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**THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH
AND SERBIAN EDUCATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
IN THE LAST CENTURY OF OTTOMAN RULE**

Abstract: The origins of initial education of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are found in the Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries. Monks and priests, although having a modest education, also worked as teachers besides their regular religious functions. The first students were young men, who were trained in the profession of priests. They usually inherited this position from their fathers. The initial courses were of a limited religious character and were not able to provide a broader education to students. Literacy obtained within the sphere of the church could not respond to the needs and spirit of the new age in the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, it was prominent and wealthy Serbian merchants that made a strong impact in establishing modern private schools. Most Serbian schools were financially supported by Serbia and Russia during that century, up until the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Serbian Orthodox church – school municipalities very often addressed Belgrade for help for reconstruction or building schools and churches. The foundation of Pelagic’s Seminary in Banja Luka in 1866 made a significant impact on the cultural progress of Serbs, especially those living in the area of Bosanska Krajina.

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Church, clergy, Serbian education, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ottoman Empire, Russia, Austro-Hungary, schoolbooks, monks, priests, teachers.

Serbian education in Bosnia and Herzegovina was developing in very complex social and political circumstances during the 19th century. As they were exposed to the pressures of the everyday difficult life, such as financial misery and violence under the Ottoman occupation, Serbian people did not for many years have any strong need to obtain a book to read, since their living circumstances “did not allow them to think of

anything else but survival”.¹ Monastery based schools represented the only type of education that existed for a long time.² The growth of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina was linked to larger gatherings of Serbian families in towns, practical needs of everyday life and the financial capacity of Serbian Orthodox church – school municipalities.³ Schools in towns provided constant education compared to those in villages, which were quite often discontinuing their work. Some of them often closed forever due to the absence of a teacher. However, the number of schools was small and classes were not held regularly,⁴ as they had to struggle with inadequate space, modest numbers of students, insufficiently educated teachers, lack of professional supervision, shortage of school and alphabet books and other working equipment.⁵ The first books to be used in primary schools were the prayer book and psalter. Considering that the first students were preparing for the profession of a monk or priest, it is not surprising that those were the very first schoolbooks to be used. Such books were rare and very expensive.⁶ Students were not divided by grades and they were named by the books that they were studying from: alphabet students, prayer students, psalter students etc.⁷

As the school curriculum was expanding over time, education increasingly obtained characteristics of secularity.⁸ Literacy and education that in those days were provided within the sphere of the church ceased to be in accordance with the needs and spirit of the new age.⁹ Taking part in the work of Serbian church municipalities, merchants made a strong

¹ Pejanović 1960: 6.

² Through its monasteries, the Church maintained relations with people, strengthened Christian doctrine, cultivated and expanded literature and the tradition of Nemanjić’s state. The Serbian Orthodox Church would have had a weaker spiritual and political influence over people up to the 19th century if there were no monasteries and their intermediary role; Čubrilović 1960: 163–188.

³ In their request to Sultan Abudulmejid from the middle of the 19th century, Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina were asking for the freedom to open schools, engage teachers from neighboring countries and transfer students for education in other countries. They were also asking for freedom of religion and repair of old and construction of new churches and monasteries. In their request there was also expressed need for opening of one printing house, which would be paid by the stated and used by Christians. Bošnjak 1851: 157–158; Bogičević 1975: 217.

⁴ There was no indication of the beginning or ending of the academic year in the oldest schools. It would usually begin “when the teacher arrived from somewhere” and it would end when teacher left. Over time, the beginning of the academic year stabilized in September, while the end was usually in June. Papić 1987: 77.

⁵ “This school was overcrowded considering the number of its students. Lighting was not appropriate or sufficient. Schoolbooks were the prayer book, psalter and alphabet book. Children had to learn them by heart and this caused them difficulties. School desks were below any standard”. This was stated in the description of the Serbian school in Bosanska Gradiška. Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1850–1907, 31. December 1907.

⁶ Bogičević 1975: 226–227, 230; Bilinac 2017: 40–41.

⁷ Filipović 1966: 33; Janjić 2014: 101.

⁸ A letter from Sarajevo dated 1846 testifies about the new educational needs: “Trading relations in which we, in Sarajevo, stand by Trieste and Vienna, convinced us about the necessity to learn Italian and German language. In order to prevent struggling of our children as we do struggle now and to come as close as possible to the educated world, and also to progress with rest of our brothers, this fall our Christian municipality – Orthodox and Catholic together, decided to register one school in which, besides our native Serbian language and other required sciences, Italian and German language will be lectured”. Ćurić 1954: 308.

⁹ Papić 1978: 10–11.

impact on the cultural progress of people and on the foundation of private schools.¹⁰ Their fortune was not unobserved outside the borders of the Eyalet.¹¹ Modernization of Serbian schools first began in bigger urban areas and then expanded to smaller towns. New modern schoolbooks such as alphabet books, reading and history books began to be produced. They were mostly provided from Belgrade up to the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation. We learn from the description of the Serbian school in Doboj, which was founded at the end of Ottoman rule, that students were studying religious science, Serbian language, Serbian history, geography, mathematics, German language, art and music.¹²

Taking into consideration the proclamation of constitutional law in 1865, Topal Osman Pasha warned of the urgent necessity to educate people to read and write and by that: “push away the lack of knowledge that people are coping with”.¹³ The foundation of the *Vilayet Printing House* in Sarajevo in 1866 (so called *Sopron's Printing House*)¹⁴ opened the door to an extensive flourish in literature.¹⁵ Several young authors, mostly teachers and priests, emerged onto the cultural scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina and started collecting artifacts and popular oral heritage, as well as historical research. The newspapers *Bosna*, *Bosanski vjesnik* and *Sarajevski cvjetnik* began being printed in Sarajevo.¹⁶ The Vilayet Printing House was printing the *Alphabet Book for primary schools in Bosnia Vilayet* (1867) and *The First Reader for primary schools in Bosnia Vilayet*.¹⁷ Also the principles of the respected Vuk Karadžić's linguistic reform gradually attracted literature and education. In January 1869 the newspaper *Bosna* published an article about Topal Osman Pasha and his support in the development of education emphasizing, inter alia, that Vali accomplished a lot and therefore “many children completed schools and they can even be taken for imperial services”.¹⁸

