

MILENKO KARANOVICH

HIGHER EDUCATION IN SERBIA
DURING THE CONSTITUTIONALIST REGIME, 1838-1858

*Education makes people
easy to lead, but difficult
to drive; easy to govern
but impossible to enslave.*

HENRY PETER BROUGHAM

Serbia began to reorganize and modernize herself after 1830, the year when she was granted the status of an autonomous state. Special attention was paid to education, particularly to secondary and higher, in the time of the so-called Constitutionalists (*ustavobranitelji*), a small group of distinguished Serbs who ruled Serbia through the *Soviet* (council of senators) for twenty years (1838-1858).

Since immediately after 1830 Serbia had only a few men of her own who were even literate, let alone educated, she had to entrust virtually all the responsible administrative and diplomatic functions to the Serbs from Vojvodina who lived within the framework of the Austrian Empire and had much more opportunity for economic and cultural development than the Serbs in Serbia. Under the influence of the enlightend absolutism of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, Vojvodina showed significant progress in her economic and cultural-educational development at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. For example, the first Serbian gymnasium was opened in Sremski Karlovci in 1791, a cultural-literary society called the *Matica Srbska* was founded in 1826, in 1791 the Serbs from Vojvodina began to publish their first newspaper in Vienna, and so on. In addition, their young men had an opportunity to be educated in the fine Austrian and Hungarian schools and universities.

However, intellectuals from Vojvodina were able to meet Serbia's needs for only several years. In time she became an organized state with a large number of governmental institutions which required increased bureaucratic apparatus and educated Serbs from Vojvodina could no longer completely

meet those needs, especially for high state officials. In order to ease the existing problem, Serbia began to train her most promising native young men. None of the existing schools could prepare them for the highest state positions and therefore the government decided to establish an institution for higher education which would in time expand into a university.

The first school of higher education in Serbia the so-called *Velika škola* was founded in Belgrade in September, 1808. Due to changes in the war with Turks which had been going on since 1804, the *Velika škola* had to discontinue its work at the end of the first academic year 1808-1809. It resumed its operation in 1810 and existed until 1813.

It cannot be said that the *Velika škola* in Belgrade was a real school of higher education. It was founded to fill a special need of the state and was a specially combined mixture of a gymnasium (high school) and of a vocational school. Despite its short duration, the *Velika škola* formed a tradition of higher education in Serbia and upon that tradition the first real institution of higher education was founded.

The seeds of the institution for higher education were sown at the end of Prince Miloš's regime (1830-1839), and the Constitutionals expanded and improved it so that it indeed became "the germ of a university" as some educated Serbs proudly called it¹. According to the archival records, Stefan Stefanović-Tenka, Secretary of Education, was the initiator of the establishment of the institution. On September 11/12, 1838, he sent a letter to Prince Miloš advising him "to elevate the gymnasium (secondary school) to the level of a lyceum and to bring capable people from Germany (Austria) to teach philosophical subjects"².

His suggestion was accepted and in October of the same year the Lyceum, as the highest school in Serbia, was opened in Kragujevac³. Instruction at the Lyceum was to last for two years and the graduation from the gymnasium, which at that time had only four grades, was a prerequisite for enrollment. In the first academic year, 1838-39, sixteen students were enrolled and after two years thirteen of them graduated⁴.

1. Archibald A. Paton, *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family* (London, 1845), p. 283.

2. Archiv Srbije, the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade (Hereafter referred to AS), Knjaževska kancelarija, the Prince's Office, KK XXXVIII—95. Since almost all the documents used in this work are dated according to Old Style or the Julian calendar, which in the nineteenth century was twelve days behind New Style or the Gregorian calendar, I used both, one after the other (e.g., January 1/13, 1846 or October 30/November 11, 1846).

3. *Sto godina Filozofskog fakulteta* (Beograd, 1963), p. 10.

4. Kosta Branković, "Razvitak Velike škole", *Glasnik SUD*, knj. 18 (Beograd, 1865), p.20.

Since Prince Miloš was not successful in bringing professors from Vojvodina, gymnasium teachers in Kragujevac, Petar Radovanović and Atanasije Teodorović, were appointed the first lyceum professors in Serbia⁵. After teaching only a short time they were replaced by Isidor Stojanović and Kosta Branković. Although better qualified than their predecessors, they also were not sufficiently qualified for such high positions. Stojanović had graduated in philosophy and had begun to study law; Branković had studied law and had graduated from the seminary in Sremski Karlovci⁶.

Like other Serbian schools the Lyceum in Kragujevac was a copy of Austro-Hungarian lyceums with some small adaptations to Serbian conditions and needs. Its first curriculum was presented by Secretary Stefanović to Prince Miloš on September 18/30, 1838, and he accepted and confirmed it. According to the first curriculum, the following courses had to be taught in the Lyceum: philosophy, general history, mathematics, natural law, European, statistics, drawing, German language, French language for beginners, and the Bible⁷.

The main tasks of this institution, according to its founders' conception, were to be: the preparation of various kinds of specialists, the spread of education, and training of future scientists and writers. Unfortunately, Serbia did not have necessary working conditions to realize this conception and in the beginning of its operation the Lyceum limited the scope of its work to the preparation of future bureaucrats.

During the Constitutionalist regime the Lyceum was expanded, better qualified professors were hired, quality of students improved, new curricula introduced, old departments reorganized and new opened, textbooks published, and laboratories established. Significant changes in its operation were already noticeable in the academic year 1839-40. In addition to Stojanović and Branković, several new professors were appointed—Atanasije Nikolić, Antonije Arnot, Aleksije Okoljski, and Aschyncellus Gavril Popović⁸. At that time the Lyceum was a two year school and it offered the following courses—in the first year: Christianity and Gospel, Eastern Orthodox religion, introduction to philosophy, logic, mathematics, general European history,

5. Natalija and Platon Dimić, "Nastava u Beogradskom liceju u toku prve dve godine njegovog postojanja", *Savremena škola*, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1959), p. 58.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

7. Ilija A. Pržić, "Osnivanje Pravnog fakulteta u Srbiji", *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke*, knj. XLI, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1940), p. 3.

8. Vladimir Grujić, "Vise obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIV (Beograd, 1967), pp. 208-209.

and geodesy; in the second year: instructions in Christianity, philosophy, physics, practical geometry, general history, and agricultural economy. German, French and drawing were taught in both years⁹.

