

FEMALE EDUCATION IN JAGODA TRUHELKA'S EPISTOLARY BOOK *U CARSTVU DUŠE* IN HABSBURG BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Mitsutoshi Inaba
Independent researcher
abamnmi@gmail.com

Abstract: This paper aims to elucidate Jagoda Truhelka's view on female education in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Habsburg Empire (1878-1918). She worked as a teacher in Bosnia starting in 1901. The scholarship has evaluated her educational theory as eclectic. This paper compares her epistolary book on female education, *U carstvu duše* (1910) with Stjepan Basariček's pedagogy whose book was used as a textbook for pedagogy at all normal schools in Bosnia. In this way, we will be able to answer the following questions: How does her pedagogical theory relate to her activities in Bosnia? Is the scholarship justified in understanding her theory as eclectic?

Keywords: Jagoda Truhelka, Stjepan Basariček, Female education, Immunological way, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstrakt: Ovaj rad ima za cilj da rasvijetli pogled Jagode Truhelke na žensko obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini pod Habsburškim Carstvom (1878–1918). U Bosni je radila kao učiteljica od 1901. godine. Prethodne studije njenu su teoriju obrazovanja ocijenile eklektičnom. U ovom radu njena epistolarna knjiga o ženskom obrazovanju *U carstvu duše* (1910) upoređuje se s pedagogijom Stjepana Basaričeka, čija je knjiga bila upotrijebljena kao udžbenik pedagogije u svim učiteljskim školama u Bosni. Na taj način ćemo moći odgovoriti na sljedeća pitanja: Kako se njena pedagoška teorija odnosi na njena djelovanja u Bosni? Da li je nauka opravdana u shvatanju njene teorije kao eklektične?

Ključne riječi: Jagoda Truhelka, Stjepan Basariček, žensko obrazovanje, imunološki način, Bosna i Hercegovina

Introduction

Jagoda Truhelka, born on 5 February 1864 in Osijek, was a female novelist, pedagogue, and teacher. She graduated from the normal school in Zagreb and worked in Osijek and various other places. She passed the qualification exam for becoming a higher elementary school teacher and was appointed the principal of the girls' high school at Gospić in 1885. In 1892, she was transferred to the girls' lycée in Zagreb, where she worked as a teacher. In 1901, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia), she became the second principal of the girls' high school at Banjaluka. In 1910, she was transferred to Sarajevo, where she worked until the end of the Habsburg reign of Bosnia. That same year, she published a detailed epistolary book on female education, *U carstvu duše (In the Empire of the Soul)*.

In recent years, several studies have been published on female education in Bosnia under the Habsburg Empire (1878–1918).¹ However, the

¹ Fatima Žutić, "Sofija Pletikosić, Safija-hanum, i rasprava o emancipaciji i školovanju žene muslimanske", *Glasnik Rijaseta Islamske Zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Rijaset Islamske zajednice, 2009, br. 7-8, 651-666; Mina Kujović, "Ko su bile nastavnice u muslimanskoj osnovnoj i višoj djevojačkoj narodnoj školi u Sarajevu (1894. – 1918.)", *Novi Muallim*, Sarajevo: Udruženje ilmije Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2005, br. 21, 48-55; Mina Kujović, "Jedna zaboravljena učiteljica – Hasnija Berberović (Prilog historiji muslimanskog školstva u Bosni i Hercegovini)", *Građa Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 2009, god. I, 179-186; Mina Kujović, "Muslimanska osnovna i viša djevojačka škola", *Novi muallim*, Sarajevo: Udruženje ilmije Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2010, br. 41, 72-79; Sonja Dujmović, "Pogledi Jelice Belović-Bernadžikovske iz njene bosanske sopstvene sobe", in: *Zbornik radova: Međunarodna konferencija. Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878-1918*, Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2011, 481-502; Snježana Šušnjara, "Učiteljstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske", *Anali za povijest odgoja*, Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, 2013, br. 12, 55-74; Snježana Šušnjara, "Školovanje ženske djece u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba Austro-Ugarske (1878.-1918.)", *Napredak*, Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoško-književni zbor, 2014, br. 155, 453-466; Fabio Giommi, "Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918)", u: *History of Education*, London: Routledge, 2015, br. 44 (3): 274–279; Fabio Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European: Voluntary Associations, Gender, and Islam in Post-Ottoman Bosnia and Yugoslavia (1878-1941)*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021.

