

## Animals in the Educational Discourse in Habsburg Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Early Twentieth Century

---

*Mitsutoshi Inaba*

Independent Researcher, Tokyo, Japan

abammii@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3835-3616>

The study aims to elucidate the relations between animals and children within the educational context of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918). Drawing on archival documents, textbooks, articles, and feuillets, it examines the attitudes toward animals promoted both inside and outside the classroom, with particular attention to animal death and the envisioned relationship children were expected to develop with it. More broadly, the study situates these findings within the framework of school education in Habsburg Bosnia.

• **Keywords:** animals, education, economy, Habsburg Bosnia, children

Raziskava si prizadeva osvetliti odnose med živalmi in otroki na področju izobraževanja v Bosni in Hercegovini (1878–1918) in na podlagi arhivskih dokumentov, učbenikov, člankov in feļtonov razkriva zaželen odnos do živali – znotraj in zunaj učilnice. Posebna pozornost je namenjena vprašanju smrti živali in pričakovanemu odnosu, ki naj bi ga otroci do nje razvili. Raziskava poleg tega obsega širšo obravnavo šolskega sistema v habsburški Bosni.

• **Ključne besede:** živali, izobraževanje, gospodarstvo, habsburška Bosna, otroci

### Introduction

In 1879, the year after the Habsburg administration began in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia), a railway line was built in the northern Bosnian city of Maglaj. The noise generated by trains was claimed to have caused a decline in the number of falcons that had been captured in the vicinity for falconry in the times of the Ottoman Empire (Hörmann, 1894: 503; Reiser, 1895: 1). These kinds of change in wild animals' living environment detrimentally impacted the relationship that emerged between humans and wild animals in Bosnia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nonetheless, except for one short essay, no historical research on human-animal relations in Bosnia under the Habsburg Empire has been conducted. The essay tried to highlight animals' circumstances by analysing two Bosnian words: hare (*zec*) and rabbit (*kunić*) (Inaba, 2018a: 20–21). The current study seeks to fill the gap in our understanding by answering the question: How were animals treated in the educational discourse in Bosnia during the Habsburg Empire? This study seeks to explore the Habsburg authorities' perception of animals within human society. Although it does not discuss direct relationships between children and animals, this study elucidates the attitudes the Habsburg authorities required the Bosnian people to adopt towards animals. Insofar as education is a means of cultivating desirable human resources for the dominant paradigm, we believe that our discussion

on animals in the educational discourse illustrates the prevailing perception of life and human beings at that time.

The same question has been investigated in Croatia of late, particularly within the framework of research on children's literature. Nikola Visković provided an overview of the animal genre in children's culture, along with the positive and negative influences of animals on child development (Visković, 2009: 291–302). Ana Batinić analysed animal texts in children's magazines from the modern era to the present day. Batinić highlighted the transition from anthropocentrism, which focuses on the utility that animals bring to humans, to biocentrism, which focuses on the dangers that humans pose to animals (Batinić, 2013: 294). Marijana Hameršak and Dubravka Zima devoted a chapter to the issue of animals in children's literature in general. They noted that animals that appear in children's literature are cultural products of the periodical and social environment, and that the widespread identification of children with animals often functions as projections of values of adult society (Hameršak, Zima, 2015: 311–338). The reflection of the prevailing social and political opinions in the descriptions of the relationship between children and deer was demonstrated in an article by Berislav Majhut and Sanja Lovrić (Majhut, Lovrić, 2012: 827–846). Furthermore, Martina Jurišić reported that within this anthropocentric context, animals' death in early 20<sup>th</sup> century juvenile literature was used as a method to morally enhance children's sociability (Jurišić, 2022: 553–565). Because Bosnia under Habsburg rule had strong ties with Croatia in the domains of educational personnel and ideas, we justifiably argue that the anthropocentrism in the field of education revealed by these prior studies serves as a relevant point of departure for this article.

We address the aforementioned question by focusing on natural history education in teachers' training schools. We review teachers' training schools because these institutions trained primary school teachers who provided natural history education on animals to children, which reflects attitudes present in the Bosnian society towards children and animals. While several existing studies on primary school lessons pertain to history and geography, discussing the cultural and national policies of the Habsburg Empire, little attention has been paid to other subjects in any schools in Habsburg Bosnia (Bogićević, 1965: 176; Papić, 1972: 59; Kraljačić, 1987: 252–258; Okey, 2007: 67–68; Pejić, 2021: 96–99; Dierks, 2024: 186–195). Dinko Župan (2013) focused on female handicrafts and physical education in girls' education, although in Croatia. Likewise, Fabio Giomi explored female handicrafts in the girls' schools in Habsburg Bosnia (Giomi, 2021: 50–51). Ayşe Zişan Furat, drawing on the Ottoman documents, discussed religious education among Muslims in Habsburg Bosnia (Furat, 2013). Additionally, Mitsutoshi Inaba investigated the pedagogy in teachers' training schools in Bosnia (Inaba, 2015: 31–47). Thus, no study has examined natural science in any school. We acknowledge that history education played an important role in the construction of belonging and in developing certain cultural, social, and political values in the Habsburg Empire

(Jelavich, 1990; Bruckmüller, 2007: 11–35; Moore, 2020). Moreover, Deborah R. Coen has recently argued persuasively that meteorology scientifically justified the Habsburg imperial ideology (Coen, 2018). Considering that natural science therefore contributed to shaping the consciousness of imperial citizens or subjects, we should also analyse it in school education.

Furthermore, Robin Okey argued that modernisation as a school policy – although in terms of transforming “Oriental” extreme individualism into membership of a “Western” civic community – was consistently entrenched in Bosnia under the Habsburg Empire (Okey, 1990: 43–44, 58). Other works affirmed that school education was concerned with not only nationalism but also citizenship education (Inaba, 2015: 45; 2018b: 59–60). While using arithmetic as a casework, Thomas S. Popkewitz argued that the management of textbooks was nothing but the management of children through the prescription of norms of thinking, feeling, and understanding, even in the schools of the modern United States of America (Popkewitz, 2017: 101). To verify whether these norms were national or civic in the Bosnian context, we must examine textbooks other than those of history. Accordingly, the book *Organisation of the National School in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (hereafter *Organisation*), published by a decree of the Provincial Government at Sarajevo in 1909, listed religious and moral education, comprehensive development of children’s physical mental abilities, and procuring the most necessary knowledge and skills for living as a citizen as the objectives of primary education (*Organizacija*, 1909: 1). Apart from history and geography, natural science was a means to achieve those objectives. What was the concrete educational result achieved through the school education? How would those objectives be achieved? Additionally, what roles were natural sciences – especially education on animals, in this context – expected to play? We then specifically analyse the discourse on the activities of children outside of school to understand the logic that was used to justify killing animals without violating the requirements of the education guideline *Organisation* – which expressed concern that animal death may adversely affect the development of moral emotion (*Organizacija*, 1909: 57). Before discussing the discourse on animals, we examine school education in Habsburg Bosnia in general, and primary schools in particular.

### **Primary school education in Habsburg Bosnia**

In Ottoman Bosnia, each religious sect conducted primary education separately. However, in the 1860s, the *rüşdiyye* (Bos. *ruždija*) as a type of primary school began being established, wherein the secular subjects were taught to all pupils regardless of their religious sect. While the instruction language was Turkish, the General Education Regulation (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi) in 1869 stipulated that *rüşdiyye* be opened separately in areas where Muslims and Christians lived together. Thus, these practically

became primary schools exclusively for Muslim children (Ćurić, 1983: 135–136, 153; Furat, 2013: 42). In Habsburg Bosnia, primary education began in 1879 as a one-year course for children between the ages of 7 and 10. In the following year, 1880, the ‘Provisional Instructions’ were issued, charting educational guidelines for primary schools; following this, primary schools began operating. Education was imparted in the native language for South Slav pupils, and obligatory subjects included arithmetic, calligraphy, geography, geometry, German, gymnastics, handicrafts (handiworks for girls), history, natural sciences, religion, singing, and the national language. However, in 1891, German was changed to an elective subject. Lajos Thallóczy, who inspected the schools in Bosnia in 1904, criticised the excessive burden of the educational programme on primary school pupils and proposed reorganising primary schools into a five- or six-year system. However, in a letter to Thallóczy, Ljuboje Dlustuš, the provincial government secretary, argued that the current programme was appropriate, and emphasised the teachers should be given the freedom to create flexible educational programmes according to pupils’ circumstances, while citing the different educational needs between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, an expert conference – held by the Provincial Government at Sarajevo in December 1905 – concluded that the current educational programme had no issues, and proposed the school years should be extended to reduce the pupils’ burden after the completion of the primary school network.<sup>1</sup> Thus, although there was a debate on the primary school programme, in 1909, two curriculum courses were introduced: a 92-hour-week course and an 81-hour-week one, both spanning four years. Children were allowed to attend school from 6 to 12 years of age. Seven years of age was later adopted as the appropriate age to begin attending school. In 1911, compulsory education was introduced, and boys older than 11 and girls older than 10 years were prohibited from attending primary school (Bogićević, 1965: 168; Papić, 1972: 41–43, 54–56, 62).