In the first year of its operation, the Lyceum was under direct control of the Ministry of Education. However, in the academic year 1839-40 direct control was entrusted to a professor whose official title was that of rector. Ordinarily, the rector was elected every year by his fellow Lyceum professors and confirmed by the Prince. Atanasije Nikolić, the first rector, was not elected by his colleagues, but appointed by the Ministry of Education¹⁰. On October 1/13, 1839, on the first day of classes, he made a speech to a group of students, professors, officials, and ordinary citizens. He began it with the motto: "Stand, stand with fear because the place on which you are standing is sacred!"¹¹. Although he was not a Serb from Serbia, but a Serb from Vojvodina, his speech was permeated with Serbian patriotism. He said in part:

We shall spare no effort, we shall spare no sacrifice, we shall use all means to bring and to direct you, dear hope of our fatherland, to a real way of benefaction. Our greatest happiness will be to see you in this country inspired by good deeds and adorned with wreaths of great wisdom, and to hand you over as such glorious young men to our dear fatherland and into your parents' arms... Your dear parents handed you to us from their arms and now we are your father and mother. If you are willing to be useful to our dearest fatherland, and to yourselves, and to be comfort, happiness, and help to your parents, have full confidence in us and follow our counsel¹².

Future rectors followed Nikolić's example and greeted new students in the beginning of every school year and in time it became a tradition of this institution.

In the first two years of its operation, the Lyceum did not have a separate building but shared one with the gymnasium. This arrangement lasted until the end of the academic year 1839-40 when the Lyceum was moved to a former military arsenal¹³.

When in 1839 the capital of Serbia was moved from Kragujevac to Bel-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

10. K. Branković, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

11. Cited by Milen Nikolić, "Licej", *Iz prošlosti Kragujevca* (Subotica, 1926), p. 13.

12. *Novine Srbske*, No. 45 (October 14, 1839).

13. I. A. Pržić, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

grade it virtually destroyed the cultural life of Kragujevac. In a short period of time Belgrade became the main cultural center of Serbia and almost all cultural institutions were located there. For that reason the professors of the Kragujevac Lyceum wished to move it to Belgrade. In their request to the Ministry of Education the following reasons can be singled out: the existence of the printing house in Belgrade, greater access to necessary books, the opportunity to mix with educated people and to learn a great deal from them, and the ease for them to publish articles in the *Serbian News and Podunavka*, the first and only paper in Serbia which devoted most of its space to her cultural, literary, and educational life¹⁴. Their request was granted and on June 15/July 7, 1841. Prince Michael ordered that the Lyceum be moved to Belgrade at the end of the academic year 1840-41. It was moved in the beginning of August, 1841. Since there was not a special building built for the Lyceum, it operated in a communal house until 1844, when it was moved to Princess Ljubica's palace and remained there until 1863¹⁵.

In July of 1840 the first generation of the Lyceum students, thirteen of them, graduated. They received mainly general education and by it somewhat expanded their knowledge obtained in the gymnasium. With the desire of preparing these young men much better for responsible jobs in the state, particularly for juridical positions, Stefan Radičević, Secretary of Justice and Education, suggested to the *Soviet*, on August 1/13, 1840, to introduce law courses for these graduates "in order to improve and extend that knowledge which they received till now so they would become excellent and educated members of our fatherland"¹⁶. His suggestion was accepted and on September 6/18 of the same year Prince Michael decreed the opening of courses in law and political science. These courses were to be taught for one year¹⁷. The introduction of these courses is not only important because they marked the beginning of juridical education in Serbia, but because they changed the general character of the Lyceum. It began to lose the character of a school for general education and became a higher professional institution.

Since Serbia did not have as yet qualified men for new positions at home, she had to seek them abroad. One position was filled fast. Jovan Raić, renow-

14. Svetimir Nikolajević, "Kraljevsko-srpska Velika škola za pedeset njenih godina", *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića*, knj. XII (Beograd, 1891), p. 208.

15. I. A. Pržić, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

17. *Ibid.*

ned attorney from Novi Sad, who should have come to the Lyceum as a professor in 1839 and had not come because of political tension and unrest in Serbia, was elected the first professor of the new department¹⁸. For the second position an open competition was announced in the *Serbian News* of August 3/15, 1840¹⁹. Three lawyers from Vojvodina, Jovan Sterija Popović and Dimitrije Našić from Vršac, and Marko Marinković from Sremski Karlovci, applied for that position. Jovan S. Popović, who was the best qualified and one of the best educated men in Vojvodina at that time, was selected. His application shows that he graduated in philosophy and Hungarian law with excellent grades, passed the bar examination with honor, studied Austrian law since 1835 as a certified attorney, and presented law suits. In addition, he devoted a great deal of this adult life to literary activity writing in the Serbian and the Latin languages²⁰. His selection was a significant step in the history of Serbian education and cultural life. He contributed a great deal to it as a lyceum professor, and after 1842, as a Secretary of Education.

Jovan S. Popović began to teach his course in natural law on November 1/13, 1840. The manuscript of his lecture was preserved and Radovan D. Lukić, Law School Professor at the University of Belgrade, has studied and analyzed it. According to him, Popović was "a follower of the school of natural law and then popular variant which considered that virtually the entire substance of law can be directly shown from human reason". In Professor Lukić's opinion Popović was "basically a liberal". It can be seen", he points out, "from his understanding of freedom of thought, his view on the limits of state power, the responsibilities of employees, the right of defense, international relations, parental power, and many other viewpoints"²¹.

Jovan Raić did not begin to teach his courses in political science until the next academic year. In the meantime Ignjat Stanimirović was his substitute, offering a course in statistics. He also came from Vojvodina with a solid education. He had completed the gymnasium in his native city, Subotica, and graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy and from the Law school in Kežmarok in Hungary (today in Czechoslovakia)²².

18. Vladimir Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu, i Beogradu", *Anal. Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* (October-December, 1955), p. 449.

19. *Novine Srbske*, No. 31 (August 3, 1840).

20. V. Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu i Beogradu", *op. cit.*, pp. 449-450.

21. Radovan D. Lukić, "Jovan Sterija-Popović profesor prirodnog prava na Liceju", *Anal. Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, No. 1 (Beograd, 1957), pp. 13-14.

22. V. Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu i Beogradu", *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452.

The creation of various institutions as grounds for the organization and modernization of the state was the chief preoccupation of the Constitutiona-
lists in their internal policy. During their reign significant progress was made in the economic development of Serbia, the first judicial and administrative mechanism was established, numerous reforms were carried out, the first liberal ideas were brought in, a solid foundation for the educational and cultural institutions was laid, and the first group of native intellectuals who were educated in the country and abroad emerged.

With the modernization of the state the demand for well-educated lawyers was great and therefore consideration was given to extending instruction in the Department of Law to two years after the first year of its operation. However, because of numerous difficulties which Serbia had to cope with, the opening of the second year of this department was postponed until the academic year 1843-44. Then, the second year was opened and the following courses were taught: Roman law, criminal law, and court procedure. Because of the students poor educational background, particularly in Latin, the teaching of Roman law had to be discontinued after the first semester. Instead of it, the Serbian Civil Code, the first law of that sort in Serbia, was introduced. Maksim Simonović, was hired to teach it. Sergije Nikolić, who had taught Roman law, would later become a professor of public economy²³.

