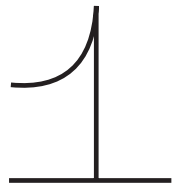




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S The Action of the Saint Sava Society on the Formation of Identity among Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia

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Abstract The Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia in the late 19th century, in national terms, were not recognized by the Turkish authorities. Their position in this region made it difficult for the Bulgarian and Greek propaganda and armed troops of Albanians, so the Serbs had to struggle to defend themselves and defend their national identity. One aspect of this struggle was the educational and cultural activity reflected in the establishment and development of the Serbian primary and

secondary schools, the establishment of bookstores, and church-school communities. Support in all this was given by the educational institutions, which had the task of minimizing foreign influences and using the potentials at their disposal to achieve national integrity. Thanks to their existence, at least for a short time, it seemed that the prevailing attitude was that the Serbs in those areas at the same time formed a bridge and an insurmountable gap between East and West.

Besides the State government, support in dealing with educational issues was given by the Saint Sava Association established at the initiative of Svetomir Nikolajevic, professor of History and Literature at the Great School. Academic, political, and national activities of the Association were expressed through the establishment and work of Saint Sava evening, Preparatory and Theological-Teaching School in Belgrade.

Keywords Saint Sava Association, Saint Sava evening, Preparatory and Theological-Teaching School in Belgrade, national ideals, Old Serbia and Macedonia

Historical and Educational Opportunities in Serbia in the Last Third of the 19th Century

The last decades of the XIX century were marked by the regime of the Milan Obrenovic dynasty and intensified political struggle. In addition to socio-political factors, the development of education in Serbia was

also influenced by the growth of capitalist production, the strengthening of the industrial bourgeoisie, as well as Serbia's openness to Europe.

For the further development of schooling and education, and on the initiative of the Minister of Education Stojan Novakovic, in 1882 the *Law on Elementary Schools* was passed, which contained several progressive provisions.¹ That law for the first-time prescribed compulsory attendance at primary school, and the duration was extended to six years. Among other things, the establishment of school boards was also foreseen, as well as increased instructional work and supervision during and at the end of the school year. Two years later, in 1884, a new *Curriculum for Lower, Upper and Extended Primary Schools* was adopted, which, in fact, represented only a good basis for the latter elaboration. The program requirements stated in the mentioned law and the curriculum were too big for the real possibilities, so their implementation did not bring significant changes in the education system. Because of all this, in 1891, the *Curriculum for Lower Elementary Schools* was adopted, which reduced the teaching content (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 159).

With the intention of enrolling only children from wealthier urban families in higher education and directing the youngest from rural and poor areas to lower forms of schooling, a complete reorganization of schooling began at the end of the 19th century. In 1898, the *Law on Public Schools* was passed, which referred to lower and higher public schools. Kindergartens and four-year primary schools were lower, and three-year civic and girls' schools were higher. Other provisions of that law related to the position of teachers, the organization of supervision, as well as material and financial problems in the work of public schools.

1 Stojan Novakovic (Sabac, 1842 – Belgrade, 1915; his real name at birth was Kosta) graduated from the Lyceum in Belgrade, department of legal sciences, in 1863. He worked as a high school teacher, and from 1872 he was a professor at the Great School, where he taught World and Serbian literature and Slavic philology. From 1873 to 1885 he was the Minister of Education. He began his diplomatic career in 1886 with a mission in Constantinople, where he remained until 1892, after which he became the president of the State Council. He renewed the work of the Progressive Party and during the annexation crisis was elected as prime minister. In his twenty-second year, he became a member of the Serbian Academic Society.

In accordance with the new requirements set out in the *Law on Public Schools*, in 1899 the *Curriculum for Elementary Schools* was adopted, which made male and female elementary schools completely equal, and the number of so-called intellectual subjects in teaching was significantly reduced. The practical direction of teaching meant the introduction of new subjects, such as agricultural lessons, housewives lessons, men's and women's handicrafts, civic moral lessons, national economy and bookkeeping (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 161).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the faster development of capitalism and certain political freedoms also affected the state of education and schooling. The *Law on Public Schools* from 1904 positively resolved a number of issues related to the organization of teaching and the position of teachers (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 219).