Bosnia, which spanned an area of 51,027 km<sup>2</sup>, had 38 primary schools in 1880, after the occupation. In the 1880/81 school year, model primary schools were opened in Banja Luka, Bihać, Sarajevo, and Travnik, but all their maintenance and operational costs were incumbent upon the relevant city’s municipality. The municipality where the primary school was built fundamentally had to bear the costs of the construction as well. If it was financially unable to do so, the Provincial Government at Sarajevo could subsidise it or even pay the full cost. Similar provisions applied to the costs of maintaining the school, with the municipality having to pay teachers and janitors’ salaries. The number of primary schools had increased to 143 in the 1891/92 school year, and then exceeded 200 at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the school year

---

<sup>1</sup> Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABiH), Fond: Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija (ZMF), Präsidial (Pr) 1282 / 1904, *Bericht des Sektionschefs Dr. von Thallóczy über seine Inspizierungsreise in Bosnien-Hercegovina vom 17. Oktober bis 11. November 1904*; ABiH, ZMF, 12494 / 1906, *Abschrift eines Briefes des Regierungsssekretär Ljuboje Dlustuš, de dato Sarajevo 17. Mai 1905, an Sektionsschef Dr. Ludwig von Thallóczy*.

of 1904/05, 239 primary schools grew to 306 by the 1909/10 school year. There were 374 primary schools in Bosnia before the First World War, that is, in the 1912/13 school year (Schmid, 1914: 700, 717, 720; Bogićević, 1965: 150–153). Figure 1 illustrates the number of newly opened primary schools per school year. Construction of new schools in the 1890s lagged behind, but more than ten schools were generally opened each year in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, the number of new schools increased rapidly in 1910. However, the number of primary schools was insufficient. In the 1912/13 school year, there were 52837 pupils enrolled in 543 primary schools, including religious schools. This number of pupils represented only 2.78% of the entire population or 18.55% of school-age children (Bogićević, 1965: 153, 249–251).<sup>2</sup>

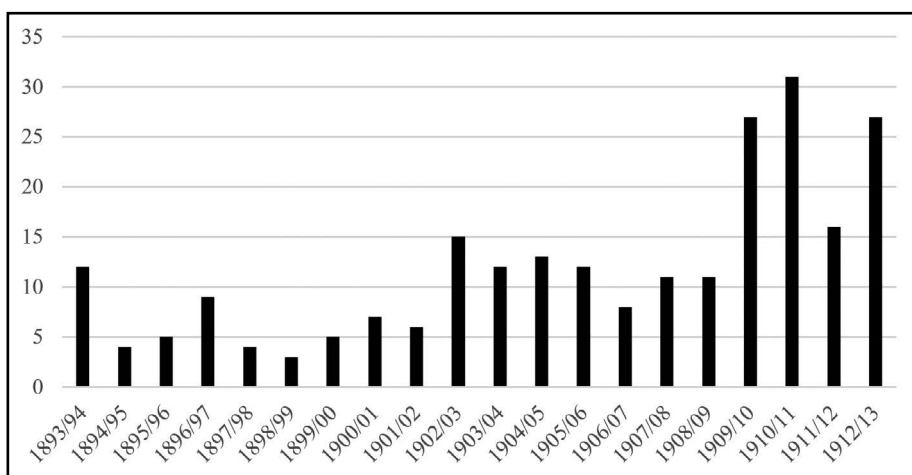


Figure 1: Number of newly opened primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina per school year.<sup>3</sup>

In this context, teachers' training became urgent. In Bosnia, it began in 1882 as a three-year course, leading to the establishment of a teachers' training school at Sarajevo in 1886. This school was the only teachers' training institution, excluding private facilities, until 1911. In 1900, the curriculum of this teachers' training school was expanded from three to four years.<sup>4</sup> This meant that the educational programme at the teachers' training school at Sarajevo was recognised as being on par with those in the Habsburg Empire. Its admission required the completion of the fourth year of gymnasium or *Realschule* (Bos. *realka*) as well as a commercial school (Papić, 1972: 90). Although 53.2 % of all teachers in Bosnia were natives, many teachers at the teachers' training

<sup>2</sup> In the school year of 1908/09, 16.56% of school age children were enrolled in primary schools. However, because the school types were not differentiated, determining whether this figure included pupils in religious schools is impossible (*Bosna i Hercegovina u Brojkama*, 1911: 7).

<sup>3</sup> See Papić, 1972: 46–48.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding teachers' training schools in Bosnia see Papić, 1972: 90–101; Ademović, 2009.

school at Sarajevo were from neighbouring regions such as Croatia. Its principals, Đuro Bujher (1889–1909) and Viktor Pogačnik (1911–1915) were from Croatia, and August de Tartaglia (1909–1911) was from Dalmatia (Žalac, 1989; Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1991: 131; Džaja, 1994: 117). While Ljudevit Dvorniković, a graduate of the teachers' training school at Zagreb, taught pedagogy at the teachers' training school at Sarajevo from 1902 to 1915, he served as a deputy principal of the newly established teachers' training school at Mostar in 1914. Additionally, he also performed the principal's duties at a female teachers' training school at Sarajevo for approximately two months from the end of January 1916.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the teachers' training schools consistently adopted the book *Pedagogy* authored by the Croatian pedagogue, Stjepan Basariček, as a textbook until the end of the Habsburg Empire. Thus, pedagogy in Croatia exerted a great influence on teachers' training in Bosnia both materially and intellectually.

In multireligious Bosnia, the Habsburg Empire fostered the emergence of a regional identity instead of a religious or national one in public primary schools. In this context its educational experiences in Croatia, in which Catholic and Orthodox population speaking South Slav languages lived, was reflected in the process of constructing the primary school system, particularly in the textbooks (Pejić, 2021: 93–94). However, the Habsburg Empire was involved in Muslim education for the first time, and the textbooks were revised to facilitate their integration into the “Western” civil society. When the teachers' training school at Sarajevo was reorganised into a four-year school, the Ulema Council decided which textbooks should be included for Islamic education. Further, as the autonomy for Muslim schools was granted in 1909, Muslim intellectuals who internalised the Habsburg civilising mission called for educational reform. Bosnian Muslims themselves took the initiative to introduce natural science as a subject at madrassas (Okey, 2007: 149; Furat, 2013: 79, 187; Pejić, 2021: 94). These facts demonstrate that the Bosnian Muslims themselves were actively involved in designing educational curricula. However, the education for Muslims had some shortcomings. While the completion of *mekteb* education was a prerequisite for enrolling in primary school, Muslim literature lacked in schooling materials (Čurić, 1983: 196; Islamović, 2008: 155).

