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The pedagogues educated abroad and their impact on the education in Serbia in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century

Los pedagogos educados en Europa y su impacto en la educación de Serbia entre finales del siglo XIX y la primera mitad del siglo XX

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Abstract: Serbian scholars have left a great mark in the field of science, culture, politics and social life in Serbia. After returning to their homeland they become the professors in High School, later the University, professors in gymnasiums, teachers schools, other schools and school for women. This is an opportunity to get familiar with the life and work of some pedagogues who have made their mark during special efforts in private life, hard work during the middle and high education, effective in practical work, and by showing original and literary activity. These pedagogues, with their life and work, were influenced on the creation of educational policy in Serbia since the late 19th to the middle of 20th century. All of them were educated in European university and with them the foreign influences came to Serbia. Their personal funds are in the Educational museum in Belgrade and their names are: Vojislav Bakic, Jovan Miodragovic, Vicentije Rakic, Vojislav Mladenovic and Vladimir Spasic.

Key words: First scholar; students educated abroad; teaching science; European identity and national identity.

Resumen: Los intelectuales serbios han dejado una huella profunda en el campo de la ciencia, la cultura, la política y la vida social en Serbia. Al regresar a su país se convirtieron en profesores de bachillerato, posteriormente universidades, así como en institutos, escuelas elementales y escuelas de mujeres. Este artículo constituye una oportunidad para familiarizarse con la vida y la obra de algunos pedagogos que dejaron su impronta y llevaron a cabo grandes esfuerzos en su vida privada y su labor profesional en la enseñanza secundaria y superior, por medio de un trabajo práctico eficaz y una actividad literaria original. Estos pedagogos, con su vida y su trabajo, influyeron en la creación de la política educativa de Serbia desde el final del siglo XIX hasta mediados del siglo XX. Todos ellos fueron educados en universidades europeas y, gracias a ellos, llegaron a Serbia importantes novedades del extranjero. Sus fondos personales se conservan en el Museo Pedagógico de Belgrado y sus nombres fueron Vojislav Bakic, Jovan Miodragovic, Vicentije Rakic, Vojislav Mladenovic and Vladimir Spasic.

Palabras clave: intelectuales pioneros; estudiantes educados en el extranjero; pedagogía; identidad europea; identidad nacional.

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1. Introduction

The feudal state, in which the church gained independence, in the areas where Serbs lived, was founded in the late 12th and early 13th century. Church became the carrier of medieval education, which trained a small number of privileged people. Classes are held in the monasteries, which have become the culturally and educational centres, and the essence of education was religious training. At the end of the 15th century in the Monastery Cetinje, was founded the first printing shop, and less than a century later in Venice was printed the first primary book by Sava Decanac. With the decline of the Serbian medieval state many Serbs under the Turks, were retired in regions across the Sava and Danube rivers. In their life a special place was metropolitan Sremski Karlovci; in Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad were operated small, basic Slovenian, Latin and clerical school. In the second half of the 18th century, under the influence of enlightened absolutism, in Sremski Karlovci, 1771, was opened the first Serbian high school, and three years later the Seminary. For the purposes of training Serbian teachers, in Sent Andrej, The Teachers' Training School was established in 1812.

At that time in Serbia, after the First Serbian Uprising, in 1804 formed a new nation-state, which took over the organization of education. The number of primary schools has increased, and during the three-year classes the children are taught: primer book, *caslavec*, psalter, catechism, church singing and calculations. At the initiative of Dositej Obradovic, the directors of all primary schools in Serbia, in Belgrade, in 1808, began to work the Great School. The aim of education in this school was the formation of clerical staff, and every one, which finished The Great School, had guaranteed the civil job. Their professors, gave to the students a wider, general education, among them were Ivan Jugovic and Sima Milutinovic Sarajlija, which were needed for the organization of the civil service. One of the students was famous Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, the former register. For clerical staff in Belgrade was founded, in 1810, the Seminary and the first professor was Vikentije Rakic. In 1811, when the dominion in the state was divided into four ministries, the Minister of Education was Dositej Obradovic, the first civil minister. With the collapse of the First Serbian Uprising, the nation-state and all that has been done in the field of education were gone.

The next important year for the development of an independent Serbian state was in 1830, when with the Edict (*Hatisherif*) Serbia became a vassal principality.

With the eighth point of that edict Serbs were given an opportunity to open schools, hospitals and print their books.