Changes in the school system also affected the work of high schools. In 1881, *Amendments to the Law on the Organization of Grammar Schools*, as well as the *Curriculum for Grammar Schools and Secondary Schools*, were adopted. With that curriculum, the first four grades in these two types of schools were equalized, with the emphasis being on a realistic group of subjects. The following year, in 1882, a detailed curriculum for gymnasiums was created for the first time, which improved the organization of work during schooling. With the *Law on the Organization of Gymnasiums* from 1886, schooling was extended from seven to eight years, which represented a convergence with European requirements in the field of secondary education (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 178).

The aspirations of the conservative ruling class were also reflected in education, so in 1898 the *Law on Secondary Schools* was passed, which reduced the number of complete high schools, and instead of the previous free education, payment of enrollment and school fees was introduced. In addition, this law introduced some new organizational solutions, which related to the division of the school year, the abolition of annual exams, the introduction of a lower course exam, etc. That law, however, caused resentment in educational circles, so the educational authorities were forced to make certain changes in 1902, and they mainly related to increasing the number of full gymnasiums,

abolishing the registration fee and the apprentice title for professors (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 190).

In the field of work of the Higher Women's School, which in the last decades of the 19th century was mainly intended for the training of female teachers, several changes were made. Legal changes from 1886 extended the duration of schooling there to six years, and the final teacher's exam became mandatory for all female students. Since at the end of the 19th century, the decision to establish a female teacher's school was adopted, the Higher Women's School formally became a sixth-grade high school for girls' higher education (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 197).

After a long period of work and many organizational changes, in 1896 the *Law on Theological Seminary* was adopted, which stipulated that student with completed elementary school should be admitted to the school. At the beginning of the 20th century, the seminary became a nine-year school, with lower general education and higher professional theological classes, and in 1910 it received a final curriculum with an elaborate curriculum (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 200).

The work of teachers' schools towards the end of the 19th century was subject to frequent changes regarding the duration of schooling, the curriculum, and even the place where they were located. Due to legal changes in 1896, the teacher's school became a four-grade high school, whose curriculum included a large number of modern subjects, such as civil rights and duties, manual work, and others. At the beginning of the 20th century, in 1904, a detailed curriculum was adopted, accompanied by a curriculum for the first time.

The desire to improve craftsmanship was also reflected in the establishment and operation of craft schools, which have been operating since 1892 under the *Law on Craft Schools*. One of the best was the Military-Craft School in Kragujevac, which in 1895 was raised to the level of secondary schools with the right to issue master's degrees. On the initiative of women's societies, female workers' schools were established in many places in Serbia, where poor girls received basic education and preparation for independent performance of some female trades (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 212).

The development of the economy and trade had a positive effect on the development of trade and finance education, so, in the absence of a state school, in 1881, the private three-year Belgrade Trade School of Czech Radovan Visek was opened. That school was replaced in 1892 by the State Trade Academy; it provided the youth with theoretical and practical education for the commercial and financial profession. At the beginning of the 20th century, with the *Law on the Commercial Academy*, that school was given a higher level and a detailed curriculum in which subjects intended for the commercial profession prevailed. In addition to this regular form of education, since 1882 trade schools of the Belgrade trade youth have been operating in Belgrade and the interior, which were held in the evening or during the week and within which the basic subjects needed for the trade profession were taught. Towards the end of the 19th century, the two-year High School of Belgrade Trade Youth was founded (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 209).

The needs for practical training of those who will work in their communities to improve agricultural management were met by secondary agricultural schools, which, since 1882, have operated under the *Law on Lower Schools for the Field Economy*. Lower three-year agricultural schools were agricultural-livestock and viticultural-fruit growing (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 212).

After the Serbian-Turkish war, it became clear that there was a need for highly educated military personnel, so in 1880 the *Law on the Military Academy* was passed. That law provided for the work of a three-year lower military academy, which was of a universal type, and a two-year higher military academy, which trained officers of all branches of the army (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 213).