Srećko M. Džaja indicated that the vocational schools (*Berufsschule*) with teachers' training schools aimed at practically transferring Central European civic culture and lifestyle to the orientalised urban sects in Bosnia (Džaja, 1994: 118). Additionally, above all the “confidence that the free individual, the free nation and a free humanity were all part of a seamless web which progress was bringing into being” that was fostered in Croatia since the 1860s continued to exert a great influence on educational thoughts in Habsburg Bosnia, even though it dissipates under the social realities of the

<sup>5</sup> ABiH, ZMF, Pr. 1282 / 1904; Džaja, 1994: 112, 117; ABiH, Fond: *Zemaljska Vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu – Sarajevo (ZVS)*, 1914, kutija 239, šifra 82-100/18, Nr. 253864; ABiH, ZVS, 1916, kutija 170, šifra 82-35/2, Nr. 27453; ABiH, ZVS, 1916, kutija 170, šifra 82-35/9, Nr. 66750.

early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Okey, 2013: 151–152). For instance, at an extraordinary teachers' meeting in the commercial school at Sarajevo in October 1912, its members argued that two completely different educational courses were introduced: professional education with an emphasis on vocational training, and general one aimed at acquiring necessary knowledge for Western citizenship (Kasumović, 2016: 301–302). Basariček insisted that the ultimate purpose of education was to develop character (*značaj*) and argued that the girls could hardly accomplish that purpose because their nature was more emotional. However, Jagoda Truhelka, a teacher at the female teachers' training school at Sarajevo, rebutted it emphasising the important function of moral emotion to cultivate character. Both Truhelka and Basariček consistently discussed vocational education within the framework of cultivating character (Inaba, 2024: 77–83). Thus, vocational education was not necessarily different from general education. However, the educational environment for girls was inferior to that for boys, and Muslim girls were remarkably excluded from obligatory education in 1911 under pressure from the Muslim society. Furthermore, while the female teachers' training school was delayed until 1911, its educational programme was based on the existing teachers' training school at Sarajevo. Although teachers' status was generally low, female teachers' treatment was even worse than their male counterparts' (Šušnjara, 2013: 63–72, 2014: 456–464; Giomi, 2021: 84). As Giomi aptly argued, the Habsburg civilising mission was gendered: that is, the general education to cultivate Western citizens, that is character, was gendered (Giom, 2021: 41). Therefore, we justifiably argue that the aforementioned purpose determined the educational policy at primary schools under the management of the teachers who had graduated from teachers' training schools. At the end of the 1890/91 school year, first-form students of the teachers' training school at Sarajevo were asked the following question: "How does one's character develop and what should you consider with care in character development?" (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1890/91: 102). First-form students in the 1896/97 school year were required to answer these questions about character: "How does character develop among people? How is the character cultivated through school education?" (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1896/97: 20). We noted that during the first examination in the 1904/05 school year, a question was asked about the purpose of school education, that is, the character, and more specifically, the contribution of primary schools in shaping pupils' characters. Students had to answer the same question in the maturity exam in the school year of 1908/09. (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1904/05: 82; *Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1908/09: 49). Thus, we assert that primary school teachers were expected to learn how to educate the character of learners in their charge.

## Character education and natural sciences

How exactly was character education taught in pedagogy? We examine two articles published in the educational journal *Školski Vjesnik* in Bosnia to answer this question. The educational journal *Školski Vjesnik*, of which the teachers in Bosnia were both authors and subscribers, was the oldest in Bosnia, having been published since 1894. Notably, at a teachers' meeting held at the teachers' training school at Sarajevo on 13 February 1907, the members proposed that some articles published in *Školski Vjesnik* should be reprinted for lessons.<sup>6</sup> Thus, we reasonably infer that most teachers (and teacher candidates) in Bosnia may have perused that journal. Gjorgje Glibonjski defined character in two ways: individuality, and a single inner principle controlling human life. Individuality must become the principle that controls all of one's behaviours. In this case, Glibonjski emphasised the importance of intuitional education (*zorna obuka*). Intuition is the psychological activity to comprehensively understand the objects, which is acquired through the ordering and unifying of each sensory perception (Basariček, 1879: 10). Such intuition enables children to perceive objects more vividly and construct the basis for their further intellectual development. This intellectual basis can then become the guideline for confidently dealing with the world (Glibonjski, 1903: 315–316, 607). Although Glibonjski's approach seems passive, his contemporary educator, Bogumila Čehović, emphasised children's agency, according to which three factors should be considered to educate the character: congenital features, habit, and insight. This insight implies that each child devises their habit subjectively (Čehović, 1907: 101–102). Thus, character education required each child to voluntarily transform their life into a lifestyle based on a steadfast principle.

The idea that the Bosnian population was evolving and gradually developing sufficient maturity for autonomy was expressed by the Joint Minister of Finance, Benjamin Kállay (1882–1903), who was in charge of Bosnian administration. According to Robin Okey, Kállay's successor, István Burián (1903–1912), acted on the evolutionary notion that the Bosnians can be sufficiently mature to adapt themselves to a civic society. Indeed, he stated in his memoir that the Habsburg Empire's mission in the South Slav issue was to introduce the Bosnian people to a fully European lifestyle in the cultural and political fields (Burián, 1923: 221; Okey, 2007: 130, 177–178). The mechanisation of factories accelerated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, a cigarette paper factory using electricity commenced operations in 1905. An entrepreneurial class gradually developed among the Bosnian people, and workers were required to improve their abilities to become more employable. Thus, the concept of cost effectiveness became increasingly prevalent, extending even to the educational sphere. In this social context,

---

<sup>6</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1907, kutija 127, šifra 135-65, Nr. 46503, *Zapisnik treće redovne sjednice učit. zbora učiteljske škole, koja je držana 13. februara 1907. za mjesec decembar i januar kao i za prvi semestar.*

school education was required to cultivate financially and socially independent persons, and above all, character (Kruševac, 1960: 212–213; Hauptmann, 1983: 245–250; Inaba, 2018b: 55–56). In fact, even though the objective of *Organisation* was arithmetic education, it emphasised the cultivation of human beings that can think multilaterally and act independently “for civil life” (*Organizacija*, 1909: 1, 50). <sup>2</sup>

BEFORE 1909				
SUBJECT	FIRST-FORM	SECOND-FORM	THIRD-FORM	FOURTH-FORM
Natural History			3	3
Total School Hours	23	24	29	29
92-HOUR-WEEK COURSE				
Natural Sciences			3	3
Total School Hours	20	22	25	25
81-HOUR-WEEK COURSE				
Natural Sciences			2	2
Total School Hours	18	21	21	21

Figure 2: Primary school schedule.<sup>7</sup>

In this educational context, we reviewed how lessons on natural sciences were envisaged at primary school. In 1909, the primary school schedule was revised as depicted in Figure 2. Although natural history (*prirodopis*) accounted for 5.7% of total school hours before the curriculum’s revision (Figure 2), natural sciences (*prirodne nauke*) amounted to 6.5% in the 92-hour-week course. However, natural sciences accounted for 4.9% in the 81-hour-week course, and thus, we arrive at an average of 5.7% even after 1909. Consequently, we contend that no dramatic change happened after 1909 in terms of school hours for natural sciences. Nevertheless, according to *Organisation*, natural sciences lessons in primary schools do not establish “systematic and scientific learning” as per their educational purpose. Instead, they have two aims: the comprehensive and harmonious development of mental faculties of school-going children at each developmental stage, and contributing to practical life in the future. Therefore, natural sciences as a subject is presented as something that should awaken “empirical, aesthetic, religious, cultural and practical interest” in children (*Organizacija*, 1909: 57–58). As a specific educational method for this purpose, observing animals as “biological groups” was recommended, using stuffed animals, dolls, and diagrams at the time (*Organizacija*, 1909: 59). Thus, natural science supported one part of the aforementioned intuitional education for character development. By accurately understanding the nature around them, pupils could acquire the precise knowledge about the natural environment and the animals. They were expected to use this knowledge for

<sup>7</sup> See Papić, 1972: 55; *Organizacija*, 1909: 3.

studying more advanced natural science, or for enriching their lives. We assert that the purpose of natural science in primary school was not simply to provide the pupils with knowledge about their familiar natural circumstance, but instead to form one step of character education – as it functioned as a means of intuitional education that allowed pupils to acquire the basic knowledge and experience necessary to become the independent citizen. However, “the pupils should not visit (*navraćati*) collections from the animal kingdom – except for ones that should be installed in the school – because they may lead the pupils to the unrestrained killing of animals, which would be detrimental to their development of moral emotion. Therefore, if animals are captured, observed, and then released, lessons can be greatly enlivened and progress can be made” (*Organizacija*, 1909: 57). We subsequently investigated how this contradiction was resolved in the educational discourse. Meanwhile, based on our research on ways to resolve this contradiction in the following sections, we will also demonstrate that the principle of character behaviours, which was formed by the “objective association of its thought’s contents”, was neither necessarily objective nor neutral.