Although *Hatt-i-Humayun* (1856) issued the proclamation on religious tolerance, which resulted in a more favorable educational environment, the Ottoman authorities still

¹⁰ During the 19th century Serbian merchants became very important social class involved over time in all aspects of public life. Majority of big foreign trade was in the hands of Serbian merchant families. Thanks to expanded connections from Vienna, through Trieste, to Dubrovnik, many families acquired huge property and they were directing part of it for the benefit of church and school. Berić 1995: 317–326; Mastilović 2007: 279–303; Dutina, Mastilović 2012: 500–528.

¹¹ “Here (Banja Luka; author's comment), Serbs are mostly wealthy merchants; their houses are the most beautiful houses. They build new ones - store houses in accordance with the European fashion and they also furnish them on European way. Turkish houses are small barracks. Entire wealth was in Serbian hands”. *Glas naroda*, No. 49, 8. XII 1874.

¹² Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian national elementary school in Doboj 1878–1907. (undated).

¹³ Bogićević 1975: 218.

¹⁴ Ignjat Sopron (1825–1894), journalist and pressman, born in Novi Sad.

¹⁵ Pejanović 1952: 11–16.

¹⁶ *Zastava* from Novi Sad assessed the foundation of *Bosanski vjesnik* as an attempt to kill Serbian nationality and impose the term “Bosnian” people instead of Serbian people. *Zastava*, No. 24, 1. V 1866.

¹⁷ Newspaper *Bosna* from August 1867 stated: “Under the shadow of his majesty, the Emperor, several thousands of alphabet books for primary school children were printed in the Vilayet Printing House in Sarajevo using Serbian civil and church–school letters. In accordance with the will of his Excellency, honorable Vali of Vilayet these alphabet books will be donated as gift to students in this Vilayet as proof of imperial mercy”. *Bosna*, No. 65, 26. VIII 1867; Čurić 1956: 159.

¹⁸ *Bosna*, No. 135, 11. I 1869.

strongly opposed any national movement in Serbian schools and made obstacles over the development of Serbian education in everyday life.¹⁹ The attempt to improve the position of Christians by implementation of reforms created fear amongst conservative Muslims about their current privileged social position. Some Muslims made fun of the Edict of Gülhane naming it the “constitution of scamp” or “hatt-i sharif of troublemaker”.²⁰ Vasilj Popović stated that it was difficult to “change the entire spirit of oriental religious spite and intolerance, feudal arrogance and class inequality that fulfilled the ruling, privileged Muslim element”.²¹ The Novi Sad based *Srbobran’s* correspondent from Bosnia reported that Muslims were fearful about the education of Christians. On the other hand, he added that for Muslim Bosniaks and Herzegovinians “if a Bosniak or Herzegovinian goes to school, he would change, he would learn and he would think about who he was, he would unite with Serbia and maybe he would become an ‘infidel’ as he used to be”.²² Topal Osman Pasha warned Banja Luka based Muslims not to permit Serbs to build schools in that town because “when Vlachs (derogatory name for Serbs; author’s comment) become educated, they will sit on your neck and it will end disastrously for you”.²³ The Croatian press wrote in 1849 about the attempt of Prijedor based Serbs to build a school, which saw local Muslims take and destroy all of the accumulated construction material, justifying that with the allegation that the intention of the Serbs was to build a church instead of school.²⁴ One could also read in the Croatian press in 1853 that Sarajevo and Bosnia in its entirety “rest in stupidity, partly due to their badness and negligence, partly due to fear of Turks, we cannot progress in anything but in trade, the rest is in old-fashioned manners in accordance with the Turkish taste”.²⁵ In April 1863 Muslims led by the religious fanatic Ali-efendija Fethagić destroyed to the ground the newly built Serbian school in Trebinje.²⁶ In August 1865 *Narodne novine* published information from an article in the newspaper *Vidovdan*, that reported on the meeting at Bosnian vizier, which discussed the issue of Serbian schools. On this occasion one of the Muslim’s present said that: “These schools will totally destroy the Empire and Turks; Serbian people should not be allowed a great education or great schools because this could result in great danger for the Empire. When they see from their history books who

¹⁹ Although Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) was the first to try to implement certain reforms within the Empire, the new age in the history of the Empire known as the Tanzimat started with the *Edict of Gülhane* (1839). Mantran 2002: 555–630. Ortajli: 2004. Changes in the Empire were forced by complex internal circumstances and also foreign state of affairs. Under the pressure of foreign powers, the Ottoman Empire pronounced in 1856 the firman of reforms - *Hatt-i-Humayun*, which was supposed, inter alia, to bring more freedom to Christians with regard to their religious and property rights, personal freedom and participation in the work of local authorities. Disputes between members of different religions were supposed to be resolved before the integrated Muslim–Christian courts. However, *Hatt-i-Humayun* rejected aspirations of Slavs in European Turkey to introduce Slav service in churches and their language instead of Greek in places where they made up the majority. Zarković 2013: 139.

²⁰ Popović: 1949, 41; Teinović: 2019, 481.

²¹ Popović: 1949, 35.

²² Author of the article stated that due to the identified reasons Serbs were banned from building schools or to learn Serbian history or anything else, but only reading and writing. *Srbobran*, No. 65, 4. VIII 1865.