In the Serbian school system, the Great School, the highest educational and scientific institution in the country, founded as a Lyceum in 1838, occupied an important place. Occasional changes in the organization of work in the second half of the 19th century created better conditions for the development of professional and scientific work within the three faculties – Philosophical, Legal and Technical. The *Law on the Great School* from 1896 gave it greater autonomy, and the decrees

of individual faculties implemented a thorough distribution of subjects by departments. By the *Law on University* from 1905, this institution became the highest self-governing body for higher professional education and for the study of sciences. That law regulated almost all issues related to internal organization, the position of professors, study regime, disciplinary responsibility, etc. (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 216).

The pedagogical work of educators relied on advanced ideas that came from Europe and on their popularization through numerous translations published in pedagogical journals. There is no doubt that the development of teaching and schooling during the last decades of the 19th century passed a long and difficult path, in which clear and short explanations were replaced by elaborate curricula and programs, based on observation and the principle of obviousness in teaching, so European requirements in education existed almost in all segments of education in Serbia.

On the eve of the Balkan wars, Serbia had a fully developed school system, which included elementary schools, complete and incomplete gymnasiums, women's high schools, a seminary, teacher, trade, craft and agricultural schools, a military academy and a university.

Serbian Consular Missions – the Activity of Cultural Diplomacy

The work of the diplomatic service of Serbia was initially regulated by the *Law on Diplomatic Representations and Serbian Consulates Abroad*, adopted on 18/31 January 1879 (Lopicic, 2007, p. 184). A few years later, 1/14 in November 1886, the *Law on the Organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Representations and Consulates of Serbia abroad* was passed, based on which the Ministry was divided into two departments – political and administrative; the political section consisted of two sections, and the administrative section consisted of four. The mentioned law had provided that consuls, educated and capable people, would be appointed on the proposal of the minister, by the king's decree, and that they would have the rank of minister. Consular activity was carried out based on the *Rules of the Consular Service*

from 1882, which stated: “Official correspondence with the Serbian state authorities will be conducted regularly by consuls through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (Lopicic, 2007, p. 287).

At the end of the nineties of the 19 century, cultural diplomacy became an important factor in international relations. Appointed consuls from the European part of Turkey had the duty, as part of propaganda and intelligence work, to represent the country, to protect the Serbian people, to open Serbian schools, bookstores and church-school municipalities, and to submit reports in consular letters about the events in the place where they were. The basic aspirations of Serbian diplomatic policy in that area were perhaps best pointed out by historian Jovan Jovanovic in his work *South Serbia*: The goal was: to open schools, churches and monasteries and fill them with Slavic service, to open bookstores and supply them with good and appropriate Serbian books, to create colonies with craftsmen (Jovanovic, 1938, p. 133).

To solve the problem on the national level at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4/17 July 1889, the Educational and Political Department (PPO) was founded. (Popovic, 2010, p. 479). This department managed the work of Serbian consulates in Old Serbia and Macedonia, whose primary task was to solve cultural and educational issues. Stojan Novakovic, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, managed these tasks (Popovic, 2010, p. 481).

A year later, on May 25 / June 7, 1890, the Education Board started working at the Ministry of Education. Its task was to give an opinion on the need to open Serbian schools, to take care of the qualifications of teachers, to adopt curricula and censor textbooks, to participate in the drafting of rules for accepting cadets and supervise them, as well as to provide assistance for the maintenance and expansion of national consciousness. The members of the Board, who were elected for three years, were appointed by the Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Permanent members of the Board consisted of the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the treasurer of the Ministry and one tutor from the Endowment, Sime Igumanova. Archimandrite Nicifor Ducic, professor Ljubomir Kovacevic and pedagogue Milan Milicevic (Petkovic, 1970, p. 74). At the first consular conference of Serbian consuls from

Old Serbia and Macedonia and representatives of the Education Board, held on 10/23 in April 1891, the tasks in the field of national propaganda were determined, which was carried out by the activities – opening Serbian schools and church-school municipalities, distributing propaganda books and textbooks, educating cadets and training teachers (Lopicic, 2007, p. 205).