With the opening of the second year in the Department of Law in 1843, instruction at the Lyceum lasted for four years—two years in the Department of Philosophy and two years in the Department of Law. Since the Department of Philosophy had a general educational character, everyone who wished to continue his education in the Department of Law was obliged to graduate from the Department of Philosophy in order to receive a strong background for the study of purely legal disciplines.

Before 1844, when the first of the more important laws concerning the Lyceum was promulgated, no significant changes were made in its teaching plan and program. True, there were some attempts to introduce several new courses in the Department of Philosophy, but they remained nothing more than attempts. For instance, on February 25, 1841 (O.S.), the Ministry of Education sent a letter to the *Soviet* pointing out the need to introduce "esthetics, as the subjects of refined and beautiful taste, moral philosophy in a general sense, and Slavic grammar" into the Lyceum²⁴. The *Soviet* answered this letter on March 4/16, 1841. It agreed with the Ministry that these subjects

23. *Ibid.*, p. 197; AS, L-124/1844.

24. O. S.—Old Style; AS, Sovjet, 75/1841.

"could be useful enough but because of the condition of our finances", it was pointed out in its answer, "it is now impossible for the *Soviet* to approve this suggestion of the Ministry"²⁵.

The first law regarding both departments of the Lyceum was issued in the "Organization of Public School Education" of September 23/October 5, 1844, under the title "Lyceum of Great School". Jovan S. Popović, a former professor of this institution, was its author. This law contained the curriculum and according to it the following courses were to be taught: Instructions in Christianity, basic philosophy, logic, general history, mathematics, ethics, general philosophy, and French in the first year of the Department of Philosophy; and in the second year: Instructions in Christianity, metaphysics, ethics, general history, history of Serbia, advanced mathematics, architecture, Slavic philology with esthetics, physics, and the French language²⁶. If this curriculum is compared with the first curriculum of 1838, considerable changes can be seen. In the first year of study, two new courses, esthetics and philology, were introduced, and in the second year five new courses were added: metaphysics, ethics, history of Serbia, architecture, and Slavic philology with esthetics, geodesy, the art of drawing and the German language were omitted in the curriculum of 1844. It is not known why German, as one of the most important courses for students who wanted to continue their study abroad, was abolished.

According to the new curriculum the following courses in the Department of Law were to be taught: natural law, political science, public economy, finance, statistics of main European states and Serbia, public law of Serbia, canon law of the Eastern (Orthodox) church, and French in the first year; and in the second: Serbian civil law, criminal law, court civil and criminal procedures, and public law²⁷.

The Lyceum curriculum of 1844, especially for the Department of Law, was more or less a copy, with certain adaptations to the Serbian conditions, of the curriculum issued for the Budapest Lyceum in 1806. The courses prescribed for the Department of Law are almost identical with courses prescribed by this Hungarian curriculum. The only difference was that in the Budapest Lyceum those subjects were taught in three years, while in Belgrade Lyceum they were condensed in two years and Hungarian law was omitted²⁸.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 2 (Beograd, 1845), pp. 338-345.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

28. Pravoš Slankamenac, "Osnivanje i karakter Beogradskog liceja", *Savremena škola*, Nos. 3-4 (Beograd, 1952), p. 20.

The law for the Lyceum of 1844 determined that nine professors were to teach prescribed courses. The archival documents show that all of them came to Serbia from abroad—seven from Vojvodina, one from Hungary, and one from Poland²⁹.

The curriculum of the Belgrade Lyceum was not altered significantly until July 28/August 9, 1848. Then, Prince Alexander Karadjordjević decreed that a new course entitled “political economy, finance and business disciplines” had to be introduced in the Department of Law in the academic year 1848-49³⁰. This course was entrusted to Konstantin P. L. Cukić who was the first professor at the Lyceum born and partially educated in Serbia. Cukić was born in Karanovac, today's Kraljevo, in 1826. He attended elementary school in his native city and in Kruševac. The first three years of gymnasium he completed privately in Kragujevac, and the other three in Vienna. After that, he studied philosophy in Vienna, and political science and economy at the University of Heidelberg, where he received his doctorate³¹.

In the same month the second Serb was appointed to a professorship position at the Lyceum. It was Dimitrije Matić who taught Serbian Civil Code, civil court procedure, and public law³². Despite the fact that Matić was not born in Serbia, he can rightly be considered one of the first native Lyceum professors because he received his higher education in Serbia, was a scholarship holder of the Serbian government, and considered Serbia his homeland. Matić was born in Ruma (Srem) in 1821. He started his secondary education in the Sremski Karlovci gymnasium and completed it in Kragujevac. He graduated in philosophy and law from the Kragujevac Lyceum and was one of the first lawyers to receive a law degree from this school. After that he entered civil service where he stayed until 1845 when, as a scholarship holder of the Serbian government, was sent to Germany to continue his education. He studied law and philosophy at the university of Berlin and received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Leipzig³³.

29. AS, Ministarstvo prosvete, the Ministry of Education (hereafter referred to MPs) VII-77/1855; Pera Polovina, *Udžbenici francuskog jezika kod Srba do 1914. godine* (Beograd, 1964), p. 28.

30. AS, MPs, III-228/1848; *Srbska novine*, Nos. 79-80 (August 31 - September 3, 1848).

31. V. Grujić, “Više obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka”, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Milan Dj. Miličević, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijega doba* (Beograd, 1888), p. 799.

32. AS, MPs, IV-257/1848.

33. V. Grujić, “Više obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka”, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

By obtaining a teaching position in the highest school in Serbia, Matić fulfilled his student's dream. After learning of his appointment he wrote in his "Diary" on August 1/13, 1848:

So my wish is fulfilled, I am also confirmed by the Prince to be a professor of my fatherland here at the Serbian Lyceum. Thus, from now on I will work with young Serbian souls; they are the field of my work, oh, indeed, a blessed field³⁴.

Young, well-educated, and enthusiastic about their work, Cukić and Matić revitalized teaching at the Lyceum by bringing innovation into its operation, introducing various new methods of teaching with which they had become acquainted during their studies in the West. They began to teach their courses freely and tried to permeate them with liberal ideas. Since the Constitutionalist oligarchy strongly opposed the penetration of liberalism into Serbia, Cukić's and Matić's teaching careers were quite short. They were relieved of their professorial duties in the middle of 1851. On July 14/26, 1851, Dimitrije Matić was appointed secretary at the Appellate Court, and on August 17/29 of the same year Konstantin Cukić was appointed secretary in the Ministry of Education³⁵. Two years later, in December 1853, Cukić was given a professorship in the Lyceum. He retained that position until January 25/February 9, 1856, when by Prince Alexander's decree, he was appointed personnel chief in the Ministry of Education³⁶. However, Matić, who liked the teaching profession so much, was never again given an opportunity to convey his knowledge and ideas to young Serbs. He had to be satisfied with a high administrative position and to convey his knowledge, experience and ideas to the younger generation through his scholarly and literary works.