²³ *Vrbaske novine*, No. 207, 15. IX 1933; *Ibid.* No. 127, 14. VI 1933.

²⁴ Ćurić 1953: 496.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 497.

²⁶ Mijanović 2009: 243–245.

they were and who they are now, it is natural that they will have the wish and aspiration to become again who they were, and they can only succeed in that if Turkey falls apart”.²⁷ When Muslims from the Krajina region asked the Banja Luka based pasha to prevent the building of the Serbian church in one village, the pasha ironically responded to them: “Let the Serbian millet to build churches up to the sky. There is no danger of a church. Do not let them build their schools, because they will breakdown Turkish power”.²⁸ One Franciscan, Toma Kovačević assessed the general level of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina as being very low: “Alcoran does not allow Muslim converts to get educated, while Christians do not have resources for education”. According to his writing, Serbs did not have primary schools except in bigger towns such as Sarajevo, Travnik, Prijedor and Tuzla.²⁹ Stojan Bijelić observed the low level of literacy of Serbs from Krajina through the prism of old gravestones from the 19th century, which often did not have a single letter written.³⁰

The Serbian Orthodox clergy lived through the most part of the 19th century in deep financial and spiritual misery, sharing life and destiny with their parish members.³¹ The clergy also had a low level of education. This was influenced by the Phanariot bishops, who were separated from people by their spirit, mentality and language and who were remembered as greedy and corrupted religious servants.³² One report from Bosanska Krajina, dated 1874, stated that people were suffering more violence from Phanariotes than Turks since “our bishops are killing our body and soul, they are permitting every crime for money and they are forbidding education”.³³ The lowest level of the clergy was “totally ignorant”³⁴ and Greek bishops were only interested in money during the process of installation of clergy: “It was happening that some craftsman or merchant with a struggling business collects all his money and for this money gets the position of priest and parish”.³⁵ Many bishops were selling the same parish several times.³⁶ It was clear to the Russian diplomat Alexander Hilferding³⁷ that Greek bishops did not support their Slav herd’s

²⁷ Ćurić 1953: 92.

²⁸ *Razvitak*, No. 8–9, 20. VIII 1939, 259; Mikić 1995: 165–166.

²⁹ Kovačević 1879: 23.

³⁰ *Vrbaske novine*, No. 190, 26. VIII 1933.

³¹ Joanikije Pamučina, witness of the time was writing about living circumstances of the clergy in Herzegovina in the middle of the 19th century: “Our clergy in Herzegovina are common, without any education; since they did not have any schools under the Lord, no classes, no education, except in our Orthodox Christian monasteries in Herzegovina, which are until today pillars, protectors and guardians of our pious Orthodox Christianity during all persecutions, violence and unfortunate, sad times. Pamučina 2005: 223.

³² “If Serbs were appointed as bishops, they would bring us some light of education, but Greek, especially the present Bishop Joseph, it is not only that he does not care about our education, but he rather tries to keep us in such stupidity so he can flay, step and ride us as easily as it is possible”. Ćurić 1954: 310.

³³ *Zastava*, No. 110, 18/30. IX 1874.

³⁴ “Orthodox clergy was untaught and the majority of them were at the same level of education as ordinary believers” was stated in one report from 1818, which added: “Huge distances between houses and also between villages were making arrangements of religious ceremonies difficult. For this reason, religious ceremonies were almost neglected and people were not educated about their religion and duties toward it, or raised in a fear-inspiring way”. Šljivo 1986: 204.

³⁵ *Srbski dnevnik*, No. 3, 11. I 1859.

³⁶ *Ibid.* No. 93, 26. XI 1859.

³⁷ Alexander Hilferding (Serbian: Aleksandar Giljferding)

attempts at enlightenment: “If some municipality intends to open a school in its area, the bishop will somehow accept that. But, God forbid, to allow a school of higher education, especially a seminary for the education of priests. Nothing can be worse than that”.³⁸ Despite the dominantly dark historiographical picture of Phanariotes, some of them did care about the progress of the Serbian church and schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹ For example, the Zvornik based metropolitans Dionysius I and Dionysius II invested a great amount of effort to ensure the survival and progress of the school in Zenica.⁴⁰

One way of education was the so called self-education. Self-educated teachers were kind of torchbearers for education in that period, when there were no schools in villages and when there were few educated people. These were individuals of a wealthy life experience and wider knowledge in comparison to other people in the environment where they lived.⁴¹ This type of education was mentioned in 1685 by a Vatican missionary who wrote that “there are more literate women and herdsmen in Bosnia than in the Zadar Diocese”.⁴² Self-educated people became some kind of “traveling teachers” who stayed in certain places as long as was necessary in order to make an agreed number of students literate. According to one report in the press the priest Petar Đurić “did not attend any school and, as with all our old priests, he sat under a beech and learned by himself a prayer book and psalter and that way he became a priest”.⁴³ Teachers usually worked only for food and clothes and only had a little money, so they were called “orphans”.⁴⁴ “Self-educated oasis” such as Janj and Bosanski Petrovac were characteristic for Bosnia.⁴⁵ Based upon data from a priest Milan Rakita, self-educated people were present long in the past in Janj (place close to Jajce). Simo Radovanac and Gavriilo Rakita were mentioned as two of the oldest self-educated people. Gavriilo made his son Mihailo literate and he later made him a priest for 100 ducats, while self-educated people in Janj were organizing adult literacy winter courses.⁴⁶ The knowledge gained was transferred through generations within a family. Future priests and teachers often came from such families. Even in the distant past peasants respected literate people. While they were herding cattle, they were often waiting for some well-intentioned passer-by and were asking about reading or writing of some letters.⁴⁷

Ecclesiastical needs to rewrite prayers and prayer books influenced the development

³⁸ Giljferding 1972: 367.

³⁹ Jagodić 2018, 53–54.

