surnames and real property were passed down the male line, and virilocal living was the norm. As a result, authority was in the hands of the man, who had many management and organizational duties, and enjoyed the respect of his

¹⁶ Katarina Kvesić je navela da se posebno cijenilo kada se rodi muško dijete, te kako je njen svekar, doduše "kad se napije", znao prigovoriti njenom mužu kako nema nasljednika, jer su oni imali tri kćerke.

¹⁷ Slavica Aždajić navodi da njen sin i snaha svaki dan navrate kod nje da vide kako je, a često zajedno i ručaju, što stvara osjećaj sigurnosti.

¹⁶ Katarina Kvesić said that the birth of a boy was the cause for particular celebration, and that her father-in-law, admittedly "when he had too much to drink," used to criticize her husband for having no heir, as they had three daughters.

¹⁷ Slavica Aždajić said that her son and daughter-in-law drop in on her every day, and often stay for lunch, which gives her a sense of security.

ukućana.¹⁸ Kazivači su nam potvrdili da je otac bio glavni autoritet u kući, a da pri tome nisu upotrebljavali nikakva sredstva za izgradnju i održavanje tog autoriteta.¹⁹

U Kraljevoj Sutjesci je postojala i podjela rada među ženama, prema starosti i bračnom statusu, ukoliko se radilo o zajedničkom domaćinstvu.²⁰

Kada je riječ o srodničkim odnosima u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, možemo navesti nekoliko činjenica. Često se koristi pojam *rod*, koji označava ženinu ili muževljevu porodicu, tj. *prijateljstvo* sklopljeno udajom ili ženidbom. Tradicionalni stav ove sredine jeste da se oni koji su u rodu ne mogu stupati u brak do devetog koljena. Srodstvo se računalo po muškoj – očevoj (patrilinarno) i po ženskoj – majčinoj liniji (matrilinarno). Prezime se prenosilo patrilinarno, a društvena pripadnost se određivala po ocu. Nesrodnički odnos kao oblik vještačkog srodstva koji se stvarao i održavao među stanovništvom obuhvata kumstvo (*šišano*, *krizmano*, *kršteno*, *vjenčano*). Kod pripadnika katoličke vjeroispovijesti navode se *kršteno*, *krizmano* te *vjenčano* kumstvo, a kod pripadnika islamske vjeroispovijesti, prema izjavama ispitanika, provodi se *šišano* kumstvo kod djece, te *vjenčano* kumstvo.

family and household members.¹⁸ Interviewees confirmed that their father was the head of the house, enjoying authority without having to do anything to achieve and maintain it.¹⁹

There was also a division of labour among women in Kraljeva Sutjeska, based on age and on marital status in the case of joint households.²⁰

A number of facts can be stated concerning kin relations in Kraljeva Sutjeska. A term frequently used was *rod*, denoting the wife's or husband's family, the other was *friendship* formed by marriage. The traditional view here is that relatives to the ninth degree cannot marry. This is calculated both patrilineally and matrilineally. Surnames are passed on patrilineally, and social standing was based on that of the father. Non-blood relations, as a kind of artificial kinship people created and maintained, consisted of the various kinds of *kumstvo*: hair-cutting, confirmation and christening godparenthood and being best man or maid/matron of honour at a wedding. Catholics mentioned christening, confirmation and wedding *kumstvo*, while *šišano kumstvo* for a child's first hair-cut is a Muslim custom, interviewees explained, along with wedding *kumstvo*.

Brak i bračni odnosi

Na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske stoljećima egzistirao pastoralni rad franjevac čiji se uticaj osjeća na oblikovanju shvatanja braka kod lokalnog katoličkog stanovništva. Stoga se može reći da su tradicionalna shvatanja o braku i bračnim odnosima kod ovih ispitanika pod uticajem crkvenih propisa. Većina kazivača je naglasila da se brak, pored registracije u općini, mora zaključiti i u crkvi, te da je tradicija vjenčanja u crkvi do Drugog svjetskog rata bila uobičajena kod cjelokupnog katoličkog stanovništva. Vjenčanja u crkvi su poslije Drugog svjetskog rata nastavljena, sa izuzetkom pojedinaca koji nisu obavljali vjersko vjenčanje

Marriage and marital relations

The Franciscans have been providing the people of Kraljeva Sutjeska with pastoral care for centuries. Its influence on the understanding of marriage among the local Catholic population can be felt. It could thus be said that the traditional understanding of marriage and marital relations among our interviewees was influenced by the precepts of the church. Most interviewees said that marriage must be celebrated in church as well as at the registry office, and that the tradition of a church wedding was common in the entire Catholic community until World War II. This continued after World War II, with the exception of a few people who

¹⁸ Franjo Aždajić kaže da se u kući znalo ko je starješina i da se morao slušati čak i ako se nije mogao na nogama držati.