By the transfer of the first two native professors educated in the West, the penetration of liberal ideas and political principles was slowed down somewhat, but not stopped. As in many other countries, they found their way to the young intellectuals, most often through returnees from the West European universities, who wanted "to inspire Serbian youths with the same ideas which stirred their interest"³⁷.

In the second half of the Constitutionalist regime the number of native lyceum professors was gradually increased but their professional careers, with few exceptions, did not have a long duration. Most often, after a year

34. "Matićev dnevnik", IBR 595 (University Library "Svetozar Marković", Beograd).

35. M. Dj. Miličević, *op. cit.*, pp. 332 and 800.

36. AS, MPs, II-73/1856.

37. Jovan Skerlić, *Omladina i njena književnost, 1848-1871* (Beograd, 1925), p. 16.

or two of teaching, they were transferred to administrative positions and their positions were filled by foreigners, usually Serbs from Vojvodina³⁸. The Belgrade Lyceum benefited a great deal from the training of native professors because they were young men full of enthusiasm for work, with a solid education and a liberal understanding; they were also advocated of modern teaching methods. In addition, they were closer to the students and understood their problems, needs, and abilities better because they had to cope with similar difficulties and problems before they went to study abroad.

With the establishment of various institutions in Serbia the need for qualified lawyers became greater and greater. In order to meet that need, the Ministry of Education suggested to the *Soviet* on December 10/22, 1848, the introduction of the following new courses in the Department of Law: "Justinian's Institutes, abbreviated Justinian's Pandects, people's law, administrative law or discipline about the state administration and Serbian law". In addition, it proposed the extension of instruction in the Department of Law from two to three years, because the Ministry emphasized in its proposal, "the discipline prescribed by the existing curriculum, particularly since the new political-economic disciplines were introduced, could not be completed in only a two-year course"³⁹. On February 4/16, 1848, Prince Alexander accepted the Ministry's suggestion and issued a decree that the proposed courses were to be introduced and the duration of education in the Department of Law was to be extended from two to three years⁴⁰.

The Ministry of Education did not hire anyone to teach new courses. They were taught by the existing professors until the academic year 1850-51. Then, those courses were entrusted to Rajko Lešjanin, a state scholarship holder, who just returned to Serbia after completing his education in Paris. Like the other native Lyceum professors, Lešjanin was well educated. He had studied law at the Belgrade lyceum in Heidelberg, and in Paris⁴¹.

In the time of Lešjanin's appointment, the Belgrade Lyceum obtained another new faculty member who contributed a great deal to the Department of Philosophy. It was Matija Ban, Professor of French. He was born in Dubrovnik in 1818 where he acquired a solid education for and ecclesiastical

38. AS, Licej, Lyceum (hereafter referred to L)-878/1858.

39. *Pandects*—a part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, a collection of Roman classical laws gathered during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565); *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 5 (Beograd, 1853), p. 8.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

41. AS, L—302/1850; MPs, II-316/1851.

vocation. However, he did not enter the profession which he was trained for, but devoted himself to an educational career. Before receiving this professorship in the Belgrade Lyceum, he held various other positions. At one time or another, he taught Italian literature and French in Greece and Constantinople, was the tutor to Prince Alexander Karadjordjević's daughter, and wrote propaganda material with the aim of liberating the Slavic people who were still under Turkish rule⁴².

In the beginning of his teaching at the Lyceum, he persuaded the makers of educational policy in Serbia to increase the weekly number of hours for the French language. Besides, he asked the Ministry of Education for permission to introduce a course in the French literature. He presented three arguments to justify his request. First, that knowledge of a great European literature such as the French would be beneficial to Serbian students. Furthermore, it would help them to develop their taste and improve their writing abilities. Second, he argued that the higher schools of all culturally developed countries taught foreign languages and the literature written in them. His third and probably most persuasive argument for the introduction of French literature as a compulsory course in the Lyceum was that Serbia would be the first and the only South Slavic country with a chair in French language and literature. The third year Lyceum students supported Ban's request by a letter sent to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry granted Ban's request on October 1/13, 1851, instructing the Lyceum rector, Konstantin Branković, that Professor Ban was to teach French literature in French and only in the third year "and so well and briefly that with two hours per week it can be completed within a year"⁴³.

Matija Ban began to teach French literature in the beginning of 1852, not in French, but in Serbian, because the background of Serbian students in French was so poor that they were unable to understand it. The introduction of French literature was an important step in the Serbian higher education and it was greeted warmly by the press. The *Serbian News*, which always stimulated Serbian educational and cultural development, wrote among other things: "This is the first chair of foreign literature in Serbia, over which we rejoice as a significant advance in our most important educational institution"⁴⁴.

The German language, which was prescribed by the first curriculum 1839

42. P. Polovina, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

43. AS, MPs, III-405/1851.

44. *Srbske novine*, No. 18 (February 12, 1852).

and omitted by the second of 1844, was again introduced at the end of 1851. The chief reason for it were: expansion of the Lyceum, usage of books written in German, and education of Serbian youth abroad, most often in Austria and Germany. Lyceum rector Konstantin Branković was the initiator of this course. On October 16/28, 1851, he asked the Ministry of Education to establish the optional study of German at the Lyceum "so that those Lyceum students and all other students as well who studied their language in the gymnasium and achieved any success could further improve themselves [in it]"⁴⁵. Branković's suggestion was accepted by Prince Alexander's decree of November 29/December 11, 1851⁴⁶. It was inaugurated on December 2/14 of the same year and in the beginning, twenty-seven persons were enrolled, twenty-four Lyceum students and three government officials⁴⁷. Antonije Šulc (Anton Schultz), the teacher of German in the Belgrade gymnasium, was appointed its first professor⁴⁸. After two years, that is, in 1853, the German language become a compulsory course for all Lyceum students⁴⁹.

The chair for the Serbian language, literature, and history in the Belgrade Lyceum was established rather late. The main reason was that the architects of the Serbian educational policy thought that these subjects were not yet developed enough to be taught. However, Aleksa Vukomanović, young, educated, and great patriot, who had studied in Russia and returned to Serbia in the fall of 1851, did not share their opinion. After his return to Serbia, he worked diligently with the aim that Serbia establish the chair for the subjects mentioned above in her highest educational institution. His numerous efforts finally brought fruit when on December 18/30, 1851, Prince Alexander approved the establishment of the chair of the "History of the Serbian people and literature of Serbia"⁵⁰. By the Prince's decree of January 11/23, 1852, Aleksa Vukomanović was appointed its first professor⁵¹. He was born in the village of Srezojevci in the Rudnik district. He completed secondary education in Odessa, and studied history and philology at the Imperial University of "St. Vladimir" in Kiev⁵².

45. AS, MPs, I-41/1852.

46. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 6 (Beograd, 1853), p. 61.