⁴⁰ In his letter from December 1859, the Metropolitan Dionysius explained vividly the significance of education of youth: “Duty of every devoted Christian, a parent is to take care of the education of his children, to prepare them for school to learn the holy scriptures and fear of God, because it is known that man without education looks stupid”. Radosavljević 2007: 52, 96.

⁴¹ Self-educated teachers were using available books or the written alphabet that they produced. Their students were writing on small tablets by engraving letters. After they learned a lesson they scraped away what they had written. Writing instruments were made of parts of sharp stones or they were especially sharpened spikes. Ademović 1981: 215–220.

⁴² *Pravoslavljje*, No. 957, 1. II 2007.

⁴³ *Bosansko-hercegovački istočnik*, No. 12, decembar 1893, 566.

⁴⁴ *Pravoslavljje*, No. 957, 1. II 2007.

⁴⁵ Papić 1978: 48–50; Branković 2016: 81.

⁴⁶ Šušljic 1941: 71–76.

⁴⁷ Bogičević 1975: 231.

of literacy, which for a long time did not develop outside of churches and monasteries.⁴⁸ A small number of students, mostly sons of priests who were supposed to take over the position of priest from their fathers, were educated within monastery schools. However, those schools could not provide classes continually since there were only a few fraternities, monasteries were also often robbed and burned, while monks were exposed to violence from the Ottoman authorities.⁴⁹ Monasteries represented a kind of “storage” of people’s energy while monkhood, due to their specific way of life, usually enjoyed more respect among people than parish priests.⁵⁰

Orthodox Christian priests can be often found among the founders and teachers in the oldest Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It almost became a tradition that some poorly educated priest would hire a teacher from a faraway place to educate his son. He was usually joined by some other child from the village whose parents were covering the expenses of such a traveling teacher, together with the priest.⁵¹ The Russian consul Hilferding realized that Orthodox Christian priests, although uneducated and poor had recognized from an early time the significance of education and that they worked at building schools.⁵² For example in 1539–1540 the Serbian primary school was functioning together with the Serbian Orthodox Church in Sarajevo. In that school priests were “teaching children the gospel”.⁵³ In 1755, Sarajevo based merchants brought Vasilije Todorović, a monk from Šišatovac, to take up the position as their priest and teacher.⁵⁴ In the middle of the 19th century, prior to opening the Catholic school, Catholic children were already attending the Serbian primary school in the city.⁵⁵ The female school of Staka Skenderova also operated in Sarajevo most likely until 1858.⁵⁶ This school was occasionally receiving financial aid from Russia thanks to consul Hilferding.⁵⁷

Hieromonk Serafim, a son of the Livno based priest Jovo Kojdić was the first teacher in the Serbian school in Livno, which was one of the oldest schools in the provinces. Livno represented an important merchant crossroad between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dalmatia and the Serbian merchants from the town had a strong impact on the work of that school. Intensified demands from the merchants defined the teaching curriculum. It was for this reason that students were not only learning reading and writing, but also calculus and foreign

⁴⁸ Papić 1987: 64.

⁴⁹ *Razvitak*, No. 8–9, 20. VIII 1939, 255.

⁵⁰ Andrić 2011: 82

⁵¹ Marinković 1966: 119; Papić 1987: 64, 66.

⁵² “Many schools were built during the previous years in many Bosnian places and it was all done thanks to the efforts of the parish clergy; many of them sacrificed very much for schools; many of them tried enthusiastically to establish schools in places where there were no schools and to explain to peasants how important for their children it is to learn the epistle and law of God. Many priests, even those uneducated, were deeply convinced about the importance of their service and they were devoted to the needs of their flock; they were directing all of its public works and they were establishing subordination toward faith and church”. Ćurić 1953: 506.

⁵³ Nilević 1985: 117–118.

⁵⁴ Papić 1978: 12.

⁵⁵ Papić 1987: 68.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 78.

⁵⁷ Tepić 1988: 522–530.

languages since their knowledge was essential for successful business.⁵⁸ The primary school in Livno had already begun to function in 1820 in the house of priest Serafim Kojdić.⁵⁹ In the middle of the 19th century, prominent Serbian merchants from the family Kujundžić brought a teacher Đorđe Margetić to Livno. He modernized the school and introduced many new things as part of the teaching process. A school fund was established in 1853.⁶⁰

Priest Risto Savić was administering the Serbian school in Brodac, close to the monastery Lomnica. Another school was in Hrgar, close to Bihać located in the house of a prominent priest Vid Ivančević. Its first teacher was Adam Adžija, born in Lika. Many young men, future priests and prominent national leaders graduated from this school.⁶¹ It only had three benches for the children. Adžija was writing alphabet books for them as there were no schoolbooks at all.⁶² Obrad Petković, also from Lika who completed his schooling in the monastery Krka (Dalmatia) succeeded Adžija in the position of teacher. After the school in Hrgar was closed in 1850, Petković went on to serve as a teacher in Petrovac, Prijedor, Varcar Vakuf and Travnik.⁶³ The Serbian school in Petrovac was established between 1835 and 1840 within the Orthodox Christian church.⁶⁴ The well known priest Hadži Petko Jagodić was one of the most deserving people for establishing the Serbian school in 1836 in the village Vranjak, close to Gradačac.⁶⁵ The school in Brčko, which was founded in about 1839, was administered for some time by monk Teodor Paunović⁶⁶ while priest Todor Hadži Selaković worked, among others, in the school in Modriča (1841). The school in Modriča was among the first to introduce the celebration of Saint Sava as a school holiday.⁶⁷ By the middle of the 19th century the priest Stevo Popović⁶⁸ worked as a teacher in the Serbian school in Zenica, while even earlier in the century there was a school open and functioning in Tešanj. The prominent national leader Stevo Petranović worked as a teacher in that school. It was Petranović who organized a theater show in Tešanj in 1864, which is believed to be the oldest theatre show in the history of theater in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁹ In Semberija's village of Dragaljevac, the Bijeljina based priest Dimitrije Marković, opened a school in 1859. Some data indicates that it was even working in 1853.⁷⁰ The school in Miloševac began in 1855 and priest Kosta Popović was responsible for developing it.⁷¹ According to research by Milenko Filipović, the priest Serafijan Stakić

⁵⁸ *Školski vjesnik*, No. 8–10, 1909, 507.