¹⁹ Nada Aždajić govori da je posebno poštivala svekru, a napominje i naglašeno poštivanje starijih, koje je stekla odgojem u svojoj porodici.

²⁰ Katarina Kvesić se sjeća da je njena majka govorila kako je ona radila kućne poslove a strina poslove u njivi.

¹⁸ Franjo Aždajić said that everyone in the home knew who was in charge and had to be obeyed, even if he was too weak to stand.

¹⁹ Nada Aždajić said that she respected her father-in-law in particular, and also referred to respect for one's elders, which she learned as a child.

²⁰ Katarina Kvesić remembered her mother saying that she did the housework and her aunt worked in the fields.

radi političkih uvjerenja, napredovanja u službi i drugih ubjeđenja.

Ispitanici Bošnjaci su rekli da je prije Drugog svjetskog rata bilo šerijatskih vjenčanja, da bi poslije Drugog svjetskog rata taj broj bio sveden na minimum. Danas je odluka o šerijatskom vjenčanju prepuštena dogovoru bračnog para. Tradicionalna shvaćanja sredine o braku su da je brak normalna i neophodna ustanova i da se treba oženiti ili udati. Brak je monogaman i po pravilu patrilokalan. Djevojke su poslije udaje živjele u muževnoj kući. Prema nekim iskazima, bilo je i slučajeva matrilokalnog braka.²¹ Mladić bi iz različitih razloga zasnivao porodicu u ženinom kući. Kod većine ispitanika nije zabilježen stav o tome kako je odlazak momka u kuću ženinih roditelja bio sramotan čin, već ga smatraju razumljivim rješenjem da se mladi bračni par zbrine. Djeca iz ovakvog sklopljenog braka su se prezivala po ocu.

Naime, do Drugog svjetskog rata, pa i kasnije, preovladavalo je virilokalno stanovanje, odnosno muškarci su ostajali da žive sa roditeljima, a djevojke su živjele sa roditeljima samo do udaje. Prelazak muškarca u ženinom kuću, tj. uksorilokalno stanovanje, je rijetkost. Virilokalno stanovanje omogućavalo je rano sklapanje braka za oba partnera, a neolokalno stanovanje odgađalo je sklapanje braka posebice za muškarce, dok ne osiguraju materijalna sredstva za osnivanje vlastitog kućanstva. (Čapo–Žmegač, 1998:257)

Pripreme mladih za brak provode se postepeno, tako da roditelji i drugi stariji srodnici upućuju mlade u opšte društvene i bračne obaveze. Djevojke takva znanja dobijaju od majke ili od drugih mladih žena u kući, dok se mladići o tome obavještavaju preko prijatelja i starijih muškaraca. Povoljne prilike za upoznavanje mladih bili su igranke, teferići (*derneći*), sijela, te izleti.²² Pri tome,

did not have a church wedding on account of their political convictions, desire for promotion or other such reasons.

Bosniacs said that sharia marriages took place before World War II, but were reduced to a minimum after the war. The decision whether to have a sharia marriage is now left to the marital couple. The traditional understanding of marriage is that it is a normal and necessary institution, and that one should marry. Marriage is monogamous and usually patrilocal, with girls living in their husband's house after marriage. However, we were told there were also instances of matrilocal marriages,²¹ when for one reason or another a young man would found a family in his wife's house. Most interviewees did not see this as something shameful, but as a rational solution for the young couple. Children born to such a marriage took their father's surname.

Until World War II, and after, therefore, virilocal living was the norm, meaning that men remained with their parents but girls lived with their husband's parents. Uxorilocal living, when a man moved to his wife's house, was rare. Virilocal living enabled both partners to enter into marriage at a young age, while neolocal living meant delaying marriage, particularly for men, until they had the means to set up their own household (Čapo–Žmegač, 1998:257).

Preparing young people for marriage was a gradual process, with parents and other older relatives instructing them on their general social and marital obligations. Girls acquired this knowledge from their mothers or other young women in the household, while boys learned it from friends and older men. Young people could get to know each other at dances, picnics, social gatherings and outings,²² with older relatives and

²¹ Nekoliko primjera matrilokalnog braka su nam potvrdili kazivači u Kraljevoj Sutjesci. Katarina Kvesić navodi primjer svoga tetka koji je dao kćer za momka koji je radio u Sutjesci, a porijeklom je iz Dalmacije. Oženivši se lokalnom djevojkom, ostao je da živi u Sutjesci. Jedan primjer smo dobili iz porodice Plasto. Avdo Plasto je došao iz Ričice, oženio se djevojkom iz porodice Heganović i zasnivao porodicu na ženinom imanju.

