

MORAL VALUES TEACHING AND SERBIAN SCHOOL IN THE XIX CENTURY

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Natalija Jovanović

Faculty of Philosophy, Niš
E-mail: jnata@filfak.ni.ac.yu

Abstract. *There are periods in the history of one nation which by its length do not exceed the scope of the decade they are appearing in; however, by its importance they mark centuries. Such a period was certainly the period of the Serbian Revolution, the period of restoration of the State of Serbia and the establishment of the Principality of Serbia.*

Some important educational issues appeared in this period of the Serbian national history as an expression of both the historical events and the collective memory on one side, and as a result of the wakening of national consciousness and the program of the Serbian government, on the other side.

The liberation from the Turkish slavery and the establishment of the new national state together with further differentiation between people made the question of literacy more actual primarily for the members of the leading class.

It was the time of transition from the monastery teaching carried out through the Middle Ages to the modern secular education. There was a great difference between the old church type of schooling and the new secular one. New schools were not secular just because the masters (not priests) were secular, because secular subjects (science) were taught and secular textbooks (not religious books) were used, but because the goals of teaching were secular.

Key words: *Moral, moral values teaching, school, education*

There are periods in the history of one nation which by its length do not exceed the scope of the decade they are appearing in; however, by its importance they mark centuries. Such a period was certainly the period of the Serbian Revolution, the period of restoration of the State of Serbia and establishing of the Principality of Serbia. This historically important epoch was characterised by numerous turning points and events, especially by tumultuous development of the political, social and cultural life of the young Serbian so-

ciety which was just emerging to the scene of history trying to catch up with the progressive currents in Europe.

Some important educational issues appeared in this period of the Serbian national history as an expression of both the historical events and the collective memory on one side, and as a result of the wakening of national consciousness and the programme of the Serbian government, on the other side. This is also the time of the revival of the ideas of the national self-existence accompanied by the spreading of the cult of Serbian medieval rulers and saints: Stevan Nemanja, Sveti Sava, Stevan Prvovenčani, and Czar Lazar. This cult was spreading not only to the folk poetry, as it had been since then, but also to the educational and cultural spheres.

1. When we are talking about the educational facilities of this period, especially about the role of morale and moral values teaching for the development of education, then the contribution of both Dositej Obradović, as the advocate of the ideas of the liberation movement and the educator of the liberated Serbia, and Vuk Karadžić, who made persistent efforts to transfer the ideas of Serbian revolution from the social-political ground to the education, is unavoidable. The end of the XVIII century and the beginning of the XIX century are marked by the works of Dositej and Vuk. Dositej brought Serbian culture to the level of secular enlightenment, meaning that it was liberated from the remains of mysticism and superstitions, whereas Vuk, relying himself on the sound popular speech, liberated the cultural and literal heritage of the ancestors and brought it closer to the wholeness of Serbian people.

Dositej worked primarily in Vojvodina, in an enlightened environment, where the influences of the Metropolitan Bishop of Karlovac and the Russian Orthodox Church were significant. Dositej Obradović, as a representative of intelligentsia of higher social classes, spoke in favour of a different class from that Vuk Karadžić stood up for in his national strategy. Since Vuk came from the common people background, he brought together the productive powers of his ethos, particularly emphasising the importance of the national factor for the establishing of a new state. Dositej worked in an educated environment which, taken from the historical point of view, was a century and a half ahead of the people he belonged to. Owing exactly to this, the sense of the people's being was more developed in Vuk. He directed all his intellectual powers to this very region and granted to its people the clear intelligible language, so much needed at that time, through which he was to bring the precious treasure of the tradition, literature and culture to the people's collective consciousness. It was a language that had been created throughout the period of severe, century-long endurance. In this way, both the being of the nation and the educational issue found themselves on the same task, contributing to the formation of a new state. The experience of the educated Serbs from Vojvodina played an important role in the economical, educational and cultural emancipation of the newly born Principality of Serbia, because the romantic rapture of masses, being united in the matters of tradition and literature, and the cult of freedom occupied the political space and fortified the grounds of the modern state being of Serbia within the real historical framework.

The first accounts regarding the educational facilities in the period just before the rising and throughout it were given by the writers of literary works, memoirs, historical and pedagogical works. In 1827 and 1828 Vuk Karadžić published in "Danica" parts of his

historical and ethnographic handwritings as a type of chronicle of the rising. The very important data on the political and spiritual conditions in Serbia after the Turkish – Austrian war in 1788 – 91 can be found in the works of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, and particularly in the Memoirs written by the head-priest Mateja Nenadović, which provide an impressive descriptive account of life in the country settlements, the return of the refugees to the devastated country, the reconstruction of homes, monasteries and churches, the feelings of the people of Serbia before the rising, then the beginning and the course of rising, and people's sufferings and victims.

Starting with the common people life and their wisdom, Vuk as a naturalist, gave prominence to moral values by placing them to the highest position of all human efforts. Vuk considers that elementary conditions of morality, both objective and subjective ones, are given to all of us; therefore, each one of us can be a moral being if only one wants to. Being a naturalist evolutionist¹, Vuk also considers that patriotism and other virtues are not innate qualities, but they have to be developed through science and education (bringing up). The elementary moral norm, according to Vuk, reads as follows "Nothing should be done that makes man feel ashamed of"². General principles and virtues implied by people's ethics of Vuk are concrete activity and diligence, honesty, patriotism, free thinking and humanness, righteousness, truthfulness and optimism. Vuk considers emotions to be the prerequisite of morality. According to his opinion, a man is motivated to any activity by benefit and pleasure. He considers that the autonomous sources and criteria of good and moral things are general and permanent wellbeing, which is better than any other possible good thing. Vuk, together with Njegoš and Vladimir Jovanović, is a typical representative of the popular patriarchal (traditional) ethics which is contracted to the Philistine morality and ethics represented by the Slav Serbs.