⁵⁹ Papić 1978: 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 24.

⁶¹ *Razvitak*, No. 8–9, 20. VIII 1939, 256; *Školski vjesnik*, No. 8–10, 1909, 515; *Bosansko-hercegovački istočnik*, No. 3rd March 1895, 119.

⁶² Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian orthodox elementary school in Bihać, November 21 1907.

⁶³ *Školski vjesnik*, No. 8–10, 1909, 515.

⁶⁴ Zeljković, Banjac 1929: 33.

⁶⁵ Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian Orthodox Church elementary school in Vranjak, November 24 1908.

⁶⁶ In the middle of the 19th century it was mentioned that there was a female school in Brčko. Papić 1987: 71.

⁶⁷ Papić 1978: 41.

⁶⁸ Teinović 2018: 62–75.

⁶⁹ Papić 1987: 70; *Razvitak*, No. 6, 1. VI 1938, 179–182.

⁷⁰ Čurić 1978: 201–202.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 209.

opened the first school at his house in Vozuća in 1851. Also in the middle of the 19th century, a Serbian school was working within the church Lomnica (which later became a monastery) close to Šekovići. Its establishment is linked to the priest named Risto Savić.⁷²

The Serbian school in Mostar was already working at the end of the 18th century with the monk Makarije Zurovac as a teacher.⁷³ During his visit in 1857, Russian consul Hilferding said that the Serbian primary school in Mostar was the best in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He believed that the church – school municipality in Mostar could serve as an example to many in the Ottoman Empire with regard to a willingness to improve education.⁷⁴ The school had four grades and students were studying reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, church singing, basics of grammar and Serbian history. The orthography of Vuk Karadžić, was being used in the school as of 1868.⁷⁵ Besides a boy's school, there was also a girl's primary school in Mostar since the 1860s.⁷⁶ It is certain that the school in Trebinje was working in the middle of the 19th century, as well as that this school was known to occasionally address the Government in Belgrade for financial help and books.⁷⁷

The long-time teacher and priest Hadži Mile Popadić's name was closely connected to work at the Serbian school in Ključ, which was probably founded in 1857.⁷⁸ The school in Gerzovo started working around 1860 when priest Špiro Bubnjević obtained a firman, which approved the building of a church and school.⁷⁹ Based upon some sources, the Serbian school in Glamoč began in 1866. The school opened in the house of Tomo Adžić and the priest Jevto Gašić was mentioned as one of its first teachers.⁸⁰ The first teacher in the Serbian school in Sanski Most, which was founded in 1872 or 1873, was the theologian Nikola Ivaković. One classroom of that school was turned into an improvised place of worship.⁸¹

The work of the Principality of Serbia on the liberation of enslaved compatriots from the Ottoman Empire had a dual character, political and cultural. The education of Serbian students, who were born in Turkey, was formulated in *Načertanije* and was integrated into the Principality's liberation plans. During the first rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović, individuals from the Serbian areas under Ottoman rule were coming to Serbia for education. When the Defenders of the Constitution took power, more intensified education of Serbian children from Turkey was made possible.⁸² The objective of education for the provincial masses, which began first in Old Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, was for their national and political awakening. In this context, the provision of financial aid to churches, monasteries and schools could be observed. In this way unification and integration of the

⁷² *Ibid.* 211.

⁷³ Ćorović 1933: 60.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 64.

⁷⁵ Papić 1987: 28.

⁷⁶ Papić 1978: 69.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 73.

⁷⁸ Zeljković, Banjac 1929: 35.

⁷⁹ Papić 1987: 33.

⁸⁰ Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian orthodox elementary school in Glamok (undated).

⁸¹ *Školski vjesnik*, No. 8–10, 1909, 514.

⁸² Vojvodić 1989: 64–65.

Serbian cultural area, as a precondition of political and state unification, was achieved.⁸³ Serbia, which was liberated from Ottoman feudal pressure, gradually over time, became attractive to the enslaved Christian masses in the Bosnia Eyalet, regardless of their confessional differences.⁸⁴ In the middle of the 19th century, the Principality of Serbia was assigning certain amounts of money for the provision of books for schools and Orthodox Christian churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸⁵ According to Ilija Garašanin, Serbia had to break “the Chinese wall” between Serbia and its compatriots in Bosnia and also to cherish the cultural and political connections with the people of these provinces. Thus, a network of secret political agents was established and through those agents an uprising of Slav peoples in Turkey was planned. In 1869/1870, the Ottoman authorities attempted to prevent these connections by arresting and expelling several national leaders from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Asia Minor. These, at the same time were the most capable of Garašanin’s and Ristić’s confidants: Vaso Pelagić, Serafim Perović, Leontije Radulović, Teofil (Bogoljub) Petranović, Gavro Vučković and others.⁸⁶ State aid for young men who were attending schools in Serbia, especially the Seminary in Belgrade, was improved from the middle of the 19th century. The number of young men from the Turkish areas, who attended this school was small up to the middle of the century, but grew during the second reign of Prince Mihailo Obrenović.⁸⁷ Considering the fact that there were many students who wanted to stay permanently in Serbia after their graduation, it was decided in 1868 that foreign scholarship recipients could not be hired in the Principality and that they had to return to their country of origin.⁸⁸