²² Većina kazivača nam je potvrdila da su se mladi momci i djevojke sastajali na mjestu zvanom Brijeg, dok su nešto stariji išli na izlet na VINO. Momci i djevojke su se upoznavali na igrankama koje su se održavale u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, na koje su dolazile djevojke i momci iz Vareša i drugih mjesta. Igranke su se održavale nedjeljom u Sutjesci, a kasnije i subotom. Također, ljetni teferići su bili mjesta gdje su se upoznavali mladi ljudi.

²¹ Interviewees related some instances of matrilocal marriage in Kraljeva Sutjeska. Katarina Kvesić said her uncle gave his daughter to a boy who was working in Sutjeska but was from Dalmatia. He stayed on in Sutjeska after marrying a local girl. We also had one example from the Plasto family. Avdo Plasto came from Ričica, married a girl from the Heganović family, and founded a family on his wife's property.

²² Most interviewees told us that boys and girls met at a place called Brijeg, while rather older ones would go on outings to VINO. Boys and girls met at the dances held in Kraljeva Sutjeska attended by girls and boys from Vareš and elsewhere. These were held in Sutjeska on Sundays, and later also on Saturdays. Summer outings were also a way for young people to get to know each other.

stariji rođaci i prijatelji često su bili posrednici u njihovom upoznavanju.

Jedno od najdelikatnijih pitanja postavljeno ispitanicima odnosilo se na predbračne ili izvanbračne veze. Bilo je slučajeva da su mladići svoja prva seksualna iskustva sticali sa mladim ženama i udovicama. Treba napomenuti da se očekivalo da djevojka stupi u brak nevina, a da je poželjno da mladić stekne iskustvo prije braka. Iako su se izvanbračne veze težile sakriti pred strogom javnošću, za njih bi se prije ili kasnije saznalo. Vanbračna djeca su smatrana sramotom za porodicu, a ne samo za pojedinca. Vanbračne djece je bilo u nekoliko slučajeva, a na takvu pojavu se gledalo kao na nešto nemoralno. Prema iskazima ispitanika, bilo je slučajeva da su se djevojke udale radi neplanirane trudnoće.

Dobna granica za stupanje u brak nije bila strogo određena. Djevojke su se obično udavale u dobi od 16. do 20. godine, a mladići uglavnom nakon odsluženja vojnog roka. U bliskoj prošlosti, kao i u novije vrijeme, brakovi maloljetnih parova bili su rijetki. Poslije sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća starosna granica za stupanje u brak se pomjera naviše. Prema riječima ispitanika, mladići su težili da zasnuju brak poslije odsluženja vojnog roka. Također, često se čekalo da se muškarci osposobe za neko zanimanje i zaposle.

Kada govorimo o srodničkim i društvenim okvirima sklapanja braka, na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske uvijek je važila srodnička egzogamija. Poštovalo se načelo da se međusobno ne žene do devetog koljena. Principijelni je stav da se ne mogu ženiti ni udavati unutar roda. (Stojaković, 1987:231)

Odlučivanje o izboru bračnog druga prepustalo se mladima, ali je bilo i slučajeva da su roditelji ili drugi srodnici imali presudan uticaj na odluke koje su se ticale izbora bračnog druga. U takvim slučajevima su ekonomska i društvena moć i ugled kuća koje se *prijatelje* bili ispred želja mladih. Prema izjavama ispitanika, mladi su odlučivali o izboru supružnika, ali sklapanje braka nije bio samo važan čin za mladence, nego i za porodicu, pa i bliže srodnike novih bračnih drugova. Bilo je od važnosti s kim će se neka porodica *oprijateljiti*, što znači uspostaviti i proširiti društvene veze.

Vremenom, činioци i mjerila pri izboru bračnog druga znatno su se promijenili. Veliki broj kazivača rođenih pedesetih i šezdesetih godina

friends often acting as intermediaries by introducing them to each other.

One of the most sensitive questions put to interviewees concerned premarital or extramarital relations. There were instances of young men gaining their first sexual experience with young women or widows. Girls were expected to be virgins when they married, but it was considered desirable for a young man to have some experience before marriage. Though attempts were made to conceal extramarital relations to avoid public condemnation, sooner or later the truth would come out. Children born out of wedlock were regarded as a disgrace for the family, not just for the individual. There were some such children, but this was looked on as something immoral. Interviewees said there were cases of girls marrying because of an unplanned pregnancy.

There were no strict age limits for marrying. Girls usually married between the ages of 16 and 20, while young men usually did so after completing their military service. In the recent past, as now, marriages between juveniles were rare. After the 1970s, the age limit at which people married rose. According to interviewees, young men aspired to marriage after military service, and were also often expected to qualify for a profession or occupation and find a job.