Though they had different understanding of certain issues, Vuk and Dositej were of the same opinion on general ideas regarding the popular culture and education. The movement of Dositej had prepared the victory of Vuk's movement and was integrated into it. Not only by his understandings but even more by his activities in the Serbia ruled by Karadjordje, Dositej brought the elements of the modern European ethics into the newly formed insurrectionary state. Therefore, the basic grounds of the new social and administrative system as well as the basic virtues required from the citizens were to be obedient and dutiful. Harsh social life conditions, particularly the requirements of the rising, imposed corrections to the Serbian patriarchal individualism, implying its subordination to the relentless discipline of the dukes and village headman.

The movement of Dositej and Vuk, together with the cultural transformation, liberated the people of Serbia from the narrow religious merits; however, the general development of the society weakened the influence on the Orthodox Church to the cultural and social-political life of the Serbs in the second half of XIX century. Religious beliefs were withdrawn to the scope of personal beliefs, whereas the religious rituals and ceremonies were left to the family. Still, the influence of the church was present in the form of an organization. Religious teaching had been going on in schools persistently for one more century.

¹ Andrija Stojković: *Počeci filozofije kod Srba 1804-1944 (Development of Philosophy with Serbs 1804-1944)*. Belgrade: Slovo ljubve, 1972, p.19.

² Ibid, p.19.

Modern understanding of religion with the Serbs commenced with deism and educationally-compromised rationalism which were supported by Dositej fitted in with the rationalism of the people, being also the starting point of what Vuk was pleading for. The understanding of natural sciences and their breaking into the ideology of our middle class ideology and the reactionary role of the church after the happenings of 1848 in Europe made their contribution to the withdrawal from the church influence (especially imposed by the liberals and socialist of the XIX century). Liberal ideologist, Vladimir Jovanović, pleaded for the moral that would be independent of the religious beliefs and as such to be taught in schools; he thought that religion should be separated from school and left to the family circle and church.³ Some ideologists of the Serbian middle class society would be standing against the religious teaching in schools even later; however, it had been going on in our schools almost to the mid of the XX century. People used to live with progressive theoretical declarations in compromise with the religious beliefs both in the social sphere and in the schooling system of the Principality of Serbia.

The most developed theory of this type was conveyed by Mihajlo Ristić in 1860. Starting with Kant, Wagner, Hegel, and Jacobin, Ristić also developed his ethical theoretical point of view. The conflict between the religious mysticism, theoretical dogmas and positive religious beliefs, which were involved in the religious wars and detrimental to the progress, on one side, and positive understanding of science, on the other side, was resolved by Ristić who found a compromise between science and religion. He was convinced that religion could not be revoked for good because it was inseparable from the essence of man.⁴ Such an understanding of religion and its role in society fitted itself in the theory and practice of moral values teaching in Serbian schools.

In contrast to the methods applied to the young generation teaching in Serbian patriarchal society - including teaching through examples, persuasion and giving moral lessons - the newly-formed state required the citizens that would be obedient to the authorities. The main virtue required from the citizens of Serbia ruled by Obrenović, as also stated by Vladeta Tešić, was obedience.⁵ It is said in the "School Rules", published in 1841, that the first duty of any student was obedience, whereas each disobedient subject was most severely punished both in school and in society.

Christian ethics was taught in all schools in Serbia and its main principles were obedience and submissiveness. The head master of all elementary schools, Milovan Spasić, published in 1850 the book "Ingenious Educator of Children" in order to carry out this method of education more efficiently. This book was widely used by both teachers and parents. Being a rationalist and a thinker of ethics too, Spasić spoke in favour of the standpoint of Russo that man is born as a good being; however, what kind of a person he would become depends on his education. He considers that one's mind has a crucial role for the moral designation of a man. That is why he spoke in favour of educational rules being the means for the self-contained aspiration after truth, goodness, beauty and the wellbeing. In addition to this, he emphasized the necessity of making children being used to showing respect to elders and authorities. The essence of moral values teaching, in his

³ Ibid. p.51.

⁴ Ibid, p.51.

⁵ Vladeta Tešić: *Moralno vaspitanje u školama Srbije (1830-1878) (Moral Values Teaching in Serbian Schools (1830-1878))*, Belgrade: Institut za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1973, and Andrija Stojković: Ibid, p.52.

opinion, was to develop one's love to God, to one's fellow-men, to one's own self, whereas reward and punishment as well, were the means of moral values teaching which were also used by Christian dogma teaching⁶.

Moral values teaching in Serbian elementary and secondary schools were developed from an absolute obedience accompanied by the system of strict punishment towards greater liberalization and implementation of more human and up-to-date teaching methods through examples and without corporal punishment. Serbian students brought up in the west made a great contribution to the democratization of Serbian society and consequently for the change of moral values teaching aims and methods in our schools. However, the strict method of punishment and education directed to have obedient students were to remain even longer in the Serbian educational system. Svetozar Marković, Vasa Pelagić, Stevan Sremac and other wrote about it.

