

SEARCHING FOR THE FAMILIAR, FACING THE FOREIGN...

**(Dimensions of Identity of the Croats
from Bosnia-Herzegovina)**

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"... there is much more to the name of Bosnia than merely denoting geographical, political and historical content; more important is that it is the name of an especially significant anthropological and spiritual experience" (Lovrenović 1997:78).

This paper deals with the Bosnian reality in the extent that grasps the topic that creates its wider context. This context comprises Croatian national identity within the Bosnian plurality of the period of its population's nationalization (the second half of the nineteenth and approximately first two decades of the twentieth centuries). It tries to synthesize cultural patterns and values that point to and warn about the entirety of the experience within an economic and political structure, ideology, religion and everyday life of an era. The author offers culturological approaches to the dynamics of multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural Bosnian reality of that period.

Introductory words

Since the first mention of *chorion Bosone*, that is, the small country Bosnia, in the work of Byzantine emperor Constantine IV Porphyrogenite *De administrando imperio*¹ (*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* [The Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia], 1982:167), until nowadays, it has been obvious that the plurality of Bosnia has always been one of the country's most significant features. The last several years have indeed been fruitful for collecting information on Bosnia within at least two large fields -- the field of research of its historical and political history and the field of social research.

This paper is a part of a larger research that is being presently conducted. It also deals with Bosnian reality in the extent that makes up the topic that creates its wider context. It is the Croatian identity within Bosnian plurality during the period of nationalization of its population (the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries). The paper tries to synthesize the cultural patterns and values that scientists of our age are starting to view, taking into consideration the results from different fields of social disciplines, especially from the field of cultural anthropology. New perspective is needed and motivating for several reasons; it warns about the entirety of the experience of economic and political structure, ideology, religion, everyday life... It offers new approaches to research the dynamics of multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural Bosnian reality, approaches different from the ones prevailing in the past, and that are sometimes present even nowadays,² especially in viewing and interpreting of events that followed the postcommunist era.

On methodology

The difficulties of presenting and creating this type of synthesis are serious -- one has to take into consideration the reality that is temporally far away, reveal its viability and substantiality, recognize cultural patterns and show the paths of communication and interaction in the past. It all requests the use of different methods and approaches; it becomes necessary to move away from some traditional (ethnographic and ethnologic) methods and to apply newer or new ones.

¹ Porphyrogenite wrote his work in the tenth century, and it comprised the period of several centuries earlier.

² The new perspective emphasizes that the dynamics of reality is not only a part of its formative elements, but also of the mechanisms of change (e.g., the development of the institutions of association, the institutions of power, etc.).

Together with west European and American cultural anthropology, modern Croatian ethnology has adjusted old and gradually introduced new methods of and approaches to research, and, among other things, redefined the term *ethnographic material*. That is why there has been an increasing interest for documentary messages of co-called non-ethnologic texts during the last number of years. We are talking about the use (as research material in the sense of being the source of information) of diaries, auto-biographies -- life stories, life histories, narration about one's personal life,³ registers of births, marriages and deaths, yearbooks of schools, itineraries,⁴ letters, photographs,⁵ illustrations, chronicles of various associations and organizations, magazines, festive and occasional publications, etc. Those sources are used for research of the reality of certain time period and a defined culture, not applicable to direct observation and participation (Prošić-Dvornić 1987:41 and on). So, we are dealing with researching the communities that are no longer live organisms (which makes it impossible to use the usual ethnological practice) (Gulin 1996:167); it is the direct topic of this paper. However, the same sources are being used in the research of contemporary cultures that can be subject of direct observation and participation (Belaj 1995:293); it could be the topic of what should be certain follow-up of this paper. The method/methods of the use of this type of sources are named differently by different scholars, depending on to what extent do they really differ. The names range from, for example, *the life history method* (see, for example, Bausinger 1988:480) to *the method of personal documents* (Piotrowski 1988:129); the material is called *literary ethnology* (Šmitek 1988:137), and so on. *Literary anthropology* also finds its place here; it is a methodical procedure of using literary work or opus as possible and non-traditional historical and anthropological source (Poyatos 1988a:XII–XIV and b:3–49 elaborated the conceptual and methodological frame as one of possibilities).

Some of these methods are applied in this paper.