On the subject of the kin and social context of marriage, kin exogamy was always the rule in Kraljeva Sutjeska. The principle of not marrying a relative to the ninth degree was respected. It was a matter of principle not to marry among kin (Stojaković, 1987:231).

The choice of marital partner was left to the young people themselves, though there were cases of parents or other relatives having a crucial influence on the decision on whom to marry. In such cases, the economic and social standing and reputation of the houses joining in *friendship* took precedence over the young people's wishes. According to interviewees, young people made their own choice of spouse, but marriage was important not just for the young people, but also for the family and close relatives of the new couple. The choice of family with which to enter into *friendship*, which entailed establishing and expanding social relations, was an important one.

With the passage of time, the factors and standards for the choice of marital partner changed significantly. Most interviewees born in the 1950s

20. stoljeća potvrdio nam je da su vodili računa o mišljenju i stavovima roditelja, ali o sklapanju braka odlučivali su oni sami.

Mladi su sklapali brak javno, planiranim vjenčanjem ili unaprijed dogovorenim bijegom, što je uglavnom zavisilo od finansijskog statusa mladih i njihovih porodica. Parovi su prolazili kroz period ašikovanja prije nego što bi došlo do javnog vjenčanja. Nakon perioda zabavljanja (*ašikovanja*), porodice bi pripremale *svadb*. U toku priprema za *svadb*, dvije-tri nedjelje prije datuma vjenčanja, porodica mladoženje/mladenke organizira užinu (zajednički ručak²³) za rodbinu i prijatelje. Na području Kraljeve Sutjeske su zabilježeni i slučajevi tzv. krađe djevojke, a sami termini kojima se označava ovakav način sklapanja braka – “ukrala se”, “odbjegla” – podrazumijevaju da se radi o fiktivnoj, a ne stvarnoj krađi, jer jasno upućuju na djevočinu dobrovoljnost, odnosno njenu udaju po vlastitoj odluci, ali bez znanja roditelja. Do sklapanja braka na ovaj način obično je dolazilo iz dva razloga – kratkotrajnog poznanstva ili pak protivljenja roditelja. I u ovom slučaju organizira se *pir*, a zatim se *ide na mir*, tj. roditelji i mladoženja odlaze u kuću mladenke sa darovima kako bi se *pomirili*²⁴ sa djevočinim roditeljima. Djevojka je u skladu sa običajima i ekonomskim mogućnostima porodice dobijala ruho ili tzv. *komoru*. Pored toga, djevojka je nosila i darove za muževljeve roditelje i najbliže srodnike (braću, sestre). Naime, razmjena darova između članova dvije porodice povezane brakom svjedoči i o preobrazbi stranca u *prijatelja*, a potom u rod.

Na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske, prema kazivanjima ispitanika, brakovi između pripadnika različitih religijskih zajednica bili su rijetki, a odnos prema njima se razlikovao od pojedinca do pojedinca. Otpor prema takvim brakovima tumačio se mogućnošću svakodnevnih praktičnih sukoba.²⁵ Mada je preovladavao stav o nemogućnosti braka sa osobama druge konfesije, prema podacima sa terena u prošlosti je

and 1960s said that they took their parents' opinions and views into account, but that they themselves decided whom to marry.

Marriage was a public affair, by planning a wedding or agreeing in advance to elope, depending mainly on the financial status of the young people and their families. There would be a period of courting before the public wedding. After the courting period (*ašikovanje*), the family would make preparations for the wedding. Two or three weeks before the event, the couple's families would jointly hold a luncheon²³ for relatives and friends. There were also cases of “abduction” in Kraljeva Sutjeska, but the terms used – the girl sneaked off or ran away – implied that this was a fictitious rather than a true abduction, an elopement and marriage with the girl's consent, but without her parents' knowledge. There were two common reasons for eloping – the couple had known each other for only a short time, or their parents opposed the marriage. Even in such a case a wedding feast would be held, after which the parents and bridegroom would “go in peace” to the girl's parent's house with gifts to make peace²⁴ with them.

A girl's trousseau or *komora* reflected the customs and economic standing of the family. She would also bring gifts for her husband's parents and close relatives (brothers, sisters). The exchange of gifts between members of the two families connected by marriage is evidence of turning a stranger into a *friend*, and then into a relative.

Interviewees said that marriages between people from different religious communities were rare in Kraljeva Sutjeska, and that the attitude towards mixed marriages varied from person to person. Opposition to such marriages was interpreted as the fear of possible frequent clashes over practical issues.²⁵ Though the prevailing view was that marriage with people of a different confession was impossible, field data reveals that there were such

²³ Prema izjavama Ilije i Jelke Jurjević, pripreme za *svadbe* su bile tri do četiri nedjelje prije *svadbi*, pa su bile tzv. užine nedjeljom. Obično je to bilo organizovano kod crkve ili u dvorištu nekog od prijatelja ili rođaka u Kraljevoj Sutjesci.