Personal friendship and great mutual respect of Vuk and Njegoš, had a profound and comprehensive effect not only on the political life in two Serbian countries but also on the unification of the notational program, to the approximation of the systems of values and to the creation of educational policy in both Serbia and Montenegro. The ideas of Njegoš regarding the moral issue were based on Kant's understanding of duty. Man does not have duties only to himself and other people but perhaps his supreme duty is towards people's community and through it towards mankind. It is one's own duty to treat the adversities of life heroically and to defend at all costs the honorable name of his own and of the nation he belongs to⁷. This kind of ethics refuses to accept the epicurean search for the essence of living on the earth, but it finds its essence in the transcendental and again, for a patriarchal man, in the real world of the highest values of honor and a reputable good name. According to Njegoš, one's life is sensible and has its justification if it is devoted to the sublime moral issue. His ethics represents the victory of life over death, good over evil, truth over lie, and beauty over the physical and spiritual ugliness.⁸ In the ethics of humanity and heroism, of humaneness and bravery, lay the ideal of Njegoš as well as of Serbian people. Njegoš believed in the effectuation of this ideal and consequently the ethics of Njegoš and Serbian people as well is optimistic: it denies any myth of Sisyphus or any outcome of hopelessness for human beings and the destiny of universe: "Thrice happy he whose name rings down the years, for he had reason in this world to come". The ethical understanding of Njegoš was an outcome of his active relationship with the social events of the XIX century. It was the time of national-liberating movements in Europe and the preparation of the peoples of the Balkans for complete liberation from the Turkish feudal slavery. Being a great patriot and philosopher-ethicist of the nation too, Njegoš brought up the codex of our popular ethics to the level affecting not only the humanity in general but cosmos as well.

His ethics has its starting point in man, who is a supreme subject so that all other values of his are to be taken as his predicates. Life as such is valuable if only it is employed to serve the sublime ideals, the highest values of heroism and humanity, the manifestation of which are numerous. Njegoš in his ethics spoke in favour of the humanistic activism.

⁶ Andrija Stojković: op. cit, p.53.

⁷ Andrija Stojković: Ibid, p.81.

⁸ Andrija Stojković: Ibid, p.67.

According to the standpoint of this ethics, the heroes and common people (mortals) find the essence of living in heroism. He dignifies the cult of heroism. Humanity is realized by heroic deeds and it is a clue to sort out all the problems of man. A hero is always humane; he is in search of an absolute justification. Njegoš like the people of Sparta and people's ethics too, exalts the importance of both the physical and spiritual health and vigour. The realization of human deeds requires a justified redemption. Njegoš sees the victory of the good as an outcome of a constant conflict of good and evil and the differentiation of the two issues, as a struggle in favour of good and against evil without any compromise at all.

The period of the existence of the Serbian nation and state in the liberated but still dependent country was characterized by the appearance of romantic poets and educators who appeared a little bit lately. Among the educators of that period, a special important position is given to Jovan Stejić. Coming from Vojvodina, Stejić, led by his patriotism, moved to Serbia as the first qualified doctor. As a philosopher and an educator, he wrote numerous popular books referring to health and education and the stories with moral and didactical attitudes. He was a typical rationalist-educator, who brought the ideas of humanism and optimism to Serbia. Praising the cult of a sound mind as the ground of physical and spiritual health and the cultural progress, he, as Dositej, was first of all a practical moralist. The sources of ideas of Stejić were German educators of the XVIII and XIX centuries, especially the followers of Kant. He adjusted these sources to the needs of the Serbian society and gave them Serbian names in the proverbs and anecdotes. He had similar views of the world to that of Dositej. He also spoke about the objective and subjective determinates of morality. The objective conditions of morality, for him too, are given by God: universe, God and society. The subjective ones are: mind, passion and activity. As an educator, he was trying to adjust the legal norms to the moral values. Moral values, according to Stejić, are those values which belong to the general issue of humanity: modesty, industriousness, politeness, kindness, truthfulness, and steadiness of character, keeping the pertinence of a spoken word or religious beliefs, rational piety, truth, justice, peace, love, hierarchy, etc.

Stejić prescribes the norms of moral behaviour⁹. The most important norm for him is being educated, therefore he advises people to be smart and rational and to try to have clear and peaceful consciousness. This is a standpoint of the educational humanism. He also pleads for the norms of obedience.

Serbian culture and consequently its education were under strong influence of classicism. It was caused by the fact that the most reputable cultural enthusiasts and teacher of the Great School (1803-1813) had acquired classical education: Dositej, Ivan Jugović, and others. Sterija as a reformer of education and its organizer introduced a course of classical studies in Serbian school, so that in 1844 students were required to take examination in Latin and since 1853, students had to take examinations in Latin and Greek¹⁰ as well. There were several scholars who worked in this educational atmosphere when the school was transformed during the Cultural Revolution imposed by Vuk. They were Sima Milutinović Sarajlija (1791-1847), who respected Dositej, who was the teacher of Njegoš,

⁹ Andrija Stojković: *Ibid*, p. 96.

¹⁰ Andrija Stojković: *Ibid*, p. 21, Djunković: *Školstvo i prosveta u Srbiji XIX veka (Schooling and Education in Serbia in XIX century)*. Belgrade: Pedagoški muzej u Beogradu, 1971, p.55.

and a friend of Vuk, and a follower of educational philosophers and humanistic moralists; Ljubomir P. Nenadović (1826-1895), a son of Protá Mateja, who adapted German classical philosophy and spoke in favour of the rationalism of Dostojevski, and believed in progress, human goodness, common sense, and scientific achievements; Milan Dj. Milićević (1813-1908), a typical representative of the folk circle in the reform movement of Vuk, a president of the Serbian Academy of Science in the long-run, who gave a descriptive account of lives of folks. Milićević published his important works at the time when historiography was still undeveloped, burdened with romantic feelings and dealing mainly with medieval past. In his works he described personalities and events from the period of Serbian revolution which led to the establishment of a new Serbian state, its educational system and culture. He was also studying the educational system of the XIX century.