In the area of primary education, throughout the whole country, the number of the primary schools were increased; in Belgrade The Seminary was founded in 1836 and First Gymnasium were started to work in 1839. In the capital city, in Kragujevac, the first Lyceum, like the first institute for the higher education, was established in 1838.

In order to create a modern, civil state, according to European standard, the series of laws in all areas of economic and social life were passed. The first general school law passed in Serbia in 1844, named «Constitution of the public schooling instruction» (Ustrojenije javnog ucilisnog nastavenija), was regulated the work of all existing schools. Following the example of school system in Austria it was planned the work of the following schools (Cunkovic, 2016, p. 63):

- Primary schools in which the curriculum enrich with the new subjects, especially in the sciences called general knowledge
- Business and trade schools, with general subjects and had some subjects for professional education such as accounting, modelling, painting
- Gymnasium – complete with six classes and semi with four classes, except that during the fifth and sixth grade; the Gymnasium was prepared the teachers and officers
- Lyceum, which in 1841 was moved to Belgrade, with two departments philosophical and legal.

For the first time, this Law has devoted special attention, on women and the first female school was founded in Paracin, 1845. The teachers in primary schools were mostly clergy or Serbs from South Hungary, and professors, were the Serbs educated in Vienna and Budapest.

In the second half of the 19th century, Serbia has seen large changes in the economic, spiritual and social sphere of life. The new reforms in education, as well as the critics and evaluation of the school system, were led to the appearance of new vocational schools and the increase the number of high school. The establishment of the «Teacher Society» and the «Association of Professors» and the emergence of professional journals allowed the discovery of new educational theories and their application in practice. In the Great School or Academy, which has not been entirely scientific institution, has begun to develop a new and to make the work-study in all scientific discipline.

Changes in economic and social life were the result of the educational our experts at European universities. In a modern country, such as Serbia should become, education was a national task, but also individual promotion that allowed crossing

from a lower to a higher social strata. The State, it was necessary to form the elite for basic state functions – to the military, health and education; this was provided by scholarships for students abroad. Through his ministry, the Ministry of Education, Army, Building, Interior Works and the Ministry of National economy, the state was sent the students in Austria, Austro-Hungarian, Germany, France and Russia, and in some other countries of Europe. The girls were mostly educated in Switzerland. Serbian scholars went to the best universities and with that education they became political and intellectual spirit of that time. They were satisfied the real needs of contemporary society, but also they were the people for the future development of the country.

2. First scholar

As already mentioned the need for educated citizens was expressed in the first half of the 19th century when the first Serbian scholars went to study in Vienna and Pest. With a tendency of compressive education and with the desire to put it into practice they have the classes in multiple disciplines. Changing cities enabled this multidisciplinary education and many of them were listened the lectures at several universities.

During the second half of the 19th century the most visited university, by Serbian intellectuals, were in Germany. The flow of information and the development of internationalism through fairs, international exhibitions and exchange of ideas had attracted for large number of Serbian students. An important factor in their intellectual and professional formation was the meeting with the developed world and other cultures. When they returned at home they brought with them a variety of effects; with them the part of the German culture arrived and that became the part of Serbian every day.

The education of pedagogical professional staff began in 1865 when the Minister of Education, Kosta Cukic, sent the first scholar ship holder Stevan D. Popovic to study in Germany¹.

Stevan D. Popovic was born in Sabac in 1844 where he finished the elementary and lower grades of high school. Upon arrival in Belgrade has completed higher grades of grammar school and two years of study at the Faculty of Great School. After that, as a state scholarship, he went to study the philosophy and pedagogy in Zurich, Berlin and Göttingen². Upon his return to Serbia, in 1868, he worked in Ministry of Education, and in 1871 he was appointed as a professor in the newly established Teachers' School in Kragujevac. From 1873 to 1875 he was again on studies in Vienna, Berlin and Leipzig where he studied the methods of teaching

¹ Already in 1869 4 fellows, from 53, have gone to study pedagogy.

² The best Teachers College for that time was in Göttingen.

in primary schools. After that he was the manager of the Teacher's Academy in Belgrade (1875) and Minister of Education during the period from 1884 to 1886 (Pavlovic and Jovanvic, 2000, p. 82). In addition, he was the Minister of Finance (1895-1897), the first editor of the «Educational herald», member of the Serbian Learned Society (1870) and honorary member of the Serbian Royal Academy (1892) (Pavlovic and Jovanvic, 2000, p. 82).