The research hypotheses

The hypotheses of this research are the holistic principle according to which everything we research in anthropology are complex systems

³ For more on legitimacy of the life history method and its connection with traditional ethnological methods, as well as the possibilities of becoming merely a new frame of traditional research see, for example, Bausinger 1988, Prica and Povrzanović 1995:187–190.

⁴ For example, the itineraries of abbots Jukić and Martić, in: Grbić 1995.

⁵ More detailed in Pietrowski 1988.

containing sets of interconnected and interdependent elements, placed in the broadest possible context (Haviland 1989:14), and cultural dynamics and the liability of culture to change (Haviland 1989:297–298); they all request viewing of culture through the historical perspective.

There are numerous and different theoretical approaches that define terms such as culture, identity, ethnicity, symbol, etc. The contents of these terms and their manipulation within the process (or the attempt) of grouping communities into, for example, dominant and privileged, elite, inferior, majority, minority, etc., harmonize their members with the hierarchy of existing social, political and economic relationships. This applies both to the preservation and protection of one's own culture and heritage, and to the participation into the competition for development and positions within the entire hierarchy (for example, in the distribution of resources).

Self-confidence and self-respect lead a community through long centuries of changes and development. Therefore, each community needs to free itself from the feeling of anxiety and fear of death. It has to gain confidence in its identity. It has to define itself in order to be able to believe in itself. It has to have the feeling of affiliation and continuity. It presupposes that the community has its name, its geographical space, its tradition and culture, the consensus confirming the common origins, the feeling of identity, community and belonging, even the imagined ones.

The awareness of belonging to one's nation -- the ethnic/national identity -- has one of the leading roles on both individual and collective levels, within the entire identity.

The term ethnic identity, that is merely one form of the entire social identity, contains two dimensions -- objective dimension, that is, the cognitive (objective cultural contents) and subjective dimension, that is, the emotional (the feeling of belonging and loyalty). Both dimensions are in a constant process of change and they never reveal themselves in some kind of *originality*. However, their constant part is that they are believed, thought of and claimed to be the basis of community (for more on nation as imagined community see Anderson 1994:6).

Since ethnic identity contains indicators for common and identical (*us*) and indicators for different (*them*), it is at the same time the means of communication and the means of differentiating between individuals and groups⁶ (in other words, identity depends on similarities to the same extent it depends on differences).

⁶ For a detailed survey of different approaches, conceptions and theories of the research of ethnic identity, as well as the terminological analysis, see Supek 1988, Rihtman-Auguštin 1983, and Grbić 1994.

Accordingly, the formation of a solid identity requires combination and interaction through tolerance, but also through juxtaposing, ensuring the obligatory appreciation of culture or cultural tradition.

The expression and highlighting of identity represents the imagination (as conceptualized by Anderson) and symbolic presentation of the self as being culturally different from the others, through the symbolic use of those aspects of culture chosen by a group to be its distinctive features that denote its diversity.

It is understandable that signs and symbols (the visible proof of the common identity and the common past and therefore the common future) serve the purpose of the symbolic representation. It means that signs and symbols are also a means of communication (Leach 1983:16–27) and the indicators of social identity, for they strengthen the community and create behaviour stereotypes, etc. (Geertz 1973:91).⁷

The European south-east is often (and with good reason) called the mosaic of peoples, symbolism, languages, religions, cultures, countries, social events and all sorts of changes. Historical dramas have been performed here for centuries, just as they are performed today, at the end of the twentieth century. One of this region's constants is, among others, the frequent fluctuation of people/nations, sometimes conceptualized and organized, and sometimes driven by elementary forces or by coercive measures.

Communities that have been preserved throughout long historical periods, existing within different state organizations (that is, social and economic systems) are this region's specifics. They suffered different kinds of pressure within those organizations: from political and judicial, economic, cultural, religion, to all the others. Fighting these pressures, and partly owing to them, they have created a stable and clearly defined identity with a strong collective consciousness and inner solidarity. The Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina are one such example.

Croatian identity and Bosnian plurality -- -- an analytical survey

Without entering a more detailed historical discourse of the region of Bosnia (such a survey would outgrow the contents and purpose of this paper), but basing itself on the knowledge of historical science, we can

⁷ By the term symbol, I mean and accept Geertz's definition claiming that "... it is used for any object, act, event, quality, or relation which serves as a vehicle for a conception - the conception is the symbol's meaning" (Geertz 1973:91).

claim that the Bosnian identity/identities have passed through different stages.