47. AS, MPs,

48. AS, L-388/1851.

49. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), pp. 98-99.

50. Olga Mučalica, "Osnivanje katedre narodne istorije i književnosti i njen prvi profesor u Liceju", *Arhivski almanah* (Beograd, 1958), p. 181.

51. AS, MPs, VII-77/1855.

52. "Biografija Vukomanović Alekse Društvu srpske slovesnosti", *Arhiv Srpske akade*

The instruction of the new courses prepared by Vukomanović began in September, 1852, and they were opened, not only to the Lyceum students, but to everyone who was interested in the history and literature of Serbia⁵³. Vukomanović, who was well acquainted with Serbian education, did not expect much from his students. This is nicely shown in a letter which he sent to Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, a well-known Serbian linguist, writer, and educator, after his first lecture. "Until now everything is going rather well", he wrote, "the students listen to and take notes of what is said to them, and what more can I ask from our students who are anyway poorly prepared in everything"⁵⁴.

Platon A. Simonović, a well-known Russian educator of Serbian origin, arrived in Serbia at the end of 1852 on the invitation of the Serbian government. The purpose of his invitation was to improve education in Serbia, especially secondary and higher. By the Prince's decree of January 16/28, 1853, he was appointed the chief inspector of all schools in Serbia⁵⁵.

From the beginning of his work in Serbia he began to make various changes in Serbia's schools. In addition to the Belgrade gymnasium and lower gymnasiums, the most important changes were made in the Lyceum. He wrote a new law for it under title, "The Organization of the Lyceum of the Serbian Principality" which was promulgated on September 15/27, 1853⁵⁶. By this law the Lyceum was reorganized and some changes were made in its curriculum. It prescribed that the Lyceum had three departments: Department of Law, Department of Natural Science and Technology, and Department of General Education. In fact, the Lyceum had only two departments which prepared specialists because the task of the Department of General Education was to enlarge student's general knowledge. All students in the first two departments were obliged to take courses in the Department of General Education which was nothing else but a re-organized Department of Philosophy. According to the new law, the students were no longer obliged to study for two years in the Department of Philosophy (General Education) in order to study in the Department of Law or in the New Department of Natural Science and Technology, but every student who completed the gymnasium could be enrolled in one or the other department. In both departments instruction lasted for three years⁵⁷.

mije nauka i umetnosti, the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Beograd, No. 7380/8.

53. *Srbske novine*, No. 102 (September 6, 1852).

54. O. Mučalica, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

55. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), p. 24.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-112.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

The curriculum of 1853 prescribes the following subjects in the Department of General Education: instruction in Christianity, psychology, logic, "theory of literature (philology with philosophical grammar and criticism)", esthetics, history of Serbian, Slavic literature and the literature of the major European nations, general history, history of Serbian people, statistics, state economy, finance, "political mathematics", French, and German. The Department of Law was to teach: survey of law and history of legal knowledge, Roman law, administrative law, international law, Serbian public law, criminal law, and Serbian civil and criminal court procedure. In the newly established Department of Natural Science and Technology the following courses were to be studied: physics, physical geography, botany, zoology, chemistry, technology, civil architecture, commerce with bookkeeping, agronomy, and a brief survey of Serbian administrative and public law. In addition to these courses, both the Department of Law and the Department of Natural Science and Technology offered optional courses in advanced mathematics, practical geometry, mechanics, and pedagogy. All these courses were to be distributed "among thirteen, and if necessary among fourteen professors and two language teachers", who had to be gymnasium professors⁵⁸.

The "Organization" of 1853 also brought some changes into the administration of the Lyceum. One of the most important was that from then on the Lyceum Council elected its rector from among the professors, no longer every year, but every three years and, as before, he had to be confirmed by the Prince⁵⁹. The "Organization of the Lyceum of the Serbian Principality" was the last law enacted during the Constitutionalist period, which made significant changes in the structure and curriculum of the Belgrade Lyceum. From 1853 until the downfall of the Constitutionlists in 1858, the only noticeable changes were made in the teaching of the exact sciences, and rather great attention was paid to them, due mostly to the efforts of their professors, especially Josif Rančić.

Despite Serbia's rather low national income and numerous financial obligations, the government increased the budget for the expansion and improvement of the Lyceum from year to year. For example, the government total revenues for the fiscal year 1845 amounted to only 912,125 talers. From this sum 64,821 talers was allocated for all the expenses of the Ministry of Education, of which the Ministry allotted 5,122 talers to the Lyceum⁶⁰. Serbia's

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

60. AS, Sovjet, 29/1845.

national income gradually increased, and in 1853, the year when the Lyceum began to operate according to the new law of 1853, with the national income amounted to 1,123,405 talers. Yet, the Ministry of Education was allocated only 60,224 talers, 4,597 talers, less than in 1845. However, despite this fact, the Ministry of Education gave the Lyceum 7,706 talers, 2,584 talers more than 1845⁶¹. In the last year of the Constitutionalist regime, that is in 1858, this sum was considerably increased so that the budget for the institution's needs amounted to 10,861 talers⁶².

To hire people with a solid education and good morals was one of the main objectives of the government. It usually realized that objective, especially after 1848, when the first groups of native intellectuals educated at well-known European universities began to return to Serbia. It is difficult to establish for certain the number of native professors who taught at the Lyceum during the Constitutionalist time. Nevertheless, on the basis of numerous archival documents we tried to establish their number. The results of our research show that the Serbian government entrusted professorships in her highest school to ten native men and they were: Konstantin Cukić, Dimitrije Matić, Rajko Lešjanin, Djordje Cenić, Vladimir Jakšić, Filip Hristović, Milovan Janković, Aleksa Vukomanović, Stojan Veljković, and Kosta Jovanović⁶³. All of them, except Aleksa Vukomanović, were educated in West European universities. Vukomanović, as already indicated, was educated in Russia. This number is surprising in light of the fact that in the same period the Belgrade gymnasium had only one native teacher (Ljubomir Nenadović) and he was engaged only a short time. It is worth mentioning that in the time of the Constitutionlists the Lyceum had five physicians on its faculty. All of them came from abroad and taught courses in natural science.

Like the salaries of elementary and secondary teachers, the salaries of Lyceum professors were rather poor; their average was around 600 talers per year⁶⁴. In addition, the teaching profession was not respected as the profession of the state officials. "How the professorial profession is rejected and despised in Serbia", writes Stojan Bošković, who was himself a secondary school teacher in this period, "can be judged when I mention one among

61. AS, Sovjet, 501/1853.

62. AS, Sovjet, 721/1857.

63. AS, MPs, VII-77/1855, II-316/1851; L-831/1858, L-878/1858.

64. AS, MPs, VII-77/1855. For example, in 1843 one *oka* (1,280 grams) of bread cost 0.20 *groš* (1 taler was worth 10 *grošes*), one *oka* of lard 4, one *oka* of beans 0.30 and one *oka* of potetos 0.12 *grošes*. (Nikola Vučo, *Raspadanje esnafa u Srbiji*, Vol. 2, Beograd, 1958, p. 74).

many examples. A professor, a friend of mine, complained to me that he had proposed marriage to a girl, but was rejected with the excuse that the professorial occupation does not have any prospect for the future"⁶⁵.