²⁴ Prema izjavi Zahide Plasto, nakon što djevojka pobjegne, “njenim roditeljima idu mirci, ponesu kafe i poklone i mire se. Uvijek je zet išao prvi punici”.

²⁵ “Nismo mogli ni zamisliti da bi moglo biti drugačije”, čest je odgovor kazivača.

²³ According to Ilija and Jelka Jurjević, preparations for the wedding were made two or three weeks in advance, and the joint luncheons were on Sundays, usually at the church or in the garden or yard of a friend or relative in Kraljeva Sutjeska.

²⁴ According to Zahida Plasto, after a girl eloped, “bridegroom's family would visit her parents to make peace, taking coffee and gifts, and made peace. The son-in-law always went first to his mother-in-law.”

²⁵ “We couldn't imagine that it could be otherwise,” interviewees often replied.

bilo, a i danas ima tzv. miješanih brakova na području Kraljeve Sutjeske. U nekim slučajevima mješoviti brak se osuđivao sve do mjere zabrane dolaska u kuću, što se posebno odnosilo na žensku osobu. Pošto brak između članova različitih etničko-religijskih zajednica općenito nije bio prihvaćen (ni kod Bošnjaka, niti kod Hrvata), roditelji su odgovarali od udaje za nekog ko je bio drugog etno-religijskog porijekla. (Bringa, 1997:162)

Ustanova nevjenčane zajednice je gotovo nepoznata. Brak je bio čvrsta ustanova. Razvodi braka su bili rijetki, posebno među stanovništvom koje se bavilo poljoprivredom. Kao najčešći uzrok sukoba u brakovima navodi se alkoholizam, s njim u vezi i zanemarivanje porodice. Društvena sredina i danas nepovoljno gleda na razvod braka. Razvedeni su teže pronalazili novog bračnog druga u istoj sredini, a to je važno posebno za žene.

Društvena sredina je pridavala veliki značaj instituciji braka. Stupanje u brak je značilo povećanje domaćinstva, a u osnovi običajnog prava prema braku preovladavale su dvije odredbe – ekonomska i biološka, odnosno reproduktivna. Razvojem društva i promjenama u smjeru emancipacije i individualizacije, postepeno dolazi do gubljenja značaja patrijarhalnog duha i tradicionalnog načina razmišljanja kod lokalnog stanovništva.²⁶ (Milić, 2001:126)

Elementi pravnog života

Jedan od važnijih dijelova porodičnog i društvenog života na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske jeste i podjela imovine. Kratak uvid u imovinsko-pravne odnose u porodici pokazuje nam da oni u sebi sadrže elemente tradicijskog i savremenog prava. Dioba imovine uglavnom se odvijala sporazumno. Prema izjavama ispitanika, otac je pravni nosilac imovine na porodičnom imanju i za života on njom raspolaže. Na imanjima postoji kolektivno i individualno vlasništvo. Zajednička imovina svih ukućana jeste sva pokretna i nepokretna imovina. Zajedničko vlasništvo uključivalo je i individualnu

marriages in the past, and that there are still mixed marriages in Kraljeva Sutjeska today. In some cases, a mixed marriage was condemned to the point of forbidding the house to the couple, and particularly to the girl. Since marriage between members of different ethno-religious communities was disapproved of by both Bosniacs and Croats, the parents would dissuade a girl from marrying someone of different ethno-religious origins (Bringa, 1997:162).

Common law marriages were almost unknown; marriage was a solid institution. Divorce was rare, particularly in farming families. The most common cause of marital conflict was said to be alcoholism and its consequence, neglect of the family. Even now, society looks askance at divorce. It is harder for divorcees, particularly women, to find a new marital partner from the same environment.

Society accorded great importance to the institution of marriage. It meant increasing the size of the household, but the essence of customary law in regard to marriage lay in two factors – economic and biological or reproductive. As society evolved towards emancipation and individualization, the patriarchal spirit and traditional modes of thought of the local population gradually became less important.²⁶ (Milić, 2001:126)

Legal issues

One of the more important aspects of family and social life in Kraljeva Sutjeska is the division of property. A brief survey of proprietary rights in the family show that they include features of both traditional and contemporary law. The division of property is usually made by agreement. According to interviewees, the father is the legal owner of the family property, and has the right of disposal during his lifetime. There is both joint and personal ownership of property. The joint property of the whole household consists of all the movable and real property. Joint ownership included the

²⁶ Među uzročnike promjena braka u savremenom društvu, Anđelka Milić navodi: seksualnu revoluciju iz šezdesetih godina, emancipaciju žena i proces individualizacije. Ona smatra da je proces otpočeo strukturalnim i društvenim promjenama koje su zahvatile najrazvijenija društva, ali da se one vrlo brzo sele i u manje razvijene sredine.