### In the classroom

In Bosnia’s primary schools in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the chapter ‘Annual Notes’ in the *Fourth Reader*, which was recommended in the book *Organisation*, instructed pupils to record the characteristics of animals, plants and natural phenomena by season (*Četvrta Čitanka*, 1910: 95–96). We argue that this instruction may have been influenced by Stjepan Basariček’s pedagogy which emphasises the development of apperception (*apercepcija*). His textbook *Pedagogy* advocated that “old familiar representations should be reproduced before new representations are given to children” and that “the representations that children have acquired at home should be corrected, supplemented, and completed” (Basariček, 1880: 74).<sup>8</sup> By completing the representations of animals that each pupil encountered in their living space, they were expected to establish their basis for “complete and harmonious development” of their apperception. Basariček’s pedagogy establishes representation as the basis of all mental activities. These representations are then linked together to produce intuition, which becomes the source of higher mental activities such as judgments, concepts, and ideas. Thus, it is underscored in Basariček’s *Pedagogy* that the task of education is to firmly produce this intuition in each child. The representations are constantly competing in the mind; the clarification and obstruction of a certain representation cause pleasant and unpleasant feelings, while the pleasure felt when observing one’s own or others’ behaviours conforming to the model acquired through education is identified as moral feeling (Basariček, 1880:

---

<sup>8</sup> For Basariček’s pedagogy in the teachers’ training schools in Bosnia, see Inaba, 2015: 31–47.

24, 35–38, 114). By encouraging the clarification of this model, developing children's virtue and thereby character becomes possible. In this educational context we posit that the way to deal with animals suggested in the *Fourth Reader* was nothing but a tool to form character.

How was the situation with regard to natural sciences in the teachers' training school at Sarajevo? In 1888, the first form had two hours per week for the basic knowledge and description of animals, plants, and minerals; the second form had two hours per week for the review of the first form's lessons and classification of animals, plants, and minerals; and the third form had two hours per week for all subjects related to natural history (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1888/89: 17–22). In 1891, the curriculum was changed, and one hour per week was allocated to zoology for the first form, one hour per week to botany for the second, and two hours per week to mineralogy for the third (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1891/92: 89–94). Furthermore, owing to the 1900 curriculum change, three hours per week in the first form were allocated to “zoology: vertebrates; the basic constituent organs of animals; the most important domestic and foreign species of Mammalia, Aves, Reptilia, Amphibia, and Pisces; the main species of harmful and beneficial insects and larvae, particularly those which have a biological relationship with humans and with domestic animals; the lower organisms with special attention to their composition” (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1900/01: 15). The textbook initially used was *Zoology* by Ivan Woldřich, but was replaced by Moja Medić's *Zoology* in 1900, which was adapted from Woldřich's book. Additionally, one hour per week in the fourth form was devoted to the subject of “the community of life: the house with its garden, the forest, the plain, the heath, the streams, which may be the starting point of observations in the primary school” (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1900/01: 16). Thus, while the subject of natural history in the teachers' training school focused on learning about the composition and classification of various animals, it also emphasised the importance of learning about things closely related to the daily life of primary school pupils, such as the domestic natural environment that serves as the “starting point of natural observations in the primary school” and knowledge of “harmful and beneficial insects and larvae” that have “a biological relationship with humans and with domestic animals”. A primary school teacher at Tuzla, Džemal Fejzagić, partially published a lesson on hares conducted on 12 November 1908. According to Fejzagić, at the end of the classwork, pupils were asked to state what they knew about hares. Of 33 pupils, 29 answered by narrating encounters with hares on nearby hills and fields with their relatives, seeing the hares chased by hunting dogs and other relevant things they had seen and heard. One pupil recalled having been given a hare by a farm worker when he had visited a pear orchard (Fejzagić, 1908: 10–11). As no other content of his lesson was recorded except the pupils' stories, why he asked his pupils to talk about them is unclear; we assume that by letting the pupils talk about their own experiences in primary school classes he may have wanted them to share knowledge of a familiar animal that they firmly apperceived.

Furthermore, we believe this highlights ecological learning from the content of the educational activities in the Sarajevo teachers' training school. The first teachers' exam in 1909 probed "the connection between animals and plants" (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1909/10: 62). The emphasis on learning about the relationship between humans and the natural environment is acknowledged in not only zoology but also botany. In 1890, third-form students were asked in their exam: "Which plants provide us with food?" Their final exam in 1904 posed a question on "apples, their friends and enemies", and in 1906, the final exam question was "wine grapes, their friends and enemies" (*Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1890/91: 102; *Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1904/05: 59; *Godišnji Izvještaj*, 1906/07: 70). This demonstrates that the textbook's change in 1900 did not significantly change class activities. The way natural history was practically taught in the classroom is difficult to ascertain, owing to the format – mostly reports submitted by teachers – and paucity of historical documents. For instance, a natural history class report from 1 September to 30 October 1908 records a session of "description of plants and other natural objects in the Koševo Valley", and a natural history class report from 16 March to 3 May 1912 reports that the relationship between life and the environment was taught as "the circulation of matter in nature".<sup>9</sup>

As previously mentioned, the textbook for zoology was replaced in 1900, but its content did not change significantly. While Woldřich described natural history as a "task to interpret in some synoptic union the origin, existence and decay, mutual relationship and purpose of mentioned natural things", Medić indifferently explained that "zoology belongs to biology, the science of organic natural things in general". After listing the more specialised fields of its study, Medić continued by stating that zoogeography attempts to understand where and how animals are spread across the earth, and also tries to identify the influences that caused this distribution (Woldřich, 1885: 1; Medić, Prica, 1903: 1–2). Accordingly, he emphasised the learning of animal morphology, geographical conditions, and the environments in which they live as part of natural history classes.

For example, Woldřich described a hare as an animal that has "stronger hind legs than forelegs, generally long hairy ears, short or non-existent tail", was hunted for meat, and was harmful to fruit trees. However, the rabbit is simply described as "living underground in southern Europe, especially on the Greek islands". Medić offered a similar explanation: "Their hind legs are longer than their front ones, their ears are large and covered with hair, but their tails are short", affirmed that they were excellent game, but explained in detail the harm they cause – "they damage fruit trees and crops by gnawing at them" – and added that their fur was valuable and that rabbits "live underground" (Woldřich, 1885: 75; Medić, Prica, 1903: 85).

---

<sup>9</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1908, kutija 119, šifra 82-81, Nr. 223607, *Nastavno gradivo iz prirodopisa, što se je uzelo u razdoblju od 1. septembra odnosno 14. septembra do 30. oktobra 1908*; ZVS, 1912, kutija 261, šifra 82-100/5, Nr. 110807, *Nastavno gradivo obragjeno u sjedmičkoj perijodi od 16. marta do 3. maja 1912, u drugom godištu, iz prirodopisa*.

Woldřich described the skeletal structure of snakes in detail. And their habitat was explained thus: “Today snakes live mainly in torrid zones, but there are a few in temperate zones as well. They live on land, but also on trees and in water, although in the latter case they are good swimmers. The first snakes appeared in the Cenozoic Era, but not in large numbers.” While similar to Woldřich’s description, Medić’s anatomical description omitted the historical information and mentioned hibernation – an ecological characteristic of snakes which belong to poikilotherms. Both divided snakes into two subcategories, non-venomous and venomous, and recommended a venomous snake’s bite should be treated by using a tourniquet to prevent the venom from spreading through the bloodstream (Woldřich, 1885: 128–130; Medić, Prica, 1903: 145, 148–149). Medić did not necessarily describe the geographical environments of animals in more detail than Woldřich, but focused on how animal ecology affected readers of that time. In addition to illustrating the characteristics of animals and the environments in which they lived, the writers referred to their relationships with humans.

Thus, we strongly assert that an ecological perspective of natural history education was considered, but the concurrent anthropocentric worldview functioned dominantly. Even the exams for students in teachers’ training schools asked about the gains and losses affecting plants related to economic life, such as apples and wine grapes, and as the description of hares in textbooks indicated they were “hunted for meat”, we affirm that ecological relationships were not to be observed without bias to educate character, but should be learned in compliance with value judgments as to human social and economic life. In “Chapter 114: How should humans interact with animals”, the *Fourth Reader* merely mentions the care of livestock; it unhesitatingly explicated that “animals sacrifice their lives and strength for our happiness and profit. Therefore, it is probably right to treat animals nicely and humanely. The more neatly we treat our animals, the more willingly and better they will serve us” (*Četvrta Čitanka*, 1910: 215).