The lack of reliable sources of information makes it difficult to draw meaningful conclusions about the origins of early Bosnian Slavic population and about their ethnicity in the period between approximately the sixth and the seventh centuries. The superficial claim by Noel Malcolm may contain the most truthful answer to that question. He says that they "... were the Slavs living in Bosnia" (Malcolm 1995:16).

Bosnia passed through the Middle Ages pervaded by domestic, autochthonous Bosnian identity (compare with Kržišnik-Bukić 1996:13 and on). The factors of this identity were numerous; their inner and outer cohesion strength made them matching to the identification factors of modern states of a national type. First of all, what we have here are the geographic space with the Bosnian state, with domestic rulers (civil governors [*ban*], kings [*kralj*] and nobility [*plemstvo*]) that were strong at the level of the state with organized economy (based on profitable exploitation of precious minerals), common language, its own script called *bosančica*, its autochthonous religion (the dualistic Christian, that is, heretic religion called the Church of Bosnia [*Crkva bosanska*] and its followers called *krstjani*), and later on also with the Catholicism, the Franciscan monks and their organizational institution of the Franciscan province of the Silver Bosnia [*Bosna Srebrena*]. Some of these factors of identity had the strength of symbols and signs, and have kept existing as such in the collective memory for centuries; for example the Church of Bosnia.⁸ Some of those symbols are present even nowadays, for example, the lily flower, which is a current Bosnian state symbol, and that originally symbolizes the innocence of Mary, the Mother of God, and was used as the Bosnian royal symbol from the period of king Tvrtko.⁹

The patterns of formation of identity of Bosnian population have changed by the arrival of the Turks, the collapse of the Bosnian state, the change of government that took whole four centuries and included the introduction of the Islam as a part of the governing system, islamization, total breakdown of the Church of Bosnia and the discrimination of the

⁸ Analyzing the phenomenon of the Church of Bosnia, Malcolm claimed that "The mediaeval heresy, as well as the history of peasant riots, is a topic that in itself motivates the historians to romantically identify with: the heretics more often seem braver, more original and more interesting than the common believers. And national heretic (or supposedly heretic) church arises a special feeling of identification in a historian; this significant Bosnian phenomenon lays in the very heart of Bosniak nationality in the minds of many historians of Bosnia" (Malcolm 1995:37).

⁹ After Yugoslav state organization ceased to exist six centuries after Tvrtko's death, the lily flower, being the symbol of Bosnian mediaeval identity was included in the new flag of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a basic constitutive feature.

Christian Churches (Orthodox, but especially Catholic Church). One group of identity factors are lost, while the other begins to dominate. The religious belonging gains the primary significance in the case of Bosnia. Two basic religious communities co-exist in Bosnia independently one from another since sixteenth century: the Islamic and the Christian. Furthermore, the Islamic has grouped itself according to the origin of its members. The genuine Turks and other Asian population of the Islamic religion were on one side, while the islamized domestic population were on the other. The Christians were divided into the Catholics and the Orthodox. Parallel with these occurrences, the on-going migration processes (immigration and emigration) result in constituting other, more or less organized communities. For example, one of them was the Jewish community. After the Sephardi Jews' exodus in the fifteenth century, a certain number immigrated into Bosnia and formed a small but firm and organized community. The Gypsies began coming to Bosnia in the fifteenth century, although (according to some sources) they were already present in Bosnia before the arrival of the Turks (for more on the Jews and the Gypsies see Malcolm 1995:155–160). Various different communities of non-Slavic origin (besides the Turks) immigrate to Bosnia at the same time; the Greeks, Armenians, Tzintzars, Circassians, Vlachs and others.

A large number of the Christian population emigrated out of Bosnia, especially during the first years of the Turkish rule, but also later, and this migration caused the other; in search of better life conditions the population constantly moves within Bosnia itself, and colonizes the empty regions. Ethnic (as well as demographic) structure of Bosnia was thus constantly changing. Those changes continued in the centuries to follow, and went on until today. An example of such migrations at the micro level see in Petrić 1970:9–95.