only article that comments on Truhelka within the context of the educational history in Bosnia is Snježana Šušnjara (2006). In her work *U carstvu duše*, published in 1910, as Šušnjara (2006) explains, Truhelka criticises the overemphasis on intellectual education and prefers giving more consideration to moral and aesthetic education, prioritising each child's individuality. However, Šušnjara does not provide an in-depth analysis of Truhelka's work.² Beyond the limits of the educational history in Bosnia, Truhelka has mainly been studied in the context of (juvenile) literature research. The first comprehensive analysis of her works within the history of pedagogy was conducted by Ranka Jindra (1982). According to Jindra, although her book *U carstvu duše* is nothing but a collection of contradictory views, it consistently underscores an idealistic worldview and espouses surmounting the Herbartian intellectualism to pay much attention to the cultivation of emotion and volition in school.³ Katica Pecnik (1995) also mentions that Truhelka's views remain eclectic without offering a systematic pedagogical structure.⁴ Similarly, Dina Marković (1998) mentions that although Truhelka was remarkably influenced by philosophical eclecticism, her educational theory is explicitly idealistic.⁵ On the contrary, Đuro Vidmarović (2011) evaluates it as progressive in that it treats each pupil as a subject rather than an object in education.⁶ Stanislav Vitković (2010), who edited the reissue of *U carstvu duše* in 2010, enumerates Stjepan Basariček, a renowned Herbartian pedagogue in Croatia, as one of the pedagogues

² S. Šušnjara, "Jagoda Truhelka", 254-255.

³ Ranka Jindra, *Jagoda Truhelka: Pedagoški i društveni rad (1864 - 1957)*, Zagreb: Školske novine, 1982, 51.

⁴ Katica Pećnik, "Teorijsko-pedagoški pogledi i književni rad Jagode Truhelke", *Život i Škola*, Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Fakultet za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti, 1995, vol. 44, 92.

⁵ Dina Marković, "Truhelkin odgojni epistolary U carstvu duše", in: *Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa Zlatni danci. Život i djelo Jagode Truhelke*, Osijek: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zavod za znanstveni rad Osijek, 1998, 48.

⁶ Đuro Vidmarović, "Dobrota kao pedagoški aksiom. Jagoda Truhelka: U carstvu duše, Naklada sv. Antuna 'Nova stvarnost', Zagreb, 2010", *Marulić*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko književno društvo sv. Jeronima, 2011, god. 44 br. 3, 160.

whom Truhelka considers important in her educational theory.⁷ Likewise, Katarina Ivon (2023), who analysed Truhelka comprehensively from a literary history perspective, also mentions that Truhelka was influenced by Basariček.⁸

However, despite Truhelka's educational thought being progressive in some aspects, recent scholarship argues that it is eclectic while picking up various views mainly those influenced by Basariček's pedagogy. Basariček's *Pedagogija (Pedagogy)* was used as a textbook for pedagogy at the normal schools in Bosnia until 1918 while Truhelka wrote *U carstvu duše* on female education in 1910, when she worked actively as a teacher in Bosnia, and in 1911, when she taught at the women's normal school in Sarajevo. The question that now arises is, how does her pedagogical thought relate to her activities in Bosnia? Is the scholarship justified in characterizing her thought as eclectic? In this context, we need to analyse *U carstvu duše* to understand how the schoolmistress devised a system for female education in Bosnia by comparing it with a contemporary thought (in this case, Basariček's pedagogy).

Jagoda Truhelka in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In 1901, Jagoda Truhelka was appointed to the girls' high school in Banjaluka, which was the third in Bosnia to be established in the school year 1898/99. This school supplemented the primary school and emphasised educating girls of the bourgeoisie to become future housewives (relatively mothers). However, the school's educational purpose included teaching basic skills (cooking and sewing) for women's employment, and it offered a mix of higher education and practical education for women.

⁷ Stanislav Vitković, "Jagoda Truhelka i njezin odgojni epistolar 'U carstvu duše'", in: Jagoda Truhelka, *U carstvu duše: odgojni epistolar*, drugo nepromijenjeno izdanje, Zagreb: Naklada sv. Antuna – Nova Stvarnost, 2010, 14. For Basariček's Herbartianism, see below: Igor Radeka, "Der Herbartianismus im Kontext der Entwicklung der Pädagogik in Kroatien", in: *Die Pädagogik des Herbartianismus in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009, 131-145.

⁸ Katarina Ivon, *Jagoda Truhelka: Poetika na margini*, Zagreb: Ljevak, 2023, 143.

The majority of the schoolgirls were immigrants, such as girls from families of government officials, and in 1904, nearly 60% (71 schoolgirls) of the 118 attending the girls' high school in Banjaluka were from immigrants' families. Kosta Hörmann, who officially inspected the school in 1904, heard Truhelka's views on the educational programme (she was the principal of the school at the time) and judged them to be useful for school reform. Although the contents of her proposal are unclear, Hörmann wrote in his official report that the school was currently being run like a nursery for female teachers, with a risk of their oversupply; hence, he recommended changing its educational programme to a more practical one.⁹

In fact, in response to social changes, the Provincial government in Bosnia decided to provide its schoolgirls education in preparation for employment. In 1907, the five-year programme was shortened to four years, and an educational programme divided into two courses was introduced after the completion of the second class, as shown in Table 1. However, girls in the professional course were required to complete six years of education.¹⁰

⁹ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (hereinafter: ABiH), Fond: Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija (hereinafter: ZMF), Pr. 1282 / 1904.