The most significant role in Serbian diplomatic relations with Turkey was played by the diplomatic representation or *capu-cehaja* in Constantinople, founded in 1838. Only after 1870, however, it began to perform consular duties in the true sense of the word. After the adoption of the *Law on the Organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Representations and Consulates of Serbia Abroad* from 1886, Stojan Novakovic, then an employee of the Ministry of Education and a member of the Education Board, was appointed as the Serbian representative in Constantinople. The parliamentary seat that Novakovic held gave him the opportunity to work on the political, national and propaganda activities of Serbia in European Turkey and to improve the position of the Serbian people in those regions. His task was to form a network of legal Serbian cultural and educational institutions, in which the Serbian consulates in Old Serbia and Macedonia had a central place. With the approval of the Turkish authorities, consulates were opened in Skopje and Thessaloniki in 1887, and two years later in Pristina and Bitola. Consistent and persistent in his negotiations with the Turks, Novakovic received permission from the Porte to print books, so from 1889 to 1897 he was in Constantinople, at the printers of K. Baichel, A. Zelic and sons and J. Palamari, printed several textbooks for Serbian elementary schools. It should be added that in Constantinople on 8/21 October 1889, the first Serbian bookstore was opened under the management of Lazar Krstic. With his diplomatic work, Stojan Novakovic significantly contributed to changing the situation in Old Serbia and Macedonia in favor of the Serbian people (Lopicic, 2007, p. 205).

The Serbian Consulate General in Skopje, which occupied a central place in Serbian national politics in European Turkey, was opened in 1887 (Lopicic, 2007, p. 205). Aleksa Pacic was appointed as the first consul, who was replaced two years later by Vladimir Karic, a professor

and diplomat. Karic's work in preserving the Serbian identity mainly related to cultural and educational activities, which were realized by opening Serbian schools and bookstores, the work of Serbian Orthodox churches and the establishment of church municipalities. Difficulties in the work of the consulate were great. The goal of the Bulgarian propaganda was to implement the Bulgarianization of the Serbian population, and the Turkish authorities strongly opposed the opening of Serbian schools. Nevertheless, after long preparations, the Serbian elementary school in Skopje was opened on 5/18 February 1891, but soon, due to Bulgarian intrigues, it was closed. The opening of the first Serbian bookstore in Skopje, which was run by the bookseller Koca Jovanovic, and which started operating in 1889, was also important for the achievement of national goals (Lopicic, 2007, p. 207).

Based on the Temporary Consular Convention between Serbia and Turkey in 1887, the consulate of Serbia was opened in Thessaloniki. (Lopicic, 2007, p. 208). Petar Karastojanovic was appointed as the first consul, but Vladimir Ljotic, who was consul on two occasions – from 1890 to 1894 and from 1905 to 1909, achieved the most in terms of opening Serbian schools and supplying them with textbooks. In the eighties of the 19 century, there was a larger colony of Serbs in Thessaloniki, mostly merchants, artisans and workers. A Serbian elementary school was opened in 1892 for their children and children from Kosovo and Bitola vilayet, and in 1894/1895 Serbian gymnasium named *Home of Science* also started its work (Pejin, 1999, p. 325).

To protect the Serbs from the violence of Arbanas and to spread the educational activity, in Pristina it is 15/28 November 1889, the consulate of Serbia was opened; its field of work included the territory of the Kosovo vilayet, with the center was in Skopje, where the pasha lived (Lopicic, 2007, p. 201).

Due to the difficult situation – robberies, violent seizure of property, killings and lawlessness – the Serbian population from those regions was often forced to leave their homes and emigrate. The first Serbian consul in that consulate was Luka Marinkovic, a diplomat, who was killed on June 19 / July 2, 1890. In the same year, Branislav Nusic, who was appointed consul in May 1893, came to the consulate. The consulate

worked in very difficult conditions, so on several occasions Branislav Nusic proposed that it be closed. Regardless of the difficult circumstances, at the end of the 19th century, some Serbian schools started to work, and in March 1890, the teacher Steva Markovic opened the first Serbian bookstore in Pristina; it sold books printed in Constantinople, as well as those from Belgrade and Novi Sad that had passed Turkish censorship (Lopicic, 2007, p. 214).