In order to improve professors' income, the government issued several decrees during the Constitutionalist period. The decree passed on February 15/27, 1858, was the most important and it was more or less a supplement to similar decrees issued in 1851, 1852, and 1854. According to it, the Lyceum professors' salaries were to be increased in four stages. The first stage was to begin after ten years of teaching and lasted until the end of the fifteenth year, the second from the beginning of the sixteenth until the end of the twentieth, the third from the beginning of the twenty-first until the end of the twenty-fifth, and the fourth from the beginning of the twenty-sixth until the end of the teaching career. At the end of the first period, their salaries were to be increased by 100 talers, at the end of the second and third by 150, and at the end of the fourth period by 200 talers. If, for instance, a Lyceum professor had 600 talers per year in the beginning of his teaching career, he could conclude it with the annual salary of 1,200 talers, as much as his pension had to be if he worked in the teaching profession for thirty years. This decree, however, did not apply to those professors who were not permanently employed⁶⁶. However, since a large number of Lyceum professors held their teaching positions for a short time, these decrees did not benefit many of them.

Yugoslav historian and pedagogues, especially contemporary ones, mainly blame the Constitutionalist for the material difficulties which faced Serbian educators. Numerous examples, however, do not support their assertions. It is sufficient to mention, for instance, that in the last seven years of the Constitutionalist regime the annual budget of the Ministry of Education was increased by 33,553 talers, not including periodical financial help to the individual Lyceum chairs; over the same period the budget of the *Soviet* was increased by only 10,094 talers, that of the Prince's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was decreased by 794,4 and that of the Ministry of Justice was increased by 45,311 talers⁶⁷. It would be correct to state that the difficult material condition of professors during the Constitutionalist period was more the result of an aggregation of problems, especially financial ones, which Serbia had to face, than the result of the educational policy of the regime itself. True, there were many vague areas in the financial policy of the regime but

65. Stojan Bošković, *Za prosvetu i slobodu* (Beograd, 1882), p. 24.

66. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 11 (Beograd, 1858), pp. 47-50.

67. AS, Sovjet, 464/1850; 721/1857.

documents do not indicate that its financial policy damaged in any way educational process of the state.

Despite the fact that the Belgrade Lyceum was noticeably improved during the period of Constitutionalists, it was not recognized as an institution equal to similar ones outside of Serbia. The educators of Serbia, with government assistance, took necessary steps to correct that situation. Their chief interest was that the Lyceum be recognized by Austria, because Serbian students usually continued their education in her advanced schools and university. In the middle of 1850 the Lyceum rector, Emilijan Josimović, asked the Ministry of Education to intercede with the Austrian government to recognize officially the Belgrade Lyceum so that its graduates could easily continue their education in Austria. "Our institution", Josimović wrote to the Ministry, "accepts proper school certificates issued by the learned institutions of foreign countries, and the professors think that it would be right that other states recognize and respect our institution as a good one, so that the *principle of mutuality* is recognized"⁶⁸. The Serbian government negotiated with the government of Austria regarding this question, but the desired result was not achieved. The Department of Philosophy was only recognized as an extension of the Belgrade gymnasium, and the Department of Law was not recognized at all⁶⁹. The operation of the Lyceum, was not unknown outside of Serbia's borders. For example, on July 31/August 12, 1844, the Association of Hungarian Physicians and Biologists invited the Lyceum professorial board to send its delegates to a formal convention of Hungarian physicians and biologists held in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in Transylvania⁷⁰.

On the whole, the Lyceum professors of the Constitutionalist period were capable, although none of them was formally trained for the teaching profession. The quality of teaching gradually improved, particularly in exact sciences, by the establishment of the chemistry, physics, natur study laboratories and by the introduction of the first scientific expeditions in the 1850's. Some of the professors achieved notable results not only as teachers, but as scholars as well. Josif Pančić was undoubtedly the best known among them, and his scholarly works in botany, zoology, and geology were also known outside of Serbia.

In addition to teaching and scholarly works, the Lyceum professors

68. AS, MPs, II-233/1850.

69. Miodrag Jugović, "Prva beogradska gimnazija", *Spomenica o stogodišnjici prve muške gimnazije u Beogradu, 1839-1939* (Beograd, 1939), p. 114.

70. AS, L-134/1844.

contributed a great deal to the building, enlightenment, and modernization of the young Serbian state. They were the most educated in the state and in many instances their services outside of teaching were indispensable. For example, in the beginning of 1857, Mihailo Rašković, professor of chemistry, was assigned with the state pharmacist, Pavle Ilić, to examine mineral waters in the country; Djordje Cenić and Stojan Veljković, law professors, were appointed in April of 1857 to a commission "for making rules of procedure with convicts during their imprisonment, forced labor, or captivity"; in May, 1858, Vladimir Jakšić, professor of statistics, was appointed to a commission to inspect the Majdanpek mine, and so on⁷¹.

The Lyceum of the Constitutionalist period had to cope with numerous problems and the small number of its students was one of the biggest. While the number of students in elementary and secondary schools rapidly grew, at the Lyceum, despite the new laws and decrees, the establishment of the new departments and chairs, the improvement of teaching, and financial help to poor students, the enrollment remained very small. There were even some academic years, for instance 1846-47, when on the average a professor had fewer than three students⁷². During the entire Constitutionalist period the Lyceum only once had more than sixty students. This was in the academic year 1845-46, the year when the Lyceum began to operate according to the new law of 1844, when it had sixty-two students, thirty-nine in the Department of Philosophy, and twenty-three in the Department of Law⁷³. Its average academic year enrollement for the twenty years of the Constitutionalist rule was somewhere between thirty-two and thirty-eight students. It is important to note that, for instance, in the academic year 1857-58 the Lyceum had only thirty-nine students and at the same time the Belgrade gymnasium, the completion of which was a requirement for enrollement in the Lyceum, had as many as 530 students⁷⁴.

The question why such a small number of the gymnasium students entered the Lyceum can be raised. The general theory was—and some historians still support it—that this occurrence was mainly the result of a great need for civil servants, coupled with a poorly defined policy for hiring civil servants. This assertion is only partially correct. True, the young state needed civil servants and its hiring policy was not by any means perfect, but it was only

71. AS, L-715/1857, L-831/1858, L-836/1858.

72. AS, MPs, VI-7/1846.

73. *Novine čitališta beogradskog*, No. 3 (January 17, 1847).