¹⁰ *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1907*, Wien: Die K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907, 56. For Table 1, see below: "Verordnung der Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina vom 25. Oktober 1908, Z. 179.447/I, betreffend die Reorganisation der staatlichen höheren Mädchenschulen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina", *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Bosnien und die Hercegovina*, Jg. 1909, Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1909, 461. Schoolgirls could choose the handwork or the tailoring curriculum.

Table 1 Revised educational programme for girls' high schools (1907)

Subject	Class						Year		Sum
	I	II	III		IV		V	VI	
			Gen-eral	Profe-ssional	Gen-eral	profe-ssional			
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2			8
Serbo-Croatian	4	4	3	3	3	3			14
German or Hungarian	4	3	4		4				15
Geography	2	2	1		1				6
History	1	2	2		2				7
Natural history	2	3							5
Natural science			2						4
Arithmetic	2	2	2						8
Geometry	1	1	1						4
Freehand drawing	4	3	3	3	3	3	3		16
Chirography	1	1							2
Home economics			1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Bookkeeping			2	2	2	2	2		6
Handwork and Sectional drawing	3	3	2	22	2	22'			54
Tailoring and Sectional drawing						22'	27	32	81
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	10
Singing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Hygiene			1	1	1	1			2
Cookery							20		20
Washing and Ironing							4		4
Sum		29	29	29	37	29	37	35/ 32	35

Truhelka taught Serbo-Croatian at the girls' high school in Banjaluka, except during the 1904 school year when she also taught freehand drawing. By 1909 she exclusively taught freehand drawing. However, as mentioned earlier, she filled the post of the principal of this school and devoted most of her time to duties relating to that position. She stayed in Sarajevo in early December 1907 to handle closing the accounts (*zaključivanje računa*) and had to reject an offer to write the review.¹¹

Additionally, she engaged in various extramural activities. In August 1906, she applied for a two-week furlough to visit the Agricultural Exhibition in Zagreb; she also cited another purpose for her visit: to participate in an exhibition of school-based educational activities and a lecture for teachers, which were being held there at the same time. The following year, in July-August 1907, she was granted a prepaid salary to stay in Vienna for medical treatment, and the Provincial government in Sarajevo concurrently issued her an accompanying letter to inspect the educational institutions for women (*weibliche Fachanstalten (Fortbildungsschulen)*) in Vienna.¹² She may have mentioned these educational purposes to make it easier to obtain permission for leave, but we infer that she had a keen interest in educational exhibitions and facilities in addition to the main purpose of her furlough. Back in Banjaluka, she encouraged girls to participate in extracurricular musical activities, and in 1910, the schoolgirls of the girls' high school in Banjaluka performed their first opera, 'Ivo i Marica', composed by Engelbert Humperdinck. Their performance made a splash, and just after her transfer to Sarajevo, Truhelka was asked by the Croat cultural society *Napredak* to play its opera.¹³

¹¹ R. Jindra, *Jagoda Truhelka*, 21, 47; ABiH, Fond: ZMF, Pr. 1282 / 1904; Arhiv Hrvatskog Školskog Muzeja, R4011/10, pismo Jagode Turhelke Davorinu Trstenjaku, 5. / XII, 1907.

¹² ABiH, Fond: Zemaljska Vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, kutija 107 / 1907, signatura 117-449/3; signatura 117-536.

¹³ Jagoda Truhelka, "Iz prošlih dana", in: *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb: AGM, 1997, 355-356.

After working for a year at the girls' high school at Sarajevo, she became a teacher at the women's normal school at Sarajevo. There, she taught German and Serbo-Croatian languages to the first and second grades and pedagogy to the second grade. This was a pivotal year in her life, Truhelka published a 'book for the education of girls',¹⁴ in Osijek under the title *U carstvu duše*. This book may have been based on her experiences as a teacher in Bosnia. In 1912, she stopped teaching pedagogy and focused on German and Serbo-Croatian for the first through third grades. In 1913, she was in charge of both subjects for the fourth grade.¹⁵ Thus, it can be claimed with certainty that throughout her teaching at schools in Bosnia, Truhelka rarely taught schoolgirls any subject concerning pedagogy or psychology. Although it is difficult for us to take her testimony literally because of her reminiscences, she mentions that she had strictly maintained a 'neutral position' (*nepristranost*) when she taught Serbo-Croatian language because she had to consider the multinational environment in Bosnia.¹⁶ Although national language is easily linked to nationalism, Truhelka's own thoughts and sensibilities could not have been completely eliminated during her educational activities unless she had made a conscious effort to do so. Moreover, she did teach pedagogy at a women's normal school, albeit for a year.