The Serbian consulate in Bitola was officially opened, with the anthem of the Kingdom of Serbia and the *Turkish Imperial March* in 12/25 April 1889 (Lopicic, 2007, p. 215). Dimitrije Bodi was appointed first consul, and Petar Manojlovic was vice consul. As in other areas, the position of the Serbs in the Bitola Province was quite difficult. At the end of the 19th century, only Bulgarian and Greek schools and a Romanian high school were established in Bitola, while there were no Serbian schools at all. The first attempt to establish a Serbian elementary school is linked to the married couple Marija and Atanasi Jungic, who came to Bitola in June 1889 (Terzic, 2008, p. 339). Less than two years later, however, the Turkish authorities expelled them, so the school stopped working. Thanks to the efforts of consul Dimitrije Bodi, a church-school municipality was established in Bitola in 1890, which, significantly contributed the establishment and operation of Serbian schools. The opening of the first Serbian bookstore, which sold textbooks and books printed in Constantinople, also influenced the development of Serbian national consciousness (Terzic, 2008, p. 339).

Serbian consular representations in the European part of Turkey worked under the supervision of the embassy in Constantinople, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Terzic, 2008, p. 339).

The State of Serbian Schools in the Ottoman Empire

At the beginning of the 19th century, in the area of Old Serbia and Macedonia, education was exclusively linked to monasteries, and later, with the development of trade and crafts and the strengthening of the Serbian population, opportunities were created for the establishment of private elementary schools. The expansion of the network of Serbian schools was supported by Serbia itself with its educational policy. The

aid related to teacher training and the supply of textbooks from Serbia, as well as material support for the maintenance of existing schools and the establishment of new ones. The organization of the work of those elementary schools was the same as in Serbia, and in 1871, a seminary was founded in Prizren, with the financial help of the rich merchant Sima Igumanov. The task of that school, which operated under the administration of the Ministry of Education, was to train priests and teachers.² As for the education of teachers for Serbian schools, they were also educated in the seminary in Belgrade, where a special, second department was established. This department was founded for the education of youth from unliberated regions of Serbia. That department worked according to a somewhat modified and shorter curriculum (Kantardzije, 2002, p. 341).

After the Berlin Congress in 1878, however, the position of the Serbs in those regions, in the provinces of Kosovo, Thessaloniki and Bitola, became very difficult, which also affected the organization of education. The Turkish authorities, aware of the defeat in the Serbian-Turkish war, prevented the operation of old schools and any attempt to open new ones (Lesnjevic, 1910, p. 316). The Bulgarian Exarchate, founded to protect the part of the Slavic population in the Turkish Empire and oppose Hellenization, changed its policy in the eighties of the 19 century.³ Under her pressure, instead of schools in the Serbian language or in the Christian-Slavic language, as some called it, schools were opened in the Bulgarian language, and the more prominent Serbs, including the teachers themselves, were persecuted and imprisoned. This was particularly pronounced in the Bitola and Thessaloniki provinces, where the basic education of the Serbian population took place within the framework of the so-called secret Serbian schools or Greek village schools

2 In 1889, it became a six-year Theological and Teacher's School, which, in addition to education, played a major role in national and cultural-educational policy.

3 The Exarchate is a Bulgarian church organization created by separation from the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1870. As part of the church-school organization, it realized long-term national aspirations, and their goal was the annexation of all areas to Bulgaria.

from which Greek textbooks were expelled. Serbian children, being educated in foreign schools, Bulgarian and Greek, forgot their mother tongue and national customs. Life in those regions, and especially in the Kosovo Vilayet, was also made difficult by the urban crimes, which were once so great that the Serbian people had to leave their hearths (Kantardzije, 2002, p. 343).

After 1885, the socio-political conditions in the area became somewhat more favorable, which made it possible to resume the work of Serbian elementary schools. At the beginning of 1887, the Department for Serbian schools and churches outside Serbia was established at the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, which was abolished in 1889, and its work was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At this Ministry, in May 1890, the Educational Committee started working again, whose primary task was to send young and capable people to Old Serbia and Macedonia to work on the spread of education and culture. After the establishment of Serbian consulates in Skopje and Thessaloniki in 1887 and in Pristina and Bitola in 1889, and with the transfer of propaganda and educational work for Serbian schools outside Serbia to the department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were real opportunities for more intensive work of schools (Kantardzije, 2002, p. 344).