However, the *Fourth Reader* urged pupils to respond differently to vermin such as wolves that were designated as targets for extermination by a provincial government decree dated 27 January 1880 (*Sammlung*, 1880: 403). According to the *Fourth Reader*, “Everyone is afraid of wolves because they are odious, vicious and bloodthirsty. No one trusts them, and wolves trust no one.” They were considered “clumsier than foxes, but full of treachery”, but they were also believed to be very timid. They “have a strong tendency to attack all domestic animals because the latter are like sweet morsels (*slatke zalogaje*) to the wolves. Thus, they cause trouble by attacking livestock.” Moreover, “the wolf that has once devoured a human has a taste for human flesh and follows the army to scavenge corpses, sometimes dragging them out of their graves”. In addition, their “sharp and cunning gaze” proves their “savage nature (*divlju ćud*)”. It recommended that “this evil and noxious beast” should be “completely eradicated (*sasvim istrijebi*)” (*Četvrta Čitanka*, 1910: 97–99). The *Fourth Reader* ascribed the danger of wolves to their taste for human flesh and the damage they wreaked upon livestock. This threat

may not have been unfamiliar to children, whether they lived in urban or rural areas. The official records on the exterminated wolves in each district, found at the Archive of Bosnia, are limited to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Figure 3 lists the number of wolves killed and for which compensation was paid in the Sarajevo district from 1899 to 1908 (record for 1906 is missing).

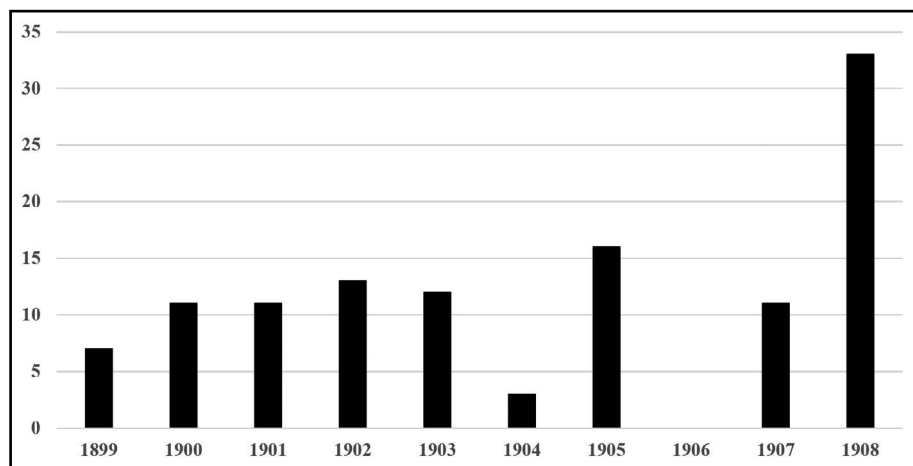


Figure 3: The number of wolves killed in the Sarajevo district for which compensation was paid by the provincial government at Sarajevo.<sup>10</sup>

The reason for the dramatic drop in the number of wolves killed in 1904 is unclear. Nonetheless, we know that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, more than 10 wolves were killed every year in the Sarajevo district. Six of the 33 wolves killed in 1908 were shot by a resident of Sarajevo city in June. The place of residence (*Wohnort*) of each hunter who received a bounty was also recorded, and in 1903, a person who lived in Sarajevo city first appeared on the record. Although it only records the residence of the person who killed the wolf and not the place where the wolf was killed, we infer that wolves may have been encountered on the outskirts of Sarajevo. Two wolves were reported to have appeared in Kovači near Baščaršija, the centre of the old town of Sarajevo, on the nights of 26–27 February 1888, and one of them was killed by Hamdija Mehmed Bašić (*Bosnische Post*, 1888: 2). In 1905, wolves were reported to have appeared in the winter in Koševo, Nahorevo, Trnovo, and Vogošća, which are located close to Sarajevo city. Consequently, the Sarajevo district office reportedly distributed 16 guns to the villagers to exterminate the wolves, based on their petition (*Bosnische Post*, 1905: 3). We frequently came across Trnovo in the official records since 1899 as the residence of

<sup>10</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1900, Nr. 3114; ZVS, 1901, Nr. 26225; ZVS, 1902, Nr. 12258; ZVS, 1903, Nr. 39481; ZVS, 1904, Nr. 36193; ZVS, 1905, Nr. 37580; ZVS, 1906, Nr. 28775; ZVS, 1908, Nr. 23897; ZVS, 1909, Nr. 32927.

wolf-killing bounty recipients, and Koševo, Nahorevo, and Vogošća also appeared in the records as places where hunters resided. In this context, pupils may have swallowed without question the utilitarian story of wolves that the *Fourth Reader* offered. We often encountered this utilitarian perspective of animals elsewhere. For example, on one venomous snake 50 heller coins were imposed as a premium, and 688,297 venomous snakes were exterminated in Bosnia between 1906 and 1909. It was asserted that “the reason we must protect non-venomous snakes, which have a wide variety of species, is because it is beneficial” (*Srpska Riječ*, 1908: 2–3; *Bosansko-Hercegovački Težak*, 1908: 166; ...r, 1910: 113–114). We argue that the principle of economic efficiency may have determined whether an animal was vermin or not, and that this principle was also taught in every schoolroom. However, pupils learned such a utilitarian approach to animals beyond just the classroom, as will be gleaned from the following section.

### Outside the classroom

According to *Organisation*, pupils were not expected to participate in or observe the killing of animals. However, in the teachers’ training schools that trained tutors who would teach natural history, domestic animals were observed as a starting point to develop apperception. While the natural history textbooks mentioned the gains and losses that hares may bring to the economy, the exam questions asked about the “friends and enemies” of apples and wine grapes in a dichotomous way.

Pupils and students were mobilised to fight against that “enemy”. One “enemy” was vermin that damaged apple and other fruit trees. In 1907, schoolchildren were mobilised to collect nests of pests that damaged pear and other fruit trees, and were rewarded for it. The following year, the British Consul at Sarajevo reported that numerous caterpillars appeared on many fruit trees in various places; 500 kronen were awarded to schoolchildren for their contribution to collecting caterpillars and their eggs, with 171 kronen awarded to Sarajevo, 100 to Bihać, 81 to Banja Luka, 78 to Mostar, 48 to Travnik, and 21 to Tuzla regions (*Bosansko-Hercegovački Težak*, 1907: 37; *No. 4305 Annual Series*, 1909: 3; *Bosansko-Hercegovački Težak*, 1909: 255). Every winter, orchardists had to remove and burn caterpillars, and schoolchildren participated in this campaign. A reward was paid every year from the provincial treasury as an incentive to collect vermin’s nests. Furthermore, agricultural periodicals also recommended removing and burning nests as the best way to deal with such pests. Teachers were mobilised alongside the clergy and gendarmes to enlighten the inhabitants using wall panels (*Wandtafel*) that illuminated the developmental stages of pests of fruit trees, and evidently, the Habsburg authorities understood schools to be vital bases for controlling these noxious insects (*Bericht*, 1906: 259; Havelka, 1908: 235). Schoolchildren were mobilised almost every year to collect nests of fruit-tree vermin, and rewards of

495 (1906), 495 (1908), 504 (1909), and 595 kronen (1910) were paid to them in the indicated years from the provincial treasury (*Bericht*, 1907: 84; *Bericht*, 1910a: 106; *Bericht*, 1910b: 95; *Bericht*, 1911: 96).<sup>11</sup> Whether the schoolchildren who had collected these nests and eggs actually participated in their incineration is unclear; however, as observed, we cannot claim that they were completely kept away from killing animals.

Although the names of the fruit trees for whose protection the schoolchildren were mobilised were not concretely listed in the provincial government reports, the 1909 report mentions “fruit trees, and especially in plum orchards”; thus, we justifiably deduce that the schoolchildren were mobilised as part of a programme to control damage to plums. Plums comprised an important export crop in Bosnia. Since the early stage of the occupation, the Habsburg authorities had eagerly implemented a policy of supporting plum cultivation (Kasumović, 2016: 152–155). Figure 4 exhibits the percentage of each crop produced in 1913 before the outbreak of the First World War.