²⁶ Anđelka Milić lists some of the factors that have altered marriage in modern society as the sexual revolution of the 1960s, the emancipation of women and the process of individualization. She believes that this began with the structural and social changes that affected the most advanced societies, but rapidly moved on to less developed ones.

imovinu pojedinih ukućana, koja se sticala na različite načine: nasljeđivanjem, kupovinom i sl. Individualnu imovinu su činili: pokretni predmeti (odjeća, obuća, strojevi za šivanje, namještaj) i nepokretni predmeti (zemlja i zgrade).

Prema tradiciji, uglavnom su sinovi zakonski nasljednici porodičnih dobara. Kćeri su dobijale dio ako bi se roditelji tako dogovorili. Rijetki su primjeri da poslije očeve smrti sestra traži svoj dio imovine.²⁷ Većina ispitanika ističe da ženska djeca nasljeđuju zemlju kada nema muških nasljednika, u slučaju ako bi ostale neudate ili ako je porodica bogata i ima dosta zemlje. Prema dostupnim podacima i saznanjima, ako supruga nadživi muža, ona uživa svu imovinu do kraja života. Poslije njene smrti imovinom mogu raspolagati zakonski nasljednici.

Raspodjeli porodične imovine uglavnom se pristupalo poslije smrti oca, ali je bilo i slučajeva da se i za vrijeme očeva života izvrši *dioba*. Ako je *dioba* vršena za vrijeme života oca, otac je određivao kome će koji dio zemlje pripasti. Najčešće se *dioba* vršila dogovorom između nasljednika. Ukoliko bi izostao dogovor, onda se *dioba* vršila u skladu sa nasljednim pravom. Ispitanici su izjavili da je bilo pojava da se braća i sestre, tj. oni koji su zaposleni van poljoprivrede i koji ne žive u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, većim dijelom ili u potpunosti odreknu svog dijela u korist onoga koji je ostao na porodičnom imanju i izdržavao roditelje.²⁸ Poslije Drugog svjetskog rata, iz straha od oduzimanja imovine, dešavalo se da se zemlja podijeli između djece i bliže rodbine.

Sudskih sporova na prostoru Kraljeve Sutjeske vjerovatno je bilo, ali do relevantnih podataka na osnovu izjava ispitanika nismo došli. Uglavnom se radilo o sporovima oko visine nasljeđa, uspostavljanja službenosti (prolaza, puteva), sporovima oko međa i sl. Ivan Pavlović se sjeća da je u Mjesnoj zajednici postojalo *Mirovno vijeće* koje su sačinjavala dva ili tri ugledna domaćina iz Kraljeve

personal property of individual household members acquired by inheritance, purchase and so on. Personal property consisted of both portable articles (clothing, shoes, sewing machines, furniture) and real property (land and buildings).

Traditionally, it was usually sons who were the legal heirs to the family properties. Daughters would receive legacies if the parents so determined. It was rare for a sister to demand her share of the property after the father's death.²⁷ Most interviewees said that daughters inherit land when there are no male heirs, if they are unmarried or if the family is rich and owns enough land. The information at our disposal suggests that if a wife survives her husband she has a life interest in all the property. After her death the property becomes available to the legal heirs.

The division of property usually took place after the father's death, but there were cases of a father sharing out property in his own lifetime. In this case, he would decide what part of the land would belong to whom. This was usually done by agreement between the heirs, but if there was no agreement, the father would divide the property according to inheritance law. Interviewees say that there were cases of brothers and sisters not working the farm and not living in Kraljeva Sutjeska renouncing most or all of their share for the benefit of those remaining on the family estate and looking after their parents.²⁸ After World War II, people were afraid their property would be confiscated, and some would divide the property between their children and close relatives.

There were probably instances of court cases in Kraljeva Sutjeska, but our interviewees provided no relevant information in this regard. Disputes were usually over the amount of a legacy, the establishment of services (right of way, roads), boundary disputes and the like. Ivan Pavlović recalls that the local ward had a Reconciliation Committee consisting of two or three leading

²⁷ Ženska djeca nisu uračunata u nasljedstvo jer su kćeri dobijale miraz kada bi se udale, a muškarci kuću i zemlju. Kasim Plasto navodi da su on i njegova braća prodali volove nakon očeve smrti, te dodali nešto novca i dali sestrama kao dio nasljedstva koji pripada njima, dok zemlju nisu dobile.

²⁸ Franjo Aždajić ističe da je naslijedio porodičnu kuću jer je ostao da živi sa ocem, s tim da ga je otac obavezao da omogući sestrama da imaju gdje doći i da mogu kristiti porodičnu kuću za vrijeme odmora.