We can thus claim that Bosnia was a heterogeneous social community, a country of multiethnic and multireligious identity during the period of Turkish rule, measured according to the dominant identification factors and criteria of the time: the criteria of ethnic origin and the religious belonging. We may even said it used to be multicultural, but we have to note that this was the period of the Bosnian Muslims' (that is, Islamic) culture's prosperity, while the cultural development of the Christian population was put in some other perspective.

It is interesting that, although the Turks and Muslims in general were the privileged governing social stratum, neither Turkish, nor Arabian, nor Persian languages have ever become the languages of communication in Bosnia. The immigrated population was indeed fast linguistically assimilated. The Turkish and Arabian languages were used exclusively for the purpose of high state and religious duties, and they were the official

languages of the mosques and Moslem religious high schools. Persian was often the language of philosophy, theology and literature. That is how the domestic language, called Bosnian [*bosanski*], Bosniak [*bošnjački*] and Slavic [*slavenski*] by the speakers themselves (according to the literature of the time), was one of the element of community of this multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural Bosnia (although many words of Turkish origins entered this language); it also became the distinctive feature of the local population (Christian and islamized) as opposed to the genuine foreigners (for example, the Turks).

The "Slavic" language was the third spoken language of the Ottoman Empire, immediately following Turkish and Arabian. This was achieved through *devširma*, or laying boys under contribution (they were trained and recruited into the so-called janizary army); about 200,000 children from the Balkans area underwent this system (Malcolm 1995: 63). Many of these janizaries have accomplished successful careers up to the highest state rank, which motivated the authors to claim that "... the language of our small nation ... used to be the diplomatic language at the [Sublime] Port" (Hadžijahić 1937:93).

The period of Austrian-Hungarian rule in Bosnia, although ten times shorter than the Turkish rule (forty years, from 1878 to 1918), is a period of new changes in development and formation of Bosnian identities. Besides establishing the basis of new relationships in economic, religious, cultural... spheres, the characteristics of that time were the political conceptualization of national issue and the moment of the final institutionalized division into three basic Bosnian-Herzegovinian "national" communities, following the religious criteria (Kržišnik-Bukić 1996:29). Namely, the nationalization of the Bosnian Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox has begun during the mid nineteenth century (Grbić 1995:121). At that time, the cultural and religious movements gained new appearance. It was the time when the Catholics declare as the Croats and the Orthodox as the Serbs more and more. They started to form (of course, besides the Muslim population) as three ethno-religious entities in the public (social, cultural, and political) life; they have been treated as such both in science and in politics ever since (Bringa 1993:82).

However, this is also an era when larger migration took place (again); the *muhadžir migrations* one of the prominent ones and they are especially known in literature (Seferović 1981:48).¹⁰

¹⁰ The name of these migrations originates from the Turkish word *muhadžire*, meaning *immigrant, migrant*, the Muslim that migrates from an heretic country into a Muslim one (Klaić 1988:912).

It is supposed that the about 100,000 people, mostly Muslims left (emigrated from) Bosnia during the whole period of Austrian-Hungarian rule. At the same time, new government started to immigrate population from "its" other countries immediately after the occupation for economic reason. There were the Croats from Croatia, Slovenes, Italians, Polish people, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Polish and German Jews, and others among the immigrants. According to the estimations based on the Austrian-Hungarian statistics, about 200,000 people immigrated to Bosnia that way (Kržišnik-Bukić 1996:32; Malcolm 1995:195–196).

It is understandable that political and ethnic and demographic changes (connected with political) have intensified cultural, social and every other level of the Bosnian everyday life of the time. It resulted in creation of significant cultural elements and patterns of mutual communication and interaction, from the peaceful common life, tolerance and community life, to confrontation and conflict. Cultural and every other Bosnian plurality found its place in, among others, historiography and literature, where it often gains fantastic, almost mythical dimension. Culturological surveys, papers, studies, etc, that use ethnographic material and are deprived of mysticism, document the models of interaction and the patterns of real, everyday life in Bosnia. Let us merely mention one of the mentioned, such as the words of Turkish origin that entered the language, or taking over cultural elements in the domain of music, nutrition or the way of clothing. The Turkish costume worn by non-Muslim population was in some areas preserved even until the first half of the twentieth century. The autobiography of the Bosnian abbot Bonifac Badrov (1896–1974), describing family atmosphere in which this Franciscan was raised and grew up, mentions an interesting information concerning his sister, "wise Mary" [*mudra Marica*], who became known to the whole region of Livno for being the first Catholic woman who switched the Turkish trousers [*dimije*] with a skirt and thus introduced European way of dressing (Džaja 1962:285, according to Vrgoč 1996:21).