In the second half of the XIX century there appeared a number of authors who were dealing with both individuals and events from the near past having the sense of historical distance. They wrote about the happenings and distinguished persons who had taken part in the rising of 1804 and 1815 and about the remarkable persons of the time important for setting up of the Principality of Serbia. "Serbian Revolution"¹¹ written by German historian Leopold Ranke appeared in 1829. Though Ranke did not discuss the educational matters separately, his work is unique in many aspects because it played a great role in the spreading of scientific ideas about Serbian insurgents throughout Europe. Memoirs and travel books of the contemporary writers who visited Serbia or passed through it during the nineteenth century, as well as individual accounts of our distinguished historians and pedagogist of the time, can be taken as an important source of the material enabling studying the development of moral values and educational system in Serbia of the period.

The period of modern approach to Serbian revolution in social science began with the appearance of the critical school led by Stojan Novaković (1842-1915) and the entire circle of gifted publishers (such as Mihajlo Gavrilović, Milenko Vukićević, Aleksa Jović and others). Stojan Novaković was an important scientist, a politician and a diplomat. He carried out the reforms in Serbian schools by which the classicism was replaced by realism. A number of his analytical works regarding Serbian history, about Dositej, and the philosophy of people's poetic works have particular importance for the Serbian philosophical historiography. Detailed examination of all the available sources, first of all of the archival materials, became an indispensable prerequisite and unavoidable ground for research activities of the cultural history of modern times.

Tihomir R. Djordjević was among the first to be engaged in the research of cultural facilities in the restored Serbia. Having performed extensive research into the archival materials he wrote a book "*From Serbia Ruled by Prince 13 Miloš – Cultural Circumstances from 1815 to 1839*"¹². A separate section of the book was devoted to schools.

An outstanding study "*Belgrade under the Jurisdiction of Pasha after the Svistow Peace 1791 -94*"¹³ was published between the two wars, in 1927 by Dusan Pantelić; the

¹¹ Leopold Ranke: *Istorija srpske revolucije (The History of Serbian Revolution)*. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1864.

¹² Tihomir Djordjević: *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša (From the Serbia ruled by Prince Milos)*. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1922.

¹³ Dušan Pantelić: *Beogradski pašaluk posle Svištovskog mira 1791-1794 (Belgrade under the Jurisdiction of*

second volume of this ample work was published after the Second World War, in 1949. In the period between the two wars and after the Second World War, there appeared a number of researcher of the Serbian Revolution 1804 – 1830. Especially prominent among them were Slobodan Jovanović, Jovan Civić, Vladimir Ćorović, Vladimir Dvorniković, Vasa Čubrilović, Radoslav Perović, Dragoljub Janković, Vuk, Vinaver, Radovan Samardžić and others. The outcome of their extensive research work and studying, which lasted for several years and was based on modern approach, gave an evidence on high level attained in the research including the political, economic, legal – state matters, demographic, cultural, educational and other movements in Serbia of the XIX century and the relations of Serbia with other regions and the Balkan and European countries too.

There were some periodicals such as "The Foundation of Cupic", "Brotherhood", "Supplements for Literature, History, Language and Folklore", "Teacher", "School Master", "School", "Teacher", "Our National School", "Educational Herald" and others and gave in the articles published accounts and attitudes about the essence of moral values teaching in elementary and secondary schools in Serbia of the XIX century. An article called "What is Moral Teaching and How Can It be Acquired"¹⁴ pointed out that it was the duty of the teachers to develop the sense of justice and to mollify the nature of students in school.

In numerous articles written in that period, there were arguments on certain problems concerning the moral values teaching. It was implied that there was a conceptual distinction between the terms moral values teaching and education, so that the former one was reduced to moral values teaching aimed to remedy deficiencies, to transform bad habits and to improve the nature. It was also pointed out that religious principles and the examples given were important, as well as the role of parents, and the characteristics of teachers for the long and lasting influence upon the students' moral values teaching. There were some argumentative discussions about the feasibility of teaching material usage to instruct students into moral values and particular importance was given to the possibilities offered by catechism, history and natural sciences. There were explanations about the references and relations between the intellectual and moral development; then the explanations concerning the origin of moral terms and development of moral habits. There were analyses referring to the moral values teaching processes of formation and methods. The starting point in these discussions concerning the mentioned issues were particular attitudes provided by pedagogy, for example: since the personality of the teacher is the most important factor (almost crucial) for the creation of moral values in students, the school master has to love his profession, to perform his duties creditably, to be honest to his students, and to be an attribute that would reflect all moral values based on strict religious principles"¹⁵.

Milorad Šapčanin pointed out in his "Epistle to the primary school masters" that a master should be both a teacher and a pedagogue. This two – sided task would be carried out efficiently if the masters were to build their pedagogical influence on the principle of unity of strictness and seriousness; on the principle of being strict and pliable, ingenious

Pasha after the Svistow Peace 1791-1794. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1927.

¹⁴ Škola (*School*). Belgrade, 1869, no.1, p. 55.

¹⁵ Škola (*School*). Belgrade, 1869, no.1, p. 264.

and rational, and if they were to instruct by their own example. Instructive work had to be adjusted to the age and sex of the students: therefore, a master should be serious to senior students and more pliable to younger ones, rigorous to male students and gentler to female ones.