In the next chapter, we discuss her ideas on female education in depth by analysing *U carstvu duše* through a comparison with Stjepan Basariček's *Pedagogija*.

¹⁴ "Književne vijesti. Jagoda Truhelka: U carstvu duše", *Srpska riječ*, br. 209, 8 October 1910, 3.

¹⁵ *Prvi izvještaj ženske preparandije u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1911 / 12*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1912, 4; *Drugi izvještaj zemaljske ženske preparandije i s njom spojene I. djevojačke nar. osnovne škole kao privremene vježbaonice u Sarajevu, objavljen na kraju školske godine 1912 / 13*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1913, 4; *Treći izvještaj zemaljske ženske preparandije i vježbaonice u Sarajevu objavljen na kraju školske godine 1913 / 14*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1914, 6.

¹⁶ J. Truhelka, "Iz prošlih dana", 354-355.

Educational Ideal: Stjepan Basariček and Jagoda Truhelka

Stjepan Basariček

Basariček's *Pedagogija* was used as a pedagogical textbook for both men and women in all normal schools at Sarajevo and Mostar until the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. Basariček served as a teacher at the normal school in Zagreb when Truhelka was a student there and he was also a colleague of her father, Antun.¹⁷ Published in 1880, *Pedagogija* (its first volume: *Uzgojoslovje*) is divided into five parts, dealing with (a) physical education, (b) education of the mind, (c) pupils and their individual characteristics such as gender, nationality, age, and so on; (d) factors affecting education, which discusses the role of family, church, and state; and (e) the conclusion. In this article, we confine our analysis to its second part, which comprises three chapters: (a) education of the intellect, (b) education of the mind, and (c) education of volition.

In the first chapter, on the education of the intellect, explanatory emphasis is on representations as the basis of mental activity, and emotions and desires as derivatives of representations rather than as fundamental mental phenomena.¹⁸ These representations combine with one another to form intuition (*zor*), which is the seed of higher mental life, denoting judgments, concepts, and ideas. Therefore, the emphasis is on the task of education, which is to help children firmly develop this intuition.¹⁹

The beginning of the second chapter, on the education of the mind, explains that a constant movement of combinations and repulsions among representations occur in the mind, and that the activity of a representation that prevents the clarification of a certain representation causes discomfort (*neugodno*). When a similar representation is added to an unclear representation, a pleasant feeling (*ugodno čuvstvo*) arises because the unclear

¹⁷ S. Vitković, "Jagoda Truhelka", 11.

¹⁸ Stjepan Basariček, *Pedagogija I. dio: Uzgojoslovje*, Zagreb: Hrv. pedagogijsko-književni sbor, 1880, 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 35-38.

representation becomes clear thanks to being added to the unclear one.²⁰ As mentioned in the first chapter, emotion is interpreted as a mental state produced by the mutual movement of representations. This leads to the claim that the basis of mental education is to lead children to develop pleasant emotions by making their representations and concepts about the object clearer through learning.²¹

Furthermore, aesthetic emotion is understood as a pleasant feeling that is strengthened by the unification of various parts and the clarification of the idea that performs this unification, while moral emotion is considered a pleasant feeling that arises when one observes the behaviour of oneself or others that conforms to the model principle acquired through education, reading, and so on. In this way, moral emotion is produced based on the model; if the perception (*zamjetba*) of a certain action encourages the clarification of the representation or concept of the model principle, it produces pleasant emotions, and if it hinders the clarification, it produces unpleasant ones.²² In this sense, moral emotion is nothing but a derivative of representations about morality. Finally, volition, which is the subject of the third chapter, is related to unpleasant emotions caused by the obstruction of clarification of representation. Desire is explained as the feeling of dissatisfaction when a subconscious representation is prevented from emerging into consciousness. If, through experience, an association is then formed among representations, the fulfilment of desire, or in other words, the clarification of representations proceeds smoothly. When the potential clarification of representation becomes more certain, the desire of that representation is called volition. Since desire or volition is related to the movement of representations, a child's mental development could be easily influenced externally by selecting and combining the representations they receive.²³ This group of associated representations determines volition in

²⁰ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I. dio*, 91-93.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

²² *Ibid.*, 106-107, 114.

²³ *Ibid.*, 140, 153.

a certain direction, and in the case of a child whose relationships among representations are still weak, its desire comes into play indiscriminately. On the contrary, if the group of representations is ethical, its volition is called character.²⁴ According to Basariček, such a group that conducts the volition is called a practical principle, and Basariček explains this as follows²⁵:

“Just as concepts are clearer, stronger and more persistent than specific representations, so are such common volitions much stronger and more powerful than those that appear separately. (...) Common volitions are therefore some rules of our will, and are also called practical principles.”