Establishment and Work of the Society of Saint Sava

The ruling Serbian circles took a stand that only through books, schools and church can oppose the strong Bulgarian and Greek propaganda on the territory of Old Serbia and Macedonia. Work on these tasks involved the active participation of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as some other unofficial organizations. With this goal, on the initiative of Svetomir Nikolajevic, professor of history and literature at the Great School, the private Society *Sveti Sava* was founded. In September 1886, the founding assembly of the Society of *Saint Sava* was held in the hall of the Great School in Belgrade, which was attended, among others, by Milan Milicevic, Ljubomir Kovacevic, Panta Sreckovic and Milos Milojevic. The society

was managed by the Main Board, headed by Svetomir Nikolajevic (Vojvodic, 1999, p. 8). The main task of the Society was focused on cultural and educational work in Old Serbia and Macedonia, on the training of teachers for Serbian primary schools in those regions, as well as publishing activities. Immediately after its establishment, the work of many subcommittees in Serbia began, and the funds collected from donors were used to finance various activities (Vojvodic, 1999, p. 9).

The society began to establish new and restore old schools and churches. It also advocated for the education of young people who, upon returning from Serbia, would influence the raising of consciousness among the Serbs there. By their actions, they should have pointed out that this is about Serbian regions and that the people should be aware of their past, identity, language and customs. They also provided them with the necessary resources – liturgical books, literature, textbooks and studies. In a short time, the Society became an important organizer of the everyday life of Serbs in unliberated areas (Vojvodic, 1999, p. 9).

The members of the Society cooperated with the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which, among other things, provided the necessary financial resources. In 1887, the journal *Brotherhood* (*Bratstvo*) began to be published, in which most of the articles were written by prominent researchers. Among other things, the texts also related to the life of the Serbs, the appearance of the towns and the events in them (Vojvodic, 1999, p. 8).

The educational-political and national activity of the Society of *Saint Sava* was also expressed by the establishment and operation of school institutions in Belgrade where young cadets from Old Serbia and Macedonia were educated. Pupils came with recommendations from Serbian consuls in the European part of Turkey or Serbian national workers. On this way the Sant Sava Evening School, the Preparatory School and the Theological Teacher's School in Belgrade were founded (Vojvodic, 1999, p. 11).

The Sant Sava Evening School was founded towards the end of 1887, with the aim of providing basic education to artisan youth from Old Serbia and Macedonia. The curriculum, which was approved by the Ministry of Education and the Department of the Serbian Church

and Schools in Turkey, included Christian Science, Serbian language, arithmetic, geometric shapes, bricklaying, geography, Serbian history, basics of nature, basics of physics, church singing, folk singing, reciting folk, artistic and heroic songs and calligraphy (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 233). In addition to general subjects, what was necessary for craft activity was also taught. As for the work method, it was adapted to the current possibilities and educational goals: "In the lectures, students will be given more activities and participation, and the lectures will be as fun and educational as possible, and so that the students would like school and science as much as possible and saw as many benefits as possible: mental, moral and practical" (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 233). It was foreseen that future artisans from Old Serbia and Macedonia, in addition to general education, would acquire correct concepts about Serbia and its past and that upon returning to their regions they would act as *good people and conscious Serbs* (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 233).

The preparatory school, which was opened in 1888, was a kind of teacher's school where the following subjects were taught: Christian science, Serbian language, Slavic language, calculus, Serbian history, world history, geography, natural science, history of Serbian literature, physics, French language, practical pedagogy and psychology, geometric drawing, church singing, folk singing, free drawing, crocheting and calligraphy (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 253). Students who graduated from this school could enroll in the State Teachers' School, where they took a one-year shortened course (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 253).

Pension St. Sava was opened in November 1888. In addition to regular schooling, the cadets also had lessons in Serbian language, history and literature, and there was also a reading room within the boarding house. Due to the increased number of students in 1890, the Sant Sava Home was built, where the Society's Administration was located (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 253).

In the same year, for the purpose of training teachers and priests for non-liberated regions, the Theological Teacher's School with a boarding school was founded. The largest number of lessons was devoted to the Serbian language, church singing and physical exercise. On Sundays and holidays, student parties were organized where songs from various

parts of Serbia were sung, student compositions were recited and read. “Both according to the professional assessment and the sympathy of the public who were very interested in the future pioneers of Serbia who were educated in this school, the school enjoyed a great reputation” (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 253). The headmaster of the school was a well-known national worker, Milos Milojevic. However, the school was short-lived because in August 1891, the work of the *Sant Sava Society* was terminated.⁴

The Society’s work was supported by the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, which approved the opening of schools, approved school programs and participated in financing. Later, the Society also cooperated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 255).