The book "Pedagogical morals"¹⁶, written by Milan Dj. Milićević, in the opinion of a great deal of contemporaries, represent a complete methodical guide – book providing useful facts for educational and instructive work in elementary schools. The questions regarding moral values teaching were considered at full length in this book. The beginning of the book provided for the basic prerequisite for successful performance of master's duties; then the methods of gaining moral authority over the students that would earn the master respect, hearing and confidence. Such an authority could be gained if the masters were to honestly carry out their duties, if they were to love and respect their students dearly and if they were to forgive their students for having made the mistakes.

Numerous argumentative discussions published in the periodical called "School" issued in 1870, 1871, and 1872 gave accounts for some methodical issues regarding the pupils' moral values teaching. It was particularly stressed that pupils should be exercised in assessing their own doing as well as the doings of others with respect to moral issue. It was also suggested that the Socratic Method of talk should be introduced. There were some questions suggested to the masters to make their students used to assessing critically their own behavior and to introduce them into analyzing the moral issues of the behavior of others. The master's task was to disclose the motives that might be the cause of either the morally good or evil doings. The masters were particularly warned not to preach to one and to avoid making their own conclusion about moral values.

Milan Milićević was the first one to announce in our pedagogical theory the subject of middle – class moral throughout his book "A Small School of Civil Rights and Duties"¹⁷. Within the book he presented simple morals for small children, boys and young men, and the morals regarding the situation in the state of Serbia.

The problems of moral values teaching were worked out in "The Pedagogical Theory"¹⁸ by Diets. Firstly it was pointed out that moral values teaching is necessary and feasible; then that it was crucial to provide for the favourable effect of all relevant factors to achieve successful moral values instructing. Students should be systematically made used to moderateness; they should be instructed to develop the sense of being honorable, sociable, willing to work, respectful and obedient. The function of example given throughout the teaching process was emphasized as well.

Vojislav Bakić, in his book "The Science of Teaching"¹⁹ based on the principles of Herbert's school of philosophy and pedagogy, pointed out the importance of moral issue of teaching. Teaching moral values, in his opinion is double-sided: direct, through the direct influence upon the will of the trainee, and indirect throughout the course of educa-

¹⁶ Milan Dj. Milićević: *Pedagogijske pouke zaučitelje, roditelje i prijatelje narodnog obrazovanja (Pedagogical Instructions for Teachers, Parents and Friends of People's Education)*. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1870.

¹⁷ Milan Dj. Milićević: *Školica za građanska prava i dužnosti (A Small School of Civil Rights and Duties)*. Belgrade: 1878.

¹⁸ Diets Fredrick: *Teorija pedagogije ili osnovi nauke o vaspitanju u nastavi (Theory of Pedagogy or Elementary teaching Science)*. Translation by Milorad P. Šapčanin, Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1872.

¹⁹ Vojislav Bakić: *Nauka o vaspitanju I i II (Science of Teaching I & II)*. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1878.

tion. Direct instructing is more powerful for the creating of moral values in students. He also thought that creating of student's strong, decisive and permanent will could be most efficiently performed through examples, particularly by those examples shown and practiced by the master himself. Bad school environment, idleness, bad books, and loneliness were the factors that had an ill effect upon the creation of moral attitudes. Education taken as a whole, according to Bakić, should have an instructive character, and to give its contribution to the formation of moral features in students. To that sense, he strongly stressed the importance of instructive materials given by history, geography, catechism, literature and singing (including religious, folk and patriotic songs).

In his second book "Serbian Patriotic and Homeland Love"²⁰, Bakić analyzed, as separate moral values, patriotism, and love for man, homeland, and the honor of people, Serbian brotherhood and kinship. In his opinion, the family circle and up bringing within it, people's education, social circles, patriotic associations, municipal and public institutions, economic power of nation and national defense provide favorable conditions for the development of moral values. A separate section of his book was devoted to the question of Serbian national school.

In the collection of works called "New Educator" edited by Mita Nešković²¹, there is a review of the most important pedagogical works about national education. The headings General Pedagogy and Applied Pedagogy include the articles dealing with the relationship of teaching and moral. One of these articles presents the effects of poetry, epics, lyrics and drama on the educational and moral aspect in people's life. In the article called "The Thoughts of a Teacher"²², education was defined as an activity through which the development of an individual runs according to his own aspirations, whereas people's education is defined as a process carried out over all the members of the nation. The same text pointed out that in each modern and cultural country there were three main factors of education: family, school and after school life.

The mentioned articles offered theoretical background broad enough to organize education-instructing work in the schools of the Principality of Serbia. In all those articles it was pointed out to a greater or smaller extent that it is necessary to develop in students love to God, understanding and habits of being obedient, disciplined and responsible attitude to duties, feelings of respect towards elders, modesty and tidiness, the sense towards property, and patriotism. The moral discussed in these articles had a middle class religious character. The mentioned articles offered theoretical elements on the grounds of which it was possible to create certain pedagogical attitudes and their general orientation was to point to the necessity of the organized and systematic work on the issue of students' moral values teaching.

²⁰ Vojislav Bakić: *Srpsko Rodoljublje i Otačastvoljublje (Serbian Patriotism and Homeland Love)*. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, Zadužbina Dimitrija Stamenkovića, 1910.

²¹ *Novi vaspitač (New Educator)*, Edited and published by Mita Nešković. Novi Sad: Štamparija dr Pavlović i Jocić, 1890.

²² *Ibid*, p.99.