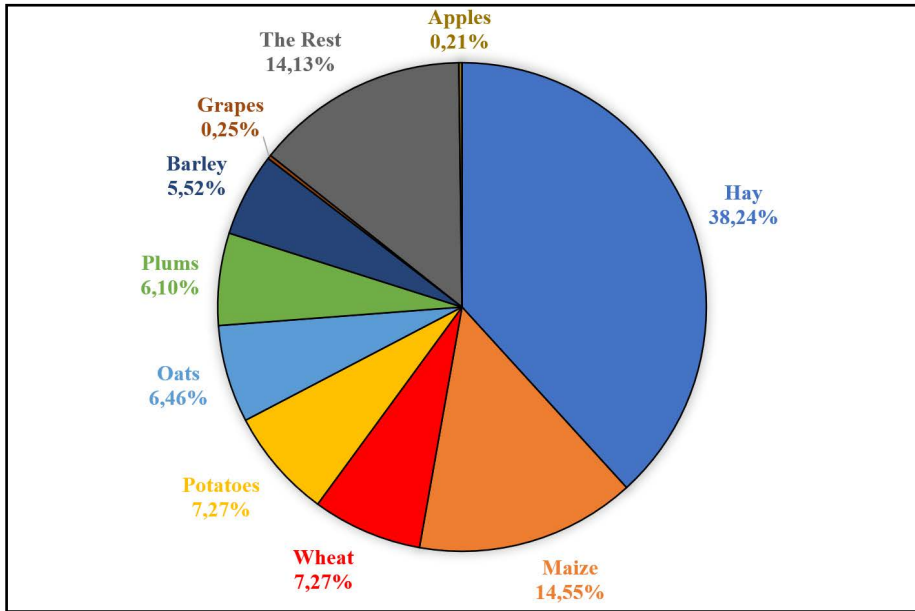


Figure 4: Percentage of crop yields in 1913.<sup>12</sup>

As reflected in Figure 3, plums accounted for 6.10% of Bosnia’s total agricultural production, making it the most productive fruit tree. However, while plum cultivation was primarily carried out in northern Bosnia, the 500 kronen (495 kronen in the provincial

<sup>11</sup> Between 1913 and 1916, schoolchildren were likewise mobilised to destroy noxious insects, although the concomitant reward amount is unknown (*Bericht*, 1917: 59).

<sup>12</sup> See *Bericht*, 1917: 267.

government report) bounty for schoolchildren in 1908 was distributed throughout Bosnia. Therefore, we reasonably infer that schoolchildren were mobilised to protect multifarious fruit trees cultivated in Bosnia – not just plums alone. According to Figure 3, apples accounted for only 0.21% of the total agricultural production, but were the third most productive fruit tree after grapes (0.25%). Apple cultivation, along with plums, was publicly expected to be a significant source of income as it was a fruit tree suited to the Bosnian climate. Apples harvested near Sarajevo city were transported to the mainland of the Habsburg Empire, while apples from eastern Bosnia (Vlasenica and Zvornik districts) and Konjic district were transported by rail to the Adriatic coastal ports of Pula and Rijeka for export (*Die Landwirtschaft*, 1899: 160–162). In 1914, 40% of the 1,841,955 fruit tree seedlings distributed to farmers were apples, exceeding the 27% for plum seedlings (Jarak, 1956: 79–80).

Although we must consider farmers' needs, this data may serve to illustrate how much the Habsburg Empire was inclined towards apple cultivation. The woolly apple aphid was specifically mentioned as a pest on apple trees, and countermeasures, such as destroying affected trees and ordering and distributing young trees, were outlined. As the 1911 provincial government report describes that “special attention was given to the eradication of the woolly apple aphid in 1910 which had been found in various parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, it was one of the pests that plagued the entire Bosnia (*Bericht*, 1911: 96). Woldřich's *Zoology* recorded that hares caused harm to fruit trees, particularly apple trees. However, unlike insects that nest arboreally, hares move freely from the surrounding mountains and fields to nibble at apple trees. Accordingly, an instruction was given to erect fences around orchards, but eradication measures like those for noxious insects were not recommended (Havelka, 1906: 252; H-a, 1911: 59).

Another indirect method of controlling pests was the extermination of raptors, i.e. birds of prey targeting small birds. The provincial government at Sarajevo considered this to be of great value in controlling pests of fruit trees as it led to the proliferation of useful songbirds. Sarajevo city installed bird nesting boxes in parks during the winters of 1909 and 1910, and in 1910 substantial rewards were paid for the eradication of raptors near Sarajevo. The installation of bird nesting boxes in many places that led to an increase in useful small birds was advocated (*Bericht*, 1911: 96; *Bericht*, 1917: 60). The provincial government contrived again to mobilise schoolchildren for the extermination of raptors by seizing their eggs. However, this method also concerned the local offices. In a proposal dated 27 June 1904, Prnjavor district pointed out the risks associated with eradicating the eggs of useful birds such as jackdaws, hoopoes, woodpeckers, blackbirds, and thrushes. Against the counterargument that such dangers could be avoided with proper guidance from teachers, the district report refuted the efficacy of such a prevention measure owing to the poor discipline (*Unerzogenheit*) of schoolchildren and their parents and the inability of teachers to supervise the children when they collected eggs based on the fact that the chicks were already killed

(*Zerstörung der Brut*).<sup>13</sup> Whether this concern was seriously considered in the provincial raptor control measures is unclear; however, we explicitly interpret based on this proposal that schoolchildren were already mobilised to exterminate raptors' eggs, and that the children's actions on the spot – not under the supervision of teachers as in classrooms – went beyond the scope of the intended raptor control measures and led to the destruction of other birds' eggs.

Considering that the mobilised schoolchildren were referred to as *Schuljugend* in German in provincial government reports and other documents, they were not necessarily primary school pupils.<sup>14</sup> We strongly assert that the classification of beneficial and noxious animals, which was established within the framework of the Habsburg economic and financial policies, was intentionally instilled in the children by informing their perception of nature through school education. The previously described argument of the Prnjavor district – which outlines that the absence of teachers at the extermination site made it impossible for teachers to provide proper guidance – articulately denotes that teachers may have taught their pupils on raptors' eggs in classrooms to enable them to easily exterminate them. Teachers were also mobilised to instruct pupils in the developmental stages of pests inflicting damage on fruit trees. In return, a premium was awarded to schoolchildren from the provincial treasury, just as it was for exterminating wolves.

## Conclusion

In Bosnia, which fell under the rule of the Habsburg Empire from 1878, interconfessional primary education commenced in 1879. In 1909, two curriculum courses were introduced: a 92-hour-week course (four years) and an 81-hour-week one. In 1911, compulsory education was introduced and a teachers' training school was opened in Sarajevo in 1886. This school served to supply teachers to all primary schools in Bosnia as the only teachers' training institution until 1911. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of newly founded primary schools in Bosnia increased rapidly. Accordingly, industry and commerce progressed. In this context, the emphasis in Bosnia was placed on educating self-reliant citizens, that is, by inculcating character. Primary school teachers were required to teach each subject congruent with this overarching educational purpose. Even though the objective of the education guideline *Organisation* (1909) was arithmetic education, it explained that human beings should be helped to think multilaterally and act independently “for civic life”.

---

<sup>13</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 1904, Nr. 9520.

<sup>14</sup> According to Nikola Jarak, although he never cited any evidence, it was the pupils in primary schools that engaged in the control of pests on fruit trees (Jarak, 1956: 109).

In this educational context, learning about nature was meant to be done through observation. Beginning with learning about the natural environment is also advised as it is closely related to children's daily lives. This reflects the educational perception of the time, which aimed to create character that was intellectually and morally correct through the accumulation and association of correct representations. Thus, we assert that the educational way to "correctly" observe the animals did not function as a starting point to ponder humans' symbiosis with animals and nature, but instead simply as an educational step to achieve the status of the ideal human being shared by Bosnian society at that time.

However, this character, educated through the accumulation and association of correct representations, did not necessarily have behaviours guided by an objective and impartial principle. The knowledge about the benefits each animal has to human economic activities was considered salient. In natural history education at teachers' training schools, the understanding and learning of the relationship between nature and humans was biased owing to human economic interests. Ivan Woldřich's *Zoology* and Moja Medić's *Zoology*, which were used as textbooks at teachers' training schools, briefly describe the damage inflicted by hares on fruit trees, which overlaps with an example of a hare caught in an orchard, narrated by a pupil in a class at Tuzla's primary school. In this way, while the educational emphasis was placed more on the relationship between animals and pupils' everyday life, the primary school students could acquire basic knowledge about domestic animals. In particular, the balance sheet pertaining to the activities of wolves or other animals functioned as the educational principle for the children, as the residents of Lower Vogošća had petitioned for the extermination of wolves and wild pigs that threatened their livelihood.