The purpose of primary schools was stipulated as religious and moral education of pupils and the overall development of their physical and mental abilities.²⁶ In *Pedagogija*, which was also the textbook for all normal schools in Bosnia to train personnel to teach such primary education, character formation was presented as the ultimate goal. However, as mentioned earlier, Basariček emphasised formation of associated representations as a method to develop character, and emotion and volition were given a secondary position as their derivatives. Therefore, the emphasis is on the importance of implanting representations in children's minds that would create ethical practical principles in their minds.

In this sense, in *Pedagogija*, character formation is considered an educational goal that all children can achieve through the selection and connection of appropriate representations from without, that is, by teachers or the educational facilities. However, in the fourth part, Basariček refers to the relationship between gender and education. Here, he asserts that compared to men, who are both rational and wilful, women are more likely

²⁴ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I. dio*, 165.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

²⁶ *Organizacija narodnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini, prvi dio*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1909, 1.

to be influenced by fantasy (mašta) and emotion (čustvo), making their judgements subjective and their volitions dependent on emotion, and thus their behaviour more likely based on external values than internal ones.²⁷ While Basariček evaluates fantasy as a creative activity that saves human subjectivity from the control of external impressions, he also explains that its creativity is limited to form (oblik). He also warns that unlimited fantasy therefore runs the risk of creating hallucinations by linking representations that have no causal relationship. Conversely, as reason, he presents the function of combining representations based on their contents, not on forms.²⁸ According to this psychology, women, like men, can develop practical principles from representations, but women, whose activities are more subordinate to fantasy than reason, tend to develop practical principles that are detached from reality, formed not by substance but by formal similarity and simultaneity. On the contrary, as we have already seen, insofar as emotions are derivatives of the movement of representations, it seems odd to present reason and emotion in contrast. In fact, no detailed explanation is provided of the hierarchical understanding of either in *Pedagogija*. However, when explaining taste (okus), which means aesthetic judgement, in the third chapter on education of the mind, it is mentioned that aesthetic judgement develops correlated with intellectual growth.²⁹ Therefore, if women are provided adequate educational opportunities, he claims, there may be no gender differences as far as aesthetic emotions are concerned.

Jagoda Truhelka

Truhelka argues that knowledge gained at school should fulfil two requirements: provide examples of knowledge that are useful for practical life and knowledge that helps people become rational and good.³⁰ We may justifiably claim that her argument was based on her ideas for the reform of

²⁷ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I dio*, 200-201.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-68, 81.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

³⁰ Jagoda Truhelka, *U carstvu duše*, Osijek: Naklada knjižare Radoslava Bačića, 1910, 14.

women's education in Bosnia. Although after the publishing of *U carstvu. duše*, her letter (dated 27 December 1910) illustrates her concerns about new school organisations and foundations, referring to the girls' high school or the women's normal school at Sarajevo to which she was transferred, or to primary schools that were to be reformed according to the book *Organisation of National Schools* published by the Provincial government in 1909.³¹ Regarding the above-mentioned latter requirement (examples of knowledge that help people become rational and good), Truhelka argues initially that a beautiful life is good and happy.³² She presents education as the effort to continue leading such a life. She, therefore, gives much emphasis to beauty in life, and unlike Basariček, emphasises cultivation of emotions, arguing that "emotions breathe life into ideas that are cold and dead in themselves, and ideas become will".³³ She then calls the emotion associated with ideas and representations as disposition (*ćud*), and defines disposition as nothing but individual humanity.³⁴

Therefore, in Truhelka's educational thought, empathy based on disposition is treated with more importance than representation. There is no difference between Basariček and Truhelka in the understanding that empathy is a pleasant emotion born from affinity with others (other's emotion and representation). However, according to Truhelka, empathy is considered the driving force of growth, just as empathy newly acquires and expands aesthetic sensations, enriching the inner reality of each individual heart.³⁵ However, this is not to say that intellect is meaningless for growth. In order to avoid cultivating extreme aesthetic emotions, intellect should grow together with aesthetic emotions, and cultivated aesthetic emotions

³¹ "25. Pismo (bez kuverte)", in: *Pisma Jagode Truhelke Zdenki Marković*, Zagreb: Kronika Zavoda za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe HAZU-a, 2004, 145.

³² J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 1910, 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 42, 45-46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 51, 53-54; S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I. dio*, 1880, 125-128, 51, 53-54. Basariček distinguishes between *sućustvo* and *simpatija*, and *simpatija* in Truhelka corresponds to *sućustvo* in Basariček. *Ibid.*, 125-128.