He has made a great contribution as Education Minister; he participated in resolving the numerous teaching and school issues and passing of a number of laws and regulations. His pedagogical conceptions formed under the influence of the greatest educator – Friedrich Adolph Wilhelm Diesterweg, Frederick Dites and Karl Ker. He was a supporter the teaching positions of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. He expressed his teaching positions as a professor in teacher training college, through articles in journal named School, through textbooks and pedagogical work. He wrote: «Practical Account of Lectures for I-III Class» (1869/70); «The Work at School – for Student of School Teacher and Teachers of Primary Schools by Karl Ker» (1872); «Instructions for the First Textbook» (1872); «Germany Grammar for II Class» (1872); «Germany Grammar for III class» (1873); «Germany Grammar for IV class» (1876); «The Math for Elementary School for I and II Class» (1878); «The Math for Elementary School for III and IV class» (1879). He died in Belgrade in 1902 (Pavlovic and Jovanvic, 2000, p. 82).

3. Students educated abroad

When Stevan D. Popovic was returned fatherland it was not unusual to study the pedagogy science at European universities.

During the second half of the 19th century schools and education in Serbia were under the various influences which came from these Serbian pedagogues educated abroad, mainly in Germany and Switzerland, as well as those from South Hungary who were educated in Pest and Buda. They were the professors in teaching schools, gymnasiums and high schools for girls, and they fill the places on vacancy or newly established departments in the Great school (Academy).

Serbian students of teacher-training schools and graduates from European universities brought modern ideas and tried to adapt these ideas to current needs and possibilities of Serbian society. The rise of social engagement in the field of educational policy has led to the early 20th century, where ideas were present in almost all pedagogical directions and advocates of these ideas, with their theoretical and practical work, developed education and brought it closer to the European level. Without a doubt, prominent educators were representatives of the intellectual elite of Serbia, which in different historical periods had a common

goal – the development of pedagogical theory and practice regarding advanced education and realization of the idea of national schools, also establishing and developing pedagogy as an independent science.

This is an opportunity to get familiar with the life and work of some pedagogues who have made their mark during special efforts in private life, hard work during the middle and high education, effective in practical work, and by showing original and literary activity. These pedagogues, with their life and work, were influenced on the creation of educational policy in Serbia since the late 19th to the middle of 20th century. All of them were educated in European university and with them the foreign influences came to Serbia. Their personal funds are in the Educational museum in Belgrade and their names are: Vojislav Bakic, Jovan Miodragovic, Vicentije Rakic, Vojislav Mladenovic and Vladimir Spasic.

3.1. VOJISLAV BAKIC (*Perna, 1847 – Belgrade, 1929*)

Dr Vojislav Bakic was a man with rich practical, theoretical and pedagogical experience. As a professor at the Teachers Training School, he formed a larger number of future teachers and wrote textbooks for them; and as a professor at the Great School, he raised education level of future teachers and wrote textbooks for them; he dealt with school supervision and used his expert advices to modernize teachers work; he was writing lesson plans and programs which emerged from his rich experience and scientific qualifications; Bakic advocated the establishment of the University; also Bakic participated in making the law and regulations in primary schools and creating education policy of his time (Zivkovic, 2011, p. 369). By analyzing his life and professional work, we can conclude that Dr Vojislav Bakic was responsible for many positive developments in the Serbian education system, educational theory and practice in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th century. With his rich professional experience, he worked on the renovation of Serbian educational system wishing to build non-political pedagogy based on scientific grounds. Until the end of his life he remained faithful to the Herbart's pedagogy (Johann Friedrich Herbart), but in his scientific work and professorial activities he was incorporating some ideas from other pedagogical directions. By networking with foreign educators, he was known beyond the borders of Serbia; and in the homeland he was not only known in the inner circles but also in the educated audience in our nation.

3.2. JOVAN MIODRAGOVIC (*Stanisinci, 1854 – Belgrade, 1926*)

When making conclusions about life and professional work of Jovan Miodragovic, it can be said that his practical work, professional publications,

as well as his personality, occupy an important place in the events in Serbian pedagogy. In time, where it was formed as a science, his pedagogical attitudes were created by studying the work of his predecessor both in Serbia and in Europe. Under the influence of Herbart Spencer he thought that human is a creature in development and under the influence of German idealist philosophy he thought it is also cultural creature. His methods of work were mainly based on natural sciences and he successfully popularized the ideas of those who were his role models. He was engaged in practical work and tackling specific organizational issues of school and teaching, adapting teaching attitude to the specific conditions in the school in Serbia.