2. The Serbian middle-class society was first formed in Vojvodina, and then throughout the XIX century in Serbia too. Serbia was liberated from Turkey in the risings of 1804- 1815 and started its independent existence. The heritage of the European civilization came to Serbia mostly through Austria, through the Serbs in Vojvodina. Cultural influences from the Western Europe were more powerful in reference to those coming from the East.

The social situation in which the Serbian liberated public thought was to develop was undeveloped. Throughout the XIX century, in the liberated cities, it was possible to see both the peasantry (peasant jackets and shoes) and accordingly modern coats and shoes, the examples of the common people wit with the European education, a patriarchal view of the world intermingled with the modern middle class civilization. Next to Budim, Vienna, Karlovac, and Novi Sad, Belgrade was to be the cultural center of Serbia in the seventies of the XIX century (which in 1859 had barely 20 000 residents). The subsistence economy, slowly but surely was getting transformed into market economy and the patriarchal society grew into the middle class one. The Turks left the tower of Belgrade in 1867, and Serbia expanded its boundaries and became an independent sovereign country in 1878. Social rebellions led by Miloje Djak, Toma Vučić, Avram Petronijević and others together with political parties struggles and movements of the constitution supporters, liberals and the United Youth, and socialists, were to upset Serbia throughout the whole of the XIX century.

Cultural facilities and particularly educational ones were on a quite a low level in the liberated state of Serbia. There were very few schools and literate people. After the Great School, formed in the period of rising (1808-1813), Prince Miloš realized Vuk's idea regarding the foundation of the Great School in Belgrade in 1831. It was a school that provided vocational secondary school education preparing students to be clerks. The printing office was opened in 1831; the library of the city of Belgrade in 1832; in 1841 the theatre was founded in Belgrade; however, permanent performances were given only in 1868.

The first advanced school, Lyceum, was opened in Kragujevac in 1838, and it was moved to Belgrade in 1863. Together with the Great School, there was the Association of Serbian Literate Man as the forerunner of the Academy of science, founded in 1841 and it was the second circle of the free thought in Serbia.

While the European XIX century middle-class society was experiencing its climax, the Serbian people were just about to liberate themselves from the Turkish slavery.

The social and spiritual framework in which the national education of Serbia was developing in the XIX century was largely determined by the political, material and cultural heritage of the earlier historical epoch. During the XVIII century Serbian people, having been deprived of their state, main social and cultural institutions for centuries, were still under the foreign ruler. Territorially and legally it was divided among three states: Turkey, Austria and Venice. The majority of people lived in the Ottoman Empire, which was passing through the period of deep crises in the XVIII century. Serbian people, who were living in the north of the rivers Sava and Danube, developed itself within the boundaries of a modern country-the Monarchy of Hapsburg. This Monarchy was on the rise of its powers and was considerably different from the Turkish feudal empire. A part of Serbian people, from those regions, although deprived of any independence, were developing remarkably faster and within more favourable social and cultural surroundings than those remaining to live at their old hearts, within the boundaries of Turkey. Having never bro-

ken up completely the connection with its national core at the south, persistently nourishing the spiritual tradition brought from the fatherland, the Serbs, from the region of Podunavlje, would, earlier than any other Serbian group or region, come in touch with the contemporary European culture and education that would be of crucial importance for the faster and more comprehensive cultural revival of the Serbian people in the XIX century.

During the XVIII century and by the beginning of the XIX century, the largest part of Serbian population which was living within the area limited by the rivers Drina, Sava, Danube and Timok, was constantly restless and in the state of revolutionary agitation. The centuries-long fights of the two empires, Turkey and Austria, and their frequent warfare actions that had been going on just in this area, was an opportunity the people of Serbia tried to make use of for their national and liberation goals. Particularly in the XVIII century Serbian people were exposed to frequent war affairs and clashes of Austria and Turkey, and the experience gained throughout that period was valuable for the formation of Serbian officers and non-commissioned officers and also to formulate for the first time their political requirements for autonomous government regarding: the election of Prince, non-interference of the Turks into Serbian affairs, the freedom of religious beliefs, the payment of tribute and the building of churches.

The frequent movement of Serbian refugees across the Sava and the Danube was an opportunity to get familiar with the way of life of a more developed community, giving rise to the strengthening of many-folded spiritual, cultural, educational and economic relations forcefully separated by the state boundaries of Turkey and Austria. In spite of the existence of the state borders and frequent restlessness, a dense network of connections had been woven for decades which enabled the transfer of not only the goods but also of ideas, information, books and educational experiences. In the last decades of the XVIII century and by the beginning of the XIX century, in addition to the Serbian Church and the popular patriarchal culture, there appeared live forms of the modern, middle-class civilian spiritual culture represented by Serbian intelligence brought up and educated out of the boundaries of the state of Turkey.

Karadjordje together with Mateja Nenadović and other leaders of the Rising (although they themselves were not or, if they were, insufficiently educated) had a quite clear idea of the importance of culture and education for the liberation of the people and establishing of the new state of Serbia. To that sense, the Bill of 1805 established the Parliament, as the organ of the supreme state authority, and among six other Ministries it was foreseen to establish the Ministry of education that was going to have the legal capacity over: the monasteries, churches, schools, teachers and other feasibilities necessary for educational work. Within a relatively short period of time and in the circumstances of the constant struggle under arms for the survival of the liberated Serbia, a lot had been done to found the grounds of cultural and educational work. A great deal of activities was carried out to establish the system of elementary schools. Vuk wrote down that during the reign of Karadjordje schools were established almost in every city or town and even in some villages²³. The arrival of Dositej Obradović considerably improved both the organizational work of modern schooling and the educational content of the lessons. In 1808 the Great School was opened in Belgrade being an exceptionally important educational institution.