(obrazovno čuvstvo estetsko) must develop the human soul in a harmonious way. Respecting oneself leads to independence and self-love, but knowing oneself is important to regulate unruly self-love. In this way, intellect is not presented as the subject of growth, but merely as a tool to support aesthetic emotions.³⁶ Truhelka believes that moral emotions are caused by good and bad deeds, not beauty and ugliness, and moral feelings are a part of aesthetic emotions. Further, good deeds of others evoke empathy and encourage each individual to do what they ought to do. This logic leads her to conclude that empathy or emotion itself is the ultimate force that drives life.³⁷ Truhelka also considers that volition is the driving force of action, but as mentioned earlier, volition is based on emotion. However, moral action is based not only on emotion, but also on judgement regarding good and evil. When this volition is based on moral principles, it is called character.³⁸ In this respect, Truhelka's interpretation is similar to Basariček's interpretation of character. However, Truhelka reinterprets what Basariček asserted that emotional rather than rational control of women's behaviours is a flaw for character education in a positive rather than a negative way. For Basariček, observing good deeds is merely a means of educating children through imitation as they have not yet formed a stable set of representations.³⁹ However, Truhelka explains that empathy that arises in children when they watch good deeds is crucial in actively leading them to do good deeds themselves. While Truhelka, like Basariček, associates fantasy, which he listed as a feminine characteristic, with creativity, she also points out the dangers of uncontrolled fantasy. However, according to Truhelka, in contrast to reason, which functions to reproduce representations, fantasy functions to answer the question of 'how'; in science, it expands and supplements knowledge, while in art, it harmonises emotions and representations.⁴⁰

³⁶ J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 60, 72, 199-204.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 175-177.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 195-196.

³⁹ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I dio*, 189.

⁴⁰ J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 26-27.

As already mentioned earlier, in Basariček's pedagogy, character, which was the main object of education at that time, is considered mainly as the ideal to be achieved by men, while women are portrayed as inferior to men. Truhelka does not deny this androcentric educational ideal, but affirms character as the highest moral being. However, it may be argued that Truhelka preferably affirms the female characteristic (emotional being), which Basariček negatively perceives as a means for women to attain character. She thus emphasises educating emotion rather than educating intellect based on representations. She argues that women are equal to men in that they can become characters, provided this education is imparted in different ways depending on the gender, and no difference in quality exists between these ways. In fact, in a letter to Zdenka Marković dated 3 January 1909, she insists as follows:

“It is indeed said that there is no difference between both sexes in the mental aspect; it exists, but these otherwise equal human abilities are still in both sexes in unequal proportions in regard to their development and strength.”⁴¹

Handwork: Stjepan Basariček and Jagoda Truhelka

Stjepan Basariček

Basariček states that practical education is more suitable than theoretical education for women, and that the educational method that influences emotions rather than thinking is better for the schoolgirls. He recommends that girls should learn poetry, musical instruments, drawing, handwork, and housework. He argues that handwork should be taught to prepare girls for life after graduation, but here it means life as a housewife at home.⁴² He mentions that handwork provide women who cannot become wives with a means of earning their daily bread.⁴³ In contrast to the fact that Basariček

⁴¹ “20. Pismo (s kuvertom)”, 137.

⁴² S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I dio*, 203.

⁴³ Stjepan Basariček, *Pedagogija. III. dio: posebno obukoslovje*, Zagreb: Hrv. pedagogijsko-književni sbor, 1884, 389-390.

cites farm work and handicrafts as handwork for men, handwork for women is considered merely as contributing to their work as housewives. Furthermore, according to him, handwork also serves physical development as an educational function.⁴⁴ However, his argument that handworks at school contribute to physical strengthening may apply only to boys, for instance, when they do farm work, while it is unclear how and to what extent handworks for girls are expected to contribute to their physical education. He then asserts that handworks also contribute to intellectual growth through observing and reflecting on aesthetic emotions (*čustvo za ljepotu*) and to the development of self-esteem by being able to measure one's own abilities. Furthermore, he says that handwork cultivates volition by eliminating opportunities for evil deeds and overcoming various difficulties.⁴⁵ Therefore, in his educational theory, handwork is not considered an independent field, but rather a means of character education to comprehensively develop the intellect, emotion, volition, and body, which is why we argue that his theory is biased against gender differences since it particularly espouses character education of boys.

However, in 'Chapter 93, Teaching method of female handwork', he presents an educational method limited to girls, emphasising that it is the teacher's duty to give pupils suggestions so that they can improve their ability to apply what they learn by encouraging individual effort rather than merely practicing imitation. He also requires teachers to help their pupils understand the content, process, and the reason to do their handwork.⁴⁶ Although the teaching methods described here are titled 'female', they are applicable to all education regardless of gender. Besides, while he emphasises improving practical skills and cultivating schoolgirls' 'independency' (*samosvojnost*),⁴⁷ as we have already seen, female handwork is considered within the household duties. In this sense, the female practical skills he

⁴⁴ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija. III. dio*, 391.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 391-393.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 401-403, 405.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 405.

pleads for do not ensure schoolgirls' independence as social citizens, which was expected of boys, and does nothing but grant autonomy to housewives in terms of managing only their own homes.