74. *Kalendar sa šematizmom Knjaževstva Srbije za 1858* (Beograd, 1858), pp. 37-38.

one of the causes and in our opinion not the chief one. Various sources, especially the archival documents, indicate that the main cause for a small enrollment of the Lyceum students should not be sought in Serbia's need for civil servants and her employments policy, but in the poverty of the gymnasium students⁷⁵. In order to improve the material condition of the Lyceum students and probably to attract the gymnasium students to continue their education, the government offered financial help to them. However, that help averaged only about 3 talers per month and it was not nearly enough for even their most basic needs⁷⁶. It should be mentioned that the children of foreign citizens employed in Serbia could attend schools free, and even received financial help from the Serbian government, but they could not get government position⁷⁷.

How much the Lyceum students learned during the Constitutionalist period is more or less unknown, because the examinations were usually oral, and the number of their written compositions which have been preserved is insignificant and fragmentary. True, there are a rather large number of newspaper reports, and reports by professors and rectors, but they are not reliable. The tendency, particularly of the *Serbian News*, was to present the results of the examinations favorably. Taking into consideration the fact that a large number of students lived under very difficult conditions, that the environment in which they moved and spent their time was still primitive, that curriculums and professors were often altered, that students had a poor educational background, that they were burdened with a large number of subjects, that their professors did not possess a solid pedagogic knowledge, and that students' textbooks were small in numbers and most often of poor quality, it can be concluded with a great degree of certainty that on whole the knowledge of the Lyceum students was poor in comparison to the knowledge of students gained in similar West European institutions. Numerous letters, notices, official documents and memoirs of the statescholarship holders educated in the West support this conclusion. Thus, for instance, although he had studied German in Serbia, Protić wrote: "When in October of 1846 I came to Berlin, I could not understand one word of German"⁷⁸.

One of the main objects of education in the Constitutionalist period was to develop in students a sense of responsibility, modesty, sympathy for

75. AS, MPs, I-20/1848, V-53/1853, V-404/1843.

76. AS, MPs, V-388/1847.

77. AS, MPs, VI-8/1844.

78. "Autobiografija Protić Petra", Arhiv SAN, No. 7380/32.

others, devotion to their faith, and respect toward their church, parents, and superiors. Special attention was paid to the concept of obedience and discipline. Already in the first months of its operation, the Lyceum hired a man who, in addition to his janitorial duties, was obliged to supervise secretly and publicly students' behavior and to see to it that students did not roam lanes, taverns, and coffeehouses at night or during the day⁷⁹. The violators were punished strictly. Incarceration for several days was the most frequent form of punishment, though corporal punishment was not rare.

The Lyceum educators took all necessary measures to have complete control over their students in the school as well as outside of it. For instance, on October 13/25, 1839, the secretary of Education and Justice, Stefan Stefanović-Tenka, informed the Lyceum rector, Atanasije Nikolić, that the Lyceum and Gymnasium students were forbidden to lodge in taverns because, he wrote, "they will have opportunity to hear and see there, all sorts of ugliness which is not in accordance with school and general education"⁸⁰.

Before the turbulent revolutionary year, 1848, the Lyceum students were mainly politically passive. However in 1848, under the influence of the revolutions in West and Central Europe, especially in Hungary and Vojvodina, they became politically active. "The Lyceum students study hardly anything", Jevrem Grujić, who also was a Lyceum student at that time wrote to his friend, Miloš Petrović, in March of 1848. "One hardly hears anything else except hurrah, hurrah, hurrah, long live Serbian liberty and independence, long live the King (sic) of Serbia!"⁸¹. After 1848 they took a quite active role in the political life of the state and manifested it in various forms. In the beginning, their activities were disorganized, but in time those activities obtained a more organized form and were more effective. For example, when the Crimean War broke out in 1853, the first student demonstration was organized in Serbia. Dimitrije Marinković, then a Lyceum student, left a valuable record of it.

From 1853 [he writes] we, students, began to discuss politics. At least I began to be interested in politics, and not in internal but in foreign. All of us students were for the Russians and only one of our friends, some Aleksa Ostojić...was Francophile or as we called him *Francuzan*...We, students, organized a demonstration in Russia's

79. AS, Sovjet, 616/1839.

80. AS, L-16/1839.

81. Cited by Mihailo Bjelica, "Počeci političke štampe u Srbiji, 1834-1872 (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Belgrade, 1972), p. 61.

benefit. Namely, on St. Demetrius Day we celebrated the *Slava* (Serbian family feast for its patron saint) at the home of our friend, Jevrem Veljković, and from there, slightly drunk, we went toward our school and a big church (the cathedral) shouting on the way "Long live Tsar Nicholas!"⁸².

The Lyceum students of the Constitutionalist period organized the biggest demonstrations in the beginning of 1854 against their Professor, Matija Ban, and their cause was not of an educational but of a political nature. The specific issue was an ode that Ban had published in Novi Sad's journal *Sedmica* (Week), (No. 7 of February 20, 1854). He had entitled the ode "To Sultan Abdülmecid, Founder of Civil Equality in the Ottoman Empire, Educator of the East, and Friend of Humanity", and it glorified Sultan and his merits. "A Serb", he wrote regarding this ode, "had need to sing the praises of that man who insured people's rights in Serbia, now and for centuries to come and who always shows himself to be a protector of Christians in the true sense of the word"⁸³. The Lyceum students, who were anti-Turkish, considered glorification of the Sultan by a professor of the Serbian Lyceum an insult to the Serbian people and decided to boycott his classes. They marched through the Belgrade streets and sang these verses:

Proud Istanbul, sink into the sea
Powerful is the hand which drives you!

from the poem "Stanbolu" (To Istanbul) by Ljubomir Nenadović, a Serbian poet, writer, and journalist who was already well-known. A large number of citizens joined them. This demonstration was by no means harmless. Matija Ban did not teach for more than a week after that; he was even afraid to leave his apartment for some time, and a policeman was assigned to guard the building in which he lived⁸⁴.

In June, 1847, the Lyceum students established their first literary society under the name "Družina Mladeži Srbske" (Society of Serbian Youth). However, it had pure literary character only in the beginning of its operation. Later on, its members became preoccupied with the ideas of nationalism and Panslavism, and in 1848 it became more a political than a literary society.

82. Dragoslav Stranjaković, ed., *Uspomene i doživljaji Dimitrija Marinkovića, 1846-1869* (Beograd, 1939), pp. 34-35.

83. Cited by Branislav Dj. Nušić, "Oda Sultanu"—jedno sećanje iz prošlosti", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXVI, No. 4 (Beograd, 1911), p. 259.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

Then, it became a champion of liberal and humanitarian ideas as well as the first sharp critic of the regime. Its action was closely watched by the government and tolerated because the government wanted to preserve peace in the country. However, when the Revolutions of 1848-49 were put down, thus eliminating a potential danger to the Serbian government, the tolerance enjoyed by the Society came to an end. First, the members of the Society were warned about their political activities and advised to observe strictly rules of the Society Prescribed at the time of its establishment. As the Society continued to carry out its nonliterary activities, the government abolished it on June 21/July 3, 1851, and its officers punished⁸⁵. It ought to be noted that the Society of Serbian Youth was the only students' society at the Belgrade Lyceum during the time of the Constitutionals.