²³ Vuk Karadžić: *Etnografski spisi (Ethnographic Handwritings)*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1972.

The opening of this school, which according to the level of education it provided was somewhere between the secondary school and university, was a cultural event for the entire revolutionary Serbia. The curriculum included general educational subjects (general history, geography, reckoning, German language, statistics of Serbia, national law, constitutional law, criminal procedure, moral science, religious singing and rifle handling). As it can be seen, moral values teaching was retained decidedly within the syllabus of moral science teaching and throughout the syllabus of other subjects in the sense of nourishing religious and fighting tradition.

Dositej, immediately after his arrival to Belgrade, was appointed to occupy the position of the member of the Parliament, and in 1811, after the new government and judiciary system had been constituted in Serbia ruled by Karadjordje, he was promoted to be the Minister of Education. This provides an account of what importance was given to the development of education, to the spiritual orientation directed to the modern European society and the ideas of Dositej. Dositej employed all his spiritual strength to help Serbian people join the community of educated people. He considered that the role of the people's leaders and managers was very important. If, he wrote, they were not to be the true leaders of people, instead of freedom there would come other slavery, slavery caused by one's own ignorance and by the tyranny of domestic spiritual circles. Owing to this, the complete work of Dositej Obradović, in the period before the rising and especially in the first phase of the Serbian Revolution, was aimed at the following: to prevent the creation of darkness in the social and moral spheres, and to establish a new society on the grounds of liberty, moral values and educated people. The creator of modern Serbian school, considered both the moral and the educational issues to be of equal importance so they were built in the foundations of the Principality of Serbia.

After the fall of Serbia under Karadjordje, Vuk left Serbia and went to Vienna, where he would work to bring about the Serbian Cultural Revolution. Helped by Kopitar, Vuk became the apostle of the Serbian patriarchal culture which was the basic element and precondition for the Serbs to enter Europe. Within a few years, he was to set the grounds of the new Serbian culture, by publishing "Pismenica" (1814) and his "Dictionary" (1818). He was to fight for the Serbian popular speech and customs almost on his own for a half of the century (1814-1864), with the help given by the foreign scientists and men of letters. In 1847 Vuk was helped by Njegoš and Daničić to win the final scientific and literary battle. He gathered the Serbs in the cultural center of Vienna. The resistance to the work of Vuk was made by the state of Serbia and the censorship; therefore he was more pursued than helped. He was offered help by Russia, and supported by Goethe, Grim, Ranke and others.

Vuk travelled to Serbia and other Balkan countries on several occasions. He visited over sixty places collecting people's poetic works. His influence on Prince Miloš was positive, urged him, struggling for his bare life, to flee from Serbia ruled by Slav Serbs who did not permit the introduction of his reforms. In his letter of 12 April 1832 to Miloš, Vuk presented the program of cultural and political reforms and the revival of Serbian people, but also gave a critical review of the tyranny of Obrenović.

The theoretical grounds of his work were based on German Romanticism, before all Herder and Jung. However, Vuk was not a typical representative of Romanticism. Having followed the collective consciousness of Serbian people, he created his own view of the

world. Vuk, like Dositej, took over some of the ideas from the west (Romanticism) if only they could serve the purpose of his cultural revolution. Romanticism is connected to the development of liberation movements of European peoples from feudalism, to their struggles for national unification and the setting up of independent countries and cultures. Both Vuk and Dositej, considering the question of tradition, were of the same opinion that negative tradition had to be in the process of constant overcoming, whereas the positive one should be preserved and go on pursuing to the requirements of people's life and needs, also taking into account the achievements of other people if they were applicable.

3. The Serbian Revolution was distinctly marked by the national, liberating and anti-feudal character. The immediate social circumstances that caused the rising were: people's discontent with the unbearable social, and economic position (the grounds of which were unresolved relations to land); the discontent of higher classes with their economic standing (military and trade staff); self-willed behaviour of land owners (terror over the Serbian population), etc. Although bourgeoisie did not exist as a separate class (social stratification into countrymen and the poor had just begun), the Serbian revolution, the main goal of which was to establish an independent national state, was a necessary historical condition for its formation. The process of social stratification among the insurgents (into the leaders of the rising, administration-military executives, traders, common people) was carried out throughout the course of rising. Strong freedom-loving tradition of the Serbian countrymen was preserved among the people of Serbia and it was expressed on the occasions of supporting or limiting the personal authority of Karadjordje and the absolute methods in the reign of Prince Miloš. In an indirect way this tradition was enriched by the ideas of French revolution, the echoes of which came to Serbia through the Serbian cultural centers in the territory of the Hapsburg Monarchy where almost all progressive influences of Europe came from.