The pupils may have been familiar with the extermination of vermin such as wolves. For example, according to a provincial government decree in 1880, more than 10 wolves were exterminated every year in the Sarajevo district in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The treatment of wolves as threats was justified by arbitrarily citing their "savage nature". Animals that were acknowledged as "enemies" of apples and grapevines included various caterpillars. They were similarly exterminated, and schoolchildren were mobilised for this action with the lure of a reward. Damage to plums and apples, which was particularly significant in fruit cultivation in Bosnia, led to economic losses. Therefore, raptors that preyed on songbirds contributing to the extermination of caterpillars in question were considered harmful. Consequently, schoolchildren were mobilised to exterminate their eggs. This provided pupils with an excuse to kill animals, because such extermination was neither unbridled nor was considered to have a negative impact on the development of moral emotion. As Batinić argued, this is an anthropocentric view of animals in that it determines their life, death, and existence solely in relation to economic profit without holistically considering the ecosystems forged between humans, animals, and plants.

Conversely, as Jurišić argued, we could explain the reason why the textbook taught the children not to have the same “savage nature” as wolves as a way of encouraging them to develop improved sociability. However, wolves were not merely killed in the text; children were mobilised to kill animals to the extent that their physical capabilities allowed. If we apply the focus on animal death, we argue that educational discourse on animals functioned as a means to teach the principle for distinguishing “us” from “others”, instead of as a way to foster sociability among children. Furthermore, considering the culturally and socially constructed identification between children and animals, we claim that education may have utilised children’s killing of animals to sever the latter. As indicated by extant research, such an identification actually proves nothing but the fact that all beings (human and nonhuman) exist only “before the law” at the biopolitical level, as Cary Wolfe has also argued (Wolfe, 2013: 10). We infer in this context that, through the binary opposition between the threatener (vermin) and the threatened (human), the animals’ extermination may have been educationally justified as a watershed to help children shed their animality and become human.

What is the “law” here? Nikola Visković categorised the relationships humans have with animals into six types, one of which is the economic relationship.<sup>15</sup> We justifiably argue that the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the educational field in Bosnia encompassed a time when an economic relationship with animals was dominant. We should not forget the fact that the behavioural pattern of dividing animals (or plants) into friends and enemies and eliminating the latter based on such economic rationality was concurrently applied to humans, particularly schoolchildren in Bosnia. In early 20<sup>th</sup> century Bosnia, “excess” in education was criticised by discussing neural activity with the metaphor of energy. Wasting energy strains the body and mind while hindering the healthy growth of children. This hindrance was labelled as an evil that brings to harm not only individual children but society as a whole. For example, Avram Altarac, a teacher who graduated from the teachers’ training school at Sarajevo, referred to it in his article as a balanced education, or life as an “economy of human being” (Altarac, 1913: 6–7). Anything that harms the physical and mental growth should be completely eliminated, he believed, as it would negatively impact society and the economy. The relationship between animals and humans in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Bosnian education was therefore determined firstly by an economic perspective.

Thus, we conclude that the children learned natural history in which the value of (human and nonhuman) life was calculated based on the economic “law” or economic efficiency of what Dinesh Joseph Wadiwel called “metabolic labour” (Wadiwel, 2023: 95). However, an anthropocentric hierarchy of life was implicit in that the harmful life, that is, vermin, was assumed as being destined to lose its life, unlike children.

---

<sup>15</sup> The six relationships are economic, symbolic, artistic, sentimental, scientific, and ethic (Visković, 1998: 11).

Hereafter, we must investigate how the economic policy of the Habsburg Empire and education on animal death in Bosnia interacted with one another. We believe that this research will serve as a stepping stone to explore how capitalism affected the ecological perceptions of the Bosnian people.

### Research data statement

I state that this article is based on archival sources, which are cited in the list of references.

### References

#### *Unpublished sources*

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Fond: Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija (ZMF).

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Fond: Zemaljska Vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu – Sarajevo (ZVS).

#### *Published sources and literature*

Ademović, Halid. 2009. *Učiteljske škole u Bosni i Hercegovini: Istorijski razvoj od postanka 1882. do njihova nestanka 1972*. Mostar: Federalno ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke.

Altarac, Avram. 1913. Viši razvoj, ekonomija čovjeka i naše prilike. *Učiteljska zora* 9: 3–8.

Basariček, Stjepan. 1879. Pojam i postanak zora. In *Zorna obuka*, ed. Milan Kobali, 9–15. Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoški-književni sbor.

Basariček, Stjepan. 1880. *Pedagogija, prvi dio: Uzgojoslovje*. Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoški-književni sbor.

Batinić, Ana. 2013. *U carstvu životinja: Animalističko čitanje hrvatskih dječjih časopisa*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.

*Bericht*. 1906. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1906*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen.

*Bericht*. 1907. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1907*. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

*Bericht*. 1910a. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1909*. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

*Bericht*. 1910b. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1910*. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

*Bericht*. 1911. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina 1911*. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

*Bericht*. 1917. *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und der Herzegovina für die Jahre 1914 bis 1916*. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

Bogičević, Vojislav. 1965. *Istorija razvitka osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba Turske i Austrougarske uprave (1463-1918)*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdanje udžbenika BiH.

- Bosansko-hercegovački Težak*. 1907. Uništenje voćne štetočine. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 6 (2): 37.
- Bosansko-hercegovački Težak*. 1908. Uništavanje zmija otrovnica u Bosni i Hercegovini. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 7 (8): 166.
- Bosansko-hercegovački Težak*. 1909. Nagrade za sabiranje gusjenica i gusjeničijih jaja. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 8 (12): 255.
- Bosna i Hercegovina u brojkama*. 1911. *Bosna i Hercegovina u brojkama*. Mostar: Hrvatska dionička tiskarna.
- Bosnische Post*. 1888. Wölfe in Sarajevo. *Bosnische Post*, 29 February, 2.
- Bosnische Post*. 1905. Wölfe in der Umgebung von Sarajevo. *Bosnische Post*, 13 January, 3.
- Bruckmüller, Ernst. 2007. Patriotic and National Myths: National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria. In *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, eds. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, 11–35. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Burián, Stephan Graf. 1923. *Drei Jahre aus der Zeit meiner Amtsführung im Kriege*. Berlin: Verlag Ullstein.
- Čehović, Bogumila. 1907. O moralnom karakteru i njegovim temeljima. *Školski vjesnik* 14: 100–103, 177–180.
- Četvrta čitanka. 1910. *Četvrta čitanka za osnovne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini s gramatičkim dodatkom*, osmo izdanje. Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija.
- Coen, Deborah R. 2018. *Climate in Motion: Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Čurić, Hajrudin. 1983. *Muslimansko školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Die Landwirthschaft*. 1899. *Die Landwirthschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei.
- Dierks, Dennis. 2024. *Nationalgeschichte im multikulturellen Raum: Serbische Erinnerungskultur und konkurrierende Geschichtsentwürfe im habsburgischen Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878-1914*. Göttingen: V & R unipress.
- Džaja, Srećko M. 1994. *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878-1918): Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag.
- Fejzagić, Džemal. 1908. Djeca o zecu. *Učiteljska zora* 4: 10–11.
- Furat, Ayşe Zişan. 2013. *Gayr-i Müslim idare altında Müslümanların din eğitimi: Avusturya-Macaristan dönemi Bosna 1878-1918*. Istanbul: İdil Yayınçılık.
- Giomi, Fabio. 2021. *Making Muslim Women European: Voluntary Associations, Gender, and Islam in Post-Ottoman Bosnia and Yugoslavia (1878-1941)*. Budapest, New York: Central European University Press.
- Glibonjski, Gjorgje. 1903. Obrazovanje karaktera u osnovnim školama. *Školski vjesnik* 10: 315–323, 460–466, 602–609, 710–716.
- Godišnji izvještaj učiteljske i s njom spojene I: Narodne osnovne djačke škole kao vježbaonice u Sarajevu*, prvi (škol. 1888/89. god.); treći (škol. 1890/91. god.); četvrti (škol. 1891/92. god.); osmi (škol. 1896/97. god.); trinaesti (škol. 1900/01. god.); sedamnaesti (škol. 1904/05. god.); devetnaesti (škol. 1906/07. god.); dvadeseti (škol. 1908/09. god.); dvadesetdrugi (škol. 1909/10. god.).
- H-a. 1911. Zaštita voćaka od zeca. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 10 (3): 59.