During its short existence, the Society of Serbian Youth partially awakened the heretofore apolitical Serbian students and acquainted them with young Serbs outside of Serbia. It adapted and propagated modern liberal ideas and in their execution saw the progress of the Serbian state. True, during its activity the results of its propaganda were insignificant, but the torch of liberals which it lighted, was not extinguished with its abolishment. For instance, in the 1860's when the situation for political activity in Serbia became more favorable, former members of the Society of Serbian Youth, now experienced champions of liberalism, such as Jevrem Grujić, Jovan Ristić, Milovan Janković, and others, began to carry out liberal ideas more successfully. Besides, with establishment of the Society of Serbian Youth, the first group of future native intellectuals appeared on the Serbian political scene. Their presence could not be ignored, and they at first indirectly and later directly, influenced the making of Serbia's internal and foreign policy. Thus, it was that by disseminating education and improving teaching, the Constitutionals did not only create needed cadres but at the same time they also created the men who directed their own downfall in 1858.

In the educational development of every country, libraries have a special place because they are bastions of learning and kaleidoscopes of human thought. In Serbia they grew very slowly. The Lyceum officially received its library in 1845, almost seven years after its opening. The new opened library had 319 books in 551 volumes, one manuscript, 119 letters and documents, and one portrait⁸⁶. Its collection grew modestly. The chief contributions were:

85. Milorad Radević, "Gradja za istoriju Družine Mladeži Srbske, 1847-1851", *Nastava i vaspitanje*, No. 4 (Beograd, 1969), p. 466.

86. Olga Popović, "Biblioteka srpskog liceja", *Biblioteka*, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1951), p. 4.

individuals from the nation and from abroad, the publishing house in Belgrade which gave to the library free samples of all books published in Serbia, and scholarly institutions from abroad, mainly Russian⁸⁷. The government investment into the Lyceum library was insignificant. Its main contribution was 50 talers per year for the salary of a librarian. He was one of the Lyceum professors who received that sum as a supplement to his regular annual salary⁸⁸.

The Constitutionalist government paid much greater attention to teaching aids for the Lyceum. By the "Organization" of 1853 the government allocated an annual sum of 500 talers per year for that purpose⁸⁹. However, from time to time supplementary sums were granted.

Good textbooks are essential for any kind of education—especially higher education. The makers of government educational policy were aware of it and various measures were used to produce needed textbooks in the shortest period of time. As early as 1844 by the decree "The Organization of Public School Education" the Lyceum professors were required to write textbooks for their courses. A professor's obligation was, it was emphasized in that part of the "Organization" which refers to the Lyceum, "to write a book himself for his subject if it does not exist, so that after it is approved by the Ministry of Education, it can be published in order to make students' learning easier"⁹⁰. That this requirement indeed be carried out, the Ministry of Education reminded professors from time to time about their obligation through the Lyceum rectors⁹¹. In addition, in order to stimulate professors to write better books, the Ministry rewarded the best authors with monetary awards⁹². These and other measures brought positive results, and by the end of the Constitutionalist period the Belgrade Lyceum had textbooks for almost all subjects.

Most textbooks were written by professors who came to Serbia from abroad, especially from Vojvodina. However, they lacked originality and large number of Lyceum textbooks were more or less adaptations or translations of the well-known Austrian and German texts. Most often they were poorly written. Konstantin Branković was one of the most prolific textbook authors of the Constitutionalist period. He wrote *Elementary Philosophy* and *Logic*.

87. AS, L-474/1853, L-543/1855, L-799/1857.

88. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), p. 112.

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 2 (Beograd, 1845), p. 340.

91. AS, L-164/1845, L-174/1846.

92. AS, L-33/1840.

Like many of his colleagues, he lacked originality. Both of his books are more or less translations of works by Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1942), a respected German Professor of Philosophy and follower of Immanuel Kant. In spite of it, his books were very important for the generation of native intellectuals in Serbia. Through *Elementary Philosophy*, for instance, Branković conveyed to Serbia Krug's theoretical or speculative philosophy, which Krug himself called "transcendental synthetism", and which was for almost three decades "an important mediative preoccupation for a number of Serbian intellectuals"⁹³. It was this book that "*marked the beginning steps in the Serbian school of philosophy*"⁹⁴. In addition, he made one of the first and "partly successful attempts to create a *Serbian terminology* for the more important philosophical terms". Sometimes, however, he went too far and attempted to render entirely untranslatable terms into Serbian⁹⁵.

In the second half of the Constitutionalist period native Serbs who had been educated abroad began to write textbooks. They were more original than their colleagues who came from Vojvodina and they permeated their works with the ideas of liberalism. Dimitrije Matić and Konstantin Cukić, already mentioned, were the most important and influential.

Because of the incompleteness of the sources, it is difficult to determine precisely how many textbooks and reference books for Lyceum students' needs were published before 1858. According to Stojan Novaković's *Bibliography*, which may be taken as a rather reliable, though incomplete source, in Serbia during the Constitutionalist period, about 30 textbooks and reference books for Lyceum students were published⁹⁶.

During the twenty years of the Constitutionalist regime, taking into consideration numerous difficulties that the government had to face, great attention was paid to higher education and the results were noticeable. When the Constitutionlists took power in 1838, the Lyceum was in a formative phase and it did not significantly differ from Gymnasium. Twenty years later, in 1858, when their reign came to an end, the Lyceum was a semi-university with three departments, numerous courses, and a solid teaching staff. However, despite all the improvements, the number of its students was only slightly increased. According to its professor, Konstantin Branković, in the

93. Andrija Stojković, *Razvitak filozofije u Srbiji, 1804-1944* (Beograd, 1972), p. 110.

94. *Ibid.*

95. Ilija Ivačković, *Jedan srpski filozof* (Sremski Karlovci, 1908), p. 54.

96. Stojan Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost, 1741-1867* (Beograd 1869), pp. 219-402.

twenty years of the Constitutionalist regime, only 165 young men graduated from the highest school in Serbia, or an average of eight students per year⁹⁷. Indeed, their annual influx into Serbian society was a drop of water in ocean because according to the census of 1859, Serbia had 1,078,281 inhabitants⁹⁸. Despite this, their presence was to be felt in almost every field of Serbian life. Together with the young men educated abroad, they began to plant the seeds of modernization and progress in Serbian society.

Grossmont College
El Cajon, California
USA

97. K. Branković, "Razvitak Velike škole", *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

98. *Stanovništvo Narodne Republike Srbije od 1834-1953*, Vol. 1, Serija B, Sveska 1 (Beograd, 1953), p. 11.