Nevertheless, it may be argued that such an interpretation of handwork was not far from what was taught in the classroom. As mentioned above, a six-year professional course was introduced in the 1907 programme revision at girls' high schools in Bosnia. Tailoring became the mandatory subject in place of handwork for the fifth grade alongside home economics, which was taught for one hour per week in the fifth and sixth grades. Although the curriculum of home economics for the sixth grade included content that was useful for tailoring, such as fabrics, its aim was to educate girls on the roles and responsibilities of housewives and wives and on how to raise children. This reflects the fact that the role of girls' high schools was focused on three points: general mental education appropriate to the needs of the new century, acquisition of the ability to support oneself, and cultivation of competent housewives.⁴⁸ In other words, professional courses were not necessarily focused on preparing schoolgirls to lead socially independent lives, but on nurturing competent housewives who could meet the social needs of the new century and manage their households well.

Jagoda Truhelka

In terms of her work relating to practical education, Truhelka explains the social background that has created the need to prepare girls to earn a living in the struggle for survival and points out that the trend of scorning work, especially manual work (*ručni rad*), as shameful is wrong. Truhelka emphasises the importance of work for women as a means of emancipation from material concerns, but concurrently she also underscores the educational value of work itself to carry out what needs to be done without expecting anything in return.⁴⁹ However, while Truhelka strongly promotes

⁴⁸ "Verordnung der Landesregierung", 1909, 457, 470-471.

⁴⁹ J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 298-301.

the significance of work that will be useful in social life after graduation, we argue that she places much importance on the implications of work in character development. However, while success in work depends on two factors, namely, willpower and the feeling of liking or disliking the work, as she says, there is no greater remuneration than the satisfaction that the repose after working brings.⁵⁰ Since *U carstvu duše* is an epistolary book addressed to a woman who has finished school and is about to start a new life in society, we believe that it does not discuss in detail the role of handwork in school education. Further, we affirm that its structure of discussing handwork within the framework of character education does not differ much from that of Basariček.

Then, as we have seen earlier, did Truhelka present an approach to handwork that indicates for women a unique way to develop their own character while accepting Basariček's androcentric concept? After claiming that the concept of the ideal woman as 'virtuous, tolerant, pure, kind, tender, modest and prudent friend, mother and sister of man'⁵¹ has been consistent throughout history, she asserts that women's work in the cultural sphere is most important today because women have a 'source of emotional warmth' (*vrelo topline čuvstva*).⁵² While the struggle for survival that encouraged women to advance in social life has itself brought about the destruction of humanity, as Truhelka argues, the 'source of emotional warmth' within women makes it possible to lead a harmonious and peaceful cultural life. The idea that female kindness and morality can restrain the male rebellious spirit and bigotry is nothing but stereotypical.⁵³ However, although Truhelka does not concretely recount what cultural work means, she justifies women's advancement in social life, especially in the cultural field, by utilising existing stereotypical femininity. Her educational philosophy emphasises empathy, and we believe that she encourages the girl's active

⁵⁰ J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 304-306.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 324-325.

⁵³ S. Basariček, *Pedagogija I dio*, 203.

interaction with others for her mental development. For instance, in a letter to Elza Kučera dated 22 July 1902, she pointed out that Kučera had a 'poetic soul' and recommended her as follows:

“Clarify with your soul another's, others'! (...) Know yourself and others through yourself, and again yourself through others. (...) That's how life manages itself and is equipped beautifully.”⁵⁴

Furthermore, she argues that women can play an equal role as men by refining their intellect through education, and that by developing more sensitive moral emotions based on the above-mentioned 'source', they should succeed better than men in the public sphere.⁵⁵ In this way, we argue that Truhelka seeks to shift the value of the stereotypical image of women associated with emotion by emphasising its significance, which tends to be undervalued, in the field of work, especially in the cultural field. However, we also interpret her explanation of work as a strategy to emphasise women's activities in cultural work rather than handwork and the educational significance of emotions considered feminine in order to disprove the stereotypical opinion of education that perceived only handwork or housework as women's vocation along with the prejudice that woman is not rational. Nevertheless, as far as she recommends that each girl must enhance her own abilities through self-affirmation cultivated through a loop of self-satisfaction through work and repose, work is positioned merely as a way to develop a woman's character, rather than as playing a role in real life. In fact, she states the following:

“A girl, who has been accustomed to take life and duties seriously since childhood, has a definite goal before herself: vocation, to which she wants to devote herself not only for bread, but because she feels love and calling for it.”⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, Zbirka rukopisa i starijih knjiga, Fond: R4771b, pismo Jagode Truhelke Elzi Kučeri, 22. VII 1902.

⁵⁵ J. Truhelka, *U carstvu*, 326.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 329.