- Hameršak, Marijana and Dubravka Zima. 2015. *Uvod u dječju književnost*. Zagreb: Leykam International.
- Hauptmann, Ferdinand. 1983. *Die österreichisch-ungarische Herrschaft in Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1878-1918: Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsentwicklung*. Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz.
- Havelka. 1906. Štitite vočke od zeca. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 5 (12): 252.
- Havelka. 1908. Suzbijanje voćnih štetočina. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 7 (12): 235–236.
- Hörmann, Const. 1894. Die Falkenbeize in Bosnien und der Hercegovina. *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* 2: 501–505.
- Inaba, Mitsutoshi. 2015. Pedagogija i Psihologija u Učiteljskoj školi u Sarajevu (1886. – 1918.) za Austrougarske vladavine. *Anali za povijest odgoja* 14: 31–47.
- Inaba, Mitsutoshi. 2018a. Zec i kunić u Bosni i Hercegovini. *Behar: Časopis za književnost i društvena pitanja* 27 (139): 20–21.
- Inaba, Mitsutoshi. 2018b. A Micro-Level Shift in Educational “Regime of Practices” under the Habsburg Monarchy: Historical and Psycho-Pedagogical Analysis of Luka Karaman’s Work *School Bench*. *Historijska Traganja* 17: 35–61.
- Inaba, Mitsutoshi. 2024. Female Education in Jagoda Truhelka’s Epistolary Book *U carstvu duše* in Habsburg Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Historijska Traganja* 23: 63–88.
- Islamović, Elvira. 2008. *Školstvo i obrazovanje na području okruga Bihać za vrijeme Austrougarske uprave*. Bihać: Preporod.
- Jarak, Nikola. 1956. *Poljoprivredna politika Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini i zemljoradničko zadrugarstvo*. Sarajevo: Narodna štamparija.
- Jelavich, Charles. 1990. *South Slav Nationalism: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Jurišić, Martina. 2022. Zašto ubiti životinju? Primjer dječje književnosti. In *Animal: Knjiga o ne-ljudima i ljudima, Kulturni Bestijarij III. dio*, eds. Antonija Zaradija Kiš, Maja Pasarić, and Suzana Marjanić, 553–566. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Kasumović, Amila. 2016. *Austrougarska trgovinska politika u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1914*. Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju.
- Kolar-Dimitrijević, Mira. 1991. Život i rad profesora Viktora Pogačnika. *Podravski zbornik* 17: 131–145.
- Kraljačić, Tomislav. 1987. *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Kruševac, Todor. 1960. *Sarajevo pod Austro-Ugarskom Upravom 1878-1918*. Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva.
- Majhut, Berislav and Sanja Lovrić. 2012. Najstarija animalistička tema u hrvatskoj dječjoj književnosti. In *Književna životinja: Kulturni bestijarij II. dio*, eds. Suzana Marjanić and Antonija Zaradija Kiš, 827–847. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Medić, Mojo and Nikola Prica, eds. 1903. *Woldřich-Burgersteinova Zoologija za više razrede srednjih škola, četvrto prerađeno hrvatsko izdanje*. Zagreb: Kr. Hrv.-Slav. zemaljska vlada.
- Moore, Scott. 2020. *Teaching the Empire: Education and State Loyalty in Late Habsburg Austria*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- No. 4305 Annual Series. 1909. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Austria–Hungary. Report for the Year 1908 on the Trade and Commerce of Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, July 1909.

- Okey, Robin. 1990. Problems of Schooling in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia 1878-1914: Cultural Mission and Slav Nationalism. In *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Victor Karady and Wolfgang Mitter, 41–63. Köln, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
- Okey, Robin. 2007. *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia, 1878-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Okey, Robin. 2013. The Primary School Movement in the South Slav Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Era of Dualism: Ideal and Reality. *Godišnjak ANUBiH* 42: 147–164.
- Organizacija. 1909. *Organizacija narodnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini. Prvi dio. Svrha i ustrojstvo narodne osnovne škole – Nastavna osnova. Unutrašnji školski red – Nastavni i uzgojni rad i postupak*. Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija.
- Papić, Mitar. 1972. *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Pejić, Oliver. 2021. The Portrayal of Muslims in Austro-Hungarian State Primary School Textbooks for Bosnia and Herzegovina. In *Imaging Bosnian Muslims in Central Europe: Representations, Transfers and Exchanges*, ed. František Šístek, 92–103. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. 2017. *Teacher Education and Teaching as Struggling for the Soul: A Critical Ethnography*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Reiser, O. 1895. Die Falkenbeize in Bosnien. *Bosnische Post*, 11 September, 1–2.
- Sammlung. 1880. Verordnung der Landesregierung in Sarajevo vom 27. Jänner 1880, Nr. 1421, betreffend Belohnungen für Lebensrettungen und für Vertilgung von Raubthieren. In *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Herzegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen, 1. Band*, 403. Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Schmid, Ferdinand. 1914. *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*. Leipzig: Veit.
- Srpska riječ*. 1908. Uništavanje zmiya otrovnica u Bosni i Hercegovini. *Srpska riječ*, 20 July, 2–3.
- Šušnjara, Snježana. 2013. Učiteljstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske. *Anali za povijest odgoja* 12: 55–74.
- Šušnjara, Snježana. 2014. Školovanje ženske djece u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba Austro-Ugarske (1878-1918). *Napredak* 155: 453–466.
- Visković, Nikola. 1998. Šest načina odnosa prema životinji. In *Kulturna Animalistika: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 29. rujna 1997. godine u Splitu*, eds. Nenad Cambi and Nikola Visković, 11–15. Split: Književni krug.
- Visković, Nikola. 2009. *Kulturna zoologija: Što je životinja čovjeku i što je čovjek životinji*. Zagreb: Jesenski i Turk.
- Wadiwel, Dinesh Joseph. 2023. *Animals and Capital*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Woldrich, Ivan N. 1885. *Zoologija za više razrede srednjih učilišta*, transl. Mijo Kišpatić. Zagreb: Kr. Dalm.-Hrv.-Slav. Zemaljska vlada.
- Wolfe, Cary. 2013. *Before the Law: Humans and Other Animals in a Biopolitical Frame*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Žalac, Tomo. 1989. Bujher, Đuro. In *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024)*. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. URL: <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/bujher-djuro> (accessed 23.8.2025).

- Župan, Dinko. 2013. *Mentalni korzet: Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)*. Osijek, Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku, Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje.
- ...r. 1910. Otrovnne zmiје. *Bosansko-hercegovački Težak* 9 (6): 112–114.

### **Živali v izobraževalnem diskurzu habsburške Bosne in Hercegovine v zgodnjem 20. stoletju**

Članek vsebuje analizo odnosa med otroki in živalmi v habsburški Bosni in Hercegovini od leta 1878 do leta 1918, pri čemer je posebna pozornost namenjena vlogi živali pri osnovnošolskem pouku naravoslovja. V zgodnjem 20. stoletju, ko se je število novoustanovljenih osnovnih šol v Bosni močno povečalo, je bilo težišče osnovnega izobraževanja namenjeno vzgoji samostojnih državljanov. Z drugimi besedami, šolstvo je težilo k razvoju značaja utemeljenega na »apercepciji«, kot so jo zagovarjali Gjorgje Glibonjski, Bogumila Čehovićin in Stjepan Basariček. Učiteljski kandidati so se na predajanje naravoslovnih znanj pripravljali na sarajevskem učiteljskišču, kjer so bile v ospredje postavljene značilnosti posameznih živali, še zlasti v luči njihove relevantnosti za človeka. Pouk naravoslovja naj bi na otroke prenašal idejo o tem, da je različna življenja možno ovrednotiti na podlagi njihovega gospodarskega potenciala.

Otroci so se skladno s posredovanimi znanji učili smotnosti ubijanja nekaterih živali in se v tem tudi preizkušali, o čemer pričajo obravnavani viri. Čitanke za osnovne šole so te usmrtitve upravičevale z gospodarskimi razlogi. Šolarji so bili mobilizirani, da neposredno in posredno iztrebljajo gosenice in ujede, ki so škodile gospodarsko pomembnim sadnim drevesom, za kar so prejeli nagrade – podobno kot odrasli za lov na volkove. Gospodarsko načelo, po katerem je vsako življenje prejelo oceno vrednosti, je učencem zagotavljalo opravičilo za ubijanje živali, saj naj bi bilo takšno iztrebljanje obrzdano in naj ne bi negativno vplivalo na razvoj moralnega čuta.

Sklepamo lahko, da je bil odnos med živalmi in ljudmi v osnovnem izobraževanju Bosne in Hercegovine zgodnjega 20. stoletja določen z ekonomskim pogledom na življenje, ki je gospodarski vrednosti dajal prednost pred drugimi oblikami doživetja živih bitij.