²⁷ Daughters were not included in the inheritance since they were given a dowry when they married, while men got a house and land. Kasim Plasto said that he and his brothers sold the oxen after their father's death, added some more cash and gave it to their sisters as part of their inheritance, but that the sisters did not receive land.

²⁸ Franjo Aždajić said that he inherited the family house because he stayed there living with his family, but that his father made him promise that his sisters could always come there and use the house during the holidays.

Sutjeske. Obično su se u *Mirovno vijeće* birali stariji ljudi, radi njihovog iskustva, poznavanja granica zemljišta (međa) i opštih prilika u samoj zajednici.²⁹

Zaključak

Ovim radom nastojalo se ukazati na pojedine segmente porodičnog i društvenog života stanovništva Kraljeve Sutjeske u vremenskom razdoblju od Drugog svjetskog rata do 2008. godine. Istraživanje je najvećim dijelom zasnovano na razgovorima sa kazivačima, rođenim u prvoj polovici ili sredinom 20. stoljeća, u dobi od 40 do 80 godina.

Istraživanje strukture porodice i porodičnih odnosa u Kraljevoj Sutjesci ukazuje na posljedice industrijalizacije i urbanizacije u periodu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, koje su se manifestovale na opće raslojavanje porodice u ovom kraju, što se opet odrazilo na strukturu i unutrašnje odnose. Može se konstatovati da život u velikim porodičnim zajednicama koje su se sastojale od braće, njihovih roditelja, supruge i djece, nije bio poznat na području Kraljeve Sutjeske. Prema dobivenim podacima, prosječan broj članova jedne porodice se kretao od 5 do 10 članova, što ukazuje na činjenicu da su domaćinstva u prosjeku bila mala. Međutim, postojale su proširene porodice u određenim vremenskim razdobljima, najčešće kada su se sinovi ženili i živjeli kod roditelja. Pri tome je većina kazivača naglasak stavljala na privremenost takvog suživota, te na segment odvojenog privređivanja i kuhanja.

Veliki broj kazivača rođenih pedesetih i šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća potvrdio nam je da su planirali broj djece, što nije slučaj sa starijim generacijama.

Odnosi između muškaraca i žena su bili patrijarhalni. Bila je prisutna društvena hijerarhija po dobi i spolu, odnosno bilo je izraženije vrednovanje muškaraca i starijih ukućana. Primjetna je promjena u napuštanju tradicionalne podjele poslova unutar porodice, naročito u periodu zapošljavanja muških članova porodice, a i kasnije sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, kada se sve više zapošljavaju i žene.

Brak je monogaman i po pravilu patrilokalan. Dobna granica za stupanje u brak nije bila strogo određena. Djevojke su se obično udavale u dobi od 16. do 20. godine, a mladići uglavnom nakon odsluženja

heads of household from Kraljeva Sutjeska. Older people were usually appointed on account of their experience, their knowledge of boundaries, and their standing in the community.²⁹

Conclusion

This paper sets out various aspects of family and social life in the Kraljeva Sutjeska area from World War II to 2008. The research was based mainly on discussions with interviewees born in the early or mid 20th century, aged from 40 to 80.

The study of the structure of the family and family relations in Kraljeva Sutjeska highlighted the effects of industrialization and urbanization after World War II, which manifested themselves in the general disintegration of the family in this part of the world, reflected in its structure and internal relations. Living as an extended family, consisting of brothers, their parents, their wives and their children, was unknown in Kraljeva Sutjeska. Research revealed that families varied in size from five to ten members, indicating that the average household was small. There were, however, times when the family would increase in numbers, usually when sons married and lived with their parents. Most interviewees stressed that this was a temporary arrangement, and said that each family had its own budget and cooked its own meals.

Most interviewees born in the 1950s and 1960s said they planned how many children to have, which was not the case with the older generations.

Relations between men and women were patriarchal. There was a social hierarchy of age and gender, with men and older members of the household more highly regarded. There were changes to the traditional division of labour within the family, particularly when men took employment, and later in the 1970s and 1980s when more and more women also took paid jobs.

Marriage was monogamous and usually patrilocal. There were no strict age limits for marriage; girls usually married between the ages of 16 and 20, and young men after military

²⁹ Ivan Pavlović ističe da su 1980. godine *Mirovno vijeće* sačinjavali Anto Aždajić i Marijan Grmača.

²⁹ Ivan Pavlović said the 1980 Reconciliation Committee consisted of Anto Aždajić and Marijan Grmača.

vojnog roka. Predbračni život je postao slobodniji, a u periodu osamdesetih i devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća brakovi se sklapaju bez velikog uticaja roditelja i temelje se na obostranoj ljubavi partnera.