With his professional publications and practical work, Miodragović contributed to breaking the traditional conception of school. Emphasizing the importance of the principle of evidence in teaching and the need to acquire practical knowledge, he fought against the verbiage and rote learning and against the separation of school from life and the people (Nikolova, 2014). As a supporter of the movement for handicrafts, he felt that the school is a place where students and teachers will work to achieve their goals and manifest their values. Emphasising the importance of education through work he advocated for the introduction of manual labour in male primary school. He represented the interests of the middle class, to which he himself belonged and in religion, like most of the contemporary educators, he found superior moral values.

In the review of Miodragovic theoretical and practical work, it should be noted that his views were not original enough and that his theoretical views did not have a strong scientific basis and that his exaggeration on emphasizing the value of practice and experience fell into extreme because it is expected that with this kind of teaching he will implement a social rebirth. However, his work contributed to the popularization of modern pedagogical ideas in Serbian pedagogy, which in the late 19th early 20th century was influenced by the developed world and European scientific thought.

In his professional work he tried to make a compromise and to resolve ambiguities between old and new, to be a link between bourgeoisie view of the world and a new order, which took off. For decades, he succeeded in it.

3.3. VICENTIJE RAKIC (*Paracin*, 1881 – *Paracin*, 1969)

What is characteristic for Rakic scientific creation is analysis of concepts and game art? In his opinion, the importance of the game and the art lies in the fact that these things provides us with enthusiasm that gives strength of mind and will, they develop an esthetical delight that rises above the personal and material

and which develop interests that connect humanity. In addition, they remove sidedness and practical action, balancing between instincts and keep spiritual health from repetitions. Role of games and art are also reflected in their work and also in the internal harmony and harmony in life. In further decomposition of his ideas Rakic defines harmony as taste that can't be copied and which should be an expression of individual life (Testic, 1973, pp. 97-117).

Rakic states that the generic art developed from the game; in game and art there are two moments – a moment of creation and enjoyment of the moment. In art it is differentiated into two entities – the artist creates and the audience enjoys, while in game it is happening within a single individual. The ultimate goal of these two entities is quality use of leisure time. In addition to games and art, in Rakic works we find the definition that refers to the possibilities and limits of education. In his opinion, all operations can be divided into actions with external effect, i.e. the effect on the environment- practical life and actions with internal fact that with effect from the internal forces on what constitutes education. The primary aim of education is the development of the individual and material survival so therefore the ultimate goal of education is the formation of a versatile personality or flexible personality that can adequately respond to any changes in the external environment.

If on these factors or external environment and internal forces we add heritage, then comes the education, which represents component personalities that shaped the man. In this context, learning is to Dr Vicentije Rakic, acquiring skills for made forms of activity, a process in which the mechanical skills and abilities to adapt on the basis of prior knowledge, skills and habits, and varying selection of organizing a new form of activity that is determined by practice. In this regard, the learning has its quality and quantity component.

In his practical and theoretical work Rakic was criticizing the old school and made a theory in which he tried to combine the basic principle of school learning and schoolwork.

He criticized the old school, which did not develop the ability to change, and did not created methods need for education of will, which insisted only on passive and mechanical way of acquiring knowledge. Instead, he was pushing for a new school where classes of acquiring knowledge and practical training were equally changing, in which there is room for play and art. He was committed to a school that provides the necessary freedom in which students develop their potentials.

3.4. VOJISLAV MLADENOVIC (*Jagodina, 1884 – Jagodina, 1964*)

Dr Vojislav Mladenovic was one of the few Serbian educators who have passed all stages of the educational work. His life path started as a teacher, after

twenty years of practice, he went to study abroad, as a PhD he worked in the Ministry of Education, he was professor and head teacher of the Teachers-training school and he was the author of several highly valued pedagogical textbooks (Radulaski, 1993, pp. 105-125). Through practical and theoretical work he critically evaluated those courses in pedagogy that he personally did not accepted. His ideas were based on pedagogical realism which was a critical blend of traditional and modern pedagogy whose fundamentals are according to Pestalozzi's (Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi) understanding of child education: the need to develop man as an individual and as a part of the community. He was not only an interpreter of Pestalozzi pedagogical ideas but he already argued, that this understanding needs to be adopted by the Serbian society of the 20th century. Mladenovic was modern, gritty and supportive; He had a clear thought and reasoned analyses of scientific concepts. He advocated for pedagogy as a science or theoretical basis for teaching and education. As Ljubica Radulaski stated in her work, in the life of V. Mladenovic there were many human and professional ups and downs, times of misunderstanding, bad circumstances and malicious people, but his work is testimony that he was the original creator of pedagogy that has marked the time in which he lived.

3.5. VLADIMIR SPASIC (*Pirot, 1892 – Belgrade, 1973*)

Between the middle war periods, Serbian pedagogy has shown a significant number of important names. One of them is Dr Vladimir Spasic, representative of the so-called idea: «School of the future» which in his scientific, practical and professional work contributed to the development of the science of our school education. Spasic's pedagogical works provide a comprehensive and concise statement of the movement of a new school, with a special focus on schoolwork and pedagogy of the community (Nikolova, 2011, pp. 5-27). His professional publications have contributed to the popularization of these pedagogical directions in Serbian pedagogy between the two wars. However, although systematically presented in the works of Vladimir Spasic, these directions are given without critical review, which probably can't be expected from educator who himself was advocated pedagogical concept about which he wrote. Spasic's criticism was mainly referring to Herbart pedagogy and old school. Spasic professional and scientific interests were broad, related to the problems of the community and working classes. By insisting on the importance of community pedagogy, pedagogical concept of labour and the role of active observation, Spasic as a carrier of pedagogical ideas of European educators, helped Serbian pedagogical and educational public to turn towards labour and school community. Concluding on the life and work of expert Dr Vladimir Spasic, we can say that even though

he was one of the leading theorists of his time he occupies a significant place in Serbian pedagogy in the interwar period.

All of them who were born in small towns or villages, attended Teacher-Training school in Sombor, Kragujevac and Jagodina, except V. Rakic, who after high school education went on to study at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Before going to foreign universities all of them except V. Bakic, had a prominent teachers practice, Miodragovic was a teacher for six years, Rakic was one year secondary school teacher in high school, Mladenovic and Spasic had about ten years of work experience. Bakic, Miodragovic and Spasic were studying in Leipzig, Zurich and Jen as state cadets, while Rakic and Mladenovic financed their education either partly or entirely³.

All of them except Miodragovic, returned home as doctors of pedagogical sciences and all of them worked except Rakic. Bakic worked in Teacher – Training schools in Kragujevac and Belgrade; Miodragovic worked in Belgrade and Nis and in Women’s Teacher – Training school in Belgrade; Mladenovic in male and female Teacher -Training school in Belgrade and in the Women’s Teacher Training school in Novi Sad; Spasic worked in the Teacher Training school in Priot. In addition, they were freelancer teachers working in female school in Belgrade (Bakic and Miodragovic); worked in the Ministry of Education (Bakic, Miodragovic and Mladenovic); were professors at the school (Bakic was also rector) or University (Rakic) and Spasic, who was a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. They were professors of Higher pedagogy school (Mladenovic and Spasic) and they were engaged in special pedagogy (Spasic worked in the Department of education for deaf-mute children in Belgrade).

Their private life was not much different from the majority of Belgrade citizens. They were married and all of them except Rakic, had large families. As members of professional associations such as the Main Education Council, Teacher’s Society, Pedagogical Society of Serbia and Serbian Literary Society, they were present in many social events and Dr Vojislav Bakic was also a member of the Serbian educated society.

All of them except Bakic, who had a problem with his foot, took part in the wars. Miodragovic participated in the Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876-1878 and he was a commissioner, in the First World War he was in captivity in Nezider⁴; Rakic was during the First War in the military with Serbian students in France⁵. Mladenovic was wounded in the First World War on the military duties and

³ Data are presented on the basis of documents that are in funds: EM, F. I dr Vojislav Bakic, EM, F. III Jovan Miodragovic, EM, F. CXI Vicentije Rakic, EM, F. VII Vojislav Mladenovic, EM, F. XL Vladimir Spasic.

⁴ EM, F. III/1, Offical dossier of J. Miodragovic, Belgrade, 1923

⁵ AS, F. BU, I/374, Act about the stay V. Rakic in Dijon, Belgrade, October 1918

therefore became disabled⁶, Spasic was a reserve officer in the First World War and in the Second World War he was in Germany in captivity⁷. For their patriotism in war and peace they were honoured with many signs and medal of Saint Sava is one of them.

All of them are characterized by rich literary activity. A large number of their articles for decades were published in journals such as: «Teacher», «Educator», «Education Gazette», «Commercial Gazette», «Educator», «Bulletin of the Yugoslav Association of Professors», «Teaching and Education», «School Worker», «Our School», «Working School», «Parent sheet», «National Education», «Progress» (Zagreb), «Modern School», «Educational Work» (Skopje), and so on. Also they were the initiators and editors of some of the leading periodicals magazines in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Bakic started pedagogical magazine «Educator», Miodragovic established «Handmade Work», Mladenovic established «Our School» and Spasic «Our New School Library», «Working Parents» and «Parents Sheet».

Their importance is reflected in the fact that they were writers of workbooks for primary or secondary school, as well as those that were intended to be used by High School students, University students or students from Faculty of Pedagogy. Bakic wrote: «Science of Education», which was published in two books, he wrote also «General Science of Education», «Applied Sciences of Education» (1878), «General Pedagogy» (1897) and «Special Pedagogy» (1901) with particular regard to the gymnasium methodology (1901). Miodragovic wrote: «Work in the First Grade of Primary School» (1901), «Working in Second Grade of Primary School» (1905) and «The Calculation for the Second Year of Primary School». Rakic published following lectures: «Education – Part 1 – General Theory of Education» (1928), «Pedagogy Part II – Didactics» (1928) and «Basic Theory of Education» (1924). Mladenovic wrote: «On the Basis of the Science of Education» (1932), «Problems of Social Life» (1933), «National Education and Educational Factors» (1935) and «General Pedagogy» (1936). Spasic wrote: «Script for Students of Pedagogical Schools», «Fundamentals of Modern Teaching» (1946), «Fundamentals of Methodology of Modern Biological Study» (1947), «Fundamentals of Methodology of Modern Teaching Geography» (1947) and «Surd Pedagogy» (1948).

Studying abroad they have mastered several languages, German, French, English, which allowed them to deal with, and translations of foreign literature. Thanks to their work Serbian professional public was familiar with work of Jan

⁶ EM, F. VII/29, Certificate Ministry of Army and Navy about Mladenovic and his live during the First War, Belgrade, 4 November 1924

⁷ EM, F. XL/88, Certificate of military duties of V. Spasica during 1912-1920, Belgrade, 1928

Amos Komensky «United Didactics» (1907) and Herbert Spencer, «Mental, Moral and Physical Education» (1903) which were translated by J. Miodragovic, also with J. Sifta and his «Biographical and Psychological Treatise» (1903) which was translated by V. Rakic and also with a «Collection of Pedagogical Text Classics» (1960) translated by V. Mladenovic⁸.

In their written works and through an educational practice they have dealt with many issues related to pedagogy as a science, the process of education as well as those issues that were related to educational policy.

As far as pedagogy as science is concern, everybody shared a point that it had a scientific character; it is an independent social science that is associated with the related sciences. Regarding Bakic opinion, pedagogy is the science about educational skills, and for Mladenovic its subject is the mental life of human and life in the community. As one of the first pedagogue in post-Herbert age Miodragovic claimed that pedagogy can become a science, but only when it fulfils the requirements to be exact and objective, and when it is based on laws that are not conditioned subjectively.

Regarding the education process, for Bakic it is obvious influence on the young adult generation and formation of their organic and spiritual potential. The success in education depends on two forces – from inheritance, internal, external forces and power of adoption. In addition environment has influence on the examinee, and in the education process it should be taking into account the possibility of hereditary characteristics and their adjustment in certain social situations. According to Bakic, aim of education and education community is the formation of moral and personal characteristics. But also others, such as intellectual, physical, esthetical and technical education, which means that by this concept Bakic approached the idea of versatile developed personality, an idea that will be on-going in the next decades⁹.

Miodragovic came to the conclusion that there are six areas of education – physical, intellectual, moral, esthetical, religious and technical and work education, and that the aim of education is harmonic development of personality, which is not possible without technical or working education. While insisting on the usefulness and practicality of manual labour, Miodragovic emphasizes its educational value (Miodragovic, 1914).

Rakic has formulated goal of education as a need for individuals, families and nations, insisting on national education. In addition, in his opinion, education should be a cosmopolitan, humanely and according to the interests of humanity

⁸ These books are located in the Museum library or in their funds.

⁹ His pedagogic attitudes are generally expressed in two books: *Science of Education* (1878) and *General Pedagogy* (1897).

as a whole (Rakic, 1946). He believed that the basis of developed opportunities makes the inner disposition and that education is a process that needs to organize the conditions in which they will develop. In all that he gave to the decisive role of the environment and a variety of exercises, and the ultimate goal of education is defined as the interest of the nation and its material and spiritual development.

For Mladenovic education is basic and the broadest pedagogical term that aims consolidating the individual in the community¹⁰. It is a process of cognitive arranging, managing and supporting the development and pedagogy task is to examine its social and individual components. However, it should be bared in mind that the goal of education is an expression of time and some people, which implies that it is changeable. Spasic defines education in a broader sense as a natural process and function of the community. In further elaboration he states that there are two forms of education - one that is implemented directly, naturally and spontaneously – so called functional education and other – indirectly, systematic and organized pedagogy meaning school or technical education.

The aim of education, as Spasic defines it is to develop active, creative and social personalities that with their activities should be involved in the construction of the rope and the wider community¹¹.

Another interesting question that our pedagogies were dealing with is – the question of the game. Miodragovic considers that all aspects of personal development are equally important but emphasizes that the development of the body, within which occurs a game is the essence of everything. The game, which has multiple functions, affects the psycho – physical development of the child so the education that was called «child's play», which includes school gymnastics, had double task – to strengthens the body, satisfies the need for movement, exercise agility and safety in motion, strengthens health but also to develop the spirit.

Rekic saw educational effects of games and art in that they establish an inner life balance release the development of obstacles and give the opportunity for human to show the inner freedom and naturalness. In his opinion, the importance of the game and the art lies in the fact that they creates enthusiasm that gives strength of mind and will, developing an esthetical delight that rises above the personal and material and which develop interests that connect humanity. In addition, they remove sidedness of practical action; they balance between instincts and keep spiritual health of repetitions.

These educators, as well as those who have lived and worked together with them used their ideas and efforts in the field of practical work directly as well

¹⁰ The famous book of Mladenovic was *General Pedagogy* (1936).

¹¹ The famous book of Spasic was *Introduction to New School and Modern Teaching* (1930).

as officials of Ministry of Education where they influenced educational policies and therefore organizational system of education. In their aspirations they had to take into account that economic development, population growth and living standards in Serbia in the late 19th century set new demands on schools. These socio-economic trends influenced the reforms in school education where special attention was paid to professional education whose base was related to work education. The idea of working habits and new school, which was created as a reaction to the previous activities in social relations and in science gave advantage to practical, social work in the spirit of spontaneous activity and in self-work. In this context, it was necessary that the school adapt to modern society's demands and get closer to real life situation and that educational work affects the formation of free, self-initiative and creative citizens able to adapt to the community. In respect of their contribution and development of pedagogical science, many educational and cultural intuitions hold their names.

4. Conclusion

The availability of education not only for higher class but also for poorer, the opening schools for female as well as the emergence of literature were influenced that the cities of Western Europe become a cultural and educational centres. In such an environment, the universities have not only an educational role but also they had the task to transmit the culture, and to strengthen the patriotism and the national consciousness.

In the second half of the 19th century, Serbian government were required the educated people to create a new modern Serbian state, modelled on the developed countries of Europe. Therefore, they sent the youth to study in Other Countries. Serbian intellectuals were educated in three groups of universities – Central European, French and Russian. The German universities had advantage, and one of the most visited was in Leipzig, the university developed a strong Slavic Centre.

Serbian scholars have left a great mark in the field of science, culture, politics and social life in Serbia. After returning to his homeland they become the professors in High School, later the University, professors in gymnasiums, teachers schools and schools and school for women. They are engaged with educational work in the countryside.

They brought with them new habits;

- Striving for continuous training
- Using literature and magazines in foreign languages
- Practice as a translator

- Had a links with foreign colleagues
- They showed the educational element of theatre
- Impact on the development of foreign language teaching and
- Impact on the spread of culture in smaller communities.

The pedagogues, besides basic studies, listened other informal lectures; visiting theatres, enjoy the cultural life. That social life had a direct impact on the formation of Serbian intelligence and indirectly to the development of Serbian society. This European identity which that they brought with them, was upgrade of national identity which was based on tradition.

The institutional education at European universities Serbian teachers allowed:

- Intellectual and professional maturity,
- Introduction with new ideas and
- Application that in professional work.

The listening the lectures of famous philosophers was contributed to the realization of high quality research in the field of teaching science and establishing their own pedagogical views. With their practical and theoretical work they actively participated in the creation of a new educational policy and thus they contributed the popularization of European thought and the development of sciences in Serbia.

At the end, we can conclude that the impact of Serbian pedagogues, which were educated abroad, was reflected in the constant changes in the field of education. At the first place, it was in organization of teaching process, but also, they are working on changes in the Serbian language and the formation of national identity.

Developments in the Serbian education system during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were marked by constant changes of curriculum, through changes in the duration, the legal and practical regulation of compulsory primary education. Changes in the curriculum were found in abolishment of one and by invention of new subjects, different by contents and customization of volume and difficulty of classes by the age students' abilities. Determining the establishment of new schools and the changes in the duration of education affected the significance of a case or a group of subjects, which is, among other things, affected by current needs and practicality of society. These famous pedagogues were impacted on the education authorities, who became aware that the school was rudiment of social progress and of the modernization of Serbia. Because of that, they invented compulsory primary education for both sexes, whose practical implementation depended on the material resources

of the state and the number of professionally educated teachers. During one century, Serbian schools have experienced a major transformation – from those that provided only basic literacy to those that were offered the opportunity to continue their education at higher education institutions in the country and abroad. All of these changes, which were dominant in certain periods of history, were the result of work of Serbian pedagogues, which were educated abroad.

Serbia, as a Balkan country, has always represented the crossroads between East and West. In a small space, it is mixed more culture and more faith for centuries. During its existence, the Serbian people received different influences, which are reflected in daily life, customs, style of dress, the food and the language and script which were used to print the books and create the documents. It started with the Old Slav's language and spelling, and since 1867 when was adopted the Vuk's spelling, the books and certificates were given a different look. In those areas where the Turkish government stayed till the Balkan War certificates were printed in Turkish and Serbian Cyrillic and Arabic script. During World War II, under Austria-Hungarian occupation, school documents were bilingual – in Serbian with Latin script, and German language. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, for the unification of the document, schoolbooks and certificates were printed in Latin and Cyrillic. Some vocational schools, to facilitate employment with foreign companies and abroad, were issuing certificates in three languages - Serbian, French and German. The graduate of the High School contained the same text in Serbian and Latin, which was in line with the European standards. In addition, the social phenomena for the introduction the alphabet of Vuk Stefanovic the Serbian pedagogues, which were educated abroad, were creditable.

Their ideological and cultural activity was related to the fact, which was in relation with the definition of national targets, and the formation of identity based on the notions of common culture, language and religion. The formation and cultivate national belonging, the love for the motherland and the Serbian history and culture, were present in all curricula, especially in schools and times when it was of crucial importance. In the reader's books were printed the texts of Serbian writer and poet, Serbian folk songs and stories, selected articles about national origin, language, the text with all important moral characteristics which make the basis of growing up. Serbian pedagogues, with their theoretical and practical work, contributed to the teaching of national history – they introduced the adequate texts, which were based on historical facts related to the Orthodoxy. In addition, in all Serbian schools, and even in those who have been out of Serbia, the celebration of St. Sava had a great influence on the formation of national identity among students. The developing of moral attitudes and traditions, and

cultivate the Serbian culture were done through a number of recitations, songs, theater pieces and the Hymn to St. Sava. In all of these Serbian pedagogues, who were educated abroad, had a decisive role.

Their role was based on the results that they have achieved during their private and professional life. On the way from Slovene to Serbian they have done so much.

Working in the field of pedagogy they created the possibility to comment, to deny or confirm and to make critically evaluation about their work. Seen from a historical distance, and having regard to all social and scientific circumstances we can recognizes the value of their work, which represents a significant contribution to the Serbian pedagogical science.

Serbian students educated abroad represented the national intelligence that was self-conscious and capable. Receiving the impact of the country in which they lived, they were part of the European civilization, which they brought to Serbia and Serbia, through education, became a European country.

5. Sources and literature

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Abbreviation

EM - Educational museum

AS - Archives of Serbia

F - Fund