Karadjordje accepted the French revolutionary ideas in the spheres of law and education. As the time went by, the attitude of Serbian authorities towards the freedom-loving ideas and the influence of French enlightenment-period writers were essentially different. Having strengthened his powers, Miloš Obrenović began to resist the spreading of "Volterrian" anti-clerical and other free-thinking ideas and their understanding in Serbia. The period of the first reign of Prince Miloš, viewed from the sociological standpoint, was an extremely important epoch in the newer Serbian history. Serbia gained considerable independence and the status of Principality for the first time after five centuries. The "Hatiserif" from 1830 brought the autonomy to Serbia, i.e. Serbia was established as a vassal Principality with the internal political self-government and Turkey was not going to interfere into it. It was acknowledged that Miloš was to have the successive title of Prince, however to rule along with the assistance of the State Council including the heads of the state. Among other things, "Hatiserif" legalized the educational system. The item 8²⁴ denied Miloš the formal right to justify himself for not being engaged in the sphere of education. By having gained the autonomy, the remaining feudal relations were finally abolished, and owing to it "landed estates were abrogated and the peasants became free land

²⁴ Branko Vujović: *Umetnost u ustaničkoj Srbiji (Art in Revived Serbia 1791-1848)*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1986, p.64.

owners. The conditions enabling the development of capitalistic production and middle class society were established. In addition to this, the larger opening of the country to the west enabled accordingly the exchange and trade of material goods, the development of market economy relations and cultural, political and ideological influences as well.

Many of the most important public, cultural educational and teaching institutions of the Serbian people such as the Great School (Lyceum), other public schools, National Library, State Printing Office, Museum, Theatre began to work at that time. By the middle of the XIX century, there were over sixty public (state) municipal and village schools with sixty-eight teachers, most of them coming from Srem and one third from Serbia. By the end of the first reign of Miloš, there were about one hundred schools with approximately the same number of teachers and about three thousand students, that was a large improvement of the educational facilities in reference to the first years after the Second Serbian Rising when only three schools were opened: in Belgrade, Jagodina and Ostružnica.²⁵ The founding of a new Serbian Principality Typographic Office in 1831 provided for the technical conditions for national education program spreading. Books and periodicals were printed there and there were readers-subscribers not only from the Principality of Serbia but also from other countries where Serbs lived: Russia, Moldavia and Turkey.

The national educational system and the level of its development reflect the wholeness of all the living conditions in a certain period of time. The social, economic and political position of the Serbs in the period of slavery reduced educational activities to the minimum. Actually, they were carried out only within churches, so that studying performed in monasteries and teaching conducted by some priests were efforts aimed to provide the spiritual descendants. This type of schooling was typical for the period just before the rising and after the rising. The changes that had taken place in the social and political spheres did not reduce the role of church and its function in this area because of its importance, its connections with both the people and the traditional events. However, even before the first rising, the development of economy (together with the process of stratification of the Serbian society) imposed the increased need for literate people. More well off peasants used to engage some priest to give lessons to their children, and in some cases this kind of instructing grew into small schools. Owing precisely to this, there were no curriculums and syllabuses, but every master worked according to his own erudition and cleverness, and was limited to teaching the basic elements of literacy: reading and writing, more rarely doing sums (reckoning), and religious singing. The lessons were individual, and imbued entirely by formalism. There were quite few textbooks which were obtained from Vojvodina, where the masters came from. The duration of the school year and working hours were not precisely determined and they depended on the local situation and the teacher himself. Work was constantly hindered by warfare. Schools were attended by the students of different age and there were no female ones. The inequality of students' age, the tutorial type of lessons and traditional framework made the conditions for applying strict discipline upon students not only for their wrong doings but also for their ignorance and punishment such as standing; kneeling, locking up and others were executed.²⁶

²⁵ Ibid, p.65.

²⁶ Živojin Djordjević: *Škole prosveta u Srbiji 1700-1850 (School and education in Serbia 1700-1850)*. Belgrade:

4. The liberation from the Turkish slavery and the establishing of the new national state together with further differentiation between the people made the question of literacy more actual primarily for the members of the leading class. During the First Rising there were a number of schools of this type and they were attended by the children of the leaders of the Rising and some other children. It was the time of transition from the monastery teaching carried out through the middle Ages to the modern secular education. There was a great difference between the old church type of schooling and the new secular one. New schools were not secular just because the masters (not priests) were secular, because secular subjects (science) were taught and secular textbooks (not religious books) were used, but because the goals of teaching were secular. New teaching and educational methods came into school practice together with the new teachers, teaching materials and textbooks.²⁷

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²⁷ Živojin Djordjević: *Škola i prosveta posle Prvog srpskog ustanka* (School and Education after the First Serbian Rising). Belgrade: Pedagoško društvo Srbije, 1954, p.41-42.

MORALNO VASPITANJE I ŠKOLSTVO U SRBIJI U XIX VEKU

Natalija Jovanović

Postoje razdoblja u istoriji jednog naroda koja po trajanju ne prevazilaze decenijske okvire, ali po značaju obeležavaju vekove. Takvo razdoblje, svakako, čini i vreme srpske revolucije, vreme obnove srpske države i stvaranja Kneževine Srbije.

U ovom razdoblju srpske nacionalne istorije javljaju se značajni prosvetni sadržaji kao izraz istorijskih procesa i kolektivnog sećanja, na jednoj strani, a na drugoj, kao rezultat buđenja nacionalnog i državnog programa u Srbiji.

Oslobađanjem od turskog ropstva i izgradnjom nove nacionalne države, koja je praćena daljim unutrašnjim diferenciranjem, problem pismenosti postaje još aktuelniji, pre svega za rukovodeći sloj.

To je vreme kad se vrši odlučan prelaz sa srednjovekovne manastirske prosvete na modernu svetovnu prosvetu. Između starih crkvenih škola i novih svetovnih razlika je vrlo velika. Nove škole nisu svetovne samo zato što u njima rade svetovni učitelji (a ne crkvenjaci) i što se u njima predaju svetovne nauke i upotrebljavaju svetivne knjige (a ne crkvene), nego su takve i po ciljevima učenja.

Ključne reči: moral, moralno vaspitanje, škola, prosveta