In March 1868, Metropolitan Mihailo proposed the establishment of a special theological institute for the education of students from the neighboring areas of the Ottoman Empire. Five years later, he established The Second Department of the Belgrade Seminary (the so called Seminary for foreigners) with Miloš Milojević appointed as its head. This Second Department of the Belgrade Seminary was working up to the beginning of the Serbian-Turkish war in 1876. Many students were assigned as volunteers to Milojević’s battalion and to the “Voluntary corps of Ibar Army” under the command of Nićifor Dučić.⁸⁹ According to Dučić’s opinion, the Belgrade Seminary “was providing a sufficient quantity of science to students and it was making great teachers and priests of them who were obliged to return immediately after their graduation to their homeland and teach people there”. The amount of money provided for the living expenses of students, who were studying in Serbia was increasing over time and in 1876 it was a little bit more than 103.000 groschen.⁹⁰

As a result of an understanding involving Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Ilija Garašanin

⁸³ Jagodić 2018: 51.

⁸⁴ Stojančević 2002: 86.

⁸⁵ Majority of Serbian primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina were using schoolbooks from the Principality of Serbia and “this represented an important assumption for the Serbian cultural and national integration”. Jagodić 2018, 71.

⁸⁶ Vojvodić 1960: 25–32.

⁸⁷ Vojvodić 1994: 125.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 127.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 117–228.

⁹⁰ Nedeljković 2020: 156.

and Metropolitan Mihailo, the Serbian Government was sending regular financial aid to the respected Pelagić's Seminary in Banja Luka. This Seminary, founded in 1866, was an important source of literacy and a place of cultural enlightenment for the Serbs from Krajina. However, the foundation of the Seminary in Banja Luka did not happen by accident. When Pelagić came to Bosanska Krajina to reach an agreement with the church – school municipality in Banja Luka, he observed a very low cultural and educational level among the Orthodox Christian clergy. He was concerned and sad due to the small number of schools and poor educational environment in the Krajina, a border area of the Ottoman Empire inhabited mostly by the ethnic Serbian population. This school had the task to educate generations of new teachers and priests who would represent the embryo of Serbian national intelligentsia in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹¹ The Seminary started working on October 1st 1866 with only a few students enrolled. The next year in Belgrade, Pelagić was printing *A Manual for Serbian - Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Old Serbian and Macedonian teachers, schools and municipalities*. This effort was a result of Pelagić's wish to improve the pedagogical work in schools.⁹² The *Rules (Statute)* of the Seminary was adopted on February 25th 1868. In the same year, the *Serbian reading room* was founded in Banja Luka, which initially was only intended for Pelagić's students.

At the beginning of March 1868, Serbian Metropolitan Mihailo proposed to the Ministry of Education that a special committee be established with a task to support and develop education among Serbs living in Old Serbia. "The Committee for schools and teachers in the Old Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina" was established in Belgrade in August 1868, with Nićifor Dučić appointed to the position of President of the Committee⁹³ and it functioned up to the outbreak of the Serbian-Turkish war in 1876. The work of the Committee was mainly directed toward Old Serbia and Macedonia. According to Dučić's opinion, the Committee "developed very intensive activities in the field of improvement of our oppressed nationality in Turkey by using insignificant resources and with its support, we managed to achieve results that we can be satisfied with".⁹⁴

With time Metropolitan Mihailo developed very wide activities to support Serbs living in Turkey. These included assistance for schools and churches, transfer of teachers, acceptance of students to the Belgrade Seminary, providing care for refugees from the Turkish areas and by intermediation in Russia its support for the needs of the Serbian church and education. In these Serbian students, future priests and teachers, the Metropolitan saw future spiritual and educational national leaders and a living link between enslaved Serbs and the free Serbian Principality.⁹⁵ The Metropolitan built firm connections with the archimandrites Serafim Petrović, Joanikije Pamučina, Jovan Radulović and with the founder of the Seminary in Banja Luka Vaso Pelagić.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Pelagić's negotiations with the Serbian Government regarding assistance for the Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina took a long time. Pelagić was complaining that the Government in Belgrade "spends ten times more on their spies than on the education of Serbs in Turkey". Besarović 1950: 190.

⁹² Pelagić 1971: 9.

⁹³ Nedeljković 2020: 151.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Stojančević 2008: 97, 102.

⁹⁶ Vojvodić 1994: 231–254.

Besides religious courses, the Seminary in Banja Luka also focused its teaching on Serbian history, geography, grammar, calculus and gymnastics.⁹⁷ Two of the most difficult problems that Pelagić was dealing with were the lack of qualified teachers and crucial schoolbooks. This is the reason why he addressed the authorities in Belgrade and *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad for help regarding the provision of books. He pleaded with them to be noble “for benefit of Serbhood and science” and to send useful books for the Seminary and citizens of Banja Luka. The first books that arrived from Belgrade to Banja Luka had been used in classes in the Belgrade Seminary.⁹⁸ Through Metropolitan Mihailo, Pelagić also asked Russia for financial assistance for the school.⁹⁹ The Seminary ceased its work in 1875.¹⁰⁰ Many of Pelagić’s theologians were working as teachers in schools in Slavonia founded by the English lady Adeline Pauline Irby for Serbian children, who became refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Uprising of 1875–1878. Among these theologians were Petar Mirković, Jovan Zečević, Stevan Prokopić, Vid and Kosta Kovačević.¹⁰¹ Apart from Slavonia, such schools for refugee children were also founded in the area of Knin and throughout Dalmatia.¹⁰²