An indicative example of inter ethnic and inter religious overlapping are the pilgrimages of the members of all three religions to the same sanctuaries, which is a part of centuries old Bosnian tradition (for example, the pilgrimage to the fair-place, the votive place of Virgin Mary in the town of Olovo, which the Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims visited together even during the Turkish period (abbot Lj. Z. 1931:32–34).

Although there are still no systematic research of individual smaller ethnic communities, it seems that only a smaller number resisted assimilation, and that larger part was marginalized and mostly assimilated.

Linguistic assimilation had to follow directly, so that smaller communities gathered around their clerical institutions (and not around, let us say, cultural or others). There used to be several smaller religious communities, such as Jewish (besides the Sephardi Jews, the Ashkenazi were also colonized here under the Austrian-Hungarian rule), Evangelic and Greek-Catholic (also the colonists of that period of time). However, a firm basic three-ethnic/national and cultural structure remained: Muslim, Croatian and Serbian. This was the form that entered the state organization of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918.

Earlier analyses (Grbić 1994, 1995) make it clear that the process of identity development within the Christian population during approximately the second half of the nineteenth century went in the direction of ethnic or national -- Croatian and Serbian -- apprehension. The Croats and the Serbs have been nationally constituted until the end of the century, while the Muslim population's final nationalization has to be placed into the twentieth century.

As far as the Croatianhood is concerned, it is certain that more elements influenced this process. Several ethnic determinants/signifiers have become factors of Croatian identity over time; there are the ones connected to the temporal or spatial borders, such as common past and historical experience and life space (namely, there were periods in the past when some parts of Croatian space belonged to the Bosnian state, and would again separate from it). However, there are also the ones, equally important, that had nothing to do with either historical frame or governmental system.

We should note that social life is structured by certain institutions. The social structure of Bosnian Catholic population had been minimal until the mid nineteenth century. This population mainly consisted of peasantry with no safe economic base for their existence. To put it in the most general terms, trade was in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs and Jews, and handicrafts, especially artistic ones, in the hands of the Muslims. The Croatian peasant population dealt mainly with agriculture that -- because of primitive agritechnical tools -- gave poor results; the cattle-breeding was in similar situation. Of course, it all resulted in communicative isolation of the Croatian population; the one and main communication was held between the village and the church. Keeping in mind that the only cultural centres of the time were Franciscan monasteries, family, village and church were the only social and even cultural institutions.

Perhaps the following citation describes best the (today already seven centuries old) correlation of the Bosnian Catholics and the Franciscans of *Bosna Srebrena* (and later founded Herzegovinian Franciscan province) and the role of the Franciscans in preservation of

religion in the numerous Catholic population that did not "overturned their faith" during the Turkish rule, as the abbot Grga Martić put it vividly: "Farlati said everything there was to say about the significance of the Bosnian Franciscans in the fourth book of his too important work *Illyricum sacrum*. He ascribed the preservation of the Christian name and faith to their care and missionary work... There is no doubt about them being equally important for the preservation of the Bosnian and renovation of the Croatian names" (Banac 1992:113).

Religion therefore belongs to the first and the most important factors of Croatian identity; more precisely, it is the permanent orientation towards the Catholicism. The Franciscans are, of course, the most significant for advocating religion as such. They emphasized the notion of nation (since the permanent orientation towards the Catholicism is a general Croatian feature) through religious connection, being the prevailing element of homogeneity, unity and togetherness. They also broadened and strengthen it with help of those signifiers that were not connected either with spatial or temporal limitations.

Namely, many of them were enthusiastic Illyrians (followers of Illyrian or Croatian national renaissance that took place during the second half of the nineteenth century). Following the renaissance ideas, they have subjugated their enlightenment, educational and cultural work to the basic cause of the Croatian national renaissance, and that was national, linguistic and cultural emancipation, together with the aspiration of uniting the centuries long divided Croatian ethnic space. Defining their ethnic local (collective) identity with the expression "the Bosnian Croats", they have at the same time advocated, consciously or unconsciously, the idea of manifoldness of (their own) identity.