For political reasons, after 1890, the activity of the Society was weakened. Serbian official circles tried to suppress their independence, and the Turkish authorities intensified the persecution of the Society’s members. In addition, some cadets publicly expressed pro-Bulgarian sentiments, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs canceled their state aid (Hadzi-Vasilevic, 1936, p. 255).

Awakening of National Consciousness through Educational and Cultural Activities among Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia in the Last Decades of the 19th Century

At the beginning of the nineties of the 19th century, several Serbian primary schools were opened in towns and villages in Old Serbia and Macedonia in a relatively short time, and a sometime later gymnasium in Constantinople and Thessaloniki also opened. The first Serbian schools were opened based on the Imperial Decree from 1891, as well as the Turkish *Law on Public Education in the Ottoman Empire*. That Law

4 With the task of working to preserve Serbian national consciousness in Old Serbia and Macedonia, the Club of Youth from Old Serbia and Macedonia was founded in Belgrade on November 27 / December 10, 1906. The club mainly gathered young residents from those areas, and the first president was Stojan Zafirovic, a philosophy student. The club worked until November 1913. Cf. T. Smiljanic, Youth Club of South Serbia and Macedonia. *Southern overview (Juzni pregled)*, No. 3, 1927, p. 120.

provided for the existence of state and private schools that were the property of certain societies and individuals from the Ottoman Empire or other countries. For the work of those schools, it was necessary that the curriculum and textbooks be submitted to the Turkish Ministry of Education for review and that the teachers' and professors' certificates be certified by the educational authorities. In the same way, the educational supervisor was obliged to attend the annual exams, and the list of graduated students had to be submitted to the Turkish authorities (Pejin, 1999, p. 325).

The legal benefits in the Kosovo Province enabled the operation many primary schools, the establishment craft, trade and civil schools, and the Women's Craft School in Prizren.⁵ After several unsuccessful attempts, with the permission of the Turkish authorities, a number of Serbian primary schools were opened in both Thessaloniki and Bitola provinces, and in 1892, Serbian primary schools in Constantinople and Thessaloniki also began to operate, which after some time also received high school classes. From March 1897, according to the sultan's order, it was possible to *open Serbian schools without any excuses* in the Vilayet of Bitola and Thessaloniki (Pejin, 1999, p. 325).

Thanks to favorable social circumstances, as well as increased work on the establishment and operation of Serbian schools, at the beginning of the 20th century there were 281 Serbian elementary schools in Old Serbia and Macedonia (Ivanic, p. 312). The largest number of schools worked in the Kosovo Vilayet, while the number of schools in the Bitola Vilayet was somewhat smaller than in the seventies of the 19th century. In addition to schools in Kosovo, Thessalonica and Bitola provinces, in the nineties of the 19th century, a Serbian elementary school and gymnasium were founded in Constantinople (Pejin, 1999, p. 325).

Educational and propaganda work required, in addition to the opening the schools, the creation of textbooks adapted to socio-political circumstances. Until the Serbian-Turkish wars, it was not difficult to

5 The takeover of the Rasko-Prizren metropolitanate from the Greeks in 1896 represented a special opportunity, which, among other things, was responsible for the supervision of schools.

bring Serbian books into Turkey, but when the relationship between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Turkish Empire changed, few schools were left without books. To enable Serbian schools in the Turkish Empire to use textbooks, Petar Kostic, teacher and rector of the Prizren Theological Seminary, went to Constantinople to obtain approval for the printing of some revised Serbian textbooks for primary schools and the Seminary. In 1888, there was a plan to establish a Serbian printing house in Thessaloniki, but since there was no reliable person to entrust this task, it was decided to print the textbooks in Constantinople. Permission to print Serbian textbooks was obtained in November 1888, at the same time when Stojan Novakovic succeeded in setting up the printing house A. Zelic and sons. The procedure for printing Serbian textbooks was quite complex. Since the Turkish censorship would approve the text, it would be printed in one copy, and then it would go to collation.⁶ On each of those textbooks was printed the text: “By the permission of the High Glorious Imperial-Ottoman Ministry of Education in Constantinople, No. 400 of 26 Zilkada 1306 and 12 Tomus 1305”, and on the textbooks from 1891 and 1892: “Permitted by the High Glorious Imperial-Ottoman Ministry of Education in Constantinople, No. 242 of 21 Sheval 1309 and 6 Mazja 1308”.