Uvid u imovinsko-pravne odnose u porodici pokazuje nam da oni u sebi sadrže elemente tradicijskog i savremenog prava. Dioba imovine uglavnom se odvijala sporazumno između nasljednika, s tim da se nasljedstvo dijelilo samo na muške potomke, dok su ženska djeca isplaćivana kroz miraz kada bi se udale.

Istraživanja su pokazala da se *mobi*, kao običaju uz poslove, pribjegavalo najčešće prilikom kosidbe, žetve, vršidbe, okopavanja ili prilikom izgradnje objekata za stanovanje. Danas je institucija mobe sačuvana u manjoj mjeri nego što je to bilo ranije i uglavnom su to udruživanja između dvije ili tri porodice prilikom određenih aktivnosti, moba za gradnju i pokrivanje kuće, oko pripremanja hrane povodom svadbi, pogrebnih običaja, vjerskih praznika, uređenja groblja, okoline i sl.

Ratna dešavanja u Bosni i Hercegovini 1992.-1995. godine posebno su djelovala i na području Kraljeve Sutjeske. Danas se ona ogledaju, između ostalog, u porastu starosne strukture stanovništva ovog područja, u padu nataliteta i fertiliteta, te u trajnom iseljavanju mlade populacije.

service. Pre-marital life became freer, and in the 1980s and 1990s young people married without much parental influence, but rather married for love.

A survey of proprietary rights within the family reveals that they had features of both traditional and modern law. The division of property was usually made by agreement, but only to male heirs; girls received a dowry when they married.

The study showed that the custom of *moba* or informal cooperative work was usually resorted to for haymaking, harvest, threshing, excavation works or building a house. *Moba* is less common than it once was, and consists mainly of two or three families getting together for various activities, such as building and roofing a house, preparing a wedding banquet, at funerals and religious holidays, or for maintaining the cemetery and public areas.

The 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a particular impact on Kraljeva Sutjeska. The average age of its residents has risen, the birth rate has fallen, and the younger generation has moved away permanently.

Imena kazivača

1. Zahida Plasto, rođ. 1930.
2. Mijo Šajin, rođ. 1953.
3. Slavica Aždajić, rođ. 1930.
4. Franjo Aždajić, rođ. 1940.
5. Kasim Plasto, rođ. 1932.
6. Antonija Aždajić, rođ. 1947.
7. Anto Aždajić, rođ. 1945.
8. Osman Sarač, rođ. 1953.
9. Ilija Jurjević, rođ. 1950.
10. Jelka Jurjević, rođ. 1954.
11. Gordana Šain, rođ. 1949.
12. Katarina Kvesić, rođ. 1936.
13. Bernadica Pavlović, rođ. 1920.
14. Josip Brđanović, rođ. 1951.
15. Ana Rodić, rođ. 1922.
16. Adila Plasto, rođ. 1963.
17. Sead Plasto, rođ. 1963.
18. Božana Aždajić, rođ. 1950.
19. Mijo Šain – Kerla, rođ. 1935.
20. Janja Šain, rođ. 1938.

Names of interviewees

1. Zahida Plasto, b. 1930
2. Mijo Šajin, b. 1953
3. Slavica Aždajić, b. 1930
4. Franjo Aždajić, b. 1940
5. Kasim Plasto, b. 1932
6. Antonija Aždajić, b. 1947
7. Anto Aždajić, b. 1945
8. Osman Sarač, b. 1953
9. Ilija Jurjević, b. 1950
10. Jelka Jurjević, b. 1954
11. Gordana Šain, b. 1949
12. Katarina Kvesić, b. 1936
13. Bernadica Pavlović, b. 1920
14. Josip Brđanović, b. 1951
15. Ana Rodić, b. 1922
16. Adila Plasto, b. 1963
17. Sead Plasto, b. 1963
18. Božana Aždajić, b. 1950
19. Mijo Šain-Kerla, b. 1935
20. Janja Šain, b. 1938

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|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 21. Marijan Radić – Bonaš, rođ. 1951. | 21. Marijan Radić-Bonaš, b. 1951 |
| 22. Fatima Plasto, rođ. 1941. | 22. Fatima Plasto, b. 1941 |
| 23. Selima Plasto, rođ. 1935. | 23. Selima Plasto, b. 1935 |
| 24. Vjekoslava Tomić, rođ. 1940. | 24. Vjekoslava Tomić, b. 1940 |
| 25. Ana Kvesić, rođ. 1930. | 25. Ana Kvesić, b. 1930 |
| 26. Božana Radić, rođ. 1930. | 26. Božana Radić, b. 1930 |
| 27. Mara Bjelavić, rođ. 1956. | 27. Mara Bjelavić, b. 1956 |
| 28. Krešimir Aždajić, rođ. 1951. | 28. Krešimir Aždajić, b. 1951 |

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