Being a part of Illyrian world view, they believed in the mission of national word. For them, oral literature was the very document describing people and life, the mirror of the "national soul" itself. Advocating and reevaluating traditional values and traditional heritage have contributed to the affirmation of national and cultural positions of the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Grbić 1994:107–108).

Therefore, another significant factor of the process of Croatian identity's development leans directly on the first (religion) -- this factor is culture, primarily traditional culture. If we were to ask ourselves why traditional culture, the answer would not be merely connected with the Illyrian attitude accepted by the Franciscans, but also in the fact that the traditional culture was the only type of culture that existed within the cultural menu. Namely, in contrast to the culture of the Muslim population that simply flourished in visual, and music arts, literature and architecture,

the Catholic population (as well as the Orthodox) did not have almost anything we call cultural development.

The subjective dimension of the Croatian identity developed beside the objective dimension (having objective cultural contents as its basis); it was the awareness of belonging to one's community -- nation.

With regard to the role of the Catholic Church in the realm of culture, the Bosnian case gives the term religion more meanings, definitely more than the semantic contents of the religion itself. The Catholicism and Croatianhood stand here as two parallel and inseparable phenomena, being the factors of identification.

The turn of the century partly changes the role of the Church. It loses its exclusive patronage over the national awareness and national and cultural development. Namely, we know that the Franciscans were the only ones who run schools during the Ottoman rule. It was only during the last decade that the government founded schools that were not run by the Franciscans.

The Franciscans definitely lose their monopoly after 1878, when the Jesuits arrive in Bosnia. They founded their own schools. Besides, the Austrian-Hungarian government tried to develop the system of public schools following the European model, wanting to create the elite that would protect the state interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Along with the attempts to modernize the religious schools, the government indeed founded public schools as well. The number of state schools lasting four years increased from one year to another. High schools and colleges were also founded. That is how a laic, bourgeois intelligentsia emerged on the public scene besides the clerical elite.¹¹

The government proclaimed multiculturalism in order to make the three-national emancipation of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian population impossible to establish. However, it took measures that made this multiculturalism impossible to become alive -- from advocating projects for creating a universal Bosnian nation to giving support to the religious belonging as the main factor of identification besides holding back the others (above all the cultural ones). This way, the politics of multiculturalism remained only written on the paper.

The urban intelligentsia stratum was the first that did not accept the concept of the government that was supposed to hold back the multinationality (Džaja 1994, according to Karamatić 1996:212), and its members were fighting the strict state control step by step.

¹¹ First cultural and scientific institutions were founded during that period as well -- for example, the State museum [*Zemaljski muzej*] in Sarajevo (Mandić 1938:9).

This intelligentsia enriched the cultural dimension of the Bosnian Croats' identity introducing new cultural contents. Among other phenomena, the phenomenon of founding Croatian, that is, national voluntary associations (cultural, educational, humanitarian), various clubs and especially magazines and newspapers is emphasized with its meaning.

The bourgeois associations of that kind were the ones that enabled the inclusion of different social strata, especially the lower ones, into the process of modernization, that is, into "... the set of changes that were named modernization by historiography" (Leček 1995:138–140).

Summarizing the phenomena today called the process of development of the Croatian national identification, national emancipation and affirmation, Ivan Barišić writes in "Napredak", the journal of the Croatian cultural association "Napredak" in the 1930s: "The year 1897 ends the first period of the national life of the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Austrian-Hungarian occupational government; it was the period full of tough struggles for an intense national life" (Barišić 1932:4).

To make it clearer, we should say that until that time all of the nationally oriented cultural and enlightenment work was concentrated on the singing associations. For example, there were seven Croatian national associations in Bosnia-Herzegovina; five of them were of the singing type. However, after 1897 the expression of the national awareness became more aggressive, so that the government was not able to control this expression as strictly as before, nor could it hold back the founding of national associations as it was able to do before. The era of very diligent founding of Croatian reading clubs, libraries, youth and other associations began.

The fact that from 1897 to 1907 147 Croatian (that is, national) cultural and educational associations were founded speaks best of that diligence. The aim of these associations was education and the creation of intelligentsia, as well as the small-business strata. That was why these associations gave scholarships and supported financially pupils and students. They encouraged the interest in literature, arts, education, social life, as well as preservation of national feelings and national awareness.