The first Serbian textbook – *Primer for Elementary Serbian National Schools in the Ottoman Empire* – was printed in 7,000 copies at the beginning of 1889.⁷ In 1893, Stevan D. Popovic’s *Account for Schools in Old Serbia and Macedonia* was also being prepared. The same printing house in Constantinople printed *Primer* in 1889 and *Reader* in 1890, textbooks that were intended for Serbian schools in Macedonia and that contained two-thirds of the text in Macedonian and one-third of the text in

6 In the Serbian Embassy in Constantinople, 3,150 dinars were set aside for the binding reprinted school textbooks. Cf. AS, MID-PP, 242/1893, 14/27 November 1893, N 356: letter from J. Velimirović sent to A. Nikolic, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in connection with the payment of school textbooks.

7 Shorter texts with concepts about man, nature, household items, riddles and proverbs in Serbian and Macedonian were printed in *Primary Book*. The mentioned alphabet consists of thirty letters and thin *jer*.

Serbian.⁸ At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, in the Vilayet printing house in Pristina, *Primer* and *Reader* were printed, and for learning the Turkish language in Thessaloniki, in 1895, the *Turkish Primer for Serbian Schools* by Ibrahim Velic was printed (Redzepagic, 1974, p. 82). To start selling and distributing those textbooks, the approval of the Turkish authorities was needed, as well as the permission of the vilayet education authorities, which sometimes took up to a year. Books were sold in Serbian bookstores, and students received them for free.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following textbooks for Serbian primary schools were also printed: *Reader for National Schools for Grade II*, *Catechism*, *Little Serbian Grammar*, *Grammar for Grade III*, *Serbian Grammar for Grade III and IV*, *Christian Science for 1st and 2nd Grade*, *Christ's Stories and Sermons for 2nd grade* and *Stories from Church History for 2nd grade*.

Concluding Remarks

In the last third of the 19th century, the demands of the new age slowly began to penetrate people's lives. Instead of the Serbian medieval tradition, which started to lose its dominant role, modern ideas of nationality were manifested, so an educational mission appeared at the beginning of the awakening of love for the people. It was necessary to acquire certain socio-historical conditions that affected the opening of Serbian schools in Old Serbia and Macedonia. These schools had their characteristics, and they refer to the emphasis on certain parts of the curriculum, the unique choice of teachers and professors, and the distinct group of students. Preservation of religion, customs, and language through school teaching influenced the strong formation of national identity among Serbs in the European part of the Turkish Empire.

And finally, the criteria of success, that is, the consequences that resulted from the actions of these educational institutions, should be

8 From 1889 to 1890 ten textbooks for Serbian schools were printed – two primers (Serbian and Macedonian), reading books for I, II and III grade, grammar for I, Grades II and III, catechism and church history. C. Kantardjiev, p. 345.

looked at. Their existence, in less than twenty years, had an impact on wider social and school events in the cultural history of Serbs. In all of this, the Society of *Saint Sava* played a significant role. The need for the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, for unification, for the dominance of the secular over religious thinking and for the modernization of society manifested itself through the development of education. The establishment and operation of schools represented an opportunity to point out the ethnic existence of one nation in several places. The activities of these institutions, which based their work on adopting the cultural values of the community, represented an attempt to solve the national question that enabled and determined the future of a nation. With the aspiration to gain independence the idea of national freedom appeared, which brought with it the idea of liberation. Support in all of this was provided by educational institutions, which had the task of minimizing foreign influences and using the potential they had at their disposal. With the establishment of Serbian elementary schools and gymnasiums in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, the interrupted continuity in the education of Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia was continued and modernized. When they fulfilled their task, they were abolished. But the end of their existence is not the end of the story about them, because they preserve national memories and secrets, preserve memories of great deeds of small and ordinary people.

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