By opening consulates in Sarajevo (1856) and Mostar (1858) Russia created the opportunity of being able to deeply intervene in the political and cultural processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These Russian consuls began a wide range of activities in the area of education, which were directed in several areas, such as assistance to Serbian churches and monasteries, education of students in Russian schools and assistance to Serbian schools in the provinces.¹⁰³ The most active consul in this context was Alexander Hilferding whose arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina timely coincided with the plan of the Russian Government to accept young men from the so called Balkans Turkey area for education in Russia.¹⁰⁴ After the end of the Crimea War in 1856, the Russian Emperor and Government defined the goals related to education of young men from the South Slav countries in Russian schools. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexander M. Gorchakov, proposed that only Orthodox Christian should be enrolled with the aim to “rout unconditional devotion to our Orthodox Christianity and firm rules of moral”.¹⁰⁵ Hilferding was of the opinion that students from Bosnia and Herzegovina should be mostly sent to seminaries. The idea of the Russian authorities was that these young men should return after graduation to their homeland and to strengthen Russian influence through their educational work in their home areas.¹⁰⁶ However, only nineteen people from Bosnia and Herzegovina were educated in the Russian schools in

⁹⁷ According to Pelagić’s opinion, the teaching of Serbian history should provide “the most important, the most sacred and the most salutary for every Serb”. Besarović 1950: 192.

⁹⁸ Jagodić 2018: 87–88.

⁹⁹ Milošević i dr. 2018: 10–35; Milošević 2019: 55–82.

¹⁰⁰ The Seminary in Banja Luka did not reopen after the Austro-Hungarian occupation. The Seminary that was opened in Reljevo, close to Sarajevo, was under firm political control of the new authorities and it did not have a national character such as the one in Banja Luka. Besarović 1950: 205.

¹⁰¹ Milošević 2011: 89–99.

¹⁰² Papić 1978: 74.

¹⁰³ Tepić 1987: 366.

¹⁰⁴ Tepić 1986: 248.

¹⁰⁵ Tepić 1988: 512.

¹⁰⁶ Tepić 1986: 257.

the period from 1857 to 1869.¹⁰⁷ Only some of these successful graduated in Russia, while the majority left their education prior to completion.¹⁰⁸

Serafim Perović and Nićifor Dučić opened a spiritual school in Žitomislić in 1858, which received an annual support from Russia in the amount of 300 rubles.¹⁰⁹ The Government of Prince Mihailo Obrenović also supported this school. Serafim Perović initiated the opening of the Spiritual Orthodox Christian School in Mostar in 1866. That school was very soon moved to the monastery Žitomislić, but ceased to function in 1872.¹¹⁰ Perović also established several funds to assist schools located in Mostar, Trebinje, Nevesinje and Ljubuški.¹¹¹ The report of the Russian consul in Sarajevo dated 1873, stated that the Russian Government by that time had spent 20.000 rubles in its support for schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹²

After the Goražde printing house closed in the first half of the 16th century, printed books in Bosnia and Herzegovina became an imported item, and usually from the Habsburg Monarchy and Russia.¹¹³ The Russian Government and Slavophil committees believed that the distribution of Russian books among the Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina would strengthen their political influence on them. The Russian consulates in Sarajevo and Mostar were important inter-mediators in the allocation of Russian books. The Herzegovinian archimandrite Joanikije Pamučina was having close relations with the Russian consuls and he was helping in the provision and distribution of Russian books.¹¹⁴ *Srbski dnevnik* reported that one hundred Russian books, which arrived to Prijedor in 1860, represented “a spiritual food” for people.¹¹⁵ Even after the opening of the printing house in Sarajevo (1866) and despite control of the Ottoman authorities, Russian books were still occasionally arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Books that were sent from Serbia, however, were periodically confiscated and burnt by the authorities under the excuse that Serbian propaganda is being introduced in the Eyalet.¹¹⁶

Classes in Serbian schools had an important dimension in the preservation of the Serbian identity, language, culture and tradition. For this reason, classes in the Serbian language, history and religion, as well as the traditional Saint Sava celebration were of special importance. Work by certain teachers exceeded their regular school functions and some of them, such as the monk and teacher Bogoljub (Teofil) Petranović from Drniš, made efforts to become ethnographers, collectors of national treasure or founders of reading

¹⁰⁷ The 19 were: Dimitrije Bogičević, Nikola Spahić, Tano Batinić, Vasilije Pelagić, Petar Mitrović, Despot Despotović, Petar Bacatić, Stefan Jovanović, Jovo Dreč, Jefto Oborina, Nikola Bilić, Jovan Pičeta, Stevo Govedarica, Jovo Milinković, Dimitrije Dučić, Jovo Perović, Petar Srbić, Luka Ivanišević and Đorđe Babić. *Ibid.* 251.

¹⁰⁸ Tepić 1988: 541.

¹⁰⁹ Čorović 1933: 63.

¹¹⁰ Papić 1987: 95–99.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹¹² Tepić 1988: 537.

¹¹³ Tepić 1981: 485.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 488–489.

¹¹⁵ *Srbski dnevnik*, No. 65, 18. VIII 1860.

¹¹⁶ *Zastava*, No. 21, 21. IV 1866; *Ibid.* No. 22, 24. IV 1866.

rooms.¹¹⁷ Many Serbian teachers, priests and merchants were subscribers to the prominent *Srpsko–dalmatinski magazin*, especially those in Herzegovina because of its close location and strong connections with Dalmatia. Joanikije Pamučina, Serafim Šolaja and Nićifor Dučić were noticeable as they were occasionally publishing short supplements from history and ethnography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the pages of the *Magazin*.¹¹⁸