Some of the associations were of popular character, while some other were elite -- for example, the Croatian Sarajevo Club [*Hrvatski sarajevski klub*], founded by Sarajevo intelligentsia in 1905. The main initiator of the founding was dr. Ćiro Truhelka. As Barišić vividly wrote in his review, the club was "a respectable educational institution and meeting point of established and learned people" (Barišić 1932:15). It consisted of the library, play room, pool room, and organized grand concerts,

happenings and lectures by respectable scholars. Significant anniversaries of Croatian cultural history were also celebrated.

We can say that the process of the development of Bosnian Croats' identity during the late nineteenth and the first centuries of the twentieth centuries had undergone the nationally oriented cultural development. The cultural contents have therefore widened from the traditional to all the cultural aspects; that way, culture became an important dimension and factor of Croatian identity.

The contents of periodicals and other publications of that time prove this claim. "Napredak", the journal of the Croatian Cultural Association "Napredak" from Sarajevo is one of the most significant among them. The topics range widely from the history of the Church, for example, articles dealing with individual Catholic parishes, churches and monasteries, Franciscan provinces, clerical eminencies, etc. Furthermore, the Croatian history in Bosnia and outside Bosnia was discussed, as well as the Croatian cultural institutions. Topics dealing with literary history, as well as comparative studies of literary history were also present. The editors tried to bring issues such as development of certain economic branches, hygiene, health, etc. closer to their peasant reading audience. Ethnographic materials were published. The issue of Croatian people or nation were a separate topic. The reading audience was getting familiar with Bosnia as narrower, and with Croatia as wider homeland; this was the attempt to emphasize the belonging to "wider" Croatian nation. Articles about certain Croatian (and Bosnian) regions, towns, eminent people, and also about the Croatian emigrants were published.

The articles were of popular, professional and scholar character, and it lead towards the realization of the Croatian intelligentsia's goal -- -- building national culture and enculturation into the contemporary European model.

Closing words

Ethnic and national, religious and cultural plurality are the constant of the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The changes of rulers and governments, migrations of the population, slow economic development... All of these are reasons for formation of special patterns of the process of the identification Bosnian population. As far as the Croats are concerned, the way from the inferior people [*raja*] to the constitutive nation within the Bosnian state as a whole took more centuries.

The Croats are a community in Bosnia; their culture had been marginalized throughout several centuries in relation to the culture of the

ruling nation, isolated in relation to the original, but connected with it, although enough attention has not always been paid to it.

The process of the identification of Bosnian Croats took place through the process of nationalization, that understood the process of creating models of ethnic belonging. It had been created on the basis of the factors such as common name, common life space, historical experience, religion and culture (ethnographic material that is going to be analyzed during the continuation of the research points especially to culture). However, the definition of ethnic belonging is merely one of the dimensions of the individual and the group identity. Other dimensions that should be studied in order to obtain a full picture are social position, ideological orientation and many others.

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U POTRAZI ZA BLISKIM, U SUČELJAVANJU S TUĐIM...

(Dimenzije identiteta Hrvata u Bosni i Hercegovini)

SAŽETAK

Članak se bavi bosanskom zbiljom i to u onoj i onolikoj mjeri u kojoj zahvaća temu koja tvori njezin širi kontekst. To je: hrvatski identitet unutar bosansko-hercegovačkoga pluraliteta u razdoblju nacionaliziranja njezina stanovništva (druga polovica 19. i prva desetljeća 20. stoljeća). Autorica analizira bosansko-hercegovački identitet/identitete tijekom minulih vremena, kao i razvoj hrvatskoga identiteta u ozračju bosansko-hercegovačkoga. Utvrđuje faktore identifikacijskoga procesa, naglašavajući pritom važnost stvaranja modela etničkoga pripadništva; utvrđuje postojanje mnogostrukoga identiteta Hrvata u Bosni i Hercegovini. Analizira kulturne obrasce i vrednote koji govore o cjelovitosti iskustva u sklopu gospodarske i političke strukture, ideologije, religije, svakidašnjice... nudeći kulturološki i antropološki pristup dinamici multietničke, multikonfesionalne i multikulturne bosansko-hercegovačke zbilje jednoga razdoblja koji sasvim sigurno može pomoći boljem razumijevanju daljnje sudbine Hrvata u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i ostalih njezinih stanovnika.