Conclusion

Truhelka was transferred to Bosnia in 1901 and worked as a teacher in Banjaluka and then Sarajevo until the end of the Habsburg Empire. She was both principal and teacher at the girls' high school in Banjaluka, during which the curriculum was revised in 1907 introducing a four-year general course and a six-year professional course. From 1911, she was engaged as a teacher at the newly established women's normal school in Sarajevo. During this time, she published an epistolary book on female education, *U carstvu duše*, which proposed two goals for female education: character development and mastering of practical skills for social life. We infer that her claim may have been influenced by the contemporary reform in female education in Bosnia such as those observed at girls' high schools in 1907.

Basariček's book *Pedagogija*, which was adopted as a textbook for pedagogy at all normal schools in Bosnia, emphasises more on cultivating a moral, rational, independent person through the formation of an association of rigid representation, which is called character. On the contrary, women are viewed critically as beings whose actions are controlled by emotions rather than reason and as such are more likely to develop a personality that is divorced from reality. Truhelka claims that everyone should live aesthetically in order to live a good life and argues for the significance of emotions in aid of understanding beauty. Therefore, she establishes empathy rather than the association of representations as the very basis for moral behaviour and argues that empathising with the good deeds of others induces everyone to become a moral being. Although she does not deny the intellectual aspect of morality, by utilising female characteristics (especially emotions) that Basariček evaluates negatively, she contrives to ensure that all women have an equal path to the character that he considered easier to achieve for men than for women. Thus, we argue that her educational method is *immunological*, in the sense that something negative (emotion) invalidates something negative (female inferiority) under the androcentric pedagogy,

rather than *eclectic* in the sense that it extracts and systematises what are considered to be the best aspects from various thoughts and beliefs.

In Basariček's views on female education, mastering of practical skills is a field for character formation rather than an independent educational subject. Therefore, while he discusses handwork education mainly for boys rather than girls, handwork education that bears in mind the 'unique nature' of girls is dealt with merely within the framework of cultivating better housewives. Truhelka's views are not very different from Basariček's in that she too considers handwork as a means within the broad framework of character education. She makes a stereotypical statement that emotions are attributed to women, and when combined with intellectual growth through education, they become the basis for them to perform works equally as or even surpassing men, above all in the cultural sphere. Her argument primarily highlights character formation among the three goals of girls' high schools in Bosnia at that time (character formation, preparation for professional women, and becoming better housewives); therefore, it is plainly evident that her arguments regarding female professional education are meagre. Furthermore, she does not postulate a completely different paradigm for educating girls in comparison to the contemporary pedagogy. However, (a) by upgrading emotions, which were underestimated in Basariček's pedagogy accepted as the standard for character education at the time, to play a leading role in schoolgirls' education, and (b) by reinterpreting femininity in an *immunological* way, which was contemporarily conceived to have a negative effect on character development, we conclude that Truhelka's educational argument opened up a new dimension to female education in Bosnia, although it is currently impossible to measure the extent to which it was put into practice in the field.

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ŽENSKO OBRAZOVANJE U EPISTOLARNOJ KNJIZI JAGODE TRUHELKE *U CARSTVU DUŠE* U HABSBURŠKOJ BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Sažetak

U ovom radu analizirali smo epistolarnu knjigu Jagode Truhelke *U carstvu duše* kako bismo rasvijetili njene poglede na žensko obrazovanje. U knjizi, koja je bila objavljena 1910. godine, dok je Truhelka bila učiteljica u Bosni i Hercegovini, predložila je dva cilja za žensko obrazovanje: razvoj karaktera i sticanje praktičnih vještina za društveni život.

Što se tiče razvoja karaktera, knjiga Stjepana Basaričeka *Pedagogija*, čiju analizu u radu donosimo uporedno sa analizom Truhelkine knjige a koja je bila korištena kao udžbenik na svim učiteljskim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini, zagovarala je njegovanje karaktera kroz formiranje asocijacije predstava. Žensko biće je u njoj smatrano inferiornim u odnosu na muško jer su njegovi postupci kontrolirani više emocijama nego razumom. Naprotiv, Truhelka je svim ženama otvorila put formiranju karaktera kroz emocije, na koje se ranije gledalo negativno, smatrajući suosjećanje za srž moralnih ponašanja.

Što se tiče sticanja praktičnih vještina za društveni život, Basariček je više stranica posvetio ručnom radu za dječake nego za djevojčice, jer ga shvatao kao sredstvo za razvoj karaktera. Truhelkin stav se nije mnogo razlikovao od Basaričekovnog po tome što je i ona smatrala ručni rad sredstvom formiranja karaktera. Međutim, prema shvatanju Truhelke, zajedno s intelektualnim rastom, emocija je postajala osnovom za devojke da izvođe djela jednako kao muškarci, pre svega u kulturnoj sferi.

Dakle, Truhelka nije postavljala potpuno drugačiju paradigmu ženskog obrazovanja u odnosu na savremenu pedagogiju. Međutim, tvrdimo da je njena obrazovna metoda imunološka u smislu da je nešto negativno (emocija) poništavala nešto negativno (ženska inferiornost) u okviru androcetrične pedagogije.