Saint Sava celebrations in schools represented an important factor in the process of school development among Serbs and the preservation of national consciousness and patriotism.¹¹⁹ They represented a strong expression of national originality and a solemn ceremony of Serbhood and Orthodox Christianity.¹²⁰ According to one newspaper source, a Saint Sava celebration was held in Sarajevo even in 1851.¹²¹ *Srbski dnevnik* reported in 1857 that the celebration of Saint Sava was held in Sarajevo in the presence of many citizens and persons from the Habsburg consulate.¹²² The first Sermon on Saint Sava in Banja Luka was organized by Vasa Pelagić in 1867.¹²³ The Serbian school in Travnik celebrated Saint Sava in 1867 and after the celebration a semi–annual school exam took place.¹²⁴ By the end of the 19th century the celebration of Saint Sava had become widespread.¹²⁵

Local church – school municipalities were appointing a special board with the task to provide money and organize the Saint Sava celebration. It was the custom that the local priest or teacher gave a welcoming speech at the beginning of the school celebration explaining the significance of Saint Sava, as well as about school and education in general. The crowning moment of each celebration was the Sermon on Saint Sava, which was

¹¹⁷ Petranović's activities also included establishment of the Society for dissemination of the Serbian name in Sarajevo in 1863. This Society had a goal to root out the derogatory name Vlach and to introduce the Serbian name instead. Hadžijahić 1970: 57. A part of the modern Bosniak historiography believes that Serbian national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina was “imported” and was only formed in the second half of the 19th century thanks to political propaganda of the Principality of Serbia whose goal was to turn “Orthodox Bosnians” into Serbs with the help of its agents in the field. Radušić 2010; Radušić 2008. The existence of the named Society in Sarajevo whose work was described by Vladislav Skarić, although not certain whether this Society achieved any success it was taken as a proof for such statements. Skarić 1985: 246–247. The existence of such a Society does not mean that the Serbian national identity in the provinces had not been formed by that time. Development of national consciousness is complex and long–lasting historic process, which is influenced by religious, political, cultural and other factors and it cannot depend on the activities of just one society. Many historical sources, testimonies and travel books prove that a long time before the establishment of the named Society, the majority of the Serbian population already had a national identity clearly developed and defined. Teinović 2019.

¹¹⁸ Kecmanović 1963: 65–90.

¹¹⁹ “Sermon on Saint Sava” became successor of gatherings and meetings and we should all embrace it and decide to organize it in all areas where Serbs live. In such manner we will ensure that the Serbian spirit will not disappear because there will be different educational speeches held evoking Serbian conciseness and encouraging us not to fall but to bravely move forward in every noble, useful and challenging action. This way in a few years Saint Sava will be celebrated in the entire Serbhood as a patron saint, not only for schools but for the entire people”. *Bosanska vila*, No. 2, 1. I 1886, 27.

¹²⁰ Sadžak 2010: 52.

¹²¹ Ćurić 1954: 311–312.

¹²² *Srbski dnevnik*, No. 8, 27. I 1857.

¹²³ Pelagić 1867: 1–3.

¹²⁴ Papić 1987: 43.

¹²⁵ *Bosanska vila*, No. 2, 30. I 1899, 32.

usually delegated to prominent individuals. A performance by gusle musicians dressed in Serbian national costumes would follow, while an appropriate theater piece, mostly with historic background, was often part of the celebration. The celebration of Saint Sava was used as a good fundraising opportunity for equipment of the Serbian school or local library.¹²⁶ One part of such money would be assigned for support to poor students.¹²⁷ The press emphasized the significance of the celebration and citizens were invited to take part in its organization.¹²⁸ Considering the fact that the traditional celebration of Saint Sava in Serbian schools was established in the middle of the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian authorities did not dare to terminate it, although they were implementing a strict censorship of program of the Sermon on Saint Sava and other similar national ceremonies.

The Austro-Hungarian administration determined 56 Serbian schools with 75 teachers and 3.523 students in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹²⁹ It can be concluded that the commencement of the Austro-Hungarian occupation brought fundamental changes in all areas of life including education. A new school system was built in accordance with the political needs of the occupier, while young Serbian intelligentsia from the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century was trying to find new models of cultural improvement for people, and the preservation of the Serbian national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cultural and educational life of Serbs gradually received new forms of public institutions and administrations, in which the church did not have a crucial influence any longer.

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¹²⁶ "There is a small number of Serbian schools in Bosnia and therefore they should be built. Certainly, it takes money and the Sermon on Saint Sava is an opportunity when everyone may give something for a school and in a few years, a school could be built in every place". *Bosanska vila*, No. 2, 1. I 1886, 27.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* No. 2, 31. I 1890, 31.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* No. 2, 1. I 1886, 28.

¹²⁹ Papić 1972: 24.

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ПРАВОСЛАВНА ЦРКВА И СРПСКО ШКОЛСТВО У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ У ПОСЉЕДЊЕМ ВИЈЕКУ ОСМАНСКЕ УПРАВЕ

Резиме

Коријени најранијег образовања код Срба у Босни и Херцеговини налазе се уз православне цркве и манастире, а монаси и свештеници, уз редовне послове, радили су и као учитељи, иако и сами скромно образовани. Први ученици били су младићи који су се спремали за свештенички позив и који су најчешће очеве наслијеђивали на позицијама парохијских свештеника. Најранија настава имала је ограничени црквено-вјерски карактер и није могла пружити ученицима солидније образовање. Писменост која се стицала унутар црквених кругова, престала је половином XIX вијека одговарати потребама и духу новог времена, а имућни српски трговци снажно су утицали на оснивање модернијих приватних школа. Већина српских школа се током XIX вијека, до аустроугарске окупације, издржавала захваљујући материјалној помоћи из Србије и Русије. Српске црквено-школске општине често су се обраћале Београду тражећи помоћ за обнову или подизање српских школа и цркава. Оснивање Пелагићеве Богословије у Бањој Луци 1866. године знатно је утицало на културни напредак Срба, посебно на простору Босанске Крајине.

Кључне ријечи: Српска православна црква, свештенство, српско школство, Босна и Херцеговина, Османско царство, Русија, учбеници